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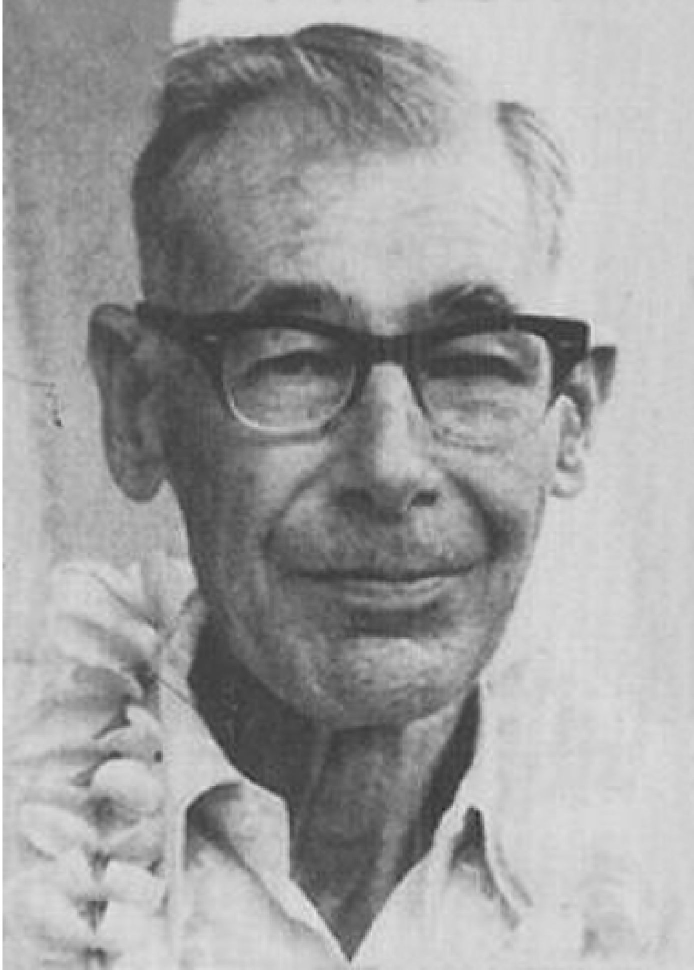
GLENN G. GILBERT

PIDGIN AND CREOLE LANGUAGES

ESSAYS IN MEMORY OF JOHN E. REINECKE

Pidgin and Creole Languages



JOHN E. REINECKE
1904–1982

Pidgin and Creole Languages

Essays in Memory of John E. Reinecke

Edited by

Glenn G. Gilbert

University of Hawaii Press
Honolulu

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PREFACE

This book is for the memory of John E. Reinecke, a man whose humanistic activism and sharp-hewn scholarship helped to shape the scientific study of pidgin and creole languages throughout much of the twentieth century. Reinecke was both a social reformer and a leading sociolinguistic researcher working with creole languages and societies that derive from diverse groups of people thrown into close social contact. Most notably, Reinecke's keen sense of social justice has had a telling effect on the social history of Hawaii. Along with his persistent efforts to obtain a fair and equal share for wage earners in sharply stratified societies, his attention early became focused on their language. By encouraging others to study what he called "marginal languages," he was able to bring to them (and to the extraordinary issues—theoretical and practical—which they raise) a measure of prestige, both in the eyes of their speakers and in the increased attention accorded them by students of language and society.

The book presents a description of Reinecke's life and work, the text of his own last paper on creolistics, and seventeen papers which reflect the range and vitality of the field that he did so much to open. Some of the papers reflect the issue which has come to dominate creole studies—the debate over the role of universals and of specific substrata as competing explanations of the amazing similarities that creoles, and perhaps pidgins also, exhibit across the world. Many describe the intense language contact within which language contraction and expansion occur (they do this either directly, or by supplying new data which will eventually feed such descriptions), and some are our belated response to calls which Reinecke made in the 1930s. Fifty years ago, he saw the need for the kind of comparative studies which are only now under way—in, for example, Hazel Carter's paper, which represents a pioneering

attempt to compare the suprasegmentals of English-based Creoles on both sides of the Atlantic. In his last years, Reinecke strongly supported research on contact languages with non-European lexical bases. He thought this was the area from which future creole studies would derive the greatest theoretical and practical gain, and in this volume six papers answer his call by analyzing such pidgins and creoles.

In John Reinecke's career, one can distinguish two periods in which he devoted his time to the sociolinguistic study of creole societies. In the first, which ran from around 1932 to 1940, Reinecke began his work on Hawaiian Creole English, which culminated in his M.A. thesis, *Language and Dialect in Hawaii* (1935). It was in 1932 that he launched his postal survey of the language varieties of the Hawaiian Islands, but the limited perspective offered by Hawaii alone did not long satisfy him. Between 1934 and 1940, he set out to investigate what was known of all the creole languages and trade jargons that had then been reported. Reinecke preferred to think of them as marginal languages, a notion he had adopted from the sociologist Robert E. Park, who later encouraged him to prepare his doctorate in Race Relations at Yale. In his dissertation, a formidable work of 880 pages, *Marginal Languages: A Sociological Study of Creole Languages and Trade Jargons* (1937), he was able to integrate what he knew from Hawaii with information from the rest of the world, gathered in lengthy correspondence and from a program of reading which required astonishing energy and bibliographical skill to bring together the scattered and usually obscure texts that were relevant. Until Reinecke, nobody had attempted such an ambitious, worldwide typological survey, and in both the quality of organization and quantity of information, the dissertation remains to this day the most complete survey of the world's pidgins and creoles.

Reinecke's main interest, as revealed in the "Outline for Study of Each Language" that he prepared for his marathon correspondence, was always the social constraints on the formation, use, and status of each language, as well as the structure of the language and its geographic distribution. At times, he anticipated present debates in creole studies by asking his correspondents about features common to all creoles, as opposed to possible African language substrate elements, that might account for the structure of United States Black English, the English-based Caribbean Creoles, and other languages historically related to them. He urged then, and later did much to encourage, further study of "the European creole

dialects which arose among West African slaves, with special emphasis upon their phonology and intonation" (letter to Melville J. Herskovits, Sept. 15, 1936). His correspondence often revealed information which changed accepted ideas in creole studies; regarding Guyana, for example, Reinecke was told only a few days before his dissertation went to the binder that Dutch Creole survived "far up the Berbice River," thus enabling him to show that Hugo Schuchardt had been mistaken in reporting its extinction.

Reinecke taught himself an impressive array of languages—his German, without formal training, was good enough for him to attempt a translation of Schuchardt, and his Dutch allowed him to follow the witty and idiomatic style of Hesseling's writings on Negerhollands. Indeed, he treasured his own brief contact with Hesseling and always saw himself as the amateur among European professionals in the field. Yet, in many ways, he was the most gifted inheritor of that tradition, a perfect example of the creolist who, as Derek Bickerton noted in 1976, needs both the competence of a polyglot and the memory of an elephant.

In the late 1960s, Stanley Tsuzaki, a University of Hawaii linguist specializing in language contact, rediscovered Reinecke's work, and judged his M.A. thesis to be on a par with the finest efforts of American sociolinguists in this century. Tsuzaki was able to arrange for the publication of the thesis in 1969, but, more significantly, he persuaded Reinecke to return to his study of creole languages after decades of academic exile and work in the labor movement. Together, the two produced the first scholarly bibliography of a creole, English in Hawaii: An Annotated Bibliog raphy (1966), and began to collect the material for what has become the standard reference work of creole studies: A Bibliography of Pidgin and Creole Languages (1975). For Reinecke, the bibliography may have seemed a first step in revising his own encyclopedic dissertation of 1937, a gigantic task which turned out to be unrealizable; but the bibliography, revised and expanded in the pages of the quarterly newsletter The Carrier Pidgin, which he served as editor, proved a lifetime's work. With modest support from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Tsuzaki and Reinecke assembled an impressive collection of printed and manuscript material and made the University of Hawaii one of the great world research centers for pidgin and creole languages.

Reinecke returned to his work on “marginal languages” as other scholars were taking a new interest in the subject. He was much influenced by the seminal 1968 international conference on pidgin and creole languages in Mona, Jamaica, and was absorbed by William Labov’s 1970 summer seminar on the subject at the University of Hawaii. Through the bibliography and the newsletter, Reinecke made possible the contacts that allowed the field to develop at an accelerated pace. Numerous younger scholars in the United States, and all over the world, owe him a great debt for his help and encouragement. For them, he was a mentor, a person to whom they could always look for guidance and inspiration. Many of them would never have entered into such studies if it had not been for his personal encouragement and scholarly example.

John Reinecke embodied a rare combination of qualities: humanism, scholarship, and activism. The very act of studying pidgin and creole languages constitutes a form of social protest against the injustice done to their speakers. Hence, his work on behalf of the labor movement was not the only form of activism that he supported. Creole language study was the other horse pulling the cart. Labor and linguistics were thus complementary.

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For assistance in the preparation of this book, the editor is grateful for the help and advice of the contributors, and especially to Aiko Reinecke, Morris Goodman, Ian Hancock, John Holm, Derek Bickerton, and Lionel Bender. Michael Pye gave invaluable assistance in improving the wording and organization of the Editor's Preface. Thanks are also due to the Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii, and to Iris Wiley, the executive editor of the University of Hawaii Press. Michael Dingerson, Alan Cohn, James Light, and Paul Angelis of Southern Illinois University at Carbondale have supported this book since its inception, for which I am very grateful. Vera Felts provided welcome assistance in preparation of the manuscript.

Grateful acknowledgment is also made to the Society for Caribbean Linguistics for permission to reprint "William Greenfield, a Neglected Pioneer Creolist," by John E. Reinecke.

Introduction

JOHN E. REINECKE: HIS LIFE AND WORK

Charlene J. Sato and Aiko T. Reinecke

0. INTRODUCTION

At the memorial service held for John E. Reinecke on May 16, 1982, in Honolulu, Hawaii, many of his friends and colleagues first became aware of the extent of his "other" life. For some, it was a surprise to learn of John's international reputation as a pioneer in the field of pidgin and creole linguistics. Others had not previously known about the deep respect John had earned through fifty years of political activism in the islands. Many recalled John's kindness, fairness, and straightforward way of dealing with people, as well as his wry sense of humor, which would display itself during the most difficult of times.

Our purpose here is to go beyond these memories of John by providing an account of his life and work, his motivations and beliefs, and to see how these were reflected in his actions. John's adherence to a belief in social equality, freedom of thought, and activism for social change was revealed in both his research on language contact in plantation contexts and his participation in the labor movement. As readers of this volume will be more familiar with the former, we will dwell on the latter: his life as a longtime public school teacher, union supporter, and civil liberties advocate. We will also describe his and his wife Aiko's ordeal during the late 1940s and early 1950s, when they were persecuted for their political beliefs. We hope to portray the unity of all John's endeavors, academic and political, and his characteristic way of merging intellectual honesty with social responsibility.

1. EARLY LIFE

John Reinecke was born in 1904 in southeastern Kansas, the son of a tenant farmer. The family of five moved several times, from one farm to another, during John's childhood. John worked on these farms early on, never coming to like farmwork but learning to appreciate the solitude it brought.

Social life, in general, was not well developed for farm families such as John's. People lived in relative isolation from one another, visiting only occasionally, at church on Sundays, for example. According to John, life was rather "bare and narrow and graceless" for his people, "all white, Protestant, plain-living small farmers."[1]

Primary education came in the form of the one-room school. John attended a number of them, all suffering from bad lighting, inadequate heating, constant dustiness, and sometimes even a lack of drinking water. One teacher usually taught all grade levels and all subjects, with only a meager supply of outdated instructional materials.

John worked himself through the eight readers that comprised the curriculum and passed the eighth grade exam by the time he was eleven. Unfortunately, he remained in the eighth grade for three years because his parents would not send him away to high school in the nearest town at such a young age. Eventually, when John was fourteen, his father sold their farm and moved the family to Pittsburg, Kansas, where John enrolled in a two-year commercial training course at Kansas State Teachers' College (KSTC). Upon finishing the course, he took a job as a stenographer and clerk in a feed store. As with farming, John was not inspired by the job and quit at summer's end to return to KSTC for teacher training.

He worked his way through school, first as a janitor in the library, and later as a student assistant in the geography department. His work in the department helped develop his keen interest in geography and travel.

This was an important time in the development of John's political philosophy. He had come to college with a simple but profound belief in social equality derived from his rural upbringing, where "each … grew up feeling himself as good as anybody else and maybe a damn sight better." By the end of his freshman year, John considered himself a socialist, a stance resulting not so much from his direct participation in local racial and labor struggles as from his extensive, if chaotic, reading:

> What did stir me were the ideas and emotions I got from reading. The ideas were in awful confusion, for I read at random without any help from the teachers: Mencken, Tolstoi, Swinburne, Mommsen, Bertrand Russell, Gibbon, Goethe, Norse sagas, Sumner's 'Folkways,' White's 'History of the Warfare of Science with Theology,' Mill's 'On Liberty.' Somehow, out of all of this I learned not to fear thought, to respect facts and to appreciate—a little—beautiful things.

Perhaps more revealing of John's politicization is that he considered his two best teachers in college to be the liberal weeklies, The Nation and New Republic.

He was also impressed by a sociology professor named John G. Scott, "one of those old-fashioned radicals who combined anarchism, liberalism, simplified socialism, free thought, free love and a lot of unclassifiable American cussedness." Professor Scott, knowing his contract at KSTC was to expire at the end of 1925, John's senior year, apparently shocked the college's administrators with one of his lectures. As part of his own model of social order, he proposed that the institution of marriage was a perversion of love. This view was interpreted by the head of the sociology department, a former preacher, as teaching promiscuity, and Mr. Scott was soon dismissed.

Upset by the injustice of the firing, John took it upon himself to write up an account of the affair, which he then sent to a Kansas City newspaper. Not only was it published, but the paper also ran a scandalous headline which horrified school officials. John was called in by the president of KSTC, who indicated his displeasure and hinted at the possibility of John's not graduating at term's end. Fortunately, no other incidents prevented John's graduation in 1925, but he did find it strange that the college placement office never seemed to know of any vacancies whenever he stopped in to check on job possibilities.

Just before the start of the academic year he learned of an opening at a small school in Goodman, Missouri. He took the job as principal and classroom teacher, although the pay was extremely low. At this juncture, John had no more attractive options, so he spent the next nine months teaching high school subjects and administering the school. He found the people of the town friendly but very parochial, and the job, challenging enough. Still, he felt much less enamored of teaching and much more drawn to travelling. At term's end, he was off to California.

2. FROM KANSAS FARM TO HAWAIIAN PLANTATION

John hitchhiked his way west and spent almost six months working in restaurants and on a large walnut and lemon farm in southern California. He then moved up the coast to Carmel, hoping to meet Robinson Jeffers, a poet whose work he deeply admired. He found a job washing dishes in a tearoom, which happened to be next door to the office of the local newspaper. Deciding that a good way to get to meet poet Jeffers would be through publishing some of his own verse in the paper, John got a few of his poems accepted by the editor, W. K. Bassett. John was featured as a “dishwater poet.” Mr. Bassett proved very knowledgeable about Hawaii, the next stop on John’s itinerary, and it was through him that John first heard about the missionary domination of the islands and their politically conservative atmosphere.[2]

October 1926 found John on a ship to Hawaii. He was as thrilled by the novelty of travelling on the ocean as by the thought of his destination. The day after his arrival in Honolulu, he headed directly for the University of Hawaii. There he met a young Hawaiian student, Alfred Bell, who offered him a place to live with other university students and recent graduates. John got to know and like these young local men, one of whom was to become his brother-in-law in a few years’ time.

He worked at various janitorial jobs before making it a point to visit Hawaii, the Big Island, to see the volcanoes and the Kona coast. After his return, John assessed his jobless state and headed back to California through Los Angeles. While there, he learned that the Hawaii Department of Public Instruction (DPI) had accepted the job application he had filed before leaving and had assigned him to teach in Konawaena High School on the Big Island. After visiting his family in Kansas, John made the long trip back to Kona, Hawaii.

Although an outsider, John felt he was taking root in Kona as an islander. Here he took more than casual notice of the plantation community’s social structure with its haole “aristocracy.”[3] His interest in the physical environment was also well rewarded. On one of his frequent hikes around Kona he came upon an ancient Hawaiian burial ground, which he found so impressive that he mapped it in detail and took the map to the Bishop Museum in Honolulu. The museum’s director, in turn, was so pleased with John’s efforts that he hired him to map remains on the Kona coast during the summer of 1930.

By this time, John had finished a two-year teaching stint in Kona and was completing a year at Leilehua High School in Wahiawa, back on the island of Oahu. During this period, he attended summer sessions at the University of Hawaii and there became interested in sociology and in the Far East. He satisfied his interest in both subjects by spending a year at Yenching University in Peking, China, where he took sociology courses in English.

John was impressed by the exotic and the romantic in China. He also took note of the extensive poverty and exploitation of the working people and was aware of the impending social upheaval. But John was not interested in communism at the time and did not involve himself in political activities other than an occasional discussion with peers or professors.

John had no guarantee of a teaching position upon his return, so he found himself unemployed again in 1931. Fortunately, Aiko Tokimasa—by this time his fiancée—had taken the initiative to plead his case before the Assistant Superintendent of the DPI. John was given a post, more or less "in exile," in the little town of Honoka'a on the Big Island. He taught there for four years, with Aiko joining him after their marriage in 1932.

During that summer, John and Aiko took a honeymoon trip back to Kansas to visit John's family. It was the worst time of the Depression, and they were both deeply affected by the misery they observed on their trip. While this experience was not enough to make John "a student of Marxism overnight," it certainly helped to raise his social consciousness.

While John lived and worked on Honoka'a, a number of events made a lasting impression on his political philosophy. The first was the 1932 Massie-Kahahawai murder case, which exemplified the racism and abuse of power then characteristic of the haole establishment and its U.S. military counterpart in the islands. Five young local men had been accused of rape by a Navy officer's wife. In supposed vengeance, her husband and socialite mother kidnapped and murdered one of the accused—Joe Kahahawai. At the end of the murder trial, both were convicted of manslaughter but allowed to go free, having been supported by the Navy command and many U.S. congressmen. John was deeply angered by "the Nazi-like arrogance of the Navy 'brass,' the hysterical racialism in Congress, [and] the way … Hawaii was regarded and treated as a colony."

While the Massie-Kahahawai case clearly revealed to John the extent of oligarchic control of the islands, other connections were made in his thinking with events in the world:

> First, in 1931, I saw how the Western powers in the League of Nations did not lift a finger to prevent Japan from snatching Manchuria. As I had just returned from a year in China, this example of imperialism greatly angered me. Next came the rise of Hitler and his Nazis. I could see how France and especially Great Britain allowed Hitler to come to power because of their fear of a left-wing revolution and how shamefully the German Social Democratic Party and trade unions collapsed before him.
>
> Later, after I left Honokaa, the same pattern was repeated when France, Great Britain, and the United States abandoned republican Spain to the fascists. That betrayal, which was more a betrayal of our own democracy than it was of Spain, stirred me deeply.

In Honoka'a itself, John was well aware of the class lines of the plantation community, of antiworker policies, and of people's dissatisfaction with living and working conditions. By this time, he had acquired a fairly detailed picture of the plantation economy of the islands.

In 1934, John came across a pamphlet on Hawaii, based exclusively on secondary sources, by a young Communist in New York named Samuel Weinman. The pamphlet apparently contained many inaccuracies and exaggerations of the exploitation of the "peasants" on island plantations, so John made contact with Weinman, initially through a thirteen-page letter, in order to correct his errors of fact and questionable interpretations.

As weak as the Weinman paper was, John was stimulated by its economic analysis to write such an analysis himself, one based on factual information. John's purpose in writing this piece was to outline "what might be done to democratize Hawaii along what [he] then supposed were Marxist lines." Entitled "What Must We Do?" the paper was to play a major role in John's subsequent persecution during the late 1940s and '50s.

3. ON BECOMING A SCHOLAR

Writing on political economics, however, did not occupy the bulk of John's out-of-school time. He was mainly busy "trying to make [himself] a scholar" in the area of sociology of language. Having to deal with children who spoke "Pidgin," John took a novel approach to the perennial problem facing English teachers in

Hawaii.[4] Rather than falling victim to the Stereotypic notions that the Pidgin is deviant and its speakers intellectually deficient, John set out to study Pidgin, to describe its origin and functions. It was out of this initial interest in local language use that John's lifelong devotion to the study of pidgin and creole languages evolved.

Two articles were published from his earliest efforts, "Hawaiian Island English—An unexplored Field" (1933) and "The English Dialect of Hawaii" (1934), which he coauthored with Aiko. John subsequently wrote his pioneering master's thesis, "Language and Dialect in Hawaii," in 1935.

The impetus for the thesis had come from sociologist Robert E. Park, a visiting professor at the University of Hawaii from whom John had taken a course. Park was interested in the dynamics of cultural contact and in the makeshift languages resulting from such contacts. He thus encouraged John to make a study of the Hawaiian situation since he had direct access to plantation communities as well as to the public schools, the primary loci of contact phenomena. John spent the summers of 1933 and 1934 collecting and working through data, and he completed his thesis in the following year.

Others besides Park took note of John's scholarly promise during his years as a graduate student at the University of Hawaii. Another visiting professor, Charles Loram of Yale University, was so impressed by John's academic qualifications and his social consciousness that he offered him a scholarship to pursue a Ph.D. in Yale's Department of Race Relations. John accepted this offer as a chance to fulfill a lifelong ambition, and he and Aiko found themselves on a ship to the mainland in August 1935.

The two years spent at Yale proved stimulating both academically and otherwise. John produced his massive dissertation "Marginal Languages: A Sociological Survey of the Creole Languages and Trade Jargons."

Coursework and extracurricular activities also provided invaluable political education for both John and Aiko. They toured the southeastern states on trips organized by Dr. Loram to expose students to the poverty and racial segregation of the American South. They went on school visits, noting the disparity between American education in the elite preparatory schools and the undersubsidized public schools.

They attended many lectures and meetings on current affairs during these two years and came into contact with a number of Communists and other leftists in the process. They

regularly attended the meetings of a club affiliated with the Inter-Professional Association, a liberal intellectual group which sponsored current affairs discussions.

In 1937, when John's graduate study was nearing an end, he faced unemployment again. A Ph.D. in Race Relations did not increase one's marketability in the way that a degree from a large, well-established sociology department did in those days. It was Dr. Loram who changed John's situation; as John put it, "pulling strings" was one of Loram's talents. John received an offer from the University of Hawaii to teach part-time for the 1937-1938 academic year in the Sociology-Anthropology Department.

In his letter of acceptance to the department head, Felix Keesing, John openly stated his Marxist orientation and his wholehearted commitment to the labor movement. This letter was discussed with the president of the university, David Crawford, who thereafter considered John a Communist but who approved his appointment anyway. Keesing also shared this information with others at the university, and so John was soon known as a Leftist.

Ironically, John was so busy with his teaching that he had little time to contribute to the cause of labor. He kept track of local union organizing efforts and did some "organizing" of sorts within the university community by founding, along with two other faculty members and a graduate student, a Honolulu branch of the Inter-Professional Association (IPA). The IPA, intended as a current issues forum, met fortnightly and soon became "a rallying center for the few active liberals and radicals outside the labor movement."

As for the labor movement, trade unionism in Hawaii gained impetus from the passage of the National Labor Relations Act in 1935. Against strong and often violent opposition by various employers' groups, longshoremen, bartenders, and brewery workers began forming stable unions in the mid-to late 1930s. Both the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and the American Federation of Labor (AFL) were actively represented. As Fuchs (1961:240) observed, "Union membership grew from 500 to approximately 10,000 between 1935 and 1941 … Hawaii, because of federal labor legislation and the toughness of local longshoremen and MALIHINI [caps. in original] sailor organizers, was now ready for large-scale unionization."[5]

One of these seamen organizers was Jack Hall, a veteran of the 1934 West Coast maritime strike. He was to become one of Hawaii's most respected labor leaders because of his vision,

his commitment to the cause, and his ability to organize. He was also to develop a deep friendship with John and Aiko, a friendship which began rather dramatically.

In 1938, Jack Hall was invited to speak at the IPA by John and its other founders. At the time, Hall edited Hawaii's first labor newspaper, the Voice of Labor. Hall never made it to his talk. He was arrested on the waterfront for participating in an impromptu strike action and was beaten up by one of the police officers. In protest, a committee of seven, mostly university people including John, confronted the police chief, demanding to know the reason for Hall's mistreatment. The chief was unable to give a believable answer, and the publicity created by the IPA over the incident apparently put a stop to the heretofore frequent beating and intimidation of union organizers by the forces of law and order.

4. THE TURNING POINT

By 1937, John had come a long way from his Kansas farm background. He had traveled across the U.S. and studied in China, taught public school for some eight years, earned a master's degree and a Ph.D., and had been rooted in Hawaii for a decade. He had worked hard at becoming a scholar and providing a historical perspective on educational issues in Hawaii through his research on language. More importantly, he had merged his academic interests with his most deeply felt political beliefs. The teaching position at the University of Hawaii seemed the best niche he could have hoped for. He was devastated to learn, therefore, that he was not to be rehired at the end of the 1937-1938 academic year. This news came after he had been assured of reappointment earlier.

Only a truly naïve observer would deny that John's political stance had much to do with the University's decision to be rid of him. It was certainly not a question of his competence as a teacher and scholar; his academic reputation was excellent.

By the time John was informed of his release from the University, it was too late to apply for a position in the public schools. Having worked so hard for a doctorate, he was now not even able to teach at the secondary level. He became financially dependent on Aiko. At the time, John viewed this episode as "the bitterest blow of [his] whole life."

In retrospect, however, John recognized that this period of unemployment proved productive in many important ways. He later wryly observed that, had he been reappointed, he would have ended up "an average college liberal, certainly cautious and probably scared." John was now able to increase his contact with the union scene. He got to know Jack Hall quite well, often putting him up in his and Aiko's home and visiting him in his small office/living quarters while Hall was editor of the Voice of Labor. He also participated for the first time in some labor negotiations. A group of newly unionized employees at a chain department store was negotiating its first contract, and John was asked to assist.

During this period also, the executive secretary of the Hawaii Education Association (HEA) asked John to chair the organization's social-economic plans committee. In this capacity, John was commissioned to conduct a study of labor unions for the information of HEA members. The report was not well received by big business and their associates in government and the Department of Public Instruction (DPI). It was made known that the DPI would suffer from a cut in appropriations if the report were made public. A G-2 government agent even visited the HEA office to read the report and recommended that it be destroyed.

Not surprisingly, the HEA executive board voted to suppress the report. John later commented that this experience revealed to him "how supersensitive the 'Big Five' were to the faintest breath of criticism, especially from the teaching profession, which [was] expected to be 100 per cent loyal to their outlook upon social and economic questions." He also remarked on "the moral cowardice which is almost an occupational disease of many teachers."

By the time the dispute over the labor relations report erupted, John had been back in the classroom for over a year. In February 1939, he had gotten a temporary position at McKinley High School in Honolulu, substituting for a teacher on maternity leave. The appointment was made over the protest of a school commissioner who had decided that John was a Communist and therefore not fit to teach. In the fall of that year, John moved to teach at Kalakaua Intermediate School, also in Honolulu. He remained there for five years, all the while increasing his involvement in union activities.

One of John's early experiences in 1939 involved him in contract negotiations for a group of Chinese restaurant workers. The chief negotiator for the group was Art Rutledge, a former

bartender who was to emerge as one of Hawaii's most active labor leaders as well as one of John's most supportive, if most combative, friends over the years. As for John's first time at the negotiating table, he summed up his usefulness as being "limited to whatever moral value there was in the presence of a Ph.D. at the bargaining table."

5. WORLD WAR II, MILITARY RULE, AND THE UNIONS

During the World War II buildup and diffusion of anti-Japanese sentiment, John was one of those who voiced the opposition of many Japanese to the racist posturing of various islanders. In a 1942 letter to a newspaper, he mentioned that a Japanese-American from Hawaii had questioned the constitutionality of an order connected to the internment of Japanese-Americans. This provoked a vicious reply from J. T. Phillips, then head of Pacific Chemical and Fertilizer Company. Phillips reasoned that allowing constitutional rights to "Japs" (never mind their legal status as American citizens) was unthinkable when Americans were being mistreated in Japan. In reaction, John observed: "It seems that in wartime the most patriotic citizens are the ones who call loudest for imitation of the enemy's worst behavior."

Anti-Japanese thought also threatened the unions, a large proportion of whose members were Japanese-American. In 1943, the international journal of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Local declared opposition to aiding the War Relocation Authority in placing Japanese-Americans in jobs outside the internment camps. Art Rutledge, then business agent of the local, coauthored with John a strong response to the international union's stance, which was published by the international journal and by several other West Coast and Hawaii newspapers.

During the war, John was also among those who vehemently opposed military rule in Hawaii. The Office of the Military Governor (OMG) clearly worked to undermine the labor movement and burdened the working class most heavily with its policies. As John pointed out, "it was the working people who were dragged into court for violating curfew and blackout restrictions and fined a pint of blood … It was the working people who were restricted in their movements, frozen to their jobs, unable to use the courts to collect wages due them or to obtain redress of other grievances."

Union activity was considerably curtailed. However, in August 1942, John helped to revive the union at the Hawaiian Electric Company, where workers were disgruntled about being frozen to their jobs at wages much lower than those they could get elsewhere. John helped publicize the legitimacy of unionization, writing leaflets and a radio speech “emphasizing that workers, even under military rule, had the right to join and vote for a union; in fact, that this right was one of the things that distinguishes a democracy.” The union was subsequently voted in by a large majority, and contract negotiations got under way on New Year’s Eve, 1942, with John as part of the union’s team.

Hawaiian Electric Company relied on the pressures of martial law to force the union into accepting its terms. The union, however, took skillful advantage of the situation. First it demonstrated that an impasse had been reached and then circulated a memorandum, drafted by John, detailing the union’s position to the OMG, to the Star-Bulletin, and to officials of the federal government, the CIO, and the AFL.[6] The Military Governor, General Emmons, having been called on to take action, passed the buck to civilian Governor Stainback, whose more positive response was the appointment of a mediation board. Ultimately, the union emerged from the renewed negotiations with a satisfactory contract.

Later, the AFL union representing Honolulu’s bus operators asked John to draft a memo similar to the one he had written for the electrical workers. He did, and the memo received the AFL Central Labor Council’s endorsement. The OMG subsequently presented a new contract including a 32 percent average wage increase and a clause providing for overtime pay.

John wrote a third such memo, this time for the Electrical Workers’ Local in Hilo, on the Big Island, again with successful results.

In the summer of 1943, John was asked to serve temporarily as business agent of the Electrical Workers’ Honolulu Local. Although he was willing to take on the task, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers vice president in San Francisco refused to permit a “nonelectrician” to take over the position, even temporarily. John guessed that he had been branded a Communist and was therefore a threat to the more conservative of the union leadership.

John gave his help to another newly organized local, one that represented the telephone company workers. He was again asked to sit in on meetings and to draft the union's contract proposal. John's association with this local lasted two years, during which time he helped to build a shop steward's council.

The summer of 1943 was a busy one. Art Rutledge called upon John to lend a hand around his office and to participate in negotiations for the dairy workers. John undertook research, on this occasion providing data on company profits which served to weaken management's bargaining position.

In 1944, organized labor struck a blow against the "do-nothing, employer-biased regime of the military governor." Following the suggestions of Art Rutledge, Jack Hall, and A. L. Willis of the National Labor Relations Board, John drafted a hardhitting memorandum which detailed the military government's unfair treatment of labor. Labor demanded that the National War Labor Board oversee labor relations in Hawaii. Copies of the memorandum were sent to the AFL, CIO, and federal government officials, and a few months later the War Labor Board came to the islands.

John's involvement in union activities tapered off in 1945, partly because he and Aiko were kept busy as a "one-family USO" for servicemen, but mainly because he wanted to stay out of the conflicts that had arisen between the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and Rutledge's faction of the AFL. The thousands of volunteer hours he had put into the cause of labor reflected John's total commitment to unionization. While he would have "preferred seeing one union covering all Hawaii's workers, [he] was glad to see any and all unions make progress." With characteristic modesty, John assessed his influence on Hawaiian unionism this way:

> As a matter of fact, I have always been on the fringe of the labor movement, a close enough personal friend of some of the leaders to know generally what was going on, but never well enough acquainted with the details or in close enough touch with the rank and file to help make decisions, even if I had wished to do so. Once in a while I have been able to help with a particular job of research.

Over the years, John's jobs of research played a key role in Hawaii's experience of unionization; he provided historical documentation, fought management tactics, and educated workers. Art Rutledge (1982:1-2) had this to say:

> John was particularly helpful in organizing unions, especially during the war years.
>
> John was there whenever and wherever any labor organization needed help.
>
> John Reinecke did more for the cause of Labor in Hawaii in his own effective, quiet way, that any other man … His nonviolent, non-dogmatic yet rock solid belief in labor and his fellow man will serve as an inspiration for us all for years to come.

6. A MAN MUST STAND UP[7]

In post-war Hawaii, as on the mainland during this period, Communism—or rather, a paralyzing fear of Communism—dominated the political scene. A recent account of the "Red Scare" in Hawaii identifies similar causes of anti-Communism in both places:

> the development and intensification of the Cold War, the use of loyalty as an issue in partisan politics, and the emergence of individual politicians who sought to use the issue of Communism for personal political gain (Holmes 1975:2).

The so-called "McCarthy" era, with it superpatriotism, proved as destructive in the islands as elsewhere during the late 1940s and early 1950s, based, as it was, on a simplistic view "which equated capitalism with democracy and Communism with allegiance to the Soviet Union" (Holmes 1976:4).

What made the Hawaiian experience unique were, among other things, "the meteoric rise of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) … and the transition of the Territory from an oligarchic plantation economy to a more modern, more democratic society" (Holmes 1976:3). Marxist philosophy played an important role in shaping this process of change through the union leaders and social activists who saw "the Communist Party as a vehicle which could be used to build a solid union … which could stand up to Hawaii's 'Big Five', the oligarchy."[8]

The Big Five firms controlled the islands' economic and political structure for roughly the first half of the twentieth century. "In their hands rested agriculture, banking, insurance, utilities, ground transportation, wholesale and retail merchan-

dising, and interisland and mainland shipping" (Holmes 1974:v). Their interlocking boards of directors gave their power to a small group of men who adopted a paternalistic stance toward their workers and who totally opposed unionization. These men were skilled at exploiting racial differences among the worker groups, mostly immigrants from Asia and the Pacific, in an effort to prevent the formation of strong unions. It is not difficult to see, then, the nature of the struggle that took place between Hawaii's Big Five and leftist union organizers, a struggle in which Communism became a central issue.

Hawaii's reaction to the so-called Communist "threat" was exemplified in three major events: a hearing before the Territorial Commissioners of Public Instruction, hearings before the U.S. House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the Hawaii Smith Act trial. John Reinecke was involved in all three. In 1948, he and Aiko were both dismissed from their teaching positions at local public schools as a result of the first proceeding. Two years later, John was among the "Reluctant 39" who refused to answer the House Committee's questions; and during 1952-1953, he was a defendant, along with six others, in the antisedition trial in which all seven refused to take the stand.

Of the three events, the "Reinecke Case" represents the only instance whereby the accused challenged the charges made against them, and thus it constitutes an important lesson in administrative injustice (Holmes 1976:3). The transcripts of the hearings detail a crucial time in Hawaiian history.

The case began on November 25, 1947, with John's being notified by Superintendent of Public Instruction Harold Loper of his and Aiko's suspension. The seven-week hearing itself did not begin until August 3, 1948, because of various delays. On October 29, 1948, the Commissioners of Public Instruction voted to dismiss John and Aiko permanently after they had taught in Hawaii's schools for sixteen and twenty years, respectively.

The incident that led to their suspension was a visit by a Commissioner to John's classroom at Farrington High School in Honolulu on April 21, 1947. The Commissioner was Mrs. Ruth E. Black, wife of a Big Five executive, who conducted yearly whirlwind tours of the schools. In previous years, Mrs. Black's visits had consisted of a quick peek into each classroom, lasting only seconds in most cases. John and the other teachers resented this instantaneous and, of course, useless form of teacher evaluation.

On April 21, Mrs. Black noticed on the blackboard an outline of the Taft-Hartley Bill (later passed by Congress) that John had presented to his class as part of an industrial relations lesson. Mrs. Black seized upon the word "Communists" in Point 15 of John's outline: "Union officers must swear they are not Communists in order to use the services of the NLRB [National Labor Relations Board]." She demanded to know why it had been underlined. John responded that the key words in every point were so marked. When Mrs. Black then demanded to see his lesson plan book, John calmly told her that his supervisor was reviewing it. At this, she stormed off, going first to complain to said supervisor—who found John's teaching perfectly satisfactory—and then to the principal, whom she ordered to have the outline "copied exactly, underlining and all."

Three days later John was called into the principal's office, where Superintendent Loper confronted him with the "problem." Members of the school board were disturbed over reports, inspired by Mrs. Black's blackboard discovery and other events, that John was a Communist. He was told that the Department of Public Instruction would not stand for a Communist on its staff. At no time during this interview with Loper did John say he was a member of the Communist Party. Further, he vehemently denied advocating the violent overthrow of the U.S. government. Loper suggested that John explain himself before the board, but John refused, believing the board had no right to question him about his political affiliations. He said he preferred to wait until actual charges were brought against him.

Much happened during the next half year before John was faced with specific charges. Military intelligence had been investigating the Communist "menace" in Hawaii since early spring in 1947, and a list of "dangerous individuals" was eventually presented to Governor Stainback. Intent on justifying his appointment by President Truman, Stainback "sounded the alarm" in a number of speeches in the next few months (Holmes 1976:4), and on November 11, 1947, Armistice Day, he declared war on Communism in the Territory of Hawaii.

Vowing to rid the Territorial government of any employees found involved in Communist organizations, the Governor quoted extensively from a document he referred to as a "plan of the communists under which they have operated in the Territory for many years, which is devised particularly for the Territory by one of its so-called brainiest leaders" (The Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Nov. 17, 1947, p. 1). The leader, whom Stainback

did not name at that time, was John; and the alleged "plan" was John's 1933 position paper, "What Must We Do?," which he wrote not to devise a Communist plan but to straighten out his own thinking on Hawaii's economic and political situation.

Two weeks after Stainback's speech, on November 25, John and Aiko were suspended. They were charged with being members of the Communist Party and with not possessing the "ideals of democracy." The verbose exposition of the charges in the document signed by Superintendent Loper included the claim that John was "fanatically devoted to the form of government, the policies, the institutions and the way of life which exists under the Communist Party in the USSR." This claim John found particularly repugnant:

> Dr. Loper knew me well enough to know that I am incapable of fanatical devotion to any kind of life, whether Soviet, American or any other kind. A skeptical person by temperament and education, any position I take results from weighing several sets of probabilities and I know that I have a good chance of being mistaken through ignorance or faulty reasoning. But I have never seen why, just because my own reasoning is liable to errors, I should accept anyone else's orthodoxy as being infallible.

Only four days after Governor Stainback's speech, a pamphlet entitled "The Truth about Communism in Hawaii" appeared, allegedly written by a former ILWU Communist, Ichiro Izuka.[9] The pamphlet named John as one of the leaders of the Communist Party in Hawaii and painted a picture of the ILWU as a Communist union "bent upon the manipulation of its members and the subversion of its country" (Holmes 1976:6).

Given such prejudicial publicity in the press and the community, the Commissioners of Public Instruction had the foundation of their eventual decision laid for them months before the hearing began.

John and Aiko spent the eight-month hiatus between their suspension and the hearing preparing their case. Their defense counsel consisted of two hard-hitting local labor lawyers, Harriet Bouslog and Myer Symonds, and Richard Gladstein, a volatile labor lawyer from San Francisco. Strong backing for the Reineckes came from the unions, particularly the ILWU rank and file, and from the newly organized Hawaii Civil Liberties Committee (HCLC), which supported them throughout their ordeal. The HCLC collected over 5,500 signatures on pe-

titions demanding the Reineckes' reinstatement and financed a neighbor island tour for them in March 1948 to generate more community interest in their case.

In contrast, the lack of support from their colleagues and superiors in the DPI was very disappointing. The fear of being associated with alleged Communists pervaded the community. Even John's principal at Farrington, Walton Gordon, would not testify at the hearing. Earlier, Gordon had told a newspaper reporter that John was one of the school's best teachers, one who kept his politics out of his teaching (Holmes 1976:8).

When the hearing finally got under way on August 3, 1948, the defense began by challenging the entire Board of Commissioners "because they were subject to appointment and removal by Governor Stainback, and because in approving Principals' Circular 943 … they demonstrated that their minds were closed to the issue at hand" (Holmes 1976:11). The Commissioners, after a short executive session, determined that they were fit to hear the charges against the Reineckes (Holmes 1976:13).

The Territory's case consisted primarily of the testimony of two well-paid ex-Communists: Louis Budenz, the federal government's prize witness in many anti-Communist proceedings, and Ichiro Izuka, embittered former ILWU member and supposed author of "The Truth About Communism in Hawaii." Budenz knew nothing about the local situation and was thus wholly unqualified to make accusations about particular individuals in Hawaii. He was brought in simply to "demonstrate the proposition that no Communist could possess 'the ideals of democracy'" (Holmes 1976:11). Izuka's testimony, while replete with factual errors and underlain with an obvious hatred of certain ILWU leaders with whom he had competed for power, did prove damaging, though, because much of what he said about the Communist Party in Hawaii was true.

The case for the defense rested mainly on the testimony of several character witnesses for John and Aiko: colleagues, students, and parents who provided many accounts of the Reineckes' kindness, concern for others, and excellent teaching. John and Aiko also gave extensive direct testimony; the strategy was to show that they had each behaved in full accordance with democratic principles.

The most important part of John's long testimony led him through a discussion of the so-called Communist "plan" that Stain-back had used to smear him. Although it was shown that "What Must We Do?" could not have served as a plan because

there had been no Communist party in Hawaii at the time John wrote the paper, its contents suggested radical and democratizing changes in Hawaii's economic and social structure.

John also spoke eloquently on the issues of individual freedom, his nonadvocacy of force or violence, and his loyalty to the United States.

For her part, Aiko described her background. She grew up on a sugar plantation where her father was a Methodist minister for a time, until he resigned for economic reasons to educate his children. Aiko remembered the 1920 strike of the Japanese sugar workers, who were evicted from their houses and forced to flee to Honolulu. Their children's schooling was interrupted, and most of Aiko's classmates never finished the eighth grade.

During the 1932 depression, Aiko was forced to take a "voluntary" ten percent pay cut as a teacher. Her father was laid off permanently with only a month's bonus and no pension, so the burden of supporting the family of seven fell upon Aiko. Through her frequent visits to her students' homes, she became familiar with the poverty and problems of the working class. Having lived through two world wars, she knew well how the poor suffered while the rich prospered. It is no wonder Aiko supported the rising labor unions, particularly on the sugar and pineapple plantations. Had she not worked in the hot sugar cane fields for fifty cents a day and in the pineapple canneries at thirteen cents an hour in the 1920s in order to obtain a high school education?

During the 32-day hearing of the Reinecke case, no evidence of misconduct in the classroom or disloyal acts to the U.S. government by John or Aiko was ever produced. While Holmes (1976:37) concludes that "no reasonable man could have examined the evidence … in the Reinecke hearing without arriving at the conclusion that John Reinecke had been a member of the Communist party," he stresses the point that "what was being questioned … was whether this membership automatically proved that the man was not possessed of the ideals of democracy." It seems fair to say that, in fact, the Reinecke case itself constituted a betrayal of these ideals by the very officials entrusted with upholding them.

On October 29, 1948, the Commissioners of Public Instruction found John and Aiko unfit to teach in the schools of Hawaii, Their contracts were terminated and John's teaching

certificate was revoked. Aiko was allowed to keep her certificate because the board was not convinced that she was totally lacking in democratic ideals.

The hearing consumed a year of their lives and stripped them of their livelihood. John and Aiko found it very difficult to get jobs. As John observed, "ex-schoolteachers in their forties, even those who aren't colored Red, are not much in demand in the labor market." Aiko applied, without success, to teach at private schools. John had no luck in obtaining research jobs. Aiko eventually went to work for the Honolulu Record, a pro-labor newspaper, traveling to the neighbor islands to build its circulation on the plantations. She did this for two years, developing extensive contact with ILWU members everywhere.

It was union leader Art Rutledge who lent John a hand. As polarized as their politics were—Rutledge was stridently anti-Communist—their friendship had been built, since 1939, on their shared "faith in the Hawaiian labor movement and faith that the unions would help build equality and fraternity among the many nationalities of Hawaii." Rutledge now showed his respect for John's commitment to labor by hiring him as a researcher and general office assistant for his Labor Research Bureau.

John again immersed himself in preparing memoranda and other documents for negotiations, hearings, and meetings. He also produced histories of the three locals supporting the Bureau: the Teamsters, the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, and the Transit Workers' Union. His next project was a labor history series for the Honolulu Record entitled "Looking Backward," for which John spent many hours poring over old newspaper files.

Then in April 1950 the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities came to Hawaii, invited by the Territorial Legislature to investigate Communist activity in the islands. Much of the information and misinformation that had been generated about the subject of John and Aiko's case was produced again. In all, 66 people were called before the Committee. John was among the group known as the "Reluctant 39" who refused to testify on constitutional grounds.

The "Reluctant 39" were indicted but never convicted for refusing to answer the Committee's questions since the U.S. Supreme Court, in a Colorado case, upheld the individual's right to invoke the Fifth Amendment, that is, the right to remain silent (Holmes 1975). Following this precedent, the 39 in Hawaii were all acquitted in January 1951.

Just three days before he was subpoenaed by the House Committee, John had been relieved of his position with the Labor Research Bureau due to pressure from anti-Communist union officials on the West Coast. At this stage, having no alternative, John joined Aiko in selling the Honolulu Record. At first he was uncomfortable with the job: “There is no occupation for which I am less fitted, for I have a terribly bad memory for names and faces, I am always reserved and shy socially and I dislike pressing people to spend their money.” However, he believed the Honolulu Record was a good newspaper and continued the selling trips, which became more enjoyable as he got to know the plantations and plantation people.

The trips came to an end when, on August 28, 1951, John was arrested by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Along with six others, he was charged with violating the Smith Act—conspiring to advocate and to teach the overthrow of the U.S. government by force and violence.[10] As part of the group that came to be known as the “Hawaii Seven,” John was once again involved in a battle against antiunion politicians and officials of the federal government, all claiming to protect the islands from the Communist “threat.”

The trial of the Hawaii Seven was one of sixteen such proceedings that took place across the country during this period (Holmes 1975:291). In this case, the seven defendants refused to take the stand, so the trial consisted of testimony from witnesses for both sides.

John was hired by his attorneys to prepare for the defense. His research spawned the defendants’ successful “challenge to the Federal jury list, which was made up predominantly of haole businessman.” There were, however, other obstacles to a fair trial: unreasonably high bail, a biased judge, and hostile media coverage. Toward the end of the proceedings, John wrote:

> If this case is decided on the evidence, the Seven will be acquitted. But anyone who knows a little history knows that political trials are not decided upon evidence of guilt or innocence. Their outcome depends upon the balance of forces in the country or community where the trials take place.

In June 1953, the Hawaii Seven were convicted of violating the Smith Act. The six men were sentenced to five years in prison and fined 5000 dollars. The woman received a three-year sentence and a 2000-dollar fine.

The Seven appealed the verdict but were to wait several anxious years for the outcome. In June 1957, in a California case involving fourteen Communist Party leaders, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned their conviction, ruling that "the Smith Act did not prohibit the advocacy and teaching of the overthrow of the government—provided it was not accompanied by overt action" (Zalburg 1979:399). Teaching, in itself, was protected by the First Amendment. It was also ruled that the three-year statute of limitations that applied to the case had run out, contrary to the Government's argument. The effect of the Supreme Court's decision in the California case was the reversal of the Hawaii Seven's conviction by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco on January 20, 1958, eight and a half years after the original arrests of the Seven (Zalburg 1979:400).

Beginning with their suspension in 1947 and ending with John's involvement in the Hawaii Smith Act trial, the Reineckes struggled through the most destructive period of anti-Communist paranoia in Hawaii. On no occasion did they compromise their belief in democratic ideals and their commitment to basic social change.

7. ACADEMICS AND ACTIVISM

The years following the Smith Act trial, while less turbulent, were no less active for John. He went back to work for the Honolulu Record, taking part in almost every phase of its operation from production to sales. In 1958, when the Record ceased publication, Art Rutledge asked him to return to working for the unions at Unity House, an umbrella organization formed in 1951 to provide support services to the Hawaii Teamsters and the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union. For the next decade, John resumed his duties as a full-time researcher, negotiator, and all-around office assistant. He worked with the rank and file, sometimes helping to prepare grievances and even joining their picket lines when such help was needed.

He also spent much of his time researching Hawaii's labor history and wrote a number of pieces, including "Labor Disturbances in Hawaii: 1890-1925," and "A History of Local 5: Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union (AFL-CIO)." During this period, six years went into collecting and processing material for a book that was published in 1979, Feigned Necessity: Hawaii's Attempt to Obtain Chinese Contract Labor, 1921-1923.

In the mid-1960s, John found himself devoting more time to pidgin and creole studies, largely due to the encouragement of Dr. Stanley Tsuzaki in the University of Hawaii's Linguistics Department. It was with Tsuzaki that John collaborated on an annotated bibliography of English in Hawaii and on an article on Hawaiian loanwords. Tsuzaki was also the moving force behind the publication in 1969 of John's master's thesis, Language and Dialect in Hawaii.

There was an international conference on pidgin and creole languages in Mona, Jamaica, in 1968. This meeting greatly excited John, for it marked the coming of age of the field. It must have been gratifying as well to realize that his work of thirty years earlier now served as a valuable basic reference for researchers.

Readers of this volume are well aware of John's vital role in the development of the field in the eighteen years since the Mona conference. In 1970, John undertook the compilation of the first comprehensive annotated bibliography of pidgin and creole languages, devoting himself full time to the task.[11] Five years later, this monumental and much-awaited volume was published. John's next project was the field's quarterly newsletter, The Carrier Pidgin, which he edited from 1976 until January 1982. In over half a century, John amassed the largest and most valuable collection on pidgin and creole languages in the world.[12] Understandably, he was long regarded by many as the main source of information in the field.

Less well known, perhaps, but equally appreciated was John's personal interest in the scholarly development of the younger generation of researchers. His support of their work went beyond editorial and substantive commentary on papers; he would sometimes provide travel funds so that these papers could reach their audiences. John was both mentor and benefactor, generous with his knowledge, time, and resources.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, John continued his active support of numerous local, national, and international causes: the antiwar movement, civil liberties cases such as those of East-West Center grantee Chen Yu-Hsi and University of Hawaii professor Oliver Lee, the American Civil Liberties Union, Amnesty International, the University of Hawaii's Ethnic Studies Program, the Labor-Community Alliance, and the Hawaii Union of Socialists and their bookstore. He gave hundreds of hours to these causes, working on support committees, writing letters, doing research. And he and Aiko were no strangers to the picket lines and demonstrations of this period.

In 1976, a group of John and Aiko's friends decided it was time to redress an old injustice: their dismissal twenty-eight years before by the Territorial Department of Public Instruction. The Committee for Justice for the Reineckes was formed and successfully petitioned the State Board of Education to appoint a committee to reexamine their case. In the fall of 1976, following the committee's recommendations, the Board voted in favor of exoneration, revoking John and Aiko's dismissal and recommending financial restitution by the State Legislature. This body lifted the statute of limitations on the case, whereupon attorney Harriet Bouslog filed a suit against the State for violation of the Reineckes' constitutional rights, for back salaries, and for their lost pensions. On June 30, 1978, John and Aiko accepted an out-of-court settlement of 250,000 dollars for violation of their constitutional rights, and thus the thirty-year-old case was ended. According to John, the most important outcome of the reopening of their case was that the Board of Education explicitly reaffirmed the Department of Education's policy of academic and political freedom for all teachers, staff, and students.

From 1980 until his death, John served on the Advisory Committee for the Oral History Project undertaken by the Ethnic Studies Program at the University of Hawaii. From July 1980 to June 1981, he was Humanities Scholar for the Project on the Social History of Kona. In this capacity, John helped in the planning and implementation of the project proposal, acted as a community liaison, and participated in meetings with the people of Kona. It was an enjoyable and satisfying experience for John, for the work took him back to the area on the Big Island where, in 1927, he first began to feel at home in Hawaii.

8. CONCLUSION

A young Venezuelan friend wrote to Aiko upon learning of John's death:

> Working on pidgins and creoles, John helped linguists and others understand and esteem many varieties and tongues which were despised or ignored. As a fighter for civil rights, he was no less an example.[13]

John's steadfast commitment to a working democracy for people everywhere stands as an example for us all. As an academician and an activist, John made a difference in the lives of the people of Hawaii. Our own efforts must go beyond research and teaching if we are also to make a difference in our communities. In John Reinecke, we had a compassionate and courageous man who showed us how this goal can be achieved.

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WILLIAM GREENFIELD, A NEGLECTED PIONEER CREOLIST

John E. Reinecke

I am here not to present any new ideas, but in an act of piety, to light a stick of incense before the tablet of a man who deserved to be known as, but who did not become, one of the seminal figures in creole studies. I refer to the philologist William Greenfield, superintendent of the editorial department of the British and Foreign Bible Society, author of A defence of the Surinam Negro- English version of the New Testament founded on the history of the Negro-English version, a view of the situation, population, and history of Surinam, a philological analysis of the language, and a careful examination of the version; in reply to the animadversions of an anonymous writer in the Edinburgh Christian Instructor (London, Samuel Bagster, 1830, iv+76 pages, price two shillings).[1]

In 1830 theoretical and comparative writing on creoles was practically nonexistent—this although the Lutherans and the Moravians (United Brethren) had done good work in describing Negerhollands and translating the Scriptures into that Creole; the Moravians had done similar work with Surinam Negro-English; and the Wesleyans with the Creole Portuguese of Ceylon. Greenfield was a pioneer in pointing out that Negro-English, and by implication any creole, was a language in its own right, adequate for practically any purpose, with its own dignity. He was a pioneer also in comparing one creole with another, in this instance Surinam Negro-English and Virgin Islands Creole Dutch. Yet he remains unknown. I have seen only a single reference to Greenfield's Defence in the writing of any creolist.[2]

This work is hard to come by. Voorhoeve and Donicie in their bibliography of Sranan listed it as not seen, from which I conclude that there are no known copies in the Netherlands or Surinam. The Bibliothèque National does not list it but the Schuchardt Bibliothek at Graz does. The United States has two

known copies, at Harvard University and in the Newberry Library. There are copies in the British Museum and in the library of the Bible Society, and probably a few more have survived elsewhere in Great Britain. In view of its scarcity, a summary of the pamphlet's contents and an account of the circumstances of its publication may be of interest.

First, a few facts about Greenfield himself.[3] Of Scottish parentage, he was born in London on April 1, 1799. Left fatherless at two, he spent his childhood in Scotland and returned to London in 1810. There his maternal uncles saw to his education, with emphasis on languages, and apprenticed him to a bookbinder. In 1825, with much solid study already behind him, he left business to devote himself to biblical languages and criticism. His first book, The comprehensive Bible, was published in 1827. Among his other books, A Greek lexicon to the New Testament (1829) reached its 23rd edition early in this century. Not only was Greenfield a profound scholar in the biblical languages, he had also a phenomenal talent for acquiring living languages. His Defence of the Serampore Mahratta version of the New Testament (1829) brought him to the notice of the Bible Society, which employed him about April of 1830. With no previous knowledge of Marathi, he had written the pamphlet in five weeks.[4]

> While nineteen months in the society's service Greenfield wrote upon twelve European, five Asiatic, one African, and three American languages, and acquired considerable knowledge of Peruvian, Negro-English, Chippeway, and Berber ... He also projected a grammar in thirty languages, but in the midst of his labours he was struck down by brain fever, dying at Islington on 5 Nov. 1832 ... He left a widow and five children, on whose behalf a subscription was opened.[5]

Nor was Greenfield one to treat translation of the Scriptures lightly; a devout man, he looked upon the Bible as "The Pillar of Divine Truth immoveably fixed on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets."[6]

Now for his 1830 Defence. In 1829, the Society published for the Moravians in Surinam an edition of a thousand copies of the New Testament in Negro-English (Sranan Tongo), the culmination of many years of study and writing by the missionaries.[7] In December of that year the Edinburgh Christian Instructor (ECI) printed a brief attack upon the translation and its sponsors by an anonymous correspondent, said to be the

journal's founder, the eminent Scottish theologian—and abolitionist—Dr. Andrew Thomson, who at that time knew it only from an excerpt.[8] Ignorant of Surinam's linguistic history and actuality (and of Dutch), Thomson rebuked the Brethren for creating a new language by "putting the broken English of the Negroes ... into a written and permanent form," and for being "at the pains to embody their barbarous, mixed, imperfect phrase in the pages of schoolbooks, and to perpetuate all its disadvantages and evil consequences by shutting them up to it as the vehicle of God's word," thus degrading the people whose welfare was aimed at and tending to throw burlesque on the Scriptures in the eyes of the whites. While he would approve translation of the Bible into "the spoken [native] language of a district, however defective and uncouth," he saw as ludicrous its translation into "the blundering phraseology of foreigners when attempting to leave off their original tongue, and to adopt that which is used by the people among whom they have come to dwell." "Why," he asked, "are not the children taught English?" As for the Society, "they have a sort of instinctive propensity to go wrong on all matters touching the purity and dignity of the Bible."

The Rev. C. Ign. La Trobe, a Moravian, promptly replied, but his letter was not printed until May of 1830, when Thomson had been able to peruse the whole translation, and it was embedded in an answer ten times as long.[9]

La Trobe made in brief most of the points later elaborated by Greenfield. The critic had admitted that translation into a spoken dialect would be "wise as well as benevolent." Very well, La Trobe pointed out, Negro-English was the spoken language of over 60,000 Negroes, almost the entire population of Surinam, as well as of their masters in communicating with them. Far from being the blundering phraseology of immigrants, Negro-English was already established when the missionaries arrived (in 1738) and was the only tongue the Negroes knew. "You seem to forget," he reminded the correspondent, "that Surinam is a Dutch colony." Why is English not taught the children? "Because English is not the language of the country." What is called Negro-English "is, in fact, a dialect compounded of Portuguese, Dutch, Negro, and English, and might as well be called _broken Dutch_."

This letter, in Greenfield's words, "was only made the basis of a more extended and unmeasured attack, and the writer endeavoured to turn the whole into ridicule and contempt."[10] Thomson first takes issue with the statement that Negro-

English is a mixed dialect which might as well be called broken Dutch. Portuguese and Negro (African) words, he asserts, are few in the dialect, and Dutch words are not numerous enough to "properly give it its distinctive appelation."[11] To prove this point he then devotes four pages to parallel passages from the Negro-English Testament, a literal English translation of the Negro-English Testament, and the literary English and Dutch translations. Admitting that he is not equipped to clinch his point by adding a translation into broken Dutch, he challenges La Trobe to do so, and confidently predicts that such a comparison will prove English predominant.[12]

Thomson ridicules at length the "broken English" of the translation as "most ludicrous and altogether inconsistent with that decorous and seemly garb in which the Word of God should be presented to the public."[13] He lists several Negro-English expressions which in literal translation strike him as "infantine"; and he points out that La Trobe himself had at first found the "oddity" of the language "preposterous and absurd." He applies the epithets "gibberish" and "babyish lingo" to the dialect. In no way, however, does he depreciate or blame its speakers. He sees their language "as a dialect which the poor victims of rapine and oppression had been left to pick up the best way they could, in their intercourse with those who tyrannised over them."[14] He blames the Moravians for prolonging their servitude by putting upon them "additional mockery, and another badge of humiliation, and a stronger fetter still to bind them down to their unhappy fate."[15] He adds that "negroes and people of colour"—presumably in the British colonies—"have been provoked to anger with it as an affront put upon their unhappy race."[16]

Still resistant to La Trobe's reminder that English is not the language of Surinam, Thomson insists that the Brethren could and should have converted the slaves' broken English into good English.

> They had everything in their power for this purpose. They had the composition of the school-books. They had the teaching of the children and adults ... There was scarcely any old Negro or modern Portuguese to extirpate. A great proportion of the Dutch was so exceedingly like the English, that a complete conversion of the one into the other would have been attended with no difficulty. And what remained of unchangeable Mynheer, could have been got rid of by the expenditure of a little birch and patience.[17]

Or, if the language is really broken Dutch, they should be teaching and translating in "classical Dutch."

The translation had its defenders as well as its detractors. Indeed, a writer in the Fife Herald had made some telling points against Thomson which Greenfield incorporated in his Defence. But the Bible Society must have been apprehensive of the persuasiveness of the attack in the Christian Instructor as well as stung by its tone.[18] So Greenfield set himself to demolish the anonymous critic, point by point, not a difficult task in view of his superior linguistic equipment.

Greenfield first sketches the history of Surinam,[19] not without some blind spots of his own. He accounts for the Portuguese element in Negro-English by supposing that the Portuguese had held Surinam "at some remote period." He asserts that the free (Bush) Negroes, the "Seramicas" and "Oucas," share essentially the language of the slaves and is ignorant of the high proportion of Portuguese words in the "Seramica" lexicon. He never refers to the processes by which the initial broken English of the slaves passed into a stable language. He is at pains to prove two things: that Negro-English is an established and rule-governed language and that lexically it is heavily Dutch as well as English—a truly mixed language. He points out that

> The English having been the first regular and permanent settlers, many English words would be acquired by the Negroes, and form a considerable portion of their language; but as we have not had possession of that country for any considerable period since 1660, ... it is obvious that it can no longer be denominated "broken English," or English attempted to be spoken by the Negroes endeavouring to leave off their own tongue. The Dutch having retained possession of Surinam since that year up to the present time, with but few and short interruptions, a vast number of Dutch words and phrases would naturally be intermingled with, and partially supersede, the preceding speech of the Negroes, during such a long course of years.[20]

In view of the close correspondence of so many English and Dutch words, he agrees with La Trobe that the language may as well be called Negro-Dutch as Negro-English. In addition, there naturally are some African and Indian words.[21]

Greenfield relies heavily on Stedman's Narrative of an expedi tion to Surinam, from the year 1772 to 1777. Stedman, who professed to have become in time "a perfect master" of Negro-English, could not understand it upon his arrival, nor did

the Negroes understand Dutch.[22] He identified Negro-English as a mixed language and praised it as "so sweet, so sonorous and soft, that the genteelest Europeans in Surinam speak little else."[23] In two pages of parallel columns, Greenfield points out the identity between words quoted by Stedman and those in the translation.[24]

After explaining the Moravians' orthography, Greenfield discusses some of the correspondences between Negro-English words on the one hand and English and/or Dutch words on the other, such a correspondence "being found to exist among all cognate languages."[25] He says:

> As well then might an Englishman contend that Dutch was merely broken English, or a Dutchman that English was not broken Dutch, and that Englishmen and Dutchmen could understand each other, as that any one should assert that the Negro-English is nothing but broken English, and therefore that English would be intelligible to the Negroes, or Negro-English to Englishmen.[26]

As his own experiments showed, if a monolingual English speaker hears Negro-English read aloud, he "may recognize a few unconnected words from their affinity to English, but any thing like a correct or general comprehension of the sense will be found utterly impossible."[27] He goes on to argue that

> Something more in fact is requisite than the similarity of a few vocables in order to render language intelligble. Identity of signification, accuracy of pronunciation, and sameness of grammatical inflection and syntax, are essentially necessary .. Now besides the mixed character of the vocabulary, the changes in the signification of words, and the great dissimilarity in the pronunciation of such as are derived from the English or Dutch, … the Negro-English is essentially different from these languages in its grammatical inflections, or rather, in the mode in which these inflections are supplied.[28]

Using the paradigms of traditional grammar, Greenfield shows how English, Negro-English, and Dutch handle articles and nouns, adjectival comparison, pronouns, and verbs.[29] He concludes:

> From the preceding comparative view of the grammatical inflexion of these languages, I apprehend it will be obvious that in this respect the Negro-English differs as much from the English and Dutch as these languages do from each other.[30]

Just as "superior simplicity, and general freedom from grammatical forms" differentiates English from Dutch, and the Romance languages from Latin, so still further development along the same line characterizes Negro-English.[31] The manner in which inflections are replaced by means of auxiliary verbs,

> if not so difficult of acquirement, is certainly as difficult to understand before the acquisition, and would present a continual barrier to the correct apprehension of the language by a stranger. This combined with a difference of pronunciation, the construction of words in sentences, and the variation in the vocabulary, both with respect to the changes in the signification of words and the adoption of foreign words, would render a language decidedly unintelligible to persons speaking another, though it were originally and essentially the same.[32]

To illustrate this point further, Greenfield accepts the critic's challenge to La Trobe and prints in parallel columns the first chapter of the Gospel of John in Negro-English, English, Dutch, and "Danish-Creole" (Negerhollands).[33] This was the first published comparison of creole languages, preceding by 40 years Van Name's comparison of Caribbean creoles.[34] He follows this up with a table of all the Negro-English words in the chapter with their glosses in English, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, and French,[35] indicating the presumed etymology of each word by printing its presumed sourceword(s) in small caps. In view of the elementary development of phonological studies in 1830, and Greenfield's willingness to settle doubtful etymologies in favor of a Dutch or a Dutch-plus-English source, it is not surprising that he found his sample proved La Trobe's assertion that the Negroes' speech was as much Dutch as English.[36] But, whether Negro-Dutch or Negro-English, "it is quite as dissimilar to English or Dutch as these languages are to each other, and certainly much more so than the Spanish or Portuguese are to one another." He goes on to say that "if, however, separate versions were necessary and proper in these cognate languages, upon what grounds can the Negro-English version be deemed unnecessary and improper?"[37]

Returning to his opponent's assertion that Negro-English is only broken English, Greenfield again emphasizes its multiple origins. In this it is no different from other languages, including English.

> The process by which they have been framed is precisely that which is presented by the Negro-English, i.e. by corruption and intermixture, and the subsequent invention of new terms, by compounding or otherwise changing those already existing.[38]

He quotes the writer in the Fife Herald, who had pointed out that English was once despised as "a barbarous jargon, neither good French nor pure Saxon," that Scots dialect was long treated with contempt, and that Hindustani until recently had been scorned as a camp (Oordu) language, "a farrago of corruptions."[39] "Comparatively rude and uncultivated" Greenfield concedes Negro-English to be, but no more so than the language of Wickliffe compared with the elegance and copiousness of contemporary English. Greenfield dismisses any idea of racial inferiority.

> The human mind is the same in every clime; and accordingly we find nearly the same process adopted in the formation of language in every country. The Negroes have been proved to be in no degree inferior to other nations in solidity of judgment, or fertility of imagination.[40]

It follows that they can perfect their language as Englishmen have perfected theirs. Meanwhile, their dialect, "however rude and barbarous it may be deemed, is capable of expressing the great truths of Christianity with accuracy and precision."[41] To demonstrate this, he prints a literal interlinear translation of the first chapter of John.[42]

Thomson had sought to ridicule Negro-English by printing "an etymological and literal translation of select passages"[43]—a trick which Greenfield gravely rebukes as "a gross misrepresentation of the sense, and a burlesque unworthy of a Christian writer."[44] Any cognate language, he points out, can be rendered ludicrous by such ultraliteral translation, and he offers a number of illustrations such as Wat voor een boek is dat? (What book is that?) and snuitdoek (nose cloth = handkerchief) to match the critic's mi takki tangi na Gado (I give thanks to God), oemangado (goddess), and so forth."[45] To illustrate this point further, he gives a number of scriptural passages in

parallel lines: “Negro-English in juxtaposition with the broken English of our opponent, then a line of broken Dutch, and finally with the correct sense of each passage—that sense in which it would be understood by the Negroes.”[46] Finally he drives home the central idea of the Defence:

> [A]ll reasonings a priori from the apparent unfitness and incongruity of words founded upon any other language than that which is the subject of discussion must necessarily be erroneous and fallacious. The only true mode of judging is to ascertain whether a given word or expression be in accordance with the nature and genius of the language to which it belongs, and whether certain modes of speech be current among the people who speak it. If such be the case, however uncouth and ridiculous they may appear to foreigners, they will uniformly be found to be at least proper, if not elegant, in the eyes of the natives … [A]nd, therefore, the sacred Scriptures cannot be degraded and rendered ridiculous in the eyes of the Negroes (who are the only persons concerned) by the Negro-English version.[47]

Having dealt with “every thing like argument adduced by our opponent,” Greenfield recapitulates his argument under seven points.[48] Of these, the third is really an afterthought in which he scathingly ridicules the idea that a handful of German missionaries in a Dutch colony could, by putting the slaves to school, substitute English for their native tongue, Negro-English. He adduces several examples of failure to uproot established languages, the first being the Normans’ attempt to substitute French for English.[49] He again emphasizes that the Gospel is now presented to the Negroes of Surinam in their own language, the language in which they think and which they love[50]—for he was ignorant of the degree to which the translators had elevated their version from vernacular Sranan.[51]

Greenfield had clearly won the battle, but the anonymous animadverter won the war. The Defence was soon forgotten and its arguments in defense of creole (and pidgin) languages had to be formulated by later generations, arguing against critics often more extreme than Thomson.[52] A century and a half after Greenfield the same argument still goes on in much the same terms as in 1830.

APPENDIX

Excerpt from letter, April 2, 1980, William A. Stewart to John E. Reinecke.

I read somewhere that there was quite a bit of rivalry, if not animosity, between Edinburgh theologians and the BFBS in Greenfield's day. But while this may have been one (perhaps the single most important) motive for Thomson's attack, I doubt that it serves to explain why Da njoe testament va wi masra en helpiman Jesus Christus was seen as providing an important issue on which to attack the BFBS. That is, I doubt that the editor of the ECI or Thomson would have gotten all that excited about it, had it simply showed up at the ECI office as a complimentary copy from the BFBS of just one more biblical translation into just one more obscure language, even if a depreciated one. (Remember that there had already been translations of the New Testament into Yiddish—called "Judeo-Polish" by Greenfield because of where it was primarily used—without calling forth the wrath of the Edinburgh theologians.) No, there must have been some other reason, some other motive. What might it have been, you ask? Consider the following:

(1) When he published his first attack on Da njoe testament in the ECI, Thomson had actually not yet seen a copy or it. This means that someone—not close by, since otherwise he could have been furnished a copy—wrote him about it, giving excerpts and, quite probably, the bill of complaint. Who might this have been?

(2) If indeed the author of the ECI attack on Da njoe testa ment was the famous Scottish theologican Andrew Thomson, he had already (by 1829) had a long and strong involvement in the Abolitionist movement, and hence probably close contacts with educated free blacks in the (British) West Indies.

(3) The basic concerns of the ECI attack are:

   (a) (the misconception) that Da njoe testament was intended for, and to be used with, the slave population of the British West Indies;

   (b) that the language of Da njoe testament would be seen as ludicrous by English-speaking whites, and hence reflect badly on the image of "Negroes and persons of colour."

> These are hardly concerns which one would expect to originate with a Scottish theologian, abolitionist or no. They are, however, uppermost in the mind, over a quarter of a century later, of the black preacher, educator, and erstwhile nationalist Alexander Crummel, quoted in my article in the Gage volume, and I take them to be essentially black bourgeois imagemakers' concerns.

From the above considerations, I am led to suspect that what happened was that some one or more of Thomson's black West Indian correspondents, offended by Da njoe testament and essentially misunderstanding its origin and purpose, appealed to this famous and influential abolitionist friend. And he, motivated by uninformed sympathy (perhaps reinforced by the old animosity against the BFBS) answered the call.

Theoretical Perspectives

SOME POSSIBLE AFRICAN CREOLES: A PILOT STUDY

M. Lionel Bender

1. INTRODUCTION

One of the most important events in the field of creole studies in the latter half of this century is likely to be the publication of Derek Bickerton's Roots of Language (1981). As just one of many breakthroughs, it brings about a dramatic restructuring of our thinking about creole characteristics in the syntactic and semantic dimensions. Previous attempts to characterize languages as possible postcreoles are outmoded by this restructuring (e.g., Southworth 1971, Bender 1976b).

Another direction in which Bickerton takes a daring step is that of the social setting of creolization. Creoles are seen as arising from prior pidgins which (1) existed for no more than a generation, and (2) arose in a population where no more than 20 percent are speakers of the dominant language, and (3) the remaining 80 percent or more speak languages of diverse groups (Bickerton 1981:4). The three conditions numbered above are strong additional constraints imposed in addition to the familiar ones usually mentioned (e.g., by DeCamp 1971:15-6). The additional requirements result in limiting creoles to varieties which arose in the European colonial era, essentially "plantation society." Archetypal of this setting is that of Hawaii in the late 19th-and early 20th-century period. Bickerton makes this his prime example, given that it is the only one for which we have or are able to get extensive data on both the pidgin of the early period and its subsequent creole.

But it is not only Europeans who are capable of "Cartesian savagery", the picturesque term for European colonialism ascribed to the French sociologist Roger Bastide (Bickerton 1981:300). Something similar may have happened in other areas. To cite only three possible examples: Chinese incursion

into what is now Vietnam, more than 2000 years ago; Arab activities in southern Sudan up to the present time; and Ethiopian expansion to the south and west in ancient and modern times. Bickerton himself is looking into the Vietnamese situation (could Vietnamese itself possible be a post-Creole?). The data available to me on Ki-Nubi, a probable Arabic-based Creole of southern Sudan, is scanty but suggestive (Abdon 1975) and will be examined in this paper. A recent book on Ki-Nubi by Bernd Heine is not available at this time. Recent Ethiopian cases, such as the known transporting of farm laborers by late 19th-century warlords (Bender 1975:62) may have resulted in creolization situations, but data is lacking. The relocating of Berta, “Mao,” and Gumuz speakers in the area of the Diddesa bridge in Wellagga Province (Bender 1975:56, 61, 72) has resulted in the use of Oromo as a lingua franca rather than development of a pidgin or pidgins, as far as I know, but the matter has really not been looked into, and the critical turn-of-the-century period may have left no written records.

John Reinecke, for whom this volume is a memorial, was a pioneer in the area of non-European-based Creoles. It is to his memory and in his spirit of inquiry that I dedicate this modest work. In the ensuing paragraphs I shall look into several possible cases of postcreoles in Africa:

(1) Amharic is a possibility, dating from the era of the fall of Aksum and the establishment of an Amhara colony beginning about 1600 years ago.
(2) Kunama, a previously “isolated” language of Eritrea, is now classified in Nilo-Saharan, but shows traces of possibly very strong external influences. It has been on the margins of the Ethiopian political entity for at least 1000 years.
(3) Songay is an important language of the middle Niger River in several West African countries. Robert Nicolaï (this volume) suggests a possible creole origin dating back to prehistoric times (perhaps to the fifth century, which saw the beginning of the first empire—that of Ghana).
(4) Ki-Nubi, mentioned above, dates back to the late 19th century.
(5) Swahili, although clearly a Bantu language, shows extensive Arabic and other-language influence, and arose in a trading/colonizing situation along the middle East African coast.

(6) Hausa has long had a mystique in some quarters as being isolated or impossible to classify. However, this assumption was shown to be unecessary, if not downright obscurantist, by the work of Greenberg, Newman, and others, who demonstrated that it is clearly a member of the Chadic Family of Afroasiatic, influenced by Arabic, Kanuri, and other languages to a considerable, but not remarkable, extent.

For control purposes, two acknowledged pidgins, S.I.E. ("Simplified Italian of Eritrea"; see Habte-Maryam 1976) and Cameroon Pidgin English are also considered, as well as English, German, French, and Dongolese Nubian, the latter an "orthodox" African language (of the Nubian subfamily of East Sudanic, Nilo-Saharan phylum).

2. AMHARIC

Robert Hetzron (especially Hetzron 1972) has provided strong evidence that Amharic is not descended directly from Giiz, the classical language of Ethiopia. Rather, Giiz, together with Tigre and Tigrinya, make up North Ethio-Semitic, while proto-South Ethio-Semitic was spoken alongside Giiz in Aksum prior to its final fall in about A.D. 970. Long before this time, as early as perhaps A.D. 350, Aksumite conquerers had started a colony in what later became the Amhara region. By 850, Amhara was a distinct region: its location (ca. 1520) was on the east bank of the Abbay (Blue Nile) River between the Bashilo and Wenchat rivers in modern Wello Province (Levine 1974:76).

Amhara seems to have been a military colony, not a plantation society, and there is no reason to believe imported labor was necessary in the economy of that time, although slaving on a small scale among the neighboring "Shanqilla" (Black) peoples has been a persistent practice in Ethiopian imperial history. The indigenous population of Amhara was probably Agew (speaking Central Cushitic languages), given that these were, as far we we know, the ubiquitous inhabitants of northern highland Ethiopia at the time. However, by the 16th and early 17th centuries, Amhara had several subject regions of its own, speaking Amharic (Levine 1974:72). Almeida, the European visitor and chronicler of these times, also mentions Amharic as the lingua franca of an area having a multitude of tongues. (Levine 1974:46, fn. 2).

Given that the earliest documents of Amharic are song texts in praise of the Emperor, and that they may well represent a Pidgin Amharic spoken by soldiers, it seems reasonable to suppose that the linguistic makeup of Amhara in early times may have been as follows:

Amharic superstrate
military Pidgin-Amharic
Agew and other substrate

While Amharic (perhaps better: pre-Amharic) was the changing variety of the old proto-South-Ethiosemitic spoken in the Amhara region, other sister varieties (pre-Gafat, pre-Harari, etc.) were developing in similar situations across the Blue Nile to the west and to the east and south.

Meanwhile, political control of the largest remnant of Aksum had passed into the hands of Agew-speaking usurpers, known as the Zagwe Dynasty, in the rugged mountainous region north of Amhara known as Lasta (1137-1370). An Amhara pretender, Yikunno Amlak, led a military expedition which ended Zagwe control and made him Emperor in 1270. By the time of Amda Siyon (1314-1344), those enigmatic first songs are attested: Hailu Fullas (personal communication, about 1976) suggested that the difficulties scholars have had with them may reflect a pidgin basis.

Further evidence of the multilingual ambience of early Amhara society could be presented: Encounters with various groups, almost certainly speaking a variety of other languages, are documented from at least the 12th century onward. (For details, see Bender 1976b.) The present-day linguistic map of Ethiopia (see especially the one in Bender et al., 1976b) shows a great variety of Cushitic, Omotic, and Nilo-Saharan languages in retreat around the edges of the present-day expanding Amharic heartland.

Besides the existence of a multilingual substratum, social stratification has been posited as another necessary condition for pidginization/creolization. This has been stated in a number of ways. Sidney Mintz (1971:486), for example, has referred to the existence of distinct independent hierarchies. The case for Amhara is not as clear as that for plantation societies or for multicaste villages of India (Southworth 1971), but Levine (1974:122-4 and elsewhere) does mention that both ancient Aksum and Amhara society had relatively autonomous and

strongly hierarchical religious and political spheres. Furthermore, caste-bound artisans are found in such occupations as leather, metal-working, potting, and hunting.

Nevertheless, there is no evidence that the strong conditions of Bickerton were met in the development of Amharic (a single-generational pidgin and a 20 percent or less minority of superstrate speakers). In fact, the historical picture we have is supportive of the opposite: Probably one or more pidgins developed and persisted for generations in military conscription situations (and also probably in other “colonies” such as Gafat and Harer), and quite possibly there were times when superstrate speakers existed in sizable pluralities among the local populace, given that a migration away from a besieged political entity was involved. This opinion is opposed to the earlier one expressed by Bender and Hailu (1978: 3-10), and in my case supersedes the earlier one.

3. OTHER LANGUAGES

The discussion of languages other than Amharic will be briefer, since I have nothing new to add to earlier views in some cases, and in others there is simply very little data available to anyone.

3.1. Swahili

Whiteley (1969; especially II, “Early History”) is the best source for the question of the origin of Swahili. The earliest suggested documentation of Swahili (10th century) is very problematical (1969:28-34), and even records of the 16th to 17th centuries are difficult to interpret, since there is no way to distinguish Swahili from the reflexes of general Bantu roots in other languages (1969:36). When the Portuguese arrived at Kilwa (ca. 1502), the “Moors” and Africans already formed a single society (1969:37). Arabic was very likely preeminent, although Bantu languages had probably been on the coast since at least the 10th century. Whiteley argues that there was no real need for a lingua franca until caravan trade with the interior became important, beginning in the period 1800-1850 (1969:39-40, 42).

Swahili is a nontonal, heavily Arabic-influenced Bantu language, whose base is probably a language or languages of the Nyika group (Polomé 1967:29-30). There is no good evidence that one need assume anything in the origin of Swahili other than extensive Arabic influence (and minor influence from Por-

tuguese, English, Persian, and others) through bilingualism and later use as a trade language. The strong creole conditions of Bickerton seem not to have been met in the Swahili case. In fact, Heine (1970:82, paragraph 15, c) argues that Swahili can be called a "mixed language" to no greater extent than can English.

3.2. Hausa

According to Heine (1970:151-3), Hausa would seem to be the prime example of a trade language in the literal sense. Although often learned by others, Hausa more often remains a communal language, and no mention is made of possible hybridization. Only in northern Nigeria and neighboring countries does Hausa serve to any great extent as a lingua franca. In structure, Hausa remains tonal and retains grammatical gender, "broken plurals," and other traits not expected in a situation of simplification.

3.3. Songay

This is another language which has had the reputation of being an isolate, though with more justification than Hausa or Kunama, since its classification still raises severe problems: Greenberg classifies it as Nilo-Saharan; Creissels (1981) considers it as close to Mande as to Nilo-Saharan; while Nicolaï (this volume) suggests it is perhaps a postcreole). Since Nicolaï deals with this question in depth, I shall say little more here. Heine (1970: 159-61) makes it clear that Songay is less prominent now than in the past, but that it still serves as a lingua franca in widely distributed areas. The Songay people were already Islamized by the 11th century and reached a peak of political power in the western Sudan by the 15th to 16th centuries. Songay political power collapsed as a result of Moroccan invasions at about the end of the 16th century. Like Amharic, Songay was used in politico-military as well as trade contexts.

Note that Songay (Prost 1956: Soṅay; often "Songhai, Sonrhai") is not to be confused with Chadic Sonrai.

3.4. Kunama

Little is known of the history of the Kunama people. The language was considered an isolate in Greenberg's first African classification, but was grouped with East Sudanic, Central Su-

danic, and Berta in later revisions (but as a coordinate family under Nilo-Saharan by Bender 1976a). It is not known as a lingua franca, nor has a suggestion of hybridization been put forth, as far as I know—though there is the curious suggestion of Trombetti (1910–1911) that Kunama is related to Nama "Hottentot." The Kunama and their East Sudanic neighbors, the Nera ("Barya"), have been located in the Sudan-Ethiopia border area for over a millenium, according to Arab sources (see Thompson forthcoming). A number of curious Afroasiatic-1ike traits (e.g., prefix conjugation; verb-final order, as in Ethiopian Afroasiatic languages; some individual morphemes such as -ende 'like, as,' cf. Amharic ɩndə- with the same meaning) raise questions about possible strong Afroasiatic-Kunama interaction.

3.5. Others

Ki-Nubi was mentioned in Section 1. In this conection, note also a recent book (Pipes 1981) which documents Islamic military slavery as a culture trait since early in the 9th century. Such a system surely must have been conducive to hybridization of languages in African multilingual areas such as southern Sudan.

Simplified Italian of Ethiopia is known only through Habte's brief sketch (1976). It seems to be very much like other Romance-based Pidgins.

Nubian is a language cluster forming a group under the East Sudanic Family of Nilo-Saharan. The best known variety, Dongolese Nubian, has an extensive grammar and dictionary (Armbruster 1960, 1965), making it possible to include the variety as a control language (especially in comparison with Songay and Kunama). As far as I know, no suggestion of hybridization has been put forward for Dongolese Nubian: the main controversy over the Nubian Group revolves around whether it has a Nile Valley or a "hill" (western Sudan) origin.

4. LINGUISTIC INQUIRY INTO THE VARIETIES AS POSSIBLE POSTCREOLES

4.1. Phonology

As mentioned in Section 1, previous evaluations of postcreoles have been outmoded by Bickerton's new synthesis. However, this applies only to syntactic and semantic considera-

tions, since Bickerton does not deal with phonology. Given that a genetic bioprogram sets very definite limits on the grammatical properties of creole, it is impossible to believe that this does not apply to phonology as well. Obviously one of the most pressing needs in creole studies at the moment is a comparative study of all documented creoles to arrive at a set of possible phonological universals of creoles. Such universals would probably be of the following types:

(1) Simple consonant systems: no fortis-lenis or emphatic-plain contrasts; no affricates;
(2) A close-to-universal list of consonant phonemes: p, t, k, b, d, g, f, s, m, n, l~r, w, y;
(3) No initial or final consonant clusters or geminates;
(4) A simply vowel system: i, u, e, o, a; or possibly these five plus an additional ɩ or ə;
(5) No use of tone, stress, or intonation in lexical or morphological contrasts;
(6) No morphophonemics aside from automatic variation such as assimilation of nasal to following stop.

This listing is based on an overall impression of what is reported to occur in pidgins, creoles, and the low varieties in diglossic situations, in short, in simplified registers. But it is intended only as a suggestion of what might be expected from a rigorous comparison of creoles for which adequate phonological descriptions exist.

4.2. Syntax and semantics

Thus the entire area of phonology will now be put aside until at least some preliminary results on creole phonological characteristics are in. Moving on to morphology, syntax, and semantics, Bickerton’s synthesis can for the present replace all earlier statements. I have extracted 15 features from Bickerton (1981, 1982) and summarize these for convenience in Appendix 1.

The rates of occurrence of the features in English, Amharic, and other languages discussed in this paper are given in Appendix 2.

No prolonged discussion of the assignments of agreement values will be given here. A value of 0 or 1 indicates a judgment that the feature is fully absent or present. In some cases this is fairly straightforward (e.g., SVO basic order, have = ‘exist’,

and sentence-final optional Q particle). In most cases, it is not so clear, and the partial values are given for partial or questionable agreements (e.g., evidence of recent SVO basic order even if it is now secondary, division of verb complements into realized and unrealized categories by a mechanism other than use of particular conjunctions, and frequent but not universal treatment of predicate adjectives as stative verbs). It seems to me that the danger of "seeing a feature as being present" when it really is not, is greater than that of missing one. I have deliberately assigned low values (.25, .5) to such interpretations rather than higher ones (such as .33, .67). Appendix 3 summarizes my judgments and acknowledges those who kindly provided data and judgments of their own. (They are not responsible for any errors in this paper, since I made all the final assignments and I do not expect those whom I consulted to agree fully with my methods or goals.)

4.3. Conclusions

A study of Appendix 2 reveals that:

(1) "World languages" (English, French, German) show very few creole characteristics (average 3.25, or about 10 percent); however, "dialect" variants of world languages are closer to vernaculars and include more positive creole-feature cases than standard languages (such as double negatives and use of resumptive pronouns in English).
(2) Except for Swahili, the African vernaculars score in the range 9-13 out of 31 subfeatures (in the case of Hausa, 12 out of 28, which would be about 13 out of 31).
(3) Two of the pidgins, Ki-Nubi and Cameroonian Pidgin English, score 4.5 out of 8 (projected to 17.5 out of 31) and 16 out of 31 respectively.

Thus, of the languages investigated, "world languages" score lowest, the African vernaculars are in an intermediate range, and pidgins are still higher. Although Bickerton states that he is not sure that any "true" creole has all of the creole characteristics (1981:132), they should in any case score much higher than any of the above three categories.

Swahili and Simplified Italian of Eritrea do not fit well into the tendencies noted above. The low score for Swahili places it closer to world languages than to the other African vernac-

ulars. The reason for this is unclear, expecially considering the high scores for sociolinguistically comparable languages like Amharic and Hausa, and also the “control vernacular,” Nubian.

Simplied Italian of Eritrea is definitely a pidgin; it is described by Habte as a “relatively variable form of Italian” (1976:179). Habte’s account of its sociolinguistic setting (1976: 170-4) and what we know of recent Eritrean history make it quite clear that it is not likely to become a creole, and in fact seems likely to die out within the next generation or two. The agreement on 3.25 out of about half the subfeatures would project to 6.5 out of the total, about midway between “world languages” and the African sample. Of course the data base is thin, and the projection is thus a risky one.

The Ki-Nubi result is based largely on its having the typical creole TMA (Tense-Modality-Aspect) system, as far as the meager data allows one to judge. But there are also zeroes in one NEG (Negative) and two COP (Copula) subfeatures, so that it is impossible to say whether the projected high score would stand up. Pidgin English of Cameroon (data elicited from a student, Fred Bayé, in the United States) falls in the same range as Ki-Nubi. Problems here include oversophistication of the informant, even though I tried to keep him close to basilectal forms.

Bickerton makes it quite clear (1981:4) that pidgins and creoles are very dissimilar. If one considers creoles as the “normal” bioprogram result, both pidgins—with their variability and limited uses—and world languages—with their increased sophistication—should lack creole characteristics. But is is not easy to judge the differential results of these processes. The results obtained in this pilot study suggest that world languages have moved very far from the bioprogram, African vernaculars less so, and that pidgins are more variable, some close to vernaculars, others much more removed. A much larger sample is needed, for example, to determine if pidgins tend to retain a different set of features of the bioprogram as compared to world languages.

At this point in the investigation of language hybridization in Africa, we are left with these questions, rather than with any definite answers:

(1) Are my interpretations of the proposed Bickertonian features truly diagnostic of creoles? This is an empirical question which should be answered in the next few years.

(2) Are my assignments of creole-like values for the various languages accurate? This is also an empirical issue, a bit more subtle than the first, but one which it should be possible to answer satisfactorily.
(3) Based on the above, is the range of values obtained in this pilot study accurate? Can the seemingly anomalous positions of Swahili and Simplified Italian of Eritrea be corrected or accounted for?
(4) Is the set of intermediate values for African regional languages indicative of prior creolization, or is it the normal result for such languages? A fuller study, perhaps using a worldwide sample, is called for. The sample should include non-Indoeuropean world languages such as Chinese, Japanese, and Arabic.

One other study, called to my attention by Glenn Gilbert (personal communication, 1983) is relevant here: Markey 1982. Markey examined Afrikaans, using a set of 11 features, several of which are wholly or partially equivalent to some of Bickerton's (e.g., SVO-order, TMA markers, NEG-spread). He decides that three of these (nominal number by anaphora, three tense-aspect markers, semantic repartitions") "provide the most secure definition of a true creole" (1982:204). For these features, Afrikaans is negative except for partial agreement with the TMA system. His final conclusion is that Afrikaans "is a transitional language located on a continuum somewhere between creole and non-creole" (1982:204). He also asserts (1982:201) that "English would pattern very like Afrikaans." On the other hand, Creole Dutch of the Virgin Islands (1982:175) exhibits all eleven of Markey's features. Thus Afrikaans seems to fit in with my "world languages" on the basis of this not fully comparable study.

APPENDIX 1

THE PROPOSED CREOLE FEATURES

1. SVO (Subject-Verb-Object)
    a. Basic sentence order SVO (if not, any evidence that it once was?).
    b. Verb can be focused by movement to first position in sentence.
    c. No means of emphasis except for leftward movement, as in b (for any constituents). (See Bickerton 1981:22, 51.)

2. SNSD (Specific vs. Nonspecific Distinction)
   a. Known specific reference uses an article (in English-based Creoles, it is usually something like da).
   b. Unknown specific reference uses "one" (typically wan).
   c. Nonspecific (generics, plurals, and negatives) uses singular (i.e., unmarked form). (For examples, see Bickerton 1981:23, 56, 146.)
3. TMA (Tense-Mode-Aspect)
   Basic distinctions are:
   a. anterior vs. nonanterior (not tenses, as in English, referring to past, future, and present),
   b. irrealis vs. realis (irrealis includes future), and
   c. punctual vs. nonpunctual.
   In addition, conditional is often
   d. a combination of anterior and irrealis. Typical exponents in English-based Creoles are bin (ant.), go (irreal.), stei (nonpunct.), bin go (cond.).
   Anterior includes past-before-past for action verbs, past for Stative verbs, future and conditional for irrealis, and progressive-durative plus habitual-iterative for nonpunctual. (See Bickerton 1981:26, 58, 162.)
4. COMP (Complements)
   There is a striking division in the use of conjunctions for complements which are realized and those which are not. Typically, the first (a) uses go, the second (b) fo. This may be reflected in other ways. (Bickerton 1981:33, 59, 181.)
5. REL (Relative)
   a. No relative pronoun (or one which is recent).
   b. Use of Chomsky's "A over A" Principle, e.g., use of resumptive pronouns with conditionals; definite or other marking applying to a whole relative clause rather than the head noun. (Bickerton 1981:37, 62.)
6. NEG (Negative)
   a. Negative is VP-initial.
   b. "Double" and "triple" negatives; obligatory marking on indefinite as subject, also on indefinite nouns in VP. (Bickerton 1981:65, 191.)
7. COP (Copula)
   a. Copula 'to exist' equal to copula used for 'to have'.
   b. In general, special verb(s) for locatives, not simply use of the equational copula.
   c. Predicate adjectives are stative verbs (always, often, sometimes, rarely—score accordingly). (Bickerton 1981:66, 67, 68.)

8. Q (Questions)
    a. Question-particle is sentence-final and optional.
    b. No syntactic difference in the way question is formed (this is so usual, with English being the main exception, that I wonder if it is worth including). (Bickerton 1981:70, 187.)
9. WH (Question Words)
    a. WH-words are sentence-preposed.
    b. WH-words are transparently bimorphemic, with first part from superposed language; or loans. What to do with bimorphemes with both parts "native": ignore, because common? (Bickerton 1981:70.)
10. PAS (Passive)
    a. Passive is rare, marginal, or recent. (Related to Feature 13, below.)
    b. NVN interpreted as Actor-Verb-Patient, NV as Patient-Action. That is, the verb is not marked for active, passive; syntax tells which it is). (Bickerton 1981:71.)
11. PER (Perception Verbs)
    Verbs of perception take complements in finite form, with no raising. (Bickerton 1981:99.)
12. SPD (Stative-Process Distinction)
    The stative-nonstative distinction is basic. In particular, the two types of verbs differ in their conjugations. (See also Feature 3.)
    a. Stative: pres. ø, past bin.
    b. Nonstative: pres. a, past ø (typical morphemes in English-based Creoles).
13. CNCD (Causative-Noncausative Distinction)
    Causative constructions use verbs in the same form as non-causative (i.e., no causative markers on verbs, no use of periphrastic causatives) (Related to Feature 10.) (Bickerton 1981:196.)
14. SER (Serial Verbs)
    Use of serial verbs for oblique cases and adverbials (e.g., 'walk-go', 'bring-give', 'take-cut'), as in some West African languages. (Bickerton 1981:275.)
15. DER (Derivations)
    Derivational morphology lacking; use of compounds (like English mailman, cupboard). (Bickerton 1982.)

APPENDIX 2-A

SUMMARY OF CREOLE FEATURES OCCURRING IN SELECTED LANGUAGES

1: Full agreement
.5: Fair to strong agreement
.25: Weak agreement
0: Disagreement
Blank: Unknown

Feature[1]	English	German	French	Amharic	Kunama	Songay	Nubian
(SVO)							
1a	1	1	1	.25	.25	.25	0
b	0	.5	0	1	1	1	1
c	0	0	0	0	0	0	.25
(SNSD)							
2a	0	0	0	.5	1	1	0
b	0	0	0	.5	1	1	1
c	0	0	0	.5	.25	0	1
(TMA)							
3a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
b	0	0	0	.0	0	0	0
c	0	0	0	.25	.25	.25	0
d	0	0	0	.0	0	0	0
(COMP)							
4a	0	0	0	0	0	.5	0
b	0	0	0	0	0	.5	0
(REL)							
5a	0	0	0	.5	0	0	0
b	0	0	.5	.5	1	0	1
(NEG)							
6a	0	0	0	.5	0	0	0
b	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
(COP)							
7a	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
b	0	0	0	.5	0	.5	1
c	.25	0	.5	.5	1	1	.25
(Q)							
8a	0	0	0	1	.25	.5	.5

Feature[1]	English	German	French	Amharic	Kunama	Songay	Nubian
b	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
(WH)							
9a	1	1	1	.25	.25	.5	1
b	0	0	0	.25	.5	0	0
(PAS)							
10a	0	0	0	.5	0	0	0
b	0	0	0	0	.25	.25	1
(PER)							
11	0	0	0	.5	1	.25	0
(SPS)							
12a	0	0	0	.5	0	.25	0
b	0	0	0	0	0	.5	0
(CNCD)							
13	0	0	0	0	.25	0	0
(SER)							
14	0	0	0	0	.5	.25	.25
(DER)							
15	.25	.25	.25	0	0	.5	0
Total[2]	2.5	2.75	4.25	10.5	9.75	11	9.25

NOTES:
1. Feature abbreviations are explained in Appendix 1.
2. Totals are based on 31 features.

APPENDIX 2-B

SUMMARY OF CREOLE FEATURES OCCURRING IN SELECTED LANGUAGES

1: Full agreement
.5: Fair to strong agreement
.25: Weak agreement
0: Disagreement
Blank: unknown

Feature[1]	**Hausa**	**Swahili**	**Ki-Nubi**	**Simplified Italian of Eritrea**	**Cameroon Pidgin English**	**Total**[3]
(SVO)						
1a	1	1	1	1	1	8.75
b	1	0			0	5.5
c	0	0			1	1.25
(SNSD)						
2a	1	0		0	1	4.5
b	.5	.5		0	0	4.5
c	0	0	.5	1	1	4.25
(TMA)						
3a	0	.25	1	0	1	2.25
b	.5	.25	1	0	1	2.75
c	0	0	1	.25	1	3
d	0	0		0	0	0
(COMP)						
4a	.5	0			.5	1.5
b	.5	0			.5	1.5
(REL)						
5a	.5	.5		0	0	1.5
b		0		0	1	4
(NEG)						
6a	.5	.5	0		1	2.5
b	.5	0			0	1.5
(COP)						
7a	1	1			0	4
b	1	0	0	0	0	3.5
c	.25	0	0	.5	0	4.25
(Q)						
8a	1	0		0	0	3.25
b	1	1			1	7
(WH)						
9a	0	0		0	1	6
b	.25	.25		.5	1	2.75
(PAS)						
10a	1	0			0	1.5
b		0			0	1.5

Feature[1]	Hausa	Swahili	Ki-Nubi	Simplified Italian of Eritrea	Cameroon Pidgin English	Total[3]
(PER)						
11		0			.5	2.25
(SPD)						
12a	0	0			.5	1.25
b	0	0			.5	1
(CNCD)						
13	0	0			0	.25
(SER)						
14	0	0			.5	1.5
(DER)						
15	0	0			1	2.25
Total[2]	12	5.25	4.5	3.25	16	

NOTES:
1. Feature abbreviations are explained in Appendix 1.
2. Totals are based on 31 features except for Hausa (28), Ki-Nubi (8), and Simplified Italian of Eritrea (15). (8), and Simplified Italian of Eritrea (15).
3. Sum of the scores from Appendix 2-A and Appendix 2-B.

APPENDIX 3

NOTES ON CREOLE FEATURES OCCURRING IN SELECTED LANGUAGES

English: has basic SVO order (1); some adjectival verbs (lengthen, white, etc.; .25); WH-words usually sentence-preposed (1); derivational morphology somewhat weak (.25). Total: 2.5.

German: has basic SVO order in main clauses (1); verb can be focused by leftward movement, usually with stress (.5); WH-words preposed (1); derivational morphology somewhat weak (.25). Total: 2.75.

French: has basic SVO order (1); use of resumptive pronouns not required, but common (.5); double negatives common and triple negatives allowed (1); fair number of adjectival verbs, many reflexive (.5); WH-words preposed (1); derivational morphology somewhat weak (.25). Total: 4.25.

Ki-Nubi: has basic SVO order (1); unmarked nonspecific used, but zero plural also common (.5); TMA system with kaan (anterior, 1), b (irrealis, 1) ga (continuous, 1). Total: 4.5.

Simplified Italian of Eritrea:
has basic SVO order (1); unmarked form is used for nonspecific (1); stare and ce (from Itlian) as locatives (.5). Total: 2.5 (out of 15).

Swahili: has basic SVO order (1); use of moja 'one' common as unknown specific (.5); ka marker is used in narratives (.25); realis-irrealis is marked in a complicated way by use of several particles (.25); relative is marked by concord + o, or amba + o (not relative pronouns; .5); ha prefix used along with replacement of TMA particles (.5); 'have' is copula plus na 'with' (1); no syntactic question-formation (1); Q-words have formative -ni (.25). Total: 5.25.

Cameroon Pidgin English (selected comments):
1c: use of preposed na as in Guyana and Sranan Creoles (Bickerton 1981:114, 124, 125, 127). 2a: article di, de; 2b: use of wan not usual, ø common. 3a: bin; 3b: go; 3c: de (from English stay?). 4a, b: inconsistent. 5a: we; 5b): resumptive pronoun. 7a: 'exist' de, 'have' get; 7b: generally de fo ('stay for'). 9b: wisayd, witaym ('where, when?'). 10b: no NVN (use active).

APPENDIX 4-A

QUANTIFICATION OF CREOLE FEATURES IN AMHARIC, KUNAMA, AND SONGAY

Feature	**Amharic**	**Kunama**	**Songay**
SVO			
1a	.25 probably SVO or VSO in past	.25 SVO frequent variant	.25 mainly SOV (dialectal some SVO)
b	1 1ə-infinitive-s	1	1
c	0 -a suffix	0 particles -1e, -tti	0 particles
SNSD			
2a	.5 definite article -u	1 - oa	1 -di, -o
b	.5 occasionally uses and 'one'	1 humma 'one'	1 usually ø
c	.5 often uses plural	.25 usually plural	0 uses plural
TMA			
3a	0 perfect/imperfect and converbs	0 aorist and converbs	0 imperfect ga (130)
b	0	0 future -na	0 subjunctive ma (134)

Feature	Amharic	Kunama	Songay
c	.25 occasionally uses k'ərrə 'remain'	.25 go 'stay'	.25 go 'stay' kyindi 'remain'
d	0	0 conditional -ya, -ndia	0
COMP			
4a	0 both use infinitive or ındə-	0 -si or -naŋa	.5 various syntactic devices separate these
b	0	0	.5 (134, 146)
REL			
5a	.5 yə- not a pronoun	0 several pronouns	0 Kaŋ
b	.5 resumptive pronoun and NP-final article	1 NP-final article	0 (138)
NEG			
6a	.5 prefix + suffix	0 verbal suffix	0
b	0	0	0 (64)
COP			
7a	1 allə-	0	1 go, bara + ndai (81-82)
b	.5 often equal	0 locative cases	.5
c	.5 frequent	1 some cases; use of go	1 (57)
Q			
8a	1 -wəy	.25 obligatory verb	.5 wala (Arabic) final or initial
b	1	1	1
WH			
9a	.25 sometimes	.25 usually not	.5 some follow (152)
b	.25 ıə-mın 'for-what?' ınd-et 'like-where?'	.5 interrogative morpheme	0
PAS			
10a	.5 tə- sometimes	0 syntactic	0 no agentive PAS
b	0	.25 few cases	.25 some cases (102)
PER			
11	.5	1	.25 some order differences
SPD			

Feature	Amharic	Kunama	Songay
12a	.5 some conjugational differences	0	.25 verb (transitive) progressive ga perfect na
b	0	0	.5 verb (intrasitive) progressive ga perfect ø
CNCD			
13	0 usually a-, as-	.25 rare	0 ka, =endi (104-107)
SER			
14	0	.5 many, not for adverbial or oblique cases	.25 few cases with ka, ga
DER			
15	0 abundant	0 many derivatives	.5 many derivatives
TOTAL			
	10.5	9.75	11

APPENDIX 4-B

QUANTIFICATION OF CREOLE FEATURES IN NUBIAN AND HAUSA

Feature	Nubian	Hausa
SVO		
1a	0 SOV	1
b	1 (4626)	1 verbal noun may be preposed
c	.25 (5836, 5847)	0 many particles and other means
SNSD		
2a	0	1 definite -n/r
b	1 wɛr ‘one’ (4931 ff.)	.5 wani ‘someone’
c	1	0 uses indefinite verb
TMA		
3a	0 (2920) and elsewhere	0 perfect, not time-bound
b	0	.5 future za ‘go’
c	0	0 pronoun forms
d	0	0
COMP		
4a	0 (5399 and elsewhere)	.5 in, ìdan

Feature	Nubian	Hausa
b	0	.5 dà
REL		
5a	0 (2596)	.5 relative morphemes found
b	1 NP-final article (4934)	.5 relative morphemes found
NEG		
6a	0 suffix	.5 prefix and suffix ba
b	0	.5 (differing opinions)
COP		
7a	0 nar 'have'	1 yana de
b	1 several	1 inã, etc.
c	.25 few cases	.25 verblike adjectives
Q		
8a	.5 obligatory ?	1 kō
b	1	1
WH		
9a	1	0
b	0	.25 'why?' = 'for what?'
PAS		
10a	0 -katt (4093)	1 no passive
b	1 frequent	—
PER		
11	0	—
SPD		
12a	0	0 some stative verbs, suffixes
CNCD		
13	0	0 causative is derivational
SER		
14	.25 usually adverbial and verbal	0 directional affixes
DER		
15	0 many derived forms	0 many derivatives
TOTAL	9.25	12 out of 28

NOTE: References for Songay are to pages in Prost (1956), for Nubian to paragraphs in Armbruster (1960). I wish to acknowledge personal communications regarding Amharic (Grover Hudson), Kunama

(Alexander Naati Gabil), Songay (Robert Nicolaï), and Hausa (Carleton T. Hodge and Frank Wright). None of them is responsible for any errors or misjudgments found herein.

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PIDGIN HAWAIIAN

Derek Bickerton and William H. Wilson

John Reinecke's Language and Dialect in Hawaii (1969) is by far the most thorough and complete description of the sociocultural matrix of pidginization and creolization in Hawai'i; as such, it is unlikely to be superseded. However, there is one factor in that matrix which it neglects, as Reinecke himself had independently come to recognize (see Appendix): The role of the Hawaiian language in the pidginization process. The present paper is, therefore, a contribution towards rounding out Reinecke's landmark study by: (1) providing some information on the Pidgin Hawaiian which preceded and accompanied the early development of Pidgin English in Hawai'i, and (2) discussing the role of Hawaiian in the overall pidginization process and, indirectly, in the origins of Hawai'i Creole English.[1] We will be proposing that Pidgin English in Hawai'i was a late development and, in large part, a relexification of Pidgin Hawaiian that was, indeed, never entirely completed. Furthermore, creolization in Hawai'i occurred only after the reversal of an earlier trend for locally born, non-English-speaking immigrants to become absorbed into the Hawaiian-speaking group.

There is a widespread assumption, outside as well as within pidgin-creole studies, that pidgins which arise in plantation cultures (as distinct from trading pidgins, e.g., Chinook Jargon) must necessarily be based on the language of the European group which introduces plantation technology, owns plantations, and controls marketing (Mintz 1971:484). Reinecke's belief that the origins of Hawai'i's Pidgin English lay in a form of broken English spoken by Hawaiians during the whaling period fits well with such an assumption, one developed in the very different context of Caribbean studies. His assertion that "the Chinese coolies in Hawaii learned a makeshift Hawaiian prior to 1880" (1969:24) does not fit so well, nor does his reference on the same page to the use by Chinese in Tahiti

of a pidginized Tahitian. Indeed, Hawai'i, Tahiti, and Eastern Oceania as a whole have a history quite different from that of the Caribbean. In the Pacific region, European plantation owners, far from controlling local governments, have often been subject to native landlords and even native governments. Under these conditions, extensive pidginization of indigenous languages, by both European and Asian immigrants, can be documented not only for Hawai'i and Tahiti, but also for Fiji (Moag 1978, Siegel 1983) and Samoa (Mühlhäusler 1978).

Evidence supporting Reinecke's mention of "makeshift" Hawaiian can be found in a number of sources:

> (From an English-Hawaiian phrase book) "At the same time, the work is designed to assist strangers, speaking the English [sic], to acquire the correct colloquial speech of the Hawaiians. There has long prevailed, between natives and foreigners, a corrupted tongue, which the former use only in speaking to the latter, but never among themselves. It is a method of speech which should be abandoned, as it gives a false impression, derogatory to all rule, and is without system or beauty" (Bishop 1854:3).

> (From an English-Hawaiian dictionary) "Also avoided, but for another reason, is the 'pidgin', 'haole', or 'pake' Hawaiian frequently mistaken for real Hawaiian by foreigners" (Judd, Pukui, and Stokes 1943:7).

> (From a popular data book on Hawai'i) "As this jargon had its inception in the days when Hawaiian was used even more than English on the plantations, many of the terms come from the Hawaiian ... It should also be noted that many of these words have been distorted both in pronunciation and meaning" (Taylor 1950).

The development of Pidgin Hawaiian began at avery early date; Carr (1972) notes the pidgin term kaukau 'food, eat' in a list of "Hawaiian" words collected in 1791 by the Spaniard, Quimper, and we will examine a citation dated around 1809 later in this article. Its use extended far beyond the Hawaiian islands during the whaling period (1819-1880);[2] note, for example, reports of use of Hawaiian vocabulary in 1852 in Kosrae (then called Kusaie) in Micronesia (Clark 1977:37), in California in the mid-1830s (Clark 1977:32, 36), among the Chuckchee of Eastern Siberia (Clark 1977:3), and in an Arctic Eskimo jargon (Drechsel and Makuakāne 1982). The Eskimo jargon ex-

amples—hanahana instead of hana ‘work’, kaukau instead of ’ai ‘eat’ or mea’ai ‘food’—show that the source of these examples was Pidgin rather than vernacular Hawaiian.

It is likely that this early whaler’s pidgin contained some English vocabulary, and there may have been occasions when—as happened again at a much later stage of its development—it was far from easy to tell whether a given sentence was an example of Pidgin Hawaiian or Pidgin English. (We discuss this difficulty later in the paper.) This type of mixture may have been what Reinecke (1969) chose to describe as hapa-Haole[3]—an unfortunate term, since it is normally used in Hawai’i to describe either persons of mixed Hawaiian-Caucasian descent, or a particular genre of popular songs with predominantly Standard English lyrics (Kanahele 1979:106-7). The Hawaiian term for any pidginized version of Hawaiian or English is ‘ōlelo pa’ i ’ai. Non-Hawaiians seem frequently to have supposed that ’ōlelo pa’ i ’ai was vernacular Hawaiian. Interesting in this regard is a statement in a popular magazine made as late as 1913:

> Their language will probably outlive the [“doomed Hawaiian”] race, having been adopted as a medium of conversation between the inhabitants of Asia and the Anglo-Saxons who meet in Hawai’i on common ground (Girvin 1913:136).

The earliest example of Pidgin Hawaiian available to us is an example in Clark (1977:28) taken from a book by Archibald Campbell, who spent about a year in Hawai’i during the period 1809-1810 (a period prior to both whaling and missionary influence). Campbell thought that the language was genuine Hawaiian, but it was not; indeed, it closely resembles Pidgin Hawaiian dialogues printed almost a century later (see examples (2) and (3):

(1)	Pidgin Hawaiian	Eree	te	motoo	mukee-mukee			tooai	nooee	te	poa
		chief	the	ship	like/want			buy	many	the	pig
	Hawaiian	Ua	makemake		ke	ali’i	o	ka	moku	e	kū’ai
		TM	like/want		the	chief	of	the	ship	to	buy
		i	na	pua’a	he	nui[4]					
		CM	the-pl.	pig	a	many					
	English	‘The captain wishes to purchase a great many hogs’									

(Campbell’s translation).

Campbell’s spelling comes from a period prior to the establishment of a standardized Hawaiian alphabet by American missionaries in 1826. The following syntactic features should be noted:[5]

(a) There is an absence of grammatical items except for the singular definite article te (modern ke); however, even this form is used indiscriminately, replacing alternative forms ka (sing.) and nā (pl.), or is omitted altogether as before eree (ali’i).
(b) The word order Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) replaces the basic Hawaiian order Verb-Subject-Object (VSO).
(c) The adjective nooee (nui) precedes the noun poa (pua’a) rather than follows it.
(d) The possessor te motoo (ka moku) follows immediately on the possessed eree (ali ’i) without being marked by the possessive preposition o ‘of’.

The syntax of this example closely resembles that of a sentence from the Hawaiian newspaper Ka Nūpepa Kū’oko’a dated September 15, 1894, in which Hawaiian children in the village of Kawaihae trying to rent accommodations to Japanese immigrants are quoted as saying:

(2)									
Pidgin	Iapana,	makana	dala	oe	hiamoe	ma	keia	hale	wau
Hawaiian	Japan,	gift	money	you	sleep	at	this	house	I

Hawaiian	E	ke	Kepanī,	inā	hā’awi	mai	’oe	i	kālā,
	Oh	the	Japanese,	if	give	hither	you	CM	money,

	e	hiki	iā	’oe		hiamoe	ma	kēia	hale	o-’u
	TM	can	CM	you	TM	sleep	at	this	house	of-me

English ‘Japanese, if you give me money you can sleep at my house.’

Example (2) resembles (1) in its avoidance of grammatical items (except, again, one determiner, this time keia, and the locative particle ma), and its adherence to SVO word order. Additional characteristics include lack of clause conjunction between makana dala and oe hiamoe, the substitution of a spe-

cialized vocabulary (makana ‘gift, give a gift’ for hā’awi ‘give’; Iapana ‘Japan’ for kepanl ‘Japanese’), and substitution of the nominative pronoun form wau for the regular possessive.

A third example of written Pidgin Hawaiian comes from the novel Kaluaikoolau written in Hawaiian by a part-Hawaiian, John G. M. Sheldon, also known as Kahikina Kelekona. The story involves actual historical characters of the mid-1890s: Kaluaiko’olau, a Hawaiian stricken with leprosy; his wife Pi’ilani; and the deputy sheriff of Waimea, an immigrant named Luis Stolze. Stolze tries to get Pi’ilani to persuade Ko’olau to accept exile to the leper colony at Kalaupapa, but Ko’olau refuses, and finally, when Stolze tries to hunt him down, shoots and kills the sheriff. Throughout the novel, Stolze speaks a pidginized form of Hawaiian, and the Hawaiian characters use a similar variety in replying to him, although among themselves (and with a hapa-Haole plantation manager) they speak in normal colloquial Hawaiian The following is an example of the novel’s Pidgin Hawaiian (Kelekona 1906:20):

(3)											
	Pidgin	iaia	pi mai,	wau	kamailio	pololei	ka	mea	pau		
	Hawaiian	he	come,	I	converse	correct	the	thing	finish		
		oe	kamailio								
		you	converse								
	Hawaiian	i	kona	ho’i	’ana	mai,	e	ha’i	pololei	aku	wau
		at	his	return	-ing	DIR,	TM	tell	correct	DIR	I
		i	ka	mea	ā-u	i	’ōlelo	mai	nei		
		CM	the	thing	of-you	TM	speak	DIR	here		
	English	‘When he comes back, I will tell him exactly what you said.’									

Again we note the absence of almost all grammatical items, together with SVO word order. Other features include the use of pau to mark time difference between clauses,[6] the use of iaia as an invariant pronoun regardless of case (iaia actually derives from the accusative casemarker iā Plus third person pronoun ia), and the substitution of pi mai, derived from Hawaiian pi’i mai (literally ‘climb hither’) for expressions such as hele mai ‘come’, ho’i mai ‘come back’, and so forth. To a speaker of Hawaiian unfamiliar with any reduced version of that language, some of these features (particularly the latter) would have been quite confusing. Kelekona’s use of Pidgin Hawaiian as a literary

device suggests that his readers would all be familar with that type of Hawaiian and would, indeed, expect it, for purposes of verisimilitude, where an immigrant character's speech appeared.

In fact, extensive research in the Hawaiian-speaking community has shown that most Hawaiians born before 1920 could remember hearing "broken Hawaiian." In particular, three Hawaiians—Rachel Nāhale'elua Mahu'iki (from Wainiha, Kaua'i), Albert Like (from Honolulu, O'ahu), and Joseph P. Maka'ai (from Pu'uanahulu, North Kona, Hawai'i)—gave unusually long, wide-ranging, and detailed accounts of the varieties of language spoken by immigrants in the early years of this century.

According to these accounts, Pidgin Hawaiian was spoken by members of most, if not all, immigrant groups. The Chinese were the most frequently mentioned, but there were also numerous accounts of Hawaiian-speaking Japanese, Filipinos (who did not begin to arrive in Hawai'i until 1907), and Portuguese—contrary to Reinecke's impression (1969:92-3) that the Portuguese avoided Hawaiian and spoke English almost exclusively.

Hawaiian as spoken by non-Hawaiians was clearly never a homogeneous speech variety, but a continuum with quite a wide span. According to Mrs. Mahu'iki, "some Chinese and Japanese spoke as well as Hawaiians," while at the other extreme was an elderly Chinese cook whose utterances characteristically consisted of "one Hawaiian word and the rest Chinese." However, the example sentences remembered by elderly Hawaiians lay mostly between these poles, and contained the following features:

(a) Subjects invariably preceded instead of followed verbs.
(b) Articles were replaced by the demonstrative kela (Hwn. kēlā 'that' (distant from both speaker and addressee).
(c) Pronoun forms were invariant across all cases.
(d) Grammatical items (markers of case, tense, and aspect, particles of direction, location, number, etc.) were omitted, save for an occasional preposition.
(e) Sentences were generally restricted to single clauses.
(f) A specialized vocabulary differing from that of Hawaiian was used, including:
    1. Words modified by reduplication (hanahana 'work', Hwn. hana 'do'; nuinui 'great, many, big' from nui (same meaning).

2. Words modified by shifts and/or expansions in meaning (makana ‘give’, Hwn. makana ‘gift, give a gift’; aikane ‘friend’, Hwn. aikāne, ‘very best friend’; pimai ‘come’, Hwn. pi’i mai ‘climb hither’).
3. Words modified by addition or subtraction of morphemes (makule ‘old’, Hwn. ’elemakule ‘old man’; mahea ‘where’, Hwn. ma hea ‘at where’ (cf. no hea ‘from where’, i hea, ‘to where’).
4. Words of foreign (especially English) origin (kaukau ‘food, eat’; pihi ‘fish’; sabe ‘know’).

In the examples that follow, occurrence of these characteristics is indicated in parentheses at the end of each Pidgin example:

(4) Pidgin	wau	no	ku’ai	kela	kapiki	(a, b, c, d, e, f-4)		
Hawaiian	I	no	sell	that	cabbage			
Hawaiian	‘A’ole	au	e	kū’ai	aku	i	ke	kāpiki
	not	I	TM	sell	thither	CM	the	cabbage
English	‘I won’t sell the cabbage.’							

(5) Pidgin	kokua	wau	hanahana		hausu	(c, d, e, f-1, f-4)			
Hawaiian	help	I	work		house				
Hawaiian	E	kōkua	i-a’u	ma	ka	hana	i	ka	hale
	TM	help	CM-me	in	the	work	of	the	house
English	‘Help me do the housework.’								

(6) Pidgin	nuinui	pihi	ma	loko	kela	kai	(a, b, c, d, e, f-1, f-4)			
Hawaiian	many	fish	at	inside	that	sea				
Hawaiian	Nui	nā	i’a	ma	loko	o	ke	kai		
	many	the	fish	at	inside	of	the	sea		
or	Aia	nā	i’a	he	nui	ma	loko	o	ke	kai
	are	the	fish	a	many	at	inside	of	the	sea
English	‘There are a lot of fish in the sea.’									

(7) Pidgin	kela	wau	hapai,	manaka	oe,	kapiki	(a, c, d, e, f-2)			
Hawaiian	that	I	carry,	give	you,	cabbage				
Hawaiian	E	ki'i	aku	wau	i	kēlā	a	hā'awi	iā	'oe.
	TM	fetch	thither	I	CM	that	and	give	CM	you,
	He	kāpiki.								
	a	cabbage								

English ‘I’ll get that and give it to you. It’s a cabbage.’

The homogeneity of these Hawaiian memories might excite suspicion among students of variation—are we perhaps dealing with some stereotype of foreigner talk which might bear little relationship to what immigrant speakers actually produced? We were fortunate in being able to record a surviving immigrant speaker of Hawaiian, Mr. Tomás Quihano of Kalapana, who arrived from the Philippines in 1923 and married a Hawaiian.[7] Mr. Quihano’s speech contains all the features noted by older Hawaiians, as the following examples show:

(8) Pidgin	mama	malama	pepe	(a, d, e)		
Hawaiian	mommy	look-after	baby			
Hawaiian	Mālama	pēpē	'o	Māmā		
	look-after	baby	CM	mommy		
or						
	He	mālama	pēpē	ka	hana	a Māmā
	a	look-after	baby	the	work	of mommy

English ‘Mommy looked after the babies.’

(9) Pidgin	Ono	maoli	kela	uala	wau (b, c, d, e)
Hawaiian	delicious	really	that	sweet-potato	I
Hawaiian	'Ono	maoli	k-a-'u	'uala	
	delicious	really	the-of-me	sweet-potato	

English ‘My sweet potatoes are really delicious.’

(10) Pidgin	aole	makana	kela	(d, e, f-2)
Hawaiian	no	give	that	

Hawaiian	ʻAʼole	hāʼawi	aku	(i kēla)
	no	give	thither	(CM that)

English ʻDon't give that away.ʼ

(11)	Pidgin	yu	nana	kela	lepo,	yu	pail	pail	(a, b, d, e, f-4)		
	Hawaiian	you	look	that	dirt,	you	pile	pile			
	Hawaiian	Nānā	ʼoe	i	ka	lepo	a	hana	ʼoe	i	ka
		look	you	CM	the	dirt	and	make	you	CM	the
		paila	(puʼe)								
		pile	(sweet-potato hill)								

English ʻYou look at the dirt and then you pile it into a mound.ʼ

The concurrence of three distinct sources of testimony-contemporary written citations, recollections of older Hawaiians, and an actual speaker of Pidgin Hawaiian—suggests that, while some immigrants may not have progressed beyond a handful of words, and while others attained a high degree of fluency in Hawaiian, a large number, probably a majority of early immigrants, remained arrested at a fairly primitive stage of pidginization. However, several facts suggest that Pidgin Hawaiian progressed further down the road of pidginization than did Pidgin English. Campbell's example (1) shows that Pidgin Hawaiian was in existence for over a century, giving it time to stabilize, and perhaps also to conventionalize so that it became a standard foreigner-talk for members of the Hawaiian community. Certainly, the systematicity of examples (1)-(11), attributed to a wide range of speakers from different language groups, suggests relatively little substratum influence from the very diverse languages (Cantonese, Portuguese, English, Japanese, and Ilocano) which were involved.

In contrast, the plantation Pidgin English of Hawaiʻi shows a high degree of variability due to mother tongue influence (Bickerton and Odo 1976). While Pidgin Hawaiian sentences attributed by Hawaiians to Japanese speakers hardly ever show SOV order, Pidgin English recorded from Japanese speakers (and Hawaiians' imitations of Japanese speakers) contain well over 50 percent SOV (Bickerton and Givón 1976). This suggests one of two possibilities: either Japanese speakers of Pidgin Hawaiian never passed through an SOV phase, or they had passed beyond such a stage by the early twentieth century.

Considerations such as these inevitably raise the question of the precise relationship between Pidgin Hawaiian and Pidgin English. With all the advantages of hindsight we can now reexamine the evidence which led Reinecke to opt for Pidgin English as the principal language of early immigration, and the broken English of Hawaiians as its direct ancestor. Much of that evidence is contained in replies to letters from Reinecke during the period 1932-1935.[8] Of these replies, Reinecke seems to have placed most emphasis on one from Ella R. Parris (2/20/34) which suggested that, except for remote areas, some knowledge of English was quite widespread among Hawaiians in the mid-to-late 19th century. However, several other correspondents suggest otherwise. Particularly revealing is an apparent misunderstanding in correspondence between Reinecke and H. H. Brodie. In Reinecke's initial letter (8/12/32) he stated: "My hypothesis is this: (1) that the speech of the old and middle-aged Hawaiians represents the general type of English [our emphasis] spoken in the islands until about 1900." Brodie's reply (2/3/33) indicates that he either misread this sentence—quite possible, in light of his own experience—or assumed that Reinecke must have written "English" in mistake for "language": "You are right in the main, that Hawaiian [our emphasis] formed the basis in which communication was carried on, especially during my first three or four years here" (i.e., in Hanapēpē, Kaua'i, between 1897 and 1901). Reinecke seems to have assumed that older Hawaiians who spoke some kind of English in the 1930s must have learned it in the previous century; in fact, in a majority of cases they probably acquired it considerably later than that.

Other correspondents also emphasize the dominance of Hawaiian. According to Bertha Ben Taylor (6/15/33), "When I came to Ka'u—1899—very little English was spoken." Arthur C. Alexander (5/1/34) never observed the use of English between Hawaiians (as distinct from between Hawaiians and native English speakers) prior to the period 1885-1890. However, he did observe that a Japanese servant on Maui "spoke Hawaiian more readily than English," and he conjectures that "the mixture of Hawaiian and English spoken by the plantation laborers was created by these early immigrants from Japan." Massive Japanese immigration did not commence before 1885 (the 1884 census lists only 116 Japanese), and even by 1890 the Japanese were still outnumbered by Chinese and Portuguese immigrants. If this "mixture of Hawaiian and English" was created by the Japanese, or, as seems more likely, became ap-

parent only during the first period of heavy Japanese immigration, then what preceded that mixture must have been simply Hawaiian, in vernacular or already pidginized form.

It is known that Hawaiian continued to be used as the work language (and even the language of command) into the 1930s in the only other European-introduced, labor-intensive, and paternal-type enterprise in Hawai'i—the ranch. Ranches in Hawai'i have typically had predominantly Hawaiian work forces, although they have long included employees and owners of different linguistic backgrounds. On the Parker Ranch, Hawaiian was in general use until the early 1950s.[9] On Ni'ihau Ranch, the only place where Hawaiians of all age groups maintain primary fluency in Hawaiian, there were Hawaiian-speaking immigrant employees as late as the 1940s. Since the ranch and the plantation in Hawai'i are organized along the same lines, and often have the same owners, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the linguistic situation on ranches in the 1930s resembled that of plantations at an earlier period, especially when we take into account the demographic balance of that period.

In the mid-1880s, pure-blooded Hawaiians still accounted for more than half of the total population; Haoles amounted to only about 6 percent in the period between 1876 and 1920. Even if social relations had been completely egalitarian, an immigrant's chances of speaking to a Hawaiian would have outnumbered his chances of interacting with a natural English speaker by a factor of 8 to 1 around 1880 and of 3 to 1 three or four decades later. But social relations were far from egalitarian, so that social interaction must have been even more heavily skewed than the demographics suggest. Moreover, throughout this period all Hawaiians still spoke Hawaiian fluently and many were monolingual in it. Reinecke himself presented evidence for a large monolingual Hawaiian population in the 1930s (1969:124) and an even greater strength for the language in the late 19th century (1969:37-8, fn. 38).

Im emphasizing the importance of Pidgin Hawaiian we must note that it would be unrealistic to suppose that at any time there were two distinct pidgins which could be clearly differentiated from one another. As the examples cited earlier suggest, non-Hawaiian (usually English) words were introduced into Pidgin Hawaiian with some frequency (although their absence from literary citations is worth noting). Some examples of immigrant speech cited by older Hawaiians carried this ten-

dency to a point at which it becomes difficult (and probably pointless) to determine whether Pidgin Hawaiian or Pidgin English was being spoken:

(12)	Pidgin	no	kaen	moemoe,	tumach	kanikani			
		no	can	sleep,	too-much	noise			
	Hawaiian	‘A’ole	hiki	ke	hiamoe.	Nui	loa	ka	hanakuli.
		no	can	TM	sleep	Great	very	the	noise
	English	‘You can’t sleep, there’s so much noise.’							

(13)	Pidgin	dis	kanaka		tumach	pilau
		this	man/Hawaiian		too-much	bad
	Hawaiian	‘A’ole	maika’i	iki	kēia	kanaka
		no	good	slight	this	man
	English	‘This man is very bad.’				

(14)	Pidgin	oe	no	tumach	holoholo,			hausu	stap,	
		you	no	too-much	travel-around,			house	stop,	
		mama		nana						
		mommy		look						
	Hawaiian	Mai	holoholo		nui	loa	’oe.	E	noho	ma
		Don’t	travel-around		great	very	you	TM	stay	at
		ka	hale.	E	mālama	i	k-o-u		māmā	
		the	house	TM	tend	CM	the-of-you		mommy	
	English	‘Don’t go out so much. Stay home and take care of your mother.’								

(15)	Pidgin	yu	nani	hanahana?	
		you	what	do	
	Hawaiian	He	aha	k-ā-u	hana?
		a	what	the-of-you	work/do
	English	‘What (work) do you do?’.			

Example (15) is particularly interesting, since here a three-word sentence draws on the resources of three languages (nani is Japanese). Such examples confirm the perceptive comment of Rachel Kupepe, a Hawaiian from Kaua'i, recalling the linguistic behavior common in the time of her youth: "So we use the Hawaiian and Chinese all together, in one sentence, see? And they ask me if that's a Hawaiian word, I say no, maybe that's a Japanese word … in order to make a sentence for them to understand you." In this way, as Pidgin Hawaiian incorporated more vocabulary from English and other languages, it gradually lost its distinct identity and shaded perhaps almost imperceptibly into Pidgin English.

Interesting in this context is a conversation, supposedly between a Chinese luna and a Haole timekeeper on a World War I plantation, which Reinecke quotes as an example of "Pidgin English" (1969:102, fn. 20). In fact, one fourth of the vocabulary in this dialogue is Hawaiian, and one sentence is undiluted Pidgin Hawaiian:

(16)	Pidgin	aole,	haole	pololei		
	"English"	no	Caucasian	correct		
	Hawaiian	'A'ole,	pololei	nō	ka	haole
		no	correct	indeed	the	Caucasian
	English	'No, the Caucasian is right.'				

The same dialogue contains two words associated with Japanese: mate (sic; Japanese matte 'wait') and guru, a pronunciation of English good common among Japanese speakers.

Even when Pidgin had become predominantly English in its lexicon (by 1910 or 1920 in most regions) it retained a large number of non-English (mostly Hawaiian-derived) vocabulary items. Such items are found almost as frequently in basic vocabulary (make 'dead'; pau 'finish(ed); wahine 'woman'; huhu 'angry'; etc.) as they are in specialized plantation terms (luna 'straw boss'; hapai ko 'carry cane'; pulapula 'seed cane'; and so on). However, their source is pidginized rather than vernacular Hawaiian as a few examples will make clear:

(i) hanapa 'close' (Hwn. hana a pa'a 'make until closed'; pani 'to close')

(ii) moemoe 'sleep (Hwn. moe 'lie down, recline'; hiamoe 'sleep')

(iii) hanawai ‘irrigate’ (Hwn. hana wai ‘make water’; ho’okahekahe wai ‘irrigate’)
(iv) makule ‘old’ (Hwn. ’ elemakule ‘old man’; kahiko ‘old’)
(v) pilau ‘stink, mean, bad’ (Hwn. pilau ‘stench of rotten flesh’; hohono ‘stink’; loko’ino ‘unkind, mean’; maika’i ’ole ‘bad’)
(vi) mauka ‘inland’ (Hwn. ma uka ‘at an inland point’; no uka ‘from an inland point’ i uka ‘towards an inland point’)

Expressions such as these are typical of the changes of form and meaning which take place under pidginization. The fact that such forms occur equally in Pidgin Hawaiian and Pidgin English (and often survive into the creolized English of today) suggests a smooth and gradual transition between the Pidgins, including, probably, a period in which they were indistinguishable from one another. Certainly, they prove additional evidence that the direct and immediate ancestor of Pidgin English was Pidgin Hawaiian, rather than English as spoken by Hawaiians (i.e., Reinecke’s hapa-Haole).

Finally, we should look at the effects of the developments discussed above on the process of creolization. Some earlier work (Bickerton and Odo 1976, Bickerton 1977) suggested that the mere existence of Pidgin Hawaiian was what delayed the onset of creolization in Hawai’i—if there was no pidgin to creolize, prior to 1910, how could creolization have commenced any sooner? But this answer is too simplistic. First, given the state of coexistence/merger of the two Pidgins (or to be more accurate, the two lexicons), there must have been some Pidgin English that could have creolized prior to 1910. Second, even if there was no Pidgin English, why couldn’t Pidgin Hawaiian have creolized?

The answer to these questions lies in the complex and rapidly changing relationships between the several languages involved. Prior to 1900, it would have made little difference to children whether their parents spoke Pidgin with mainly English or mainly Hawaiian vocabulary; for those children, the Pidgin would not have constituted a desirable target. Until 1900, Hawaiian children, still speaking Hawaiian natively, constituted a majority of the child population. The situation of the immigrant child in Hawai’i would then have resembled that of the immigrant child in mainland U.S.A.—no matter what ethnic group language or “broken talk” might be heard in the home, he would have proceeded towards nativelike control of the predominant local language, in this case Hawaiian. Control of ver-

nacular Hawaiian would have given such a child access to half the population (or much more than half, in many rural areas) and to the remainder of the population via a pidginized version of Hawaiian.

Not only all Hawaiians, but all part-Hawaiians (no matter how small the Hawaiian fraction) routinely learned Hawaiian if they were born prior to 1900. Some Hawaiians acquired English as a second language, but only a small minority from well-to-do and highly educated hapa-Haole families were English-dominant bilinguals. Of eight speakers born in Hawai'i prior to 1905 and interviewed in the Hawai'i Survey of Non-Standard English in 1973-1975, seven (including two part-Hawaiians and three with no Hawaiian ancestry) claimed to have spoken Hawaiian as children.

Had Hawai'i been able to maintain itself as an independent state, immigrants would doubtless have continued to be absorbed into the Hawaiian community. However, after the overthrow of the Monarchy in 1893, followed by the establishment of the so-called "Republic of Hawaii" (1894-1898) and full American annexation in 1898, the situation changed radically. English replaced Hawaiian as the official national language (although Hawaiian remained important in politics, the church, and, perhaps most of all, the courts for the next two or three decades), and the schools rapidly increased pressure on children to learn English and to become "good Americans."[10] Thus, between 1900 and 1920, the majority of Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian chidren, as well as the children of immigrants, abandoned Hawaiian as a target.[11]

However, abandonment of Hawaiian did not in and of itself make English an accessible alternative. The only models accessible to children were, on the one hand, their parents' Pidgin English, and, on the other, school English filtered through the accents and grammatical idiosyncracies of teachers whose own strongest language was often not English, but Hawaiian (Reinecke 1969:163-70). Deprived of any well-formed linguistic model, Hawaii's children were left with no alternative but to invent their own language—which they proceeded to do, along the lines set down in Bickerton (1981).

APPENDIX

A few months before his death, John Reinecke read an earlier version of this paper (by Bickerton). His comments thereon are herewith reproduced in full, both for their intrinsic interest and for the light they cast upon his nature, in which modesty and magnanimity were equally combined.

22 Oct. 1981

Thanks for letting me read the article on the interrelation of Hawaiian and English pidgins.

I agree with most of your arguments, though I think they should be refined and checked against further evidence from other sources if available.

I am glad that you disagreed so widely with the simplistic explanation of the origins of PE in my 1935 thesis. Because it was the only serious attempt in print, it has been followed too blindly by a lot of people. They did not realize that it was the work of an amateur without linguistic training and advice.

I have found quite a bit of corroborative evidence for the widespread use of and importance of Hawaiian at least through the 1910s. For example, the transcripts of interviews from the Kona Oral History project show how widely Hawaiian was spoken by other nationalities in what was one of the strongholds of Hawaiian. And Larry Kimura found there were some individuals (Natives) no older than I who were more at home in Hawaiian than in Pidgin.

However, I think that you, too, may be oversimplifying somewhat a very complex history. Even on the plantations there must have been a great deal of variation from one to another. You may recall those surveys of the composition of the labor force on each plantation, dating as I recall from about 1890. The stray non-Hawaiian who got into a predominantly Hawaiian plantation would surely have to learn Hawaiian. On the other hand, PE would have a much better chance at an early start on a plantation like HC S where there were few Natives. Of course there was a great deal of moving from one plantation to another, but it must not have been so frequent as in later years of improved transportation.

A minor point: I would not rely on the persistence of Hawaiian technical terms on the plantations over many years as evidence of long-continued prevalence of Hawaiian speech. In

Mauritius, for example, where there probably were no British dockers, only British foremen and superintendents years ago, many of the job titles are English.

Now for the important point. I think that you probably underestimate the use of some sort of broken English in the ports, particularly Honolulu. Granted that any foreigner who stayed any length of time had to learn Hawaiian, whether more or less thoroughly, there were many seamen who were in the port for only a few days. What did they speak with the Kanakas? Certainly not that which Bushnell has the young guide using in Kaaawa!—but probably some form of broken English with a sprinkling of Hawaiian words. And it should be borne in mind that thousands of Hawaiian men must have picked up considerable English, mostly pidginized, on whaling and other ships and on the West Coast. On the whalers, as one of the sources on pidgin Eskimo shows, this was certainly mixed with Hawaiian words; but the base was English. I think that before we can speak with anything approaching certainty, we will have to comb available printed and MS sources and analyze crew composition as shown by ships' logs.

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THE SUBSTANCE OF CREOLE STUDIES: A REAPPRAISAL

Lawrence D. Carrington

1. PRELIMINARY

Within a decade of the publication of Reinecke et al. (1975), the study of pidgin and creole languages and of the processes related to their existence has become integral to mainstream linguistic theory. Gratifying as it may be to creolists, this promotion can shift the orientation of the field of study to an extent where knowledge of pidgins and creoles is obtainable only as an incidental by-product of the pursuit of general theoretical issues. Even if that stage of scholarship were eventually to become justifiable, a shift at this time seems premature. A considerable amount of primary research is still required even to meet theoretical goals more modest than some recently attempted. Quite simply, I do not believe that theoretical postulations that seek illustration and inspiration from creole studies ought yet to replace perseverance in expanding our knowledge of pidgins and creoles themselves. This stance may be labelled chauvinistic, a status I am prepared to tolerate temporarily in the hope that the eventual outcome of this paper will be a sober reappraisal of the substance of creole studies.

Creole studies have been traditionally dominated by three major preoccupations:

1. the history (including the origins) of pidgin and creole languages;
2. the structure of these languages; and
3. their relationships to lexically related languages and to languages with which they coexist in the same or contiguous speech communities. (In this last area both social and linguistic relationships have been studied.)

These preoccupations are not entirely separable one from the other. A considerable part of the study of structure has been directed at explanation of structural similarities among geographically dispersed and lexically dissimilar languages; this, in its turn, has suggested theories of origins. In like manner, examination of the linguistic relationship between creoles and lexically related languages or other languages with which they coexist has depended on and motivated studies of structure. More recently, the study of language learning and language acquisition has benefitted from parallel examination of the processes of pidginization and creolization. Finally, the pursuit of linguistic universals through the medium of creole studies adds a fifth preoccupation to the list.

Since these areas demand quite different research techniques, studies that encompass them all are not usually attempted, although scholars have sought universality by emphasizing the importance of studies in one area to the other areas. Addressing some of these issues in an integrated manner is Bickerton (1981), who claims to present an outline of a "unified theory of language acquisition, creole language origins and general language origins" (297) since he considers that "the three questions are really one question, and that an answer to any one of them which does not at the same time answer the other two will be, ipso facto, a wrong answer" (xii). Because of the wide explanatory power claimed by Bickerton for this theory, any reappraisal of the field must examine his arguments closely. This paper will, therefore, review Bickerton (1981) on matters acknowledged to be relevant to creole studies and in the process attempt to redirect enquiry in the field.

2. BICKERTON AGAINST TOK PISIN

The basic argument of Bickerton (1981) can be summarized in his own words: "that all members of our species are born with a bioprogram for language which can function even in the absence of adequate input" (xiii) and that "if ... the things that children learn early, effortlessly and errorlessly turn out repeatedly to be key features of creole languages, which the children of first creole generations acquire in the absence of direct experience, we can then assume that such early, effortless and errorless learning results ... from the functioning of the innate bioprogram which we have hypothesized" (146). Exposition of the unified theory is effected by examination of the

nature of a selection of pidgin and creole languages, an examination of some characteristics of the acquisition of a number of languages, and a discussion of some relationships between semantics and reality.

Creole studies have proceeded without a formal definition of creole languages that can be logically defended. The absence of criteria that allow unambiguous identification of such languages has been rigorously discussed by Givón (1979). Bickerton is within his rights, therefore, to define creole in terms appropriate to the particular investigation he is attempting. He uses creole to refer to languages which:

1. Arose out of a prior pidgin which had not existed for more than a generation.
2. Arose in a population where not more than 20 percent were native speakers of the dominant language and where the remaining 80 percent was composed of diverse language groups. (4)

The first condition excludes Tok Pisin (TP), the second Réunionnais. The exclusion of TP goes back to Bickerton (1974) in which discussion he proposed that the semantic blueprint for the construction of creoles came from the human mind. At that time, he felt that Sankoff and Laberge (1973),[1] despite the insightfulness and revealing nature that he conceded to their study, could "only mislead us about the evolution of the majority of extant creoles" (Bickerton 1974: 125). The reasons he advanced for the potentially misleading nature of TP were that:

1. it was a rare case, being a stabilized pidgin (126);
2. "creolization must take place before a pidgin has had time to stabilize" (127); and
3. its verbal system was dissimilar from the Hawaiian and Caribbean systems (133).

This last mentioned reason is the weakest of the three, given the absence of a structural criterion for creole languages.

Whether TP is excluded from the class creole or not, the case of TP is highly relevant to the theory that Bickerton attempts to develop for the reasons stated below.

1. TP is in the process of acquiring native speakers. It should therefore be an appropriate case in which to observe the acquisition of the language as a native language permitting test of early, errorless, and effortless

acquisition of key features acquired in the absence of direct experience. Only in a case like TP can one be confident that a feature F_1 is pecular to native speakers and unprecedented in the antecedent pidgin or other languages in the environment. Direct observation of the nativization process would be preferable to the reconstruction that he undertakes with respect to Hawaiian Pidgin English (HPE) and Hawaiian Creole English (HCE).
2. In view of the now established preference for viewing pidgins and creoles as processes rather than reifications, a case such as TP, in which process ought to be apparent, should be examined.
3. The time depth of TP is similar to that of HPE/HCE and comparison of their present stages of evolution should be instructive.

In addition to the reasons that he stated in 1974 for the exclusion of TP, Bickerton (1981:3) argues that the long coexistence of TP with Austronesian languages would mitigate the sharpness of the break between TP, the pidgin, and TP, the creole. He is himself aware (16) of the possibility that the apparently sharp break between HPE and HCE could be a result of reconstruction based on contemporary data, a misleading methodological phenomenon rather than a fact. However, he rejects that possibility. Examination, though, of some of the published studies on TP that antedate Bickerton (1981) leads one to the opinion that this exclusion of TP is prophylactic rather than rational. That literature puts into serious question the following notions that are important to Bickerton's propositions:

1. that creolization must take place before a pidgin has had time to stabilize (1974:127);[2]
2. that there is a sharp break between pidgin and creole;
3. that the first creole generation creates rules for which there is no evidence in the antecedent pidgins.

Sankoff (1979:33) confesses disappointment at not finding more substantial support for her earlier view that creolization would be the crucial case for discovering features basic to a natural language. Of the seven developments listed in her study as occurring in TP over the last century, only two—complementizer development and relativization—coincided with the period of creolization.[3] Even so, her conclusions on ia-bracketed relatives (36) are that they

"worked through" TP by extension from existing constructions. Woolford (1979) effectively demonstrated that TP developed a complementizer system by the process of syntactic reanalysis. She concluded (122) that there was nothing unique to creolization in the TP development of a complementizer system. In neither of the above cases is there a "sharp break." The truth is that inclusion of TP by Bickerton could introduce awkward counterevidence.

3. THE CREOLOGENIC ENVIRONMENT

Before one can weigh the validity of ab ovo creations in creolization, there are several theorized features of the creologenic environment presented by Bickerton (1979, 1981) that require comment. This is necessary because of their questionable acceptability and the doubtful importance of his interpretations of them to the results of nativization. He suggests that a creologenic environment is characterized by the following features:

1. large-scale displacement of populations from their homeland;
2. catastrophic suddenness in the necessity for the pidgin to be expanded;
3. children seeking to acquire the pidgin rather than other languages;
4. inability of mothers to teach children the pidgin; and
5. absence of correction of children in the learning process.

Bickerton (1981) suggests that large-scale displacement of populations from their homelands may be a precondition for the emergence of a true creole to the extent that "it is only in European colonies that one would expect to find the massive disruption of normal language continuity which would permit the emergence of innate faculties" (308). The emergence of pidgins and creoles in West Africa would presumably reduce the importance of displacement, whilst the existence of Ki-Nubi and Juba Arabic would reduce the importance of Europeans to the process. Sankoff (1979:24 and 1980: 140) is similarly convinced of the primary importance of European colonial expansion and plantation structures in the genesis of pidgins and Creoles. She knows of no case of a pidgin developing in conditions other than those of modern European colonial expansion.[4]

The plantation colony must be recognized for what it is—the version of socioeconomic, political, and cultural domination that characterized European expansion in its postrenaissance, pre-industrial revolution history. It is not the only setting in which can be found the essence of the communication complex that permits pidginization and creolization to take place and perhaps to crystallize. The plantation is not the essence, it is one milieu for the essence. I would suggest further that restriction of the label creole to those cases where populations have been displaced by Europeans would reduce the universality of the innate bioprogram; the bioprogram could easily be reduced to a nonwhite bioprogram or to a bioprogram valid for use in the presence of European languages!

The alleged importance of displacement relates to the "catas trophic suddenness" with which it becomes necessary for the pidgin to expand. The linguistic interpretation of the suddenness is that children abruptly find themselves with only the pidgin as available language. I believe that this development is less abrupt than Bickerton's dramatization (1979) would suggest. I have argued elsewhere (Carrington 1982a:56) that the assumption that a child in the plantation setting is not learning the languages "floating around" but is uniquely locked in on the pidgin must be wrong. Each first generation potential creole speaker would have had access at least to the native language of one parent, quasi-parent, or communal baby minder. The acquisition of more than one language would have been nearer to a norm than an exception even after the establishment of pidgins. Indeed Bickerton (1981), falling victim to his First Law of Creole Studies,[5] provides evidence in the case of Hawaii that bilingualism was common among locally-born generations of HCE speakers. He writes as follows:

> What were the critical differences between the immigrant and first locally-born generations? Not, apparently, bilingualism versus monolingualism, since all the older, locally-born subjects we interviewed spoke at least one other language besides HCE when they were children. (16) [my emphasis]

In the case of TP, Mühlhäusler (1980:2) notes that many first-language pidgin speakers may grow up as bilinguals in a diglossic situation. He also reports Sankoff as mentioning that bi-and multilingualism are normal rather than exceptional contexts for the development of creoles. In the case of the Caribbean, the continuous replenishment of the stock of slaves

until the end of the trade in the 19th century would also have meant that new native speakers of West African languages were repeatedly introduced to the societies. The effect of this would have been persistent bi-and multi-lingualism among slaves.[6]

It is equally important to recognize that the likelihood of a parent teaching a child the pidgin in preference to, or to the exclusion of, his/her mother tongue would be very low. In the first place, the parent would probably not have viewed the pidgin as an independent language at all, but would have seen it as his/her own attempt at another tongue. Second, the assumption that parent-child communication was necessarily conducted in pidgin must be erroneous. Bickerton is, therefore, correct in stating that mothers are unable to teach children the pidgin, but equally true could be the assertion that they probably do not attempt to do so. Exposure of children to the pidgin could more likely be from contact with people outside the family.

Absence of correction as part of the environment needs to be properly interpreted. Bickerton (1979:16-7) speaks of the absence of both overt and covert correction from parents because they do not know the rules and cannot produce the model sentences that children would need to derive rules. This is a narrow interpretation of the matter. Overt correction for him is utterance refusal followed by replacement by an equivalent acceptable to the listener. Covert correction is the presentation of acceptable output for a meaning which the corrector guesses to have been the speaker's intention. One does not have to say "Don't say XYZ, say XPZ" to engage in correction, nor does one have to use calculatedly subtle techniques similar to those of the teacher trained in psychology. One simply has to fail to understand.

Failure of the listener to understand at any point in a communication act will invite editing from the speaker. Such editing may take the form of a new utterance of similar or different structure. Whichever it is, the withdrawal of an utterance by the speaker who has not been understood is evidence of correction. The learner, or preferably the speaker, will begin to rate certain of his formulations as having low communicative value and others as having high value. Novel or original creations will be understood in proportion to their realization of possibilities implied by other structures. The realization, and hence the existence, of a given set of structures implies a further set of possible yet unrealized structures. Even if a novel utterance is not

derived by concatenation or visible modification of an already existing structure, it may be drawing on structures logically implied by those known.

Without denying the probably stressful nature of the linguistic situation in a pidginogenic or creologenic environment, I would venture the opinion that the reality was less dramatic than it has been made out to be. The notion of the catastrophic suddenness with which a new language is required to be formed, and of the sharp break in linguistic tradition produced by pidginization and creolization, is a European lament—a lament for the loss in smooth transmission of their languages.[7] Because the study of pidgins and creoles began with the study of the fate of European languages in the colonies (the fate of what were, by the period of the early creole studies, institutionally discrete languages), we have persisted in asking the wrong question. We ask What language is the child learning? What linguistic entity is his target? The fact is that the child is not learning a language; he/she is learning a communi cation system that may include several entities that we call languages, functioning in complementary manners to meet his/her total communication need. The more profitable question is: What is the nature of the repertoire that the child is acquiring?

It is the previously mentioned restricted view that allows Bickerton (1981:13) to recognize only three theoretical choices for a learner in the presence of two "conflicting" models, A and B —namely, learn A, learn B, or learn some mixture of A and B. The obvious fourth possibility is to learn both A and B. Furthermore, there is no reason why the models should be viewed as conflicting; they could just as readily be complementary. In contemporary so-called post-creole societies, we have accepted the normalcy of multidialectism regulated by code switching as an integral part of the communication systems. This state, we must recognize, is not a modern phenomenon; it must have been part of the pidginogenic/creologenic environment as well.

I contend, then, that the notion of a child who has an ill-developed pidgin as his/her sole model is a fiction. A stable, systematic, referentially adequate communication system (not language) is available to the child all the time.[8] By the time the society arrives at the point where the child has available to him/her only a form of speech whose history began in the contact situation, that form of speech has already become sufficiently stable, sufficiently systematic, and sufficiently adequate referentially to be a model for his/her total repertoire.

The retort to my position might be that all that is achieved by the argument is a delay in the arrival of the moment when creation ab ovo becomes critical. The delay must be recognized, though, as prolongation of bilingualism, increase in the opportunity for dialect levelling within the several foreigner varieties of pidgin, and, most important, extension of the period for the establishment of internal dynamics of change within the evolving dialects. The creativity of creoles is not denied by these provisions. The process by which the pidgin or other precreole speech moves toward referential adequacy and dominance of the repertoire of native speakers conceivably does not involve creations and innovations. However, it does not take place in a setting that is bereft of models or in a mind deprived of a communication system.

4. THE INPUT OF THE PIDGIN

The nature of the input from the pidgin for the first generation nativizing speakers would be, in Bickerton's scheme of things, inadequate and chaotic and generally unsuitable as a model for learning. In preparing to present his own theory of language acquisition, he asserts that

> every existing theory of acquisition is based on the presupposition that there is always and everywhere an adequate language to be acquired (1981:5).

It may be true that existing studies of language acquisition involve languages that are stable, systematic, referentially adequate, and endowed with significant communities of native speakers. This does not mean, though, that the theories underlying the studies presuppose the adequacy of the language. Indeed, Chomsky (1972:89) envisages that part of the task of language acquisition by the child must be the rejection of some of the data to which he is exposed.

> Formally speaking, the learner must select a hypothesis regarding the language to which he is exposed that rejects a good part of the data on which this hypothesis must rest (Chomsky 1972:89).

This claim by Chomsky was not provoked by the pidginogenic/ creologenic environment, but applies to it nevertheless. The extent to which the alleged linguistic confusion and the unsatisfactory nature of the input would be a problem to the child is thus brought within the limits of normalcy. If one started from a Chomskyan position on language acquisition, the child would be selecting a grammar "that is not definitely rejected by the data available" (Chomsky 1972:88). The task of the learner is conceived in that work as follows:

> What faces the language learner, under these assumptions, is not the impossible task of inventing a highly abstract and intricately structured theory on the basis of degenerate data [my emphasis], but rather, the much more manageable task of determining whether these data belong to one or another of a fairly restricted set of potential languages (88).

At the theoretical level, then, at least one approach to language acquisition assumes that the input data themselves have to be severely edited.

Let us consider a sample of the "chaotic" data with which a child must begin in the case of the HPE to HCE leap. The examples are numbers 45 to 51 of Bickerton (1981:27).

/45/ haus, haus ai stei go in, jaepan taim.
/46/ ai stei kuk.
/47/ mi papa stei help.
/48/ aen istei kam-i kam draib in i ka.
/49/ mai brada hi stei make hia.
/50/ oni tu yia mi ai stei wrk had.
/51/ samtaim wan dei stei gat twentipai baeg.

One of his aims in presenting the examples is to query whether such data "could have provided evidence for the HCE speaker to develop a true auxiliary with nonpunctual (progressive plus habitual) meaning" (27). In his opinion, "it is impossible to see how children of that generation could have distilled any kind of regular rule out of it, still less the particular rule that they did in fact derive" (28). In Bickerton's judgment, only sentences 50 and 51 have any kind of nonpunctual meaning. Not being familiar with HPE/HCE at a personal level, I hesitate to challenge the judgment of one who has formally studied the case. However I do not find the data chaotic. Within the discussion that Bickerton provides in lieu of glosses, it seems clear that the

only sentence that is PUNCTUAL is the second part of 48 (the first part having been edited by the speaker), and that sentence 49 can be interpreted as having two propositions, the first DURATIVE and the second PUNCTUAL.

45a. When i was in Japan, I used to stay at home.
46a. I would (used to) cook.
47a. I used to help my father.
48a. ... he drove up in his car.
49a. My brother remained here and died here.
50a. I worked hard only for two years.
51a. Sometimes it took a day to get twenty-five bags.

Bickerton's question, namely, whether stei is a true auxiliary or not, is immaterial to whether a distinction PUNCTUAL-NONPUNCTUAL is being marked. The distinction seems to be marked lexically by the literal lexical content of stei in 45, 50, and 51 by adverbial phrases permitting durative interpretations. The movement from these data to the use of stei as a nonpunctual auxiliary would not be dissimilar to that described for baimbai ADV — bai IRREALIS MARKER in TP or the syntactic reanalysis that Woolford describes in the development of the TP complementizer system. If my interpretation is correct,[9] the notion that the PUNCTUAL-NONPUNCTUAL DISTINCTION (PNPD) emerges in creole grammar without evidence for it in the pidgin becomes highly tenuous on the basis of these data.

5. DISCOVERING THE BIOPROGRAM

Let us consider the nature of the bioprogram as Bickerton develops it. According to his propositions, the innate bioprogram would have the following characteristics:

1. It would be adaptive, evolutionary and facilitatory rather than pre-emptive of any general problem-solving strategies of the human being (144).
2. It would be capable of growth, development and change (172).
3. It would specify sets of distinctions to be marked (205).
4. It would have no strategies (205).
5. It would create no hypotheses (205).

6. It would not be directly observable; what would be observable would be its interaction with particular target languages (210).
7. The criterion for the bioprogram would be emergence in creole grammar, not universality (160-1).

The attributes of the program themselves raise more than one methodological problem for the process of discovering the components of the bioprogram. If

(a) we cannot observe the bioprogram directly but only the outcome of its interaction with a particular target language,
(b) the bioprogram is capable of change, and
(c) human languages (including creoles) are capable of change, and consequently
(d) the target language may have evolved away from the bioprogram (135),

then it seems that the identification of the elements and distinctions of the bioprogram is highly improbable. The odds are made worse by the fact that universality, even within creoles, cannot be a criterion for the bioprogram.

The author himself recognizes four impediments to the identification of the extent to which creoles are genuinely creative and, by extension, to the discovery of the nature of the bioprogram:

1. the nature of the contribution of the substratum to the antecedent pidgin;
2. the extent of superstrate influence on the pidgin;
3. the extent and nature of internal spontaneous linguistic change; and
4. the extent and nature of decreolization.

If one were to strip each of the occluding factors related to the above impediments away from a given creole language, then one would be nearer to the bioprogram. But Bickerton reduces the advantage that might be gained if one were to eliminate the input of the substrate to the pidgin by minimizing the importance of that input to the language in the first place. He writes:

> That a creole language has to have certain types of rules is exactly what the present study is designed to prove. If such rules happen to be present in the input in certain cases, that is in no way

> counter to the theory expressed here; the creole will acquire such rules not because they are in the input, for many conflicting rules must be there also, but because such a rule is required [my emphasis] by the structure of the emerging language. Indeed, presence in the input may not even be a necessary, let alone a sufficient, condition since the first creole generation could well have devised such a rule for itself ... The first creole generation has merely acquired the kind of rule that it was programmed to acquire, and saved itself the trouble ... of having to invent something equivalent (51).

We therefore face a new methodological hazard. Attempts to strip away rules that we identify as having come through from the substrate risk eliminating rules that the creole genuinely needs, rules that it would have created because it was preprogrammed to create them.

Comparative study of different creoles would not necessarily skirt this problem. The proposition also means that if HC and Guyana Creole (GC) share a rule, and if it can be shown that Yoruba had such a rule at the time relevant to its purported input in GC, we could say that the rule was invented in the case of HCE but borrowed in the case of GC. If, on the other hand, HCE had a rule that GC did not have, the likelihood is that (a) it is not an essential rule of creoles, or (b) it used to be in GC but was lost, evolved away, or crushed by external influences, decreolization, or other contaminants. Discovery of the bioprogram is a methodological minefield.

The distinctions that Bickerton considers to be an important part of the language bioprogram are the following:

a. specific -nonspecific,
b. state -process,
c. punctual -nonpunctual,
d. causative -noncausative.

His proposal rests on their presence in the creoles examined and on the ease of their acquisition by native-speaking child learners of the several noncreole languages in which they were researched. The discerning reader will not consider that Bickerton proves his case, but there can be no doubt that the attempt is provocative.

The resemblance between Chomsky's formal universals and the language bioprogram theory is recognized by Bickerton (297), but he sees formal universals as setting the overall neural

species-specific limits of human language processing capacity, while the bioprogram language would constitute a core structure for human language. It is this core structure that would be a creolelike language. The relationship that has been postulated between universal grammar and particular grammar would be similar to the difference between the bioprogram language and the language that results from the action of functional pressure or cultural factors on the bioprogram language. The discussion of the general origins of human language, absorbing though it be, does not introduce arguments that would materially affect this paper (see Carrington 1982b). We now proceed to the discussion of the issues that should preoccupy the creolist.

6. REDEFINING THE SUBSTANCE

The research areas suggested here result equally from the strengths and from the weaknesses of Bickerton's arguments. Whether one wishes to contest or to support his positions, the same sorts of studies seem to be necessary. This does not mean that we should all become obsessed with the origins of human language from a creole perspective. Rather, it is a recognition that the ambitious pursuit of a unified explanation of language acquisition, the origins of creole languages, and of human language stretches our knowledge so thinly that the holes become embarrassingly obvious. Repairing the holes cannot be the whole task, but unless the repairs are effected, progress will be fitful.

6.1 The Acquisition of Creole Languages

Bickerton himself (1981:210) identifies the study of the acquisition of contemporary creoles as a necessity. In view of the proposition that the bioprogram language is creolelike in nature, the acquisition of creole languages natively by children should be more rapid and errorfree than the acquisition of noncreole languages. Comparison of the two types of cases could be instructive. Choice of the cases for study would be critical, though, because ideally one would wish to study the process in an environment where the particular creole was the only language. But such settings may be difficult to find. Failing that, an order of preference for available settings must be determined. If one is considering only the case of acquiring a creole as a native

language, only the setting would be relevant. However, if we consider the case of persons (not necessarily children) learning a creole as a second or other language, the profile of the learner raises further complications.

Taking the environment first, the following would be relevant considerations:

a. The creole being acquired is/is not the only language in the environment.
b. The other language in the environment:
   i. is/is not a creole;
   ii. is/is not related lexically to the creole being acquired;
   iii. is/is not a superstrate language of the creole being acquired;
   iv. is/is not a socially superordinate language to the creole being acquired;
   v. is/is not a substrate language of the creole being acquired.

In like manner if one looked at the learner's profile where the language was not being acquired natively, the relationship between the learner's native language and the target creole would have to be determined along similar lines. One could add "(c) the native language of the learner is/is not ..." and repeat considerations i to v. Such a matrix would make clear that we would expect the following cases to show different patterns:

1. a child acquiring TP natively in the presence of Buang; and
2. an adult speaker of Japanese learning TP; or
3. an adult speaker of Dutch learning Sranan in Suriname; and
4. an adult speaker of Jamaican Creole learning Sranan in Suriname; or
5. an adult speaker of Ewe learning Haitian Creole; and
6. an adult speaker of French learning Haitian Creole.

It is worth repeating here the point made earlier (Section 2) that the study of the native acquisition of TP is of very great importance.

6.2 The Sociohistorical Settings

The social historian and the creolist have not conversed sufficiently. We have contented ourselves with seeking the snippets of history that would support postures frequently adopted before the quest, but there has been a dearth of sociohistorical studies that present, with respect to the relevant countries, the kind of data that we need:

a. demographic and statistical data of the relevant period, whether reconstructed or contemporaneously reported;
b. child-rearing practices in relation to units of social organization (e.g., family, tribe, longhouse, etc.);
c. population movements (voluntary and forced) of both subordinate and superordinate groups;
d. the nature of ethno-specific social institutions and practices where these could affect language retention/loss.

To these one might add contemporary cases that might provide models to be tested in cases of sparse data:

e. social interaction and communication in militarily occupied territories in contemporary times;

f. communication systems among displaced workers and host populations.

6.3 Comparative Studies of Change

Such comparative studies as have been undertaken have compared languages within the same lexical group. Where comparisons have been made across groups they have been restricted to small areas of grammar. Undertaking comparative studies using secondary data can be a low-yield exercise for the following reasons:

a. The data may be of different ages and may have been analyzed using different grammatical theories.
b. The data may not be drawn from comparable levels of speech behavior.
c. The data may have been selected in relation to the testing of a specific hypothesis.

Obviously, access to parallel primary data is to be desired. But this is not all that is necessary. In view of the now established preference for the processes or dynamic aspects of creoles, comparative studies of change in progress would be a significant advance. Determination of common patterns of language expansion and language attrition (whether by decreolization or other cause) would allow us to know the extent to which the language that is exerting pressure (a term that is to be preferred to model language for our present purposes) determines the nature of change as against factors within the language undergoing change.

7. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

The areas of research suggested above seem to be the directions in which creolists might profitably move if conjecture is to yield to data. Here, I am not concerned primarily with the matters relevant to origins. In fact, I am more concerned about the future of creole languages within creole-speaking populations rather than in the volumes produced by linguists. If some of the dicta of linguists on creoles as natural languages are to have positive effects on the lives of those who speak these languages, studies that can assist in the instrumentalization of creoles should have some priority. It is from this standpoint that the studies of acquisition and of change are doubly justified. If, in the process, we provide data that assist us in the discovery of origins, so much the better; but the pursuit of origins should not be allowed to become a ritual goal any more than the pursuit of genetic relationships. Finally, at this stage, more data and less speculation would accelerate progress in our acquisition of knowledge.

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VERB FRONTING IN CREOLE: TRANSMISSION OR BIOPROGRAM?

Chris Corne

This paper explores one area of creole semantactics, that of verb fronting for focus. In particular, it contrasts verb fronting in Isle de France Creole (IdeFC) with verb fronting in the Atlantic Creole languages of Africa and the New World. It is, perforce, a nondefinitive treatment; its principal merit is to establish that there exists a more or less loosely connected set of structures that recur in both the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic varieties of Creole.[1]

Verb fronting in IdeFC was first mentioned by Baissac (1880: 199)—I shall have occasion to comment thereon in due course—but the first description of the phenomenon is very recent (Corne 1981, 1982:85-9). I offer here a more detailed analysis of IdeFC verb fronting which I hope will establish a clearer picture than that offered by my earlier description. Although a full investigation would no doubt reveal further detail, it can be stated that at least four different structures seem to be involved.

In spite of the brief mention of one of these structures by Baissac a century ago and an example of another a decade ago (Baker 1972:195), recent statements concerning the IdeFC languages (Baker 1972; Bollée 1977; Corne 1970, 1977; Papen 1978) do not so much as hint at the existence of verb fronting. The Rodrigues Creole (RoC) structure which appears in the text presented by Baker (1972:195) is commented on briefly by Corne and Stein (1979:78) and by Holm (1980:372), and Baissac's examples are mentioned by McKibbin and Corne (1979:39, note 6). An example of a third structure is given by Véronique (1983:220, note 3). The observational inadequacy of the major recent descriptive works on IdeFC is only slightly worse than the discussion of verb fronting in those creole languages which have long been known to have it, with a few happy exceptions such as Bailey (1966) and Piou (1982a,

1982b). I cannot hope to rectify here the descriptive inadequacy shrouding the subject, but I can at least draw attention to a much wider range of data, creole and other, than has been the case to date, and express the hope that the gaps and errors in my presentation will serve to promote some necessary and long overdue research.

The structures I am concerned with involve, in essence, the placing of the verb at the beginning of the sentence, the verb then being repeated in its "normal" position in the sentence. This procedure has been referred to (by Taylor 1977:183) as "double predication," a term I borrowed (1982:85) to designate what is basically a focusing strategy: Attention is drawn to the verb, which is thereby emphasized (in some sense). On reflection, I decided that "double predication" was an inappropriate label, and adopted the term "verb fronting," which I use here and in Corne 1981. (The odd chronology results from publication delays.)

I reserve the term "topicalization" to refer to a quite distinct kind of focused sentence in IdeFC (discussed, but not labeled "topicalized," in Corne 1977:196-7). These (usually) involve fronting of an NP; they are different from verb fronting not only in their structure (although there are parallels, to be sure) but also semantically. Topicalized sentences can be contradicted in a specific manner. Take the following English sentence where the NP subject Lena has been topicalized:

(1) it is Lena who is crying

Lena is contrastable with all the other possible shedders of tears, and the sentence can be contradicted thus:

(2) no, it is Georgina who is crying

Verb-fronted sentences, however, do not always have this semantic dimension, although those in particular which negate the fronted verb (as opposed to the whole sentence) come very close to it.

Topicalization in IdeFC occurs in various guises. For NPs, it requires the extraction and fronting of the NP concerned, deletion at the extraction site, and embedding using the relativizer/complementizer ki. Optionally, the definite/demonstrative sa is preposed to nouns as a focusing device (Corne 1977:197).[2] Example:

(3)	(SC)	(sa)	divâ	ki	n	kas	ban	brâs
		DEF	wind	REL	COMP	break	PL	branch

‘it is the wind which has broken the branches’

Predicate heads can be topicalized, but in different ways. Verbs are generally replaced at the extraction site by fer ‘do’, and ki is optional but usual, while adjectival predicate heads are replaced at the extraction site by ete ‘be’, and ki is not used (Véronique 1983:213):

(4)	(MC)	dormi	(ki)	to	ti	fer	samdi
		sleep	REL	you	PAS	do	Saturday

‘you were sleeping on Saturday’

(5)	(MC)	du	kan	la	ti	ete
		sweet	cane	DEF	PAS	be

‘the (sugar) cane was sweet’

Verb fronting, which includes the fronting of both verbal and adjectival predicate heads, differs from topicalization structurally and, as has already been pointed out, semantically. IdeFC verb fronting occurs in various forms. The first way excludes sa, ki, and deletion at the extraction site:

(6)	(MC)	rode	Zâ	ti	ape	rod	so	lisiê,
		search	John	PAS	PROG	search	his	dog
		me	li	pa	fin	truv	li	
		but	he	NEG	COMP	find	it	

‘John was looking everywhere for his dog, but he couldn’t find it’

(7)	(MC)	bure	iev	pu	bizê	bure,	sinô	saser	pu	tuy	li
		run	hare	FUT	must	run	or	hunter	FUT	kill	it

‘the hare will have to run like hell, otherwise the hunter(s) will kill if’

(8)	(MC)	malad	li	ti	ape	malad,	me	dokter	napa
		ill	he	PAS	PROG	ill	but	doctor	NEG
		ti	kapav	soŷ	li				
		PAS	able	treat	him				

‘he was getting really ill, but the doctor could not fix him’

Such sentences often have the idea of 'in spite of', 'although', 'to be in vain', or other more or less concessive meanings. I am not sure whether this derives from the context (clauses co-ordinated with me, sinô in the examples above) or whether it is inherent in the construction. In any event, the concessive meaning crops up with verb fronting in other creole languages, as will be seen. The idea of emphasis of the fronted verb is always present. I have obtained examples of this structure from elderly SC speakers residing in New Zealand (cited in Corne 1982:85), but it appears to have disappeared in Seychelles today. Data from RoC are nonexistent.

A second style of verb fronting is reported by Véronique (1983:220, note 3), using ki:

(9)	(MC)	âraze	ki	mo	ti	âraze
		furious	REL	I	PAS	furious

'I was hopping mad!'

The meaning seems to be simply emphasis.

The third kind of verb fronting may possibly be a subset of the first two. The emphasize mem follows the fronted verb in RoC and SC but apparently not in MC; ki does not occur, and in SC deletion at the extraction site is favored but not obligatory:

(10)	(RoC)	zape	mem,	to	pa	kon	zape	?
		bark	EMP	you	NEG	know	bark	?

'don't you even know how to bark?'[3]

The meaning is purely emphasis of the fronted verb.

In MC, the concessive-style sentences illustrated by (6), (7), and (8) can also occur with a contrastive or adversative meaning. Deletion at the extraction site is allowed:

(11)	(MC)	mâze	li	ti	kapav	mâze,	me	buar	dokter
		eat	he	PAS	able	eat	but	drink	doctor
		ti	defan		li				
		PAS	forbid		him				

'he could eat, but the doctor forbade him to drink'

The final method involves the use of a sentence-initial negator; ki is obligatory and deletion is excluded:

(12)	(MC)	napa	rode	ki	zot	ti	rode,	ler	li
		NEG	search	REL	they	PAS	search	when	she

ti	perdi	so	lasen	lor
PAS	lose	her	chain	gold

‘they really searched diligently when she lost her gold chain’

In this case, the sense is one of strong emphasis of the fronted verb. The gloss is along the lines of ‘it is not the case that the subject verbed’, with the implication that the subject performed some analogous but superlative activity. Thus, in sentence (12) they did not merely search, they went over the area with a fine-toothed comb. This structure is thus semantically rather similar to topicalized sentences. I do not have data for RoC, but a closely related structure occurs in SC:

(13)	(SC)	napa	taye	ki	bonom	pa	ti	taye
		NEG. have	run	REL	guy	NEG	PAS	run

‘the guy ran like hell’

Negation in the embedded clause is obligatory. SC napa ‘not-have’ is not equivalent to MC napa ‘negator’ (cf. Baker 1982a:222-3). The fronted verb is nominalized: sometimes overtly by the indefinite ê (as in napa ê taye ki bonom pa ti taye), sometimes not, as shown by (13) above and by the fact that not all verbs may be fronted/nominalized. For example, (12) is impossible in SC, as *ê rode does not exist.[4] The MC structure is attested as early as Lolliot (1855:26) and is mentioned by Baissac (1880:199), who considers that the sentence he gives:

(14)	(MC)	napas	vané	qui	li	vané
		NEG	run	REL	he	run

‘ce n’est pas courir ce qu’il court’
‘he is really running!’

is an elliptical version of:

(15)	(MC)	napas	appéle	vané	ça	qui	li	vané
		NEG	call	run	that	REL	he	run

‘ca ne s’appelle pas courir!’
‘that’s not called running!’ (he’s nearly flying)

This I think is an erroneous interpretation. Example (15) merely translates the sense of (14): 'what he is doing is not merely running, but some much faster mode of locomotion'. This is entirely compatible with the meaning assigned to such sentences by my MC consultants.

It is clear that there are four, possibly five, distinct patterns, with partially overlapping meanings (emphasis, strong emphasis, concessive, contrastive/adversative) involved in IdeFC verb fronting, a point which is perhaps not made forcefully enough in my two earlier statements.

Now the Atlantic Creole languages. The IdeFC verb fronting structures are strikingly similar to phenomena found in various Atlantic Creoles. The data available to me suggest that the most widespread form of verb fronting in the Atlantic Creoles involves a sentence-initial presentative element whose form varies from language to language (se, na, a, da, etc.) but which is roughly equivalent to English 'it is'. Negation of the fronted verb occurs. The fronted verb may, in certain cases, be seen as nominalized—indeed for Krio, Hancock (1976:16) specifically refers to verb fronting as a categorial change (nominalization).

In two recent studies on Haitian Creole, Piou (1982a, 1982b) distinguishes at least four structures, each with different surface forms. I give examples of each below, along with examples from other creoles. It is not possible at this stage to state whether all the Haitian structures are reflected inclusively in any other creole. In any case, language-specific differences are hardly surprising.

The first structure, apparently the most widespread in other Creoles, involves a presentative element. Examples:

Haitian (Piou 1982a:122-3)

(16)	se	tâde	m	tâde	žâ	vini
	it. is	hear	I	heard	John	come

'I heard John come/coming'

(17)	se	malad	tifi	-a	malad
	it. is	ill	girl	DEF	ill

'the girl is ill'

Krio (Hancock 1976:16)

(18)	na	bái	yu	bái	am	oh	na	tíf	yu	tíf	am	?
	it. is	buy	you	bought	it	or	it. is	steal	you	stole	it	?

'did you buy it or steal it?'

Jamaican (Bailey 1966:86)

(19)	a	tiif	Jan	tiif	di	manggo
	it. it	steal	John	stole	the	mango

'John stole the mango'

(20)	a	sik	Samwel	sik
	it. is	ill	Samuel	ill

'Samuel is ill'

Djuka (Huttar 1975:15)

(21)	na	kii	mi	dda	kii	tu	pakila
	it. is	kill	my	father	killed	two	peccary

'my father killed two peccaries'

Sranan (Taylor 1977:183)

(22)	(a)	lon	mi	wáni	lon	gowé
	it. is	run	I	want	run	go

'what I want to do is run away'

Papiamentu (Taylor 1977:183)

(23)	ta	kôre	e	ta	kôre	baj
	it. is	run	he	PROG	run	go

'he is running away'

Lesser Antillean (Taylor 1977:183)

(24)	se	kuhwi	i	ka	kuhwi	ale
	it. is	run	he	PROG	run	go

'he is running away'

Negerhollands (Markey 1982:190)

(25)	da	loop	me	le	loop
	it. is	go	I	PROG	go

'I am going, too!'

Note that (18) is contrastive/adversative.

The second structure has a concessive sense along with the emphasis of the verb. Examples:

Haitian (Piou 1982b:152)

(26)	tut	dòmi	m	dòmi,	…
	all	sleep	I	slept	

‘although I (have) slept a lot, …’

Lesser Antillean (Taylor 1977:184)

(27)	tut	kuhwi	mwê	kuhwi,	…
	all	run	I	ran	

‘run as I might, …’

Jamaican (Taylor 1977:184)

(28)	aal	di	lie	dem	foul	-ya	lie,	…
	all	DEF	laying	PL	fowl	DEF	lay	

‘however much these hens lay, …’

The nominal status of the fronted verbs is obvious. The concessive sense also occurs with the pattern using the presentative, in the same contextual manner as happens in IdeFC, in at least Cameroonian among the Atlantic Creoles:

Cameroonian

(29)	na	ròn	i	bin	ròn,	bòt	di	jandam	bin
	it. is	run	he	PAS	run	but	the	policeman	PAS
	dei			fò	i	baksai			
	be. locative			for	his	behind			

‘even though he ran as fast as he could, the policeman was on his tail’

The third style involves the verb in initial position, with no accompanying morphemes. The sense varies from language to language, although emphasis is probably always present in some way. Examples:

Haitian (Piou 1982b:153)

(30)	limê	l	limê	lâp	-lâ,	…
	light	he	lit	lamp	DEF	

'as soon as he lit the lamp, ...'

Lesser Antillean (Taylor 1977:183)

(31)	(se)	las	u	las
	it. is	tired	you	tired

'(it is because) you are tired'

Karipúna (Tobler 1983:94)

(32)	muhi	li	muhi
	die	he	died

'he died indeed'

(33)	axte	-l	li	axte	-l
	buy	it	he	bought	it

'he certainly bought it'

I do not know if the presence versus the absence of the presentative se in the Lesser Antillean example (31) affects the meaning (cf. also the optional a in the Sranan example [22]). Taylor's discussion (1977:183) suggests that the explanatory meaning 'it is because' is in some way optional. The explanatory value turns up in Jamaican, but in restricted contexts only. Bailey (1966:118-9) gives the following:

(34)	a	sik	Manwel	sik	mek	im	kudn	kom
	it. is	ill	Manuel	ill	cause	him	unable	come

'it is because M. is ill that he couldn't come'

In sentences with mek the fronted verb may be nominalized by the use of di 'the' or wan 'a, one':

(35)	a	wan	chap	mi	chap	di	trii	mek	i	faaldong
	it. is	one	chop	I	chopped	the	tree	cause	it	fall

'it's one chop I chopped the tree; that's why it fell' (her gloss)

Compare also Alleyne (1980:104). After nominalization, mek and a may be deleted:

(36) wan chap mi chap di trii # i faal dong

These Jamaican patterns do not occur, it would appear, in the French-based Atlantic Creoles.

Finally, the fronted verb may be negated. Examples:

Haitian (Piou 1982a:135)

(37)	se	pa	rêmê	Mari	rêmê	Nuyòk
	it. is	NEG	love	Mary	love	New. York

‘it isn’t that M. loves N.Y.’ (she adores it)

Jamaican (Bailey 1966:95)

(38)	a	no	tiif	Kofi	tiif	di	manggo[5]
	it. is	NEG	steal	Kofi	stole	the	mango

‘K. did not steal the mango’ (he bought it)

Guyanais-Saint-Laurent-du-Maroni (Corne 1971:99)

(39)	se	pa	faše	mo	vle	faše	to
	it. is	NEG	anger	I	wish	anger	you

‘it isn’t that I want to anger you’

Djuka (Huttar 1975:16)

(40)	ná	kii	mi	dda	kii	tu	pakila
	Neg. it. is	kill	my	father	killed	two	peccary

‘my father did not kill two peccaries’ (he merely wounded them)

The meaning here seems closer to the contrastive/adversative sense than to the strong emphasis of IdeF sentences (12) and (14).

There is another structure attested in Karipúna which contains the same verb twice and which will be briefly discussed below (sentences 48 and 49).

Various authors, including for example Alleyne (1980:103-5) and Holm (1980:370-3), have ascribed Atlantic Creole verb fronting to a West African substratal influence. Alleyne provides examples of verb fronting from two languages, Yoruba and Twi, both members of the “Kwa” subgroup of Niger-Congo. Holm also cites Yoruba material. Huttar (1975) cites a number of languages in the course of his comparison of Djuka and West African front-shifting procedures, but does not give specific examples of West African verb fronting. (His conclusions are, no doubt in consequence, extremely cautious.) Arguments for a “Kwa” origin for Atlantic Creole verb fronting would be more impressive if the proponents thereof were to produce a wider

array of data from languages known or presumed to have been present in given creolization situations. There is, however, enough evidence of substratal influence from West Africa in other areas of Atlantic Creole grammar to give such arguments an air of plausibility.

In Yoruba, verb fronting seems to work as follows: The verb is fronted without deletion at the extraction site, it is nominalized by reduplication of the initial consonant and the insertion of the vowel i, and it is followed by a specific presentative form ni of the copula:

(41)	mi-	mú	ni	wón	mú	mi	(Bamgboṣe 1966:56)
	NOM	take	it. is	they	took	me	

‘they actually arrested me’

The meaning is simply emphasis of the fronted verb.[6]

The emphasis in the literature on West African cultural (including linguistic) survivals or influences in the New World overlooks the presence there, from the earliest times, of very large numbers of Bantu-speaking Africans from the Congo, Angola, and even a few from Mozambique (for a survey, see Curtin 1969). As it happens, verb fronting is a widespread Bantu phenomenon. Consider the following examples from three Bantu languages spoken in East Africa. Verb fronting is for emphasis; in all cases, the fronted verb is nominalized by the use of the infinitive prefix.

Swahili

(42)	ku-	-cheza	tu-	-li-	-cheza	kutwa
	INF	play	we	PAS	play	all. day

‘we played all day long’

Haya

(43)	oku-	-lya	tu-	-ka-	-lya
	INF	eat	we	PAS	eat

‘we really ate!’, ‘as for what we ate!’ (you wouldn’t believe it)

Makuwa

(44)	o-	-lya	ni-	-ho-	-lya
	INF	eat	we	COMP	eat

‘as for what we ate!’

(45) o- -khoma ki- -ā- -na- -khoma
INF hit I PAS PROG hit
'I was really hitting hard'

(46) o- -lima ki- -na- -lima
INF cultivate I PROG cultivate
'I am really farming!', 'I am a superb farmer'

In all such cases, the verb in the infinitive (prefixed with ku-, oku-, o-) which has been fronted gives prominence to the idea expressed by the verb (cf. Ashton 1947:278). In Swahili at least, and probably elsewhere as well, the infinitive form may follow the verb, giving strong emphasis:

Swahili (Ashton 1947:279)

(47) zama ku- -zama we
sink. IMP INF sink EMP(?)
'drown, damn you, drown!'

I cannot tell, on the basis of this skimpy information, if the pattern illustrated by (47) has anything to do with verb fronting, but it seems worthy of mention for two reasons: It involves emphasis, and it contains the same verb twice. For Karipúna, Tobler (1983: 93,132) notes two structures where "a complex verbal phrase with two juxtaposed verb nuclei is used to express emphasis or certainty":

Karipúna

(48) li kólé te kólé
he angry PAS angry
'he was really angry'

(49) li ka kólé ke kólé
he PROG angry FUT(?) angry
'he is very angry'

Whether these can be assimilated to structures along the lines of (47) is not at all certain, given the unusual circumstances of Karipúna's coming into being (adoption by Amerindians of a previously existing [Cayennais] Creole). I do not have any

examples of sentence-initial negation co-occurring with verb fronting in Bantu languages. However, the use of a negative for emphasis is quite usual, as in the following example:[7]

Makuwa

(50)	e-	-nupa	ki-	-ho-	-teka	masi	khi-	-rera-	-le
	CLP	house	I	COMP	build	but	NEG	beautiful	PAS

‘I have built a really beautiful house’

The parallels are not perfect between the Bantu construction and the Creole verb-fronting structures. On the other hand, a more detailed inquiry than I have been able to make may well reveal further significant Bantu facts.[8]

The patterns discussed so far may be summarized as in the Table. In this table, + means that the structure/meaning does occur, - that it apparently does not, and? that I do not yet know whether it does or not. (+) indicates marginal occurrence.

TABLE
SUMMARY OF VERB FRONTING IN FOUR GROUPS OF LANGUAGES

Rule/meaning	IdeFC	Atlantic	“Kwa”	Bantu
Emphatic affirmative fronting	+	+	+	+
Emphatic negative fronting	+	(+)*	?	?
Concessive	+	+	?	?
Contrastive/adversative	+	+	?	?
Explanatory	-	+	?	?
Syntax				
Presentative copula	-	+	+	-
No presentative copula	+	+	-	+
Overt nominalization	(+)	+	+	+
Subordinator (ki)	+	-	-	-

**NOTE: Jamaican* no *+ V only.*

People from Bantu-speaking areas of Africa were an important element in the settlement of Mauritius and, somewhat later, Seychelles. In the earliest years in Mauritius (from 1721 to 1735) Bantu speakers appear to have been totally absent, while speakers of various West African languages were very much in evidence, as were people from Madagascar and India (for authoritative details, see Baker 1982a). The East African slave trade became organized from 1736, and the last third

of the century saw an overwhelming majority of East Africans among all arrivals on the island. Indeed the ratio of East Africans to Malagasies was of the order of nine to one in the years 1773-1794, and was still two to one in the period 1801-1810 (Baker 1982b:49).

This period of massive numerical preponderance of Bantu speakers coincides with a crucial period in the emergence of Mauritian Creole. An earlier period of pidginization (inadequate second-language learning, by adults) and creolization (first-language learning with variable input according to the individual's position in ethnosocial space) must have been ending around 1774, when the number of locally-born slaves exceeded, for the first time, the number of members of the French-speaking "ruling class." The period of the rapid development of a homogeneous creole language, the "jelling" of MC, must have been from about this time (1774) to around 1810, when an end was put to the regular introduction of foreign-born slaves. For a detailed discussion of the sequence of events, including those in Rodrigues and Seychelles, see Baker (1982b:806-33, 845-59).

If verb fronting in IdeFC is a case of substratal influence, then the Bantu languages must be seen as the primary source, with "Kwa" a distant possibility. Of the other languages known to have been represented in Mauritius by significant groups of speakers at various times, neither Malagasy nor Hindi/Bhojpuri have verb fronting along the IdeFC lines. Malagasy, as an Austronesian language, is VP-initial. Standard Hindi and Indian Bhojpuri (and, I assume, Mauritian Bhojpuri) do not have verb fronting as such, although normal SOV order may become (roughly) VOS in order to convey emphasis of various kinds. If verb fronting in IdeFC results from transmission from another language, the only other possible source is the French superstrate.

French, in its various diachronic, synchronic, and geographical manifestations, has a number of structures involving the "same" verb twice. Romance languages generally have a structure VERB -QU -VERB (a reflex of a Latin construction), the meaning of which is variously emphasis, repetition, progression, and/or concession. Syntactically, it is aberrant in modern Romance: the verb is present subjunctive and invariable for person/number. For a detailed statement, see Lombard (1938:112-20). In French, this structure is reflected in fixed expressions: coûte que coûte 'whatever the cost, at all costs', vaille que vaille 'at all costs, come what may'; in other Romance languages, this construction retains a degree of

productivity. In MC, I have noted kut ke kut: Ottley (1971:25) gives vay k(e) vay in Trinidad;[9] for SC, Annegret Bollée (personal communication) reports mâz ki mâz 'however much he/ one eats'. I cannot see how this structure could conceivably have anything to do with verb fronting in IdeFC. It is not a particularly salient feature of French grammar, and it may be considered lexicalized rather than productive. Its reflexes in Creole French languages are similarly syntactically aberrant lexicalized structures, possibly maintaining (or developing?) some degree of productivity in SC.

Nearer to IdeFC verb fronting is a procedure which occurs in modern, popular, spoken French and which is highly context-sensitive. An example:

(51) Des années, creuse que je te creuse! (Dard 1977:474)
'for years, they were digging furiously'

Context: some people had spent years excavating a large object, and this fact is being narrated in the present tense (a common device to add immediacy to the narration). Another construction used in French looks like this:

(52) pour (ce qui est de) manger, on a bien mangé hier soir
'we sure ate well last night'

(53) pour (ce qui est d') être malade, il a été bien malade
'he was as sick as a dog'

Examples (52) and (53) are close to the structure and emphasis of at least one IdeFC verb-fronting construction. Finally, Posner (1983: 198) suggests also an "Old French-type" structure:

(54) c'est sortir que sortir
'that's really going out'

Let us suppose for the moment that IdeFC verb fronting derives from Bantu. There is ample other linguistic evidence of Bantu substratal influence in IdeFC, although recognition of this fact has been somewhat lacking in the literature. Baker (1982b:784-805, and in press) argues that Bantu conceptualizations are responsible for the high incidence of (French etymological) article + noun agglutination in IdeFC. He discusses this phenomenon, which may be illustrated by French la peau 'the skin' versus MC lapo 'skin' (lapo la 'the skin'), in consid-

erable detail and compares IdeFC with Reunionese, Haitian, and Lesser Antillean. It turns out that there are proportionately more nouns which have an initial syllable wholly derived from a French article in IdeFC than there are in any of the others (roughly, about 450 in IdeFC, about 100 in Haitian and Lesser Antillean, 12 in Reunionese). The high incidence of agglutination is undoubtedly due to the perception by Bantu speakers of French articles as elements akin to the class markers which obligatorily co-occur with nouns in Bantu languages.[10]

Bantu substratal influence is supported by other convergent influences in the case of some lexical items and syntactic structures. For example, the MC lexical item truve includes the notions of ‘see’ and ‘find’; Richardson (1963:13) notes that this is true also of Swahili -ona ‘see, find’; it is in fact true of other Bantu languages as well, and also of Malagasy (mahita ‘see, find’). There is clear indication of convergent influences in the IdeFC use of the completive marker fin and of the “collective” reduplicated numerals which function as manner adverbials, where Bantu conceptualizations are reinforced by similar ones in at least some of the other important languages in presence, including French (Corne 1983).

This linguistic evidence is consonant with the hypothesis that verb fronting also derives from Bantu.[11] The demographic and social history described by Baker (1982a, 1982b) is also supportive of this hypothesis. If we assume that MC emerged and jelled in the manner suggested by Baker (1982b:806-59), then it is plausible to suppose that the use of verb fronting, transferred into the emergent Creole using French lexical items (and dropping the Bantu infinitive prefix), could scarcely have caused problems for a majority of Mauritius’ population. One need neither invoke the “cafeteria principle” nor be a “substratomaniac” to subscribe to this view. Crudely stated, this hypothesis claims that large numbers of Creole speakers were bilinguals who transferred the essence of the verb-fronting structure(s) from their languages that had it to the one(s) that didn’t. Such a view is relatively satisfactory for IdeFC, since there were vast numbers of such bilinguals on the spot at the right time, but it has one serious weakness. A glance at the Table shows that the Bantu linguistic evidence necessary to support this hypothesis is simply not (yet) available.

Large numbers of Bantu speakers were taken to the New World (for example, some 45 percent of all slaves taken to Haiti; Curtin 1969:144, 200), but the Mauritian situation—the coincidence of huge numbers of Bantu speakers at just the crucial

moment—has not been shown to have occurred there. If one were to assume (i) that the 83 percent of Haitian slaves from the Bight of Benin, the Bight of Biafra, Angola, and Mozambique (Curtin 1969) all spoke languages which had verb fronting, and further (ii) that Haitian emerged and jelled under circumstances similar to those which pertained in Mauritius, then one might wish to suppose that verb fronting arose in Haitian by the same process of transmission by bilinguals. The argument would be inferential: (a) Verb fronting occurs in at least some West African and in Bantu languages generally. (b) Large numbers of speakers of both groups of languages were present in both Mauritius and Haiti. (c) IdeFC and Haitian share verb-fronted structures of rather similar syntax and semantic motivation and which seem pretty un-French in style. Therefore Creole verb fronting must arise from transmission of African structures. <u>If</u> it is claimed that verb fronting <u>must</u> have entered Creole from some other language(s), then I can see no more plausible explanation. It has the same major weakness as the Bantu → IdeFC argument: The Table shows that the linguistic support for it is rather slim. It has the additional flaw of being based on two unproven assumptions. Clearly, somebody needs to produce a study of the demographic and social history of an Atlantic Creole with verb fronting as detailed and as authoritative as Baker's work on Mauritius. The modern descendants of the languages involved need to be examined, and the existence of verb fronting therein established (and suitably described). Having thus established that assumptions (i) and (ii) were substantially correct, one might then, and only then, entertain the argument sketched above, perhaps throwing in superstrate support in the case of the French-based Creoles in the shape of sentences like (52) and (53).

It may reasonably be supposed that most, if not all, languages have ways of focusing on verbs, using various strategies to that effect. Among such are special tones or stress and intonation patterns, specific morphological and/or syntactical devices such as particles and/or affixation and/or word order, and so on. We have already seen that Yoruba, three Bantu languages, and some Atlantic Creoles use nominalization of a fronted verb and a special presentative element. In this, they are not much different from a number of perhaps more familiar languages. In English, for example, a kind of "verb fronting" may be used for emphasis:

(55) as for <u>hitting</u>, I hit him as hard as I could

In other languages, verb fronting is used in contrastive/adversative constructions:

Russian

(56) pon'imat'-to pon'imayu, no govor'it n'e govor'u
'I understand, but I don't speak'

Czech

(57) rozumět to já rozumím, ale hovořit to nehovořím
'I understand, but I don't speak'

Japanese

(58) wakaru no wa wakaru, keredo hanasu no wa hanasenai
'I understand, but I don't speak'

Yiddish

(59) šlófn flegt er šlófn ba der múmen ober ésn flegt er esn in der heym
'he used to sleep at Aunty's but eat at home'

In these languages and the French examples (52) and (53), there is nominalization (the participal form in English; infinitival forms in Russian, Czech, Yiddish, and French; the nominalizing particle no in Japanese), devices which may be considered as functionally equivalent to the use of a presentative (as for, pour, pour ce qui est de, Japanese topic marker wa, Slavic particle to), and the reduplication of the same verb base. Verb fronting, then, in various guises and with various meanings, is not a particularly rare or unusual phenomenon. The occurrence of basically similar phenomena in languages as diverse as Russian, Japanese, Creole, and Yoruba suggests a certain universality, such that if verb fronting in Creole arises through transmission, the substratal verb-fronting structures may have been "favored" in some way in the emergence of the various creole languages.

Bickerton (1981:51-6) discusses verb fronting for focus in creole languages from the viewpoint of universality of a different kind, the human bioprogram for language. The language bioprogram hypothesis (LBH) has a lot of creole evidence to support it. For obvious reasons, Bickerton does not put forward, as support for the LBH, the nature of the creole style elements which occur in Reunuionese (cf. Corne 1982:16-7, 107-8), the

nature of the Reunionese continuum, and the manner of the emergence of a homogeneous Creole in Mauritius (all of which are discussed in Baker 1982b).

However, verb fronting is advanced by Bickerton as one, indeed the first, of a number of creole phenomena upon which the LBH is based and which it purports to explain. Bickerton illustrates his discussion from Hawaiian Creole English, which does not have verb fronting, and Guyanese, which does:

Guyanese (Bickerton 1981:52)

(60)	a	sii	Jan	bin	sii	wan	uman
	it. is	see	John	ANT	see	a	woman

'John had seen, had really seen, a woman'

One basis of Bickerton's argument that verb fronting derives from the bioprogram is that any explanation invoking the substratum is doomed to failure (48-50).

Bickerton is under the erroneous impression that verb fronting occurs only in Caribbean Creole languages and in Yoruba "and perhaps one or two other relatively minor [African] languages": this does not take account of IdeFC verb fronting, the Bantu languages, and the millions of Bantu speakers taken to the Caribbean. From this misapprehension (and he can hardly be blamed for not knowing about IdeFC verb fronting, or indeed about a number of the new data offered here) and other considerations, he derives the claim that "at any given stage in [the] development [of an emerging language system], the language could only incorporate rules of a certain type" (50) and that "if such rules happen to be present in the input in certain cases … the creole will acquire such rules" (51). These rules are those which conform to the blueprint, for that stage, of the bioprogram, and in Bickerton's view, verb fronting for focus in such a rule. His linguistic argument is based on the hypothesis that most creole languages do not basilectally/originally have VP as a major category, but do have V (54). If a fronting rule were to move V without leaving a copy at the extraction site, interpretation difficulties would arise and preposed tense-mode-aspect markers would be stranded. Therefore, "any language with movement rules that involve V only, rather than VP, MUST develop a copying rule … No borrowing from any other language would be required" (55). Languages which do have VP do not allow verb fronting, for example Hawaiian Creole English

(53), or Trinidadian (decreolized) English. (This claim presumably casts doubt on the status of VP in all languages which allow verb fronting, such as Japanese, Yoruba, Makuwa, etc.)

Bickerton's view then is that verb fronting is a rule which corresponds to the bioprogram. He argues that if this rule happens to be present in the input, then acquisition of the rule by the first (and subsequent) creole-speaking generation(s) is all the easier, since everyone acquires easily a rule of the kind that humans are programmed to acquire. It is, therefore, impossible to refute the LBH by an appeal to the substrate or the superstrate. However, if verb fronting comes from the operation of the bioprogram, child language acquisition data might provide evidence. As far as I am aware, verb fronting has not been reported.

I have identified here a set of connected semantactic structures in both IdeFC and in the Atlantic Creoles. Both emphasis and the contrastive/adversative sense occur in other, noncreole languages. On present information (admittedly skimpy), the contrastive/adversative, the concessive, and the explanatory senses do not occur in African substratal languages, nor does the NEG-initial emphatic structure. Nonetheless, I remain skeptical that verb fronting as a general creole phenomenon has anything much to do with the bioprogram (a theory to which, in essence, I subscribe). If the presence of VP as opposed to V in Hawaiian Creole English is assumed to be coincidental rather than causal, then the lack of verb fronting in this language may be simply due to the fact that it is the only known creole (early creolizing) language in the formation of which Africans did not play a role. The lack of verb fronting in upper-mesolectal (decreolized) varieties of Creole English could well be due to the fact that English—the putative target—does not have it. While I cannot answer the question in the title of this paper, it does not seem to me that in the case of verb fronting, the substratum explanation is to be rejected—the data are too incomplete to justify dismissal—or that the LBH gains a great deal by using these selfsame incomplete data as the basis for one of several key arguments.

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THE NEED FOR A MULTIDIMENSIONAL MODEL

Robert B. Le Page

1. INTRODUCTION

In my contribution to the 1977 Schuchardt symposium (Le Page 1980), I drew attention to Schuchardt's distinction between "ein fertiges Patois," as exemplified by the Portuguese of Macao or Malacca, and a "Jargon," as exemplified by the Malayo-Spanish of the Philippines (Schuchardt 1883b:113). Elsewhere (1882:800), he had distinguished between the "natural" form of the Creole Indo-Portuguese of Cochim and a form which seemed to be closer to the written language. He went on to say that, where a creole coexisted with the European base language, there always arose a series of intermediate varieties, and students of creole should know how to eliminate such heterogeneous elements. Such mixtures only developed as means of communication under particular circumstances; one should distinguish for example between a Creole and neglectful Portuguese ("vernachlässigtes"). Later in the same article, he claimed that the "kitchen Spanish" of the Philippines was not an established patois ("kein fertiges patois"): there were varieties which approached more or less closely to Spanish grammar, and varieties which used more or fewer Malay words. It was not, however, a purely idiosyncratic pidgin, but a jargon at that time current as a regular means of communication between members of different tribes, each supplementing it from their own vocabulary.

In the present paper I shall give some examples of various linguistic situations, some of which might have appeared to Schuchardt to illustrate jargons and some more "complete" languages, and I shall argue that a multidimensional model for the linguistic universes in which each of us moves and has our common being enables us to subsume all such cases under a

common view of the processes and abstractions we call a language. In doing so I shall, as John Fought (1982) has pointed out, be returning to some of Schuchardt's most fundamental ideas—those concerning the individualism of language and also the theoretical position on language mixture as a fundamental process of change and an inescapable condition of all speech communities.

2. PROBLEMS IN DESCRIBING "JAMAICAN"

When Beryl Loftman Bailey, F. G. Cassidy, and I first determined to tackle together the phonology, grammar, and lexicon of "Jamaican," Cassidy (1961), in his *Jamaica Talk*, made a distinction between what he elected to call "folk speech" and educated usage; the dictionary was to embrace both, and to be historical into the bargain. It was thus to be called *The Dictionary of Jamaican English*. It is, of course, comparatively easy to expand a dictionary to include the lexicon of more than one person or group of people, more than one period, and of more than one level of usage; indeed, the problem with a dictionary is how to draw any kind of boundary at all in any rational way. No one member of the community will know all the words one will collect in the community; nor can one possibly collect every word known to and used by every member. Dictionaries are therefore, of necessity, ramshackle in relation to the communities they reflect. The problem of describing a composite grammar or a composite phonology is far more difficult. One has to start with some one person's grammar and some one person's phonology, and it seemed obviously reasonable in our case to start with that idealized vernacular which both Cassidy and Bailey remembered as the broad vernacular of their youth in their native island. Beryl Bailey and I spent many hours discussing what to call this vernacular—we considered Jamaicanese, Creolese, Jamaica Dialect—and finally settled for *Jamaican Creole* by analogy with Robert A. Hall, Jr. 's (1953) then recently published *Haitian Creole*.

We were not, however, under any illusions as to the homogeneity of the Jamaican vernacular. One had to make a start somewhere, but it was clear that there were, in fact, many different varieties of non-Standard English in use in Jamaica and that educated Jamaican usage also contained variation. There were regional varieties, which Cassidy, DeCamp, and Louise McLoskey plotted and which are, to some extent, reflected in the geo-

graphical distribution recorded in the Dictionary of Jamaican English. There were social variants, age-group variants, and stylistic variants. (We could compare, for example, an Anansi story with a wedding speech or a balmyard sermon, or the electioneering style of Norman Manley with that of Sir Alexander Bustamante.) Moreover, it was clear that some Jamaicans were in close touch with the United States, some had just returned from Cuba, some read a lot, some regarded the broad vernacular as something to be stigmatized, stamped out, and, if possible, replaced by “correct” English, and so on.

When we published Jamaican Creole (Le Page and DeCamp 1960), the name has already attracted criticism from Douglas Taylor, voiced at the 1959 Mona conference. How could we call this Jamaican mishmash a “Creole,” when there was a whole range of varieties from the broad dialect to an educated usage very close to Standard British or American usage? The situation in Haiti or Martinique or Guadeloupe or in his own home island of Dominica was, he felt, quite different—there, the Creole was quite distinct from the metropolitan French of educated people. His argument was echoed in a slightly different form by Jamaicans themselves; the vernaculars were just “broken talk” or “bad talk,” and we were wrong to study them. Our motive in using the name Jamaican Creole was, in part, to dignify these vernaculars, to gain recognition for them as objects of respect.

From our decision to describe a broad Jamaican vernacular and then to state, as Bailey did in her Jamaican Creole Syntax (1966), that of course there were many morphophonemic variants between that and Standard English, it was a short step to William Steward’s formalization of “basilect” and “acrolect,” two polar varieties, with a mixture or “mesolect” in between. This concept became a linear continuum for which DeCamp devised implicational scales and which Bickerton made the basis of his implicational polylectal grammar for “the Guyanese language.” I should like to get away from this model, since I think it has helped to perpetuate a number of distortions about language which still underlie historical linguistics.

3. THE EVOLUTIONARY PACE OF CREOLES

As a further illustration of one of these distortions I would refer to the fact that Bickerton (1975) represents his polylectal grammar of Guyanese as incorporating an historical dimension into what would otherwise be a synchronic description of a lan-

guage. In other words, "the Guyanese language" is represented as being synchronically a segment of an historical process in which the acrolect represents the future and the basilect, the past. Markey (1982), noting my own opposition to the linear continuum concept, proposes a solution which adds just one further dimension to the linear progression: He takes over Bickerton's developmental time axis, which makes the relationship between basilect and acrolect one of historical progression, and adds a vertical axis among which a slice could be made at any particular moment in time to lay bare variation "between and among speakers classed as basilectal, mesolectal or acrolectal." He continues:

> The evolutionary pace of creoles is notably more rapid that that of other language types. Thirty years in the life of a creole might well be equivalent ot three centuries in the life of a non-creole (or pidgin). It is this telescoped evolutionary span that confers fundamental significance on creoles for the historical linguist. The synchrony/diachrony dichotomy is nullified more than anywhere else by creolization/decreolization. (Markey 1982:173)

I do not wish to deal generally here with Markey's paper, which begins by arguing that to decide whether Afrikaans is or is not a creole language one needs a "rapid" definition of "Creole," and ends with the conclusion that, "In typology ... as throughout human language there are no absolutes." I agree with his conclusion, though not with the argumentation by which he reached it. I do wish, however, to argue that there is no essential difference between a "creole" and any other human language; and there is no substance in the statement that the evolutionary pace of creoles is different from that of other languages. The languages of isolated communities tend to be conservative; the languages of communities in contact tend to change because of the contact, and creoles are the same in these respects as other languages. It is necessary for me to make this point since I wish to present a general framework for historical processes in language. To give just a few examples, Jamaica Creoles on isolated plantations appear to have remained remarkably stable from the 17th to the first half of the 20th centuries; so also does Mauritian Creole (see Baker and Corne 1982). The rate of change in Bahasa Malaysia since it became the language of education for all ethnic groups and professions in Malaysia has been far more rapid over the past thirty years than that of 18th-century Jamaican Creole.

4. THE MULTIDIMENSIONALITY PROBLEM

Markey's solution to the multidimensionality problem is not ah adequate solution. One further point, however, needs to be made before we proceed to examples. Both he and Peter Trudgill (1983) have drawn distinctions between "natural" processes of linguistic change and other kinds of change—though they have not agreed as to what is natural in this respect. I should like to discard the distinction entirely. There is no means by which a "linguistic system" or "a language" can be said to "change" other than by the socially marked data being passed through the guts of individual speaker-hearers, being restructured in new sets of socially marked systems, and by the usage of a community then being refocused on fresh models accordingly as they agree on the social prestige or stigma to be attached to these systems. The systematic changes which we perceive (such as The Great Vowel Shift) are the artifacts of hindsight; they depend on selection by individuals from among the multitudinous possibilities available to them at any given moment, and on the social forces which impel various groups to choose similarly. Trudgill has demonstrated this very clearly in relation to Norwich English, and Milroy (1980) in relation to the vernacular norms of Belfast.

In the sections that follow, I present data from a number of diverse linguistic communities which will make clear the need for a multidimensional model.

5. BELIZE

My first example comes from the data of four of the 280 children we interviewed in our study of Cayo District, Belize. Each of them told our Jamaican fieldworker, Dr. Pauline Christie, the story of "The Three Little Pigs," which they had read or heard read to them at school (probably from The Ladybird Reader). We can refer to the children by their initial. (The full text for the child SH and extended samples of the transcription for the other three children were published in Le Page 1973.)

The area in which these children live has been opened up in the past forty years by the building of a road from Belize City on the Caribbean coast to Benque Viejo on the Guatemalan frontier. The population has been drawn in from the older Creole population of the coast, from the "Spanish" population

of Benque Viejo, and from the Amerindian villages towards the newly created main-road settlements. In addition, a fresh impetus to social cohesion within Belize as a whole has been its advance towards independence and the concurrent threat from Guatemala to annex it once it is independent (a threat taken very seriously by the Belizeans, who are only too familiar with the extremely repressive and murderous nature of successive Guatemalan regimes). Social and geographical mobility has been increased by the inadequacy of the older occupations around which the District developed—milpa cultivation, logging, and chicle-tapping—to provide the standard of living desired by the new Belizeans. Within this framework, as we have shown elsewhere (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1983), a new identity and a new "language" are emerging in the sense that people are beginning—just beginning—to think of themselves as "Belizean" rather than "Spanish" or "Creole" or "Maya," and to feel that the Belizean language is "Creole"—although not necessarily exactly as spoken on the coast.

Here, then, is how the four children responded. The phonological properties of their storytelling in terms of the three variables studied in the survey are presented in Table 1. These variables were chosen because of their association with "Creoleness" (nasalization), with book learning (r-coloration), or with "Spanishness" (devoicing of final -z):

TABLE 1
PHONOLOGY OF BELIZEAN SCHOOLCHILDREN

Child	Sex	Age	Denomination and situation of school	School Standard	Degree of nasalization	Degree of r-coloration	Degree of devoicing of -z
SH	F	13	Anglican Urban	IV	67%	30%	37%
DG	F	13	Anglican Urban	V	2%	75%	0%
SM	F	12	RC Rural	V	53%	21%	(0%)*
FN	M	10	RC Benque Viejo	IV	2%	67%	73%

**There were not enough occurrences to calculate a reliable figure here; the figure in parentheses is supplied from her late conversation, having generally comparable properties otherwise.*

The four children reflect different accents. The two most similar are SH and SM; both exhibit properties associated with Creole speech in the degree of nasalization. SM has reached Standard V in a Roman Catholic rural school at 12, SH is only in Standard IV in an urban Anglican school at 13. SH is rather more Creole than SM, but at the same time exhibits symptoms of Hispanization which SM lacks. The other two children have nasalization only to a very small degree. They both have a high proportion of r-colored vowels, but DG, like SM, has none of the devoicing associated with hispanization, while the little boy FN, going to school in the "Spanish" township of Benque Viejo, not surprisingly shows this feature to a considerable extent. These four children live within a few miles of each other and are all "native Belizeans," but we need at least three dimensions to describe the variation in their accents. That is, it would not—if they made up a representative sample—be possible to predict the other two values from any one. One cannot, therefore, arrange these four children on a linear continuum.

Next, let us look at the grammar of their openings:

SH wʌns apɔna taɩm ðɛɐ   wɒz θri lɩdl pɩgz dɛm mɩ lɩv wɩð ðɛ maða
DG wʌns ʋpɑna taim deɜ   wʋz čri lil pɩgz de justu lɩʋ wɩt deɜ r madɜ r
SM dɩ ma mɩ ha čri a di li pɩg dɛ̃
FN wʌns ɣpɒn taɩm de ɜ r w ɜ r črɩ lɩtl pɩgs ðat de w ɜ r bɩg an ------- de haf de ɜ r mɒda

SM has the most uncompromisingly Creole opening, using the past marker [mɪ] from the outset, where SH starts with [wɒz] and moves on to [mɪ] only in her second verb phrase. SM uses the Creole plural marker in [pɪg dɛ̃] where all the others use the {-Z} plural suffix as in Standard English. She also uses the broad Creole form [li] for Standard <u>little</u>. SH and DG both use a form of <u>was</u> as their first past marker, where FN uses a form of Standard <u>were</u>. SH, whose phonology is, in a number of respects, closer to Standard than DG's ([ðɛɐ] vs. [deɜ], [θri] vs. [čri], [wɪð] vs. [wɪt]), nevertheless uses the less standard past marker [mɪ] compared with DG's [jʋstʋ]. FN not only devoices the final consonants of [pɪgz] and [haf] but shows clear non-Creole interference in the way he introduces the adjectival clause [ðat de wɜr bɪg].

Once again, therefore, it is not possible to arrange these openings on a linear scale from less Standard to more Standard, or from more Creole to less Creole. Each child has produced its own unique set of datum points in relation to any external

models—"Standard" or "Spanish" or "Creole." Moreover, the incidence of socially marked phonological features does not necessarily parallel exactly that of grammatical features.

6. ST. LUCIA

The second example of multidimensionality comes from the St. Lucian data as discussed in Le Page (1977). There (2.21), we discovered variation in the use of forms for habitual meanings which reflected the different usages both in various neighboring islands (Barbados, St. Vincent, Grenada, and Trinidad, for example) and in written Standard English, as well as in other non-Standard British dialects and in common "interlanguage" forms and hypercorrections.

We do not wish to suppose that there is a semantic universal [HABITUAL] but simply use the term here as a convenient abstraction for a number of relationships between predicates and their subjects which are undefined as to tense and aspect except that they imply that what has been done in the past continues and is likely to continue.

In the Sample West Indian Texts in Chapter III of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, Acts of Identity (1985), we find versions of the model sentences from the grammar questionnaire given in Jamaica, St. Vincent, and Grenada as follows:

Standard	He always writes like this
Jamaica	him rait so aal di taim
St. Vincent	a so i doz aalwez rait
Grenada	i aalwez raitin so

Standard	I live at the crossroads
Jamaica	mi lib rait a di kraas ruod
St. Vincent	mi liv we tu rood kraas
Grenada	a livin in di jongkshan a di tuu rodz

Habitual meanings overlap with other continuative or progressive constructions, and this part of the semantic field is focused variously from culture to culture and by a variety of formal items in each code. The West Indian do/does forms derive to some extent from West of England and Irish uses, to be found in the English Dialect Dictionary (1898-1905): for example, East Devon sheep da browse, Cornwall As fast as I do to one, they do go to another, Gloucestershire I do like, I do feel,

and so forth; Irish your cow does be threspassin on my fields. In our Barbadian (Bajan) texts we find examples such as (we have standardized the spellings here):
I does sell sweetie there at the school.

I does make about three or four dollars a day.

The habitual -ing forms (e.g., /hi kipin/) are common in Grenada, coexist with does forms in Trinidad, and do not seem to occur in Barbados. The Barbadian forms are common in St. Vincent and do occur in Grenada and St. Lucia, but both habitual -ing and habitual does are rare in our data from Jamaica, Belize, and the Leeward islands.

The other forms used by the St. Lucian children are: (i) normal Standard, for example, "I live at 53 Mount Coco Road," and (on only three occasions in the data examined here, and generally rare) "I am living ..."; (ii) the generalized inflection in -s, common in many nonstandard British dialects resulting in non-standard "I, you, we, they lives ..."; and (iii) a number of other forms, most of which can be listed as hypercorrections (although in some cases they may equally well be regarded as translating a French or patois idiom) or overgeneralizations of rules, as in "he live ..."

Our particular working hypothesis here, derived from our pilot survey and from the materials in Sample West Indian Texts, is that Standard English forms are associated with book learning, -ing forms with a quite widespread regional English vernacular with its roots in former patois-speaking territories, and does forms with another widespread regional English vernacular with its roots in Barbados and influencing St. Lucia via the urban vernacular of Castries. Hypercorrection is associated with a desire to be identified as a Standard English speaker (the generalized incidence is too low to be very sure about this).

Each of these forms, therefore, is socially marked. Each acquires that marking in the first instance by being the customary usage of a group to which some prestige or stigma attaches. The prestige or stigma then, as always, is transferred from the users to the form itself. Thus, the emergent polysystem of the new St. Lucian language, like that of the new Belizean language, reflects, in its social marking, the properties of the multidimensional space in which social evolution is taking place.

7. AMONG WEST INDIANS IN LONDON

My next example comes from the work of Mark Sebba on the argots of children of West Indian descent and their friends living in two parts of London (Waltham Forest, in East London, and Catford, in Southeast London), and the work of Roger Hewitt with a neighboring Southeast London community in Deptford. It might be argued that such argots cannot be considered as "languages," but it is my contention that the processes which give rise to such linguistic behavior among adolescents are part of the normal processes of language creation, and that by studying them we gain more insight into those processes. I refer to the preliminary report of our survey (Sebba and Le Page 1983) and to Roger Hewitt (1982).

The first generation of West Indian immigrants into Britain in the late 1950s and early 1960s presented a linguistic problem in that most of them spoke a variety of English, or of Creole, unfamiliar to English ears, and their children who came with them found it difficult to understand or make themselves understood at school. At the time, work was plentiful and the language barrier not insuperable for adults, particularly those in jobs in which large numbers of West Indians worked together. Today, however, we are dealing with a different problem: a generation of children born and brought up in Britain, and having a full command of the local English vernacular of their peer group, but facing great difficulties in finding employment because of the recession and because of racial discrimination. The argot referred to as London Jamaican is adopted as a symbol of identity and solidarity. Another descriptive term refers to the influence of Rastafarian, or "dreadlocks wearing," committees, and hence, to "dread talk" (see end note).

Sebba and Le Page's conclusion is that

> any attempt at analysis must, we feel, come to terms with "London Jamaican" as a system of its own, with high internal variability, drawing on both London English, and Jamaican and other Creoles for its substance … Insofar as it differs from London English, it is mainly derived from Jamaican Creole, and insofar as it is different from Jamaican Creole the main influence seems to be London English. The extent of the Barbadian, St. Vincentian and Grenadian contributions is extremely difficult to assess, but there is probably some influnce from all of these, expecially Barbadian. The markers <u>did</u> and <u>does</u> for 'past' and 'habitual' re-

> spectively, which are found in some of our recordings, may be of Barbadian origin, though their use is not confined to speakers with Eastern Caribbean connections.

We further speculate that "there are 'trade-off' relationships between syntax, morphology, phonology and phonetics, so that (at least sometimes) when the syntax tends more towards Standard English there is a compensatory 'Jamaicanisation' of, say, the intonation and rhythm."

We report that, in collecting linguistic data,

> fifth-formers were generally better informants than sixth-formers, although two sixth-form girls provided us with excellent recordings. There are two possible reasons for this: firstly, that sixth-formers tend to be pressed for time … but more importantly, there is a sociolinguistic reason as well: sixth formers have taken a decision to stay on at school, to try to 'do well', and this aim is felt to be consistent with being heard to speak only Standard English or London English and not London Jamaican. Some of our sixth-form informants denied that they ever spoke London Jamaican, though when pressed they admitted that they would use it just for 'joking or the like'.

Clearly, the evolution and use of this argot is the outcome of many "acts of identity" by young people growing up in a multidimensional linguistic and cultural environment to which their parents, their teachers, their peer group, and "the establishment" all contribute. The precise linguistic outcome, as the analysis seems to show, is not that of any single external model but the result of focusing around a repertoire of forms in relation to meaning potentials. The result is that a polysystemic system of multifunctional units develops its own internal coherences and contrastive potential, both in phonology and grammar. This can be illustrated by the pronominal system. The broad Jamaican vernacular system described by Bailey (1966) has just six forms, undifferentiated for case or gender (although a "possessive" may be marked by the proposition fi with any one of these forms):

	sg.	pl.
1st person	mi	wi
2nd person	yu	unu
3rd person	im	dem

Other, less broad, varieties of Jamaican and the vernacular usage of other islands have systems somewhat closer to those of English and American dialects. For example, the West African form unu 'you' (plural), is replaced by y u, yu-all, all-a-yu, amongs-yu and so on. There can also be alternation between forms, for example, ai (unstressed: a) and mi in subject position. (In Belize to use mi in subject position is regarded today as old-fashioned or rural.) Finally, gender differentiation of the third person singular can be marked.

Both London English (LE) and Standard English mark the possessive and some of the other oblique cases, as well as the third person singular gender. Sebba describes the London Jamaican (LJ) system as: "a rather 'messy' system with alternations between variants coming from the LE and LJ systems," and he comments "we have not found any way of predicting which of the available variants will be used by a speaker on a particular occasion, but it seems that speakers do make a clear distinction between pronouns belonging to a 'Jamaican' set and pronouns belonging to an 'English' set." The London Jamaican pronoun system is summarized is Table 2.

TABLE 2
LONDON JAMAICAN PRONOUN SYSTEM

			Subject	Oblique	Possessive
Singular	1		mi ~ ai	mi	mi ~ mai
	2		yu	yu	yu ~ yɔə(ɪ̰)
	3	M	(h)ii ~ (h)im ~ in	(h)im ~ in	(h)im ~ (h)in ~ (h)iz
		F	shi	shii ~ (h)ə(ɪ̰)	shi ~ (h)ə(ɪ̰)
		N	it ~ i	it ~ i	?its ~ im
Plural	1		wi	wi ~ ?s ~ ɒs	wi ~ auə(ɪ̰)
	2		yu ~ unu	yu ~ unu	yɔə ~ unu
	3		dɛi ~ dɛm ~ ðɛi ~ ðɛm	dɛm ~ ðɛm	—

It should be noted that this paradigm is a linguist's abstraction from the benavior of a number of young people when, according to his criteria, each of them was speaking London Jamaican. It is not a statement about the usage of any individual speaker. Part of the planned further investigation will be to see to what extent it might be reasonable to extrapolate these properties as those of "London Jamaican" speakers as a community,

8. MIDDLE ENGLISH

For another example of multidimensionality, we can turn to the supposed "creoloid' properties of Middle English. I refer in the main to two sources: Anthony Warner (1982) and Patricia Poussa (1982). Examining the language of the Wyclifite sermons in great detail, Warner finds that "the sermons were produced in a milieu in which Latin and English were both thoroughly familiar, and in which English was much under the influence of Latin" (1982:17). The sermons were evidently written to be read aloud to an English-speaking audience. They form a coherent body of text and provide evidence, he feels, for an état de lang ue, which "seems to be characterizable not only as a coherent range of late fourteenth century English usage, but also as rhetorically plain language, in certain respects learned, which is in some ways modeled upon, or conditioned by contact with Latin" (1982:19). They were produced by men with a degree of Latin-English bilingualism. Later, discussing the mechanism of linguistic change, Warner himself makes explicit reference to Bickerton's 1975 model, but with a significant silent modification:

> The data discussed above may reasonably be interpreted as reflecting a variable situation with at least a degree of implicational ordering controlled by Latin-relatedness and specific grammatical parameters … it seems clear both that linguistic change is in progress, and that a relatively early stage is involved. An interesting parallel to the lME situation is found in Bickerton's account of the formation of the Guyanese creole continuum. Bickerton (see esp. 1973, 1975) likened the process by which the basilect approached the acrolect to the second language learning of an untutored adult who, as different grammatical points became salient, adopted the "minimal alteration" necessary to make his more basilectal variety more acrolectal. The result of this process was an implicational continuum of grammars within the community. The situation in WSerE and WBib [Wyclifite Sermon English and The Wyclifite Bible (Forshall and Madden 1850)] shows parallels. English is beginning to discharge functions previously the province of Latin (or French) and is therefore tending to adopt Latin vocabulary and constructions: thus English is the "basilect" and Latin (an) "acrolect" (1982:147).

Not only does Warner, to some extent, stand Bickerton's model on its head (or on its side, or turns it inside out), since now speakers are adjusting their "basilect" to be more like the "acrolect" as a concomitant of abandoning the use of the "acrolect" itself (one might alternatively say their Latin was becoming more English, or their sermon language which once was very Latin now becomes more English—it all depends upon which parameter one chooses for one's abstraction of an état de langue), but he also acknowledges that "Latin" in only one of a number of possible "acrolects" within this model, "French" being another.

Poussa (1982) is concerned mainly with the evolution of 15th-century Chancery Standard. Whereas Warner's concern is with a group of texts "written to be read aloud," Poussa is concerned to distinguish between the ordinary speech of unlearned men and women and the literary standards of clerks. She is concerned primarily with the lexicon, and with the social and demographic factors which appear to have influenced it at both vernacular and literary levels. She wants to give due weight to the Danish influence in the formation of the Midland variety:

> If we take the view that the English speech of London had, since the time of Knut, been a continuum of regional and social varieties of which the Midland Koiné was one, then it is easier to explain the changes in the written language [in the 14th and 15th centuries] as jerky adjustments to a gradual rise in social status of the spoken Midland variety. The rise in social status of the Midland variety is easily explained by the feelings of nationalism associated with the erosion of the position of French as the language of administration and literature ... It would be natural for the Midland variety to be regarded as purer English and therefore more correct than the French-influenced southern-Midland hybrid accent of the older upper-class speakers of the capital. The working class would be more likely to preserve its local (Cockney) dialect. Old courtiers like Chaucer would be more resistant than Boling-broke's new men. It is worth noting that Chaucer's written language seems to be more conservative in poetry than in prose, however (1982:80).

Clearly, the abstration "Late Middle English" derives from a multitude of shifting norms with no common model, but rather a variety of socially marked choices confronting each new generation at each social level in each region and for each medium, spoken and written. Some preserved more Danish forms, some

more French, some more Latin, some more Old English, and each of these names, in turn, is of course a label for an abstraction from much diverse human activity.

9. NORWICH AND BELFAST

Trudgill (1983) has illustrated the diversity of norms and models in Norwich. He shows clearly (181) that "linguistic changes in a direction away from the standard norm" are being led in the community by members of the Middle and Upper Working Class. Moreover,

> It is interesting to relate this change in a non-standard direction to the concept of covert prestige ... it ... appears to be the case that very high covert prestige is associated with WC speech forms by the young *of both sexes* (182).

Lesley Milroy (1980) has shown the power of vernacular norms for different portions of the Belfast community:

> Thus, pulling the strands of the argument together, it seems that cultural and linguistic focussing are associated with a close-knit network structure and can take place if the conditions are right at any stratum of society. In British (in which we must include Irish) society, social conditions have for some time encouraged the maintenance of highly focussed language varieties at the highest and the lowest strata. An important difference between the two sets of norms is that the norms of RP are supra-local and are disseminated through institutional channels ... Belfast vernacular on the other hand, like Black English Vernacular, is an example of a highly focussed variety at the lowest stratum, where many other localized and equally focussed but linguistically divergent varieties are located. Both the low-status vernaculars and RP may be viewed as owing their relative stability to covert ideologies of solidarity and reciprocity; RP also draws its strength from *institutionally recognised* ideologies of status and upward mobility (1980:180).

Once again it is interesting to note that these two sociolinguists follow their subjects in transferring prestige and stigma from human groups to certain abstractions from the linguistic behavior of those groups. In each case, also, it is evident that

it would be impossible to describe any larger abstraction, "the Norwich language," or "the Belfast language," in terms of a linear progression from the past to the future.

10. SINGAPORE AND MALAYSIA

Finally, the evolving situations in both Malaysia and Singapore (where I am writing this paper) as I have sketched them in Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1983) clearly illustrate both the need for a dynamic view of sociolinguistic processes and the "coming into being in response to a need" which Schuchardt described for languages and which DeCamp, C.-J. N. Bailey, Bickerton, and Markey in their various ways have tried to provide a descriptive apparatus for.

In Singapore the general prognosis is that some variety of English will eventually become the island language, although the current "Speak Mandarin" campaign, ostensibly designed to meet the cultural aspirations of Hokkien, Hakka, Hainanese, Cantonese, and other "dialect" speakers, may play an unpredictable role in the outcome. At any rate, the input into the development of local norms of English comes not only from these Chinese dialects but also from Malay (of Indonesian, peninsular Malay, and Baba origin) and from various Indian languages, as well as from British, American, Australian, and regional varieties of English. The Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, has sketched out the future as he sees it:

> If we are to be one nation, we need at least one common language to communicate with each other. Eventually, we shall share one culture. Meanwhile, we can only hope to share values and social attitudes in common. (Letter prefixed to Goh 1979, paragraph 13.)

The official target is British Standard English, with RP. It is an unattainable, and, to some, an undesirable and alienating target. Various stereotypes of vernacular norms already exist, as has been shown in a number of student research projects done in the National University of Singapore. These projects have led to the conclusion, however, that it is premature to try to agree on a definition or a description of Singaporean English, although a number of partial attempts to do so (listed in Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1983) have already been made. Both Platt (1977) and Tay (1982) attempt to describe the "subvari-

eties" of Singapore English in terms of a creoloid continuum from basilect to acrolect. However, this is clearly an inappropriate model—there is no single "furthest from Standard" variety in a community in which "English" of various kinds is being learned as an alternative first, second, third, or fourth language by speakers of a wide variety of other languages in highly variable circumstances (see Tay 1982). Further, there is, in effect, no single standard other than that provided by written language—and even that has its own local variants. The whole question of a model for Singaporean English is a matter of lively public debate, just as, in Malaysia, the question of what "correct Bahasa Malaysia" is to mean in the future. Meanwhile, the nearest thing to a general lingua franca in Singapore at the vernacular level is a variety of Hokkien with a free admixture of Malay and some English words.

11. CONCLUSION

My purpose in giving all these examples of linguistic flux within communities is to try to illustrate the common universal processes by which individuals come to demonstrate their cultural and social allegiances by selecting linguistic models from among the various socially marked possibilities that appear to be present in their community, and the focusing which may then take place among like-minded groups so that norms of usage may develop among them. The prestige, covert or overt, and the stigma of belonging to a particular social or cultural group is then transferred from the group to abstractions from its behavior thought of as its language. Once such abstractions come into being, they sometimes become institutionalized, reified, and totemized, as standard or autonomous languages, or else become diffuse and then disintegrate as the group they represented itself disintegrates, or else are preserved in literary use long after that has happened. It is difficult to find an adequate metaphor for creole processes, but it is certain that a multidimensional model is necessary. Possibly the formation and disintegration of galaxies provides some kind of insight, but even that is too physical a process. In the Preface to his English Pronunciation 1550-1700, E. H. Dobson (1957) began:

> The central theme of this book ... is that many elements went to make up the developing standard spoken language of the early Modern English period; that there were many variant pronunci-

> ations, many levels and styles of speech, co-existing at any time; and that the accepted norms of pronunciation were not merely apt to differ from, but were sometimes not even directly developed from, those of a previous generation (p. v).

I should like to extend this statement to give it more general application. There is no denying the role of "purely linguistic" constraints in the processes by which individuals create their socially marked linguistic rule systems, or in the processes of focusing by which norms emerge. A good example of the complexity of the problem of interaction between linguistic and social constraints is provided by: (a) the problems of phonological adaptation of many English words into spoken Chinese, (b) the preference of Chinese speakers for short loan translations or semantic extensions of existing words over long polysyllabic adaptations, (c) the widespread pandialectal use, nevertheless, of loans whose phonological adaptation is easy and where there is no semantic clash or inopportunism or infringement of taboo (such loans are particularly popular where the Sinicized form has coincidentally an existing meaning felt to be peculiarly appropriate in relation to the borrowed concept); and (d) the use of these loans in speech by highly literate Chinese who in writing would nevertheless tend to use a loan translation. In the process of working with multilingual communities of various kinds for more than thirty years, however, I have come to the conclusion that almost any kind of mixing can take place; the question almost always is, which of many possible solutions will survive.

In the course of writing this paper, Suzanne Romaine's extensive and perceptive review of the contributions sociolinguistics can make to historical linguistics has reached me (Romaine 1982). I believe that, to some extent at least, our views are convergent. The lucidity and fairness of her presentation makes me feel that I am perhaps overreacting against the linear progression view of linguistic history. Nevertheless I feel most strongly that any linguist, synchronic or diachronic, who speaks in terms of "languages" and of "languages changing" should be prepared to answer the question: What do your statements mean in terms of the daily linguistic activity of the communities and people they refer to? Languages do not do things; people do things. Languages are abstractions from what people do. John Reinecke always had the welfare of people in mind; I doubt if he would have objected to this formulation.

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DECREOLIZATION PATHS FOR GUYANESE SINGULAR PRONOUNS

John R. Rickford

1. INTRODUCTION

Among the richest sites for students of language contact are creole continuum communities, in which one finds not only a creole language and its lexically related standard (the basilect and acrolect respectively), but also a range of intermediate varieties (mesolects) in between. According to DeCamp (1971), for bilingual creole/standard situations to be converted into (post) creole continua, two conditions must be present: (1) "the dominant official language of the community must be the standard language corresponding to the creole" (i.e., it must be lexically related, allowing for the creole to be seen as an inferior version of the standard);[1] (2) "there must be sufficient social mobility to motivate large numbers of creole speakers to modify their speech in the direction of the standard, and there must be a sufficient program of education and other acculturative activities to exert effective pressures from the standard language on the creole."

Although DeCamp's model of the creole continuum and the decreolization process which produces it has provided the basis for virtually all studies of creole continua over the past ten years, it is very much in need of modification and elaboration, and a number of alternatives have recently been proposed (Rickford 1983). But in addition to revising the general model, we need to have specific descriptions of decreolization in real-life communities. Only with such descriptions can the larger theoretical implications of creole continua for the study of language contact and linguistic variation be properly explored.

One of the most active scholars in the description of decreolization is Derek Bickerton, who, in a series of publications (1971, 1973, 1975), used the implicational or dynamic

framework to characterize the paths by which decreolization spreads throughout the infinitival complementizers, the singular personal pronouns, and the system of tense-aspect and negation markers in the Guyanese Creole/English continuum. In this paper I will report on my attempt to replicate his (1973) analysis of decreolization in the personal pronouns, making use of data which, like his, is drawn from the Guyanese Creole continuum.

2. BICKERTON'S IMPLICATIONAL ANALYSIS OF GUYANESE SINGULAR PRONOUNS

Bickerton's (1973) analysis is based on the forms used by fifty-nine individuals in recordings made by a Guyanese (Arnold Persuad) and by Bickerton himself. Bickerton found that the outputs of these individuals could be classified as belonging to one of twenty-one isolects (minimally different minisystems) which could be hierarchically arranged from the most basilectal or Creole (lect A) to the most acrolectal or English (lect U) as in Table 1.

I need to explain the significance of the numbers in Table 1 at this point: 1 is an index for the basilectal or Creole variant within each of the pronoun subcategories at the top of the table (for instance, for i in the third person masculine possessive subcategory in column 1, for mi in the first person possessive subcategory in column 2, and so on), and 2, 3, and 4 are indices for nonbasilectal or non-Creole replacement forms (for instance, iz in the third person masculine possessive subcategory in column 1, mai in the first person possessive subcategory in column 2, and so on). The highest numbered index in each column represents the acrolectal or Standard English variant: index 2 in columns 1, 2, 4, 8, and 9; index 3 in columns 3, 5, and 6; indix 4 in column 7.

It may not be obvious at first glance why Table 1 represents an implicational scale. The reason is that the patterns of pronoun usage which are attested in the outputs represented are not random and unsystematic, but follow an implicational order which Bickerton summarized (1973:646) as follows:

TABLE 1
BICKERTON'S IMPLICATIONAL SCALE FOR GUYANESE SINGULAR PRONOUNS

ISOLECT	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	3M Pos	1 Pos	1 Sub	3N sub	3F Pos	3M Obj	3F Obj	3N Obj	3F Sub
	1=i 2=iz	1=mi 2=mai	1=mi 2=a 3=ai	1=i 2=it	1=i 2=shi 3=or	1=am 2=i 3=im	1=am 2=i 3=shi 4=or	1=am 2=it	1=i 2=shi
A	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
B	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	12
C	1	1	1	1	-	1	-	1	2
D	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	12	-
E	1	1	123	1	1	23	2	12	1
F	1	1	1	1	-	12	3	12	12
G	-	1	1	-	12	-	-	2	12
H	1	1	1	2	2	1	3	2	2
I	-	1	12	2	1	-	3	-	12
J	-	-	13	-	-	-	-	2	2
K	-	12	123	12	-	2	-	2	2
L	1	12	123	2	-	2	3	2	2
M	-	1	23	12	-	2	3	2	2
N	12	12	23	12	2	23	-	2	2
O	-	12	23	2	2	-	-	2	12
P	1	12	23	2	-	3	4	2	-
Q	2	12	23	2	-	3	-	2	-
R	12	2	23	2	-	23	4	2	2
S	2	2	23	2	-	23	-	2	-
T	2	2	23	2	-	3	-	2	-
U	2	2	3	2	-	3	-	2	-

SOURCE: Bickerton (1973:661) [Scalability = 88.03%; Filled Cells = 74.6%].

NOTE: The twenty-one isolects in the leftmost column represent the outputs of fifty-nine speakers. Within each subcategory column, the index 1 represents the basilectal or Creole variant, while 2, 3, and 4 represent the nonbasilectal variants which replace it in the course of decreolization. Circled indices are deviances, tokens which break the implicational ordering: for instance the 123 in column 3 is deviant because of the presence of basilectal 1 alone in column 4, lect E, implies the

presence of similar indices in all columns to the left. The transcription system is semiphonemic, a modified version of the one in Cassidy's Jamaica Talk.

> deviances apart, the presence of a basilectal index alone in a given column implies the presence of similar indices in all columns to the left; while the presence of a non-basilectal index, alone or otherwise, implies the presence of similar indices, alone or otherwise, in all columns to the right.

The reader may verify the existence of this pattern in Table 1 by looking at it closely. The steplike line running diagonally across the table represents the basic division between basilectal and nonbasilectal areas. The circled indices represent deviances: nonbasilectal indices in a basilectal area (e.g., 23 in column 6, lect E), or basilectal indices in a nonbasilectal area (e.g., 1 in column 6, lect H), or other cases which violate the implicational order. The scalability figure at the bottom of this table—88.03 percent—represents the percentage of nondeviant cells in the table out of the total number of filled cells. Guttman (1944) had suggested that 85 percent was a reasonable figure for indicating how well any actual set of data met the predictions of the scaling model in sociology, and since linguists have generally adopted the same cutoff point, we conclude that the data in Table 1 scale adequately. (But see Rickford 1975:179 for possible difficulties with a straightforward acceptance of the 85 percent threshold.)

Moving beyond explanations of the technical aspects of Table 1, let me briefly describe the kinds of synchronic and diachronic interpretations we would read from it in the dynamic or implicational framework. In synchronic terms, we have already made the most important interpretation: Variation in the Guyanese singular pronouns is not random, but follows the implicational order which I summarized just now (a basilectal or Creole form occurring by itself implies the occurrence of similar forms in all columns to the left, etc.). But a central aspect of the dynamic/implicational framework is that synchronic variation is merely the mirror of diachronic change, and, by referring to the "more=earlier, less= later" principles of C. J. Bailey (1973), we can interpret Table 1 as synchronic evidence of a diachronic change spreading throughout the singular pronoun subcategories and the various lects of the community. The change, in this instance, is decreolization—movement away from the

Creole and toward the Standard. We infer, from the distribution of basilectal and nonbasilectal indices in this scale (for instance, the fact, that the nonbasilectal forms span the most lects in column 9, and the least in column 1), that the decreolization process begins in the third person feminine subcategory (column 9) and spreads through the other subcategories in order going from right to left until it reaches, last of all, the third masculine possessive subcategory (column 1). Only when an individual has begun to decreolize in all the other singular pronoun subcategories does he or she, according to this model, begin to vary between a basilectal and nonbasilectal form in the third person masculine possessive.

The path of decreolization through different sections of the community can also be inferred from Table 1. The people whose outputs fall in lect U, at the bottom of the table, have carried the replacement of basilectal pronoun variants the furthest. The people whose outputs fall in lect A, at the other extreme, have not yet begun to decreolize in the pronoun subsystem at all, for they show unvarying basilectal variants in every pronoun subcategory. Overall, variation in the singular pronouns is represented in this scale as the result of decreolizing waves spreading in a fairly regular and orderly fashion to new pronoun subcategories and lects in the orders represented by their right-to-left and top-to-bottom arrangement, respectively.

3. MY REPLICATION OF BICKERTON'S ANALYSIS

My (1979) analysis of variation in Guyanese singular personal pronouns included an attempt to replicate Bickerton's implicational analysis. My data were drawn from the Guyanese Creole continuum too—from twenty-four individuals in the Cane Walk area (a pseudonym) whom I recorded in a variety of contexts over the course of two years. The pronominal outputs of these individuals (also given pseudonyms) are shown in Table 2, and the thirteen broad isolects into which they fall are indicated in the leftmost column by capital letters (A, B, C, etc.). The implicational ordering for this table is the same as was given above for Table 1. We may note at the outset that while all the cells in table 2 are filled, compared with only three-quarters of those in table 1, both tables achieve an equally high scalability index—88 percent. There are some minor differences between Tables 1 and 2 in the number of variants we recognize within each subcategory, and how we choose to represent them. For in-

stance, I recognize only two variants in the first person subject subcategory, classifying a as a phonological variant of aɪ, while Bickerton recognizes three, but these are not of any great significance, and and we can turn now to the larger comparisons.

The most striking point of comparison between Tables 1 and 2 is the fact that the order of the subcategory columns is identical in both tables except for the reversal of the third masculine object and third feminine object columns, which are respectively numbered 6 and 7 in Bickerton's scale, but VII and VI in mine. The significance of this reversal is reduced by the fact that it is based on the output of a single speaker (Reefer), whose data in the third feminine object subcategory is limited to eight tokens.[2]
Furthermore, Bickerton himself (1973:662) had made allowances for just this possibility:

> It is possible—indeed likely—that for some individuals or groups the stages are reordered, but such reordering is likely to be minimal, e.g, a reversal of the ordering of immediately adjacent stages. [Emphasis added.]

If we take both of these considerations into account, and bear in mind that there are 362,880 possible permutations of the nine subcategory columns (9! or 9x8x7x6x5x4x3x2x1), the fact that Bickerton's implicational ordering of the subcategories agrees so closely with mine could hardly be considered accidental.[3] Six years after his original study, and with data gathered in a different area within the Guyanese speech community, Bickerton's findings about the path which decreolization takes as it spreads throughout the singular pronouns are essentially confirmed.

I wish to take a moment to emphasize the striking character of this replication by explaining how the arrangement of columns and rows in an implicational scale is decided on. Given the outputs of individuals or isolects in rows, and the various linguistic subcategories in columns, one keeps shifting rows and columns around until the most deviance-free scale is produced (i.e., until the data is best tailored to the predictions of an implicational scale). In the case of Tables 1 and 2, there is no a priori reason to expect the pronominal subcategories to be ordered as they are, or to agree as closely as they do. Given the fact that they do agree so closely, when there are so many thou-

TABLE 2
IMPLICATIONAL SCALE FOR MORPHOLOGICAL VARIATION IN GUYANESE CREOLE SINGULAR PRONOUNS (J. R. R.'S CANE WALK DATA)

LECTS	Speaker's No. Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
		3M Pos 1=hi 2=hɪz	1 Pos 1=mi 2=maɪ	1 Sub 1=mi 2=aɪ	3N sub 1=i 2=ɪt	3F Pos 1=hi 2=ʃi 3=hʌr	3F Obj 1=am 2=ʃi 3=hʌr	3M Obj 1=am 2=hi 3=hɪm	3N Obj 1=am 2=ɪt	3F Sub 1=hi 2=ʃi
A	4. Reefer	1	1	1	(12)	1	1	12	12	12
B	11. Darling	1	1	1	1	12	12	12	12	12
C	7. Irene	1	1	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
D	12. Nani	1	1	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
	8. Rose	1	1	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
	1. Derek	1	1	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
E	10. Ajah	1	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
	2. James	1	12	12	12	12	12	(123)	12	12
	9. Sari	1	12	12	12	12	12	(123)	12	12
F	6. Raj	1	12	12	12	2	(1)	12	12	12
	5. Sultan	1	12	12	12	2	12	(123)	12	12
G	3. Florine	1	12	12	12	2	2	2	12	12
H	24. Granny	1	12	12	12	2	23	(12)	2	12
I	14. Magda	1	12	12	12	2	23	23	(12)	2
J	13. Mark	12	12	12	12	23	(2)	(2)	(12)	2
	22. Ustad	12	12	12	12	(123)	(123)	(123)	(12)	(12)
	17. Sheik	12	12	12	12	23	23	23	(12)	(12)
	23. Oxford	12	12	12	12	(123)	23	23	(12)	(12)
	16. Kishore	12	12	12	12	(2)	23	23	2	2
	20. Claire	12	12	12	12	23	23	23	2	2
	19. Radika	12	12	12	12	23	23	23	2	2
K	18. Seymour	12	12	2	12	23	23	23	(12)	(12)
L	21. Bonnette	2	2	(12)	2	23	3	3	3	2
M	15. Katherine	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	2

SOURCE: Rickford (1979:384) [Filled Cells = 100% (216/216); Scalability = 88% (192/216)].
NOTE: Deviances circled (all 123s; cases of 1 if they occur in 12 territory; cases of 12 if they occur in 2 territory, cases of 2 if they occur in 23 territory, etc.). Meaning of numerical indices given at top of table. Implicational ordering as for Table 1. Transcription system is phonetic (symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet).

sands of other possibilities, we have to treat it as significant, as indicating trends or realities in the data quite independent of the investigator.

Striking as this similarity between Tables 1 and 2 is, we can hardly fail to notice that there are also some differences between them, and these merit discussion. The major difference between Bickerton's scale and mine is the fact that mine contains considerably more variation. Split cells, in which there is variation between two or more forms, account for only 27 percent of all cells in Bickerton's scale (38/141, Table 1), but for 71 percent of the total in mine (154/216, Table 2). The average number of split cells per lect in Bickerton's scale is 1.8, with a maximum of 5 in lect N. The average number of split cells per lect in my scale is 5.5, with three individuals—Ustad, Sheik, and Oxford—displaying variation in all nine cells. Related to this difference in the frequency of split cells is the fact that my scale is more in keeping with a model in which all of the subcategory or environment cells become variable before any becomes categorical (see Bailey 1973, Fasold 1975 for discussion), while Bickerton's scale is more in keeping with a model in which variation goes to completion in one subcategory or environment before being initiated in another (see Bickerton 1971). It should, however, be noted that neither of our scales is a perfect examplar of these respective types.

If the major difference between Tables 1 and 2 is the greater variability of the latter, what explanation may we offer for this? One reason may be the fact that my scale is based on more data per individual than Bickerton's—approximately twelve times as many pronoun tokens per individual, on the average.[4] I demonstrate elsewhere in the study of which this replication is a part (Rickford 1979) that there is a weak tendency for morphological variation in the pronouns to increase with more data. Another reason may be the fact that nineteen of Bickerton's speakers occupy the extreme basilect (as far as the pronominal subcategories are concerned)—and this is by definition invariant—while none of mine do. This may, in turn, be related to the fact that many of Bickerton's speakers come from Bushlot and other rural areas which are further away from the capital city of Georgetown—with its pull of Standard English—than Cane Walk is. A final reason has been suggested by Bickerton (personal communication, April 1979), and I think this reason is the most significant:

> The reason why my scales are much less variable than yours is simply that for each speaker I used only a single speech act—if a speaker produced more than one, then ... he was treated as if he was two speakers. True, ... the data was not edited in any way,

> and obviously no speech act is wholly homogeneous from a stylistic point of view, so there is some variation, but I am the first to agree that if I'd included a broad range of styles from each speaker, I'd have come up with scales substantially identical with yours.

Given the difference in variability between Tables 1 and 2, and the methodological differences which seem to lie behind it, the question naturally arises as to which method is right. The answer may depend on the purpose which the scaling is intended to serve, and on the perspective which it is designed to represent. For the analysis of style switching or style ranging, for instance, it may indeed be useful to represent the outputs of the same speaker on different occasions at different points on a scale, as Bickerton (1975:203) suggests and as Escure (1982) also attempts to do with data from Belize. But I would caution that this will not, in and of itself, eliminate variability. My experience with the Guyanese data has been that, once one has a good deal of data on individual speakers, a certain amount of "inherent variability" (Labov 1969) still remains, even after situational and metaphorical switching (Blom and Gumperz 1972) have both been taken into account. Furthermore, the cutting points between one "speech act" or "occasion" and another are often difficult to determine and are usually executed in a circular fashion (i.e., researchers seem to be most confident about the need to recognize a different speech act when the speaker's output seems very different).

If, however, one's purpose is to reveal the repertoires of individuals as they participate in the process of decreolization, then it is essential to attempt to explore the limits of those repertoires as fully as possible in one's fieldwork,[5] and to represent all of the variants produced in a single line, as was done in Table 2. As that table indicates, the data do not, in the process, become unmanageable, for patterns of implicational ordering can still be found.

In general, we need to preserve the information on how much variability decreolizing speakers remain capable of, to counter the frequent assumption that they are frozen or fossilized at narrow intermediate stages of development. (See Schumann and Stauble [1983] and Rickford [1983] for a critique of this conventional notion.) The virtue of displays like Table 2 is that they fulfill precisely this function, indicating that decreolizing speakers generally retain the capacity for continuing to talk like the people among whom they grew up, while de-

veloping the ability to approximate the speech of other groups within the society with whom they are less familiar. As I stress in my (1983) paper, decreolization appears to begin as an additive rather than replacive process. It is to be hoped that studies of other areas of the grammar—and other speech communities—will provide further empirical evidence on this and other aspects of decreolization, permitting more fruitful comparison with other kinds of language acquisition and change.

UTTERANCE STRUCTURE IN BASILANG SPEECH

John H. Schumann

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to examine the structure of utterances in pidginized varieties of learner speech. The early stage of second-language acquisition (SLA) through which all learners pass and at which many learners fossilize is referred to as the basilang and represents early pidginization. Givón (1979, in press) sees both pidginization and early SLA as manifestations of the presyntactic or pragmatic mode of communication which contrasts with the syntactic mode and which is more characteristically topic-comment oriented rather than subject-predicate oriented. Two European researchers, Klein (1981) and Dittmar (1982), have noted the topic-comment or theme-rheme nature of the early interlanguage of worker immigrants to Germany.

Klein, in a study of a Spanish speaker's pidginized variety of German, found that the principle on which the learner organized his utterances was: theme-break-rheme. Klein argues that the function of the theme is to introduce a background or setting and also, at times, to provide "given" information or to indicate what the message is "about." The function of the rheme is to give the specific information the speaker wants to provide. Such theme-rheme organization is illustrated in the following example:

(a) ich kind—nicht viel moneda Spanien
 I child—not much moneda Spain
(b) ich nicht komme Deutschland—Spanien immer (als) Bauer arbeite
 I not come Germany—Spain always (as) farmer work (i.e., Before I came to Germany, I always worked as a farmer in Spain.)

(c) arbeite (für) andere Firma—obrero eventual
work (for) other factory—obrero eventual (i.e., When you are working for other people, you are a casual laborer.)
(d) autonomo—nicht viel Geld
autonomo—not much money (i.e., As an independent worker, you don't own very much.)
(e) fünfundsechzig Jahre—pension.
sixty-five years—pension (Klein, 1981:83-4).

Dittmar expands Klein's position in a study of 6 additional Spanish speakers of pidginized varieties of German. Dittmar provides examples of theme-rheme structures from each of these subjects and refers to the structural organization of basilang utterances as "theme-rheme" or "topic-comment structures."

In my own research (Schumann 1982, in press) on speakers of pidginized varieties of English, I divided 3 subjects' utterances into syntactic and nonsyntactic structures and then attempted quantification by determining what proportion of the nonsyntactic utterances were topic-comment forms. The percentages for each subject were .06, .30, and .92. My conclusion was that topic-comment (or theme-rheme) organization, while probably present in all basilang speech, is a strategy adopted to a greater extent by some basilang speakers than others.

An examination of the literature on theme-rheme and topic-comment structure reveals that researchers frequently alter or adopt the definitions of these terms to fit best the data they are analyzing. As a result, the terms (especially theme and topic) have come to have a wide variety of meanings. Therefore, in this analysis, a theme or a topic can be any of the following: given information, what the utterance is about, a point of departure for what follows, or a frame of reference for subsequent discourse. A rheme or a comment is whatever information the speaker wants to provide about the theme or topic. To the extent possible the relevant structures will be referred to as theme-rheme forms rather than topic-comment.

2. THE PRESENT STUDY

The research reported here examined 10 consecutive pages of text (approximately 200 utterances) for each of five subjects. The subjects had all been studied earlier and were shown to have a high proportion of preverbal (no + verb) negation and

less than 20 percent correct use of any English verb phrase morphome (except for is [copula], ing and base forms) for which there were at least ten uses or occasions for use. These characteristics have been used by Schumann (1982) to define the basilang or pidginized varieties of learner English. Each subject will be discussed in turn.

2.1 Ah Chun

Ah Chun is a 63-year-old housekeeper who was born in China but who moved to Hong Kong in her twenties. There she worked as a maid in British households. After about 25 years in Hong Kong, she immigrated to the United States (in 1966), where for 16 years she worked as a housekeeper in Beverly Hills. She had one year of English instruction in night school. She is now retired but continues to work one day a week. Her interlanguage was originally studied by Lin (1982), Chen (1982), and Wang (1982). Table 1 (from Lin, 1982) demonstrates that she had only preverbal negation and virtually no morphology. In a sample of 100 utterances, 58 percent were verbless, and in the 54 utterances that would require subjects in Standard English, they were missing 28 percent of the time.

TABLE 1
NEGATION AND PERCENTAGE OF CORRECT USE OF MORPHEMES BY AH CHUN
(adapted from Lin 1982)

No + V	Not + V	No + Phrase	Not + Phrase
14/31	17/31	38/84	46/84
.45	.55	.45	.55

base	274/470	.58	am	(cop)	0/11	.00	am	(aux)	0/2	.00
3rd sing	0/22	.00	is	(cop)	0/60	.00	is	(aux)	0/1	.00
p. irr.	4/111	.04	are	(cop)	0/12	.00	are	(aux)	0/0	.00
p. reg.	2/87	.02	was	(cop)	0/25	.00	was	(aux)	0/1	.00
ing	2/5	.40	were	(cop)	0/3	.00	were	(aux)	0/1	.00
en	0/3	.00					have	(aux)	0/3	.00

Ah Chun's speech seems to fall into a theme-rheme pattern very similar to that described by Klein. In 10 consecutive pages of text, about 78 percent of the utterances are part of theme-rheme structures. The following example is typical of her speech. The dashes (-) separate themes from rhemes and wavy

lines (~) follow rhemes that have become themes for subsequent rhemes. In other words, dashes separate higher themes from higher rhemes and wavy lines separate lower themes from lower rhemes.

1. 1/5[1]

a. You know Hong Gong	- everything faydon, you understan'.
	- Eh eh … buy eve'thing ~ very easy.
	- but catchi bussi ~ very easy, you know.
	- eh … lota lota Chini people.
b. [You know? Me	- not muchi Englishi, you know?]
a. (continued)	- lota, lota people ~ busy.
	- you know? Eh … eh … fun.
	- Eh … eh /tzisi/ [= that is] go shopping very easy.
	- Eh … /tzisi/ buy everything ~ very easy.
c. /Tzisi/ 'Merican har! You understand'?	- Store ~ maybe not muchi English too much t'zouble.
d. Hong Gong	- eve'yting okay.

Running translation:
You know, in Hong Kong, everyone has freedom, you understand. Eh … to buy everything is very easy. But to catch a bus is very easy, you know. Eh … there are a lot of Chinese people. You know? I didn't know much English, you know? Lots of people are busy, you know. Eh … it is fun. That is, going shopping is very easy. That is, to buy everything is very easy. That is, in America, it's hard. You understand? Eh, in a store, if you don't know much English, you'll have a lot of trouble. In Hong Kong, everything is okay.

In the above example, the major categories of information fall into three areas, Hong Gong, Me [= Ah Chun], /Tzisi/ 'Merican ~ har'. [=It's hard in America], which represent themes. For each of these themes there are one or more rhemes. The rhemes then often become (lower) themes which are followed by (lower) rhemes.

In example 1, the first theme is Hong Kong. It is interrupted by b in which a new theme (Me) is introduced. Then 4 additional rhemes (a continued) on Hong Kong are produced. This is fol-

lowed by a theme-rheme structure (c) which constitutes a new theme that makes a contrast between the United States and Hong Kong. The rheme that follows (store) becomes a theme with two rhemes. Finally, in d the original theme (Hong Kong) is reintroduced to complete the contrast.

The following examples illustrate Ah Chun's use of similar structures.

2. 2/5

Oh, you, you know me,
China before, before Mo Tsa'Dong
You know? Before Mo Tsa' Dong

- Ooh … not nici. You understan'?
- Maybe, eh netto bit monley.
- He … he mad, he kill, kill people dia.'

But China come from Hong Gong

- Me ~ very poor. You know?
- Eh, mada ina China.
- Eh blada ina China.
- I never marry.

Japan worki Hong Gong

- But, eh, eh, eh, too muchi, too muchi, too muchi war. You understan'?
- But common people not goo'.

Mo-tse-eh-tung he, you know

- Lota lota people no foo'.
- Na-n no foo' ~ not muchee.
- Not muchee willo.

Running translation:
I was in China before Mao Tse-tung. It was not nice. You understand. Maybe people only had a little money. He was mad. He killed people; they died. But I left China and came to Hong Kong. I was very poor. You know? My mother was in China. My brother was in China. I never married. Japan was at war with Hong Kong. You know? But there was too much war. You understand? But it wasn't good for common people. Mao Tse-tung, he, you know? Lots of people had no food. No food. People had not much food. Not much oil.

3. 8/13

Ya, ya, ya., I li', I liki, I liki, I liki Hong Gong. I like 'Merican, you know.
- Hong Gong, eh, you know, chee
    - wanchi, wanchi monley ~ not very easy
    - one mon', one mon' pay, ~ allo go
    ~ Ea, ealy come, ealy go
    ~ No monley keep ban'
    ~ not monley go, go, go-eh
    ~ ban' sa-saving, you know?

- But 'Merican goo', you know?
    - stay bossi house
    - um. anda eata bossi, you know,
    - two more day, ~ I go worki par'time
    - I no monley. I no. I no sen monley. you know?
    - Eve'yting say, say monley.

Running translation:
I like Hong Kong. I like America, you know? In Hong Kong if you want to make money, it's not very easy. You know? Not easy, you know? You know one month, one month's pay all goes. Easy come, easy go. There's no money to put in the bank. No money goes into savings, you know? But America is good. You know. I lived in the boss's house and ate his food, you know? On my two days off, I had a part-time job. I didn't send money, you know? I saved all my money.

Note that in this example rhemes becomes themes for subsequent rhemes.[2]

2.2 José

José is a 52-year-old native of Colima, Mexico. In the 1960s he began working as a migrant laborer in various parts of California. In 1970 he finally settled in East Los Angeles, a section of the city with a large Spanish-speaking population. Since that time he has worked in restaurants. When his speech was recorded, he had been working for about six months in a position that brought him into continual contact with English speakers for the first time. His leisure time is spent at home mainly watching television in both English and Spanish. José has never had instruction in English, and Spanish is spoken at home.

Several studies have been made of José's speech: Noble (1979), Stauble and Schumann (in press), Schumann (1982, in press), and Givón (in press). Noble's analysis showed that he had 100 percent preverbal (no + verb) negation. Stauble and Schumann assessed his verb-phrase morphology according to its target like use and, as shown in Table 2, no forms other than is (copula) and base forms were used correctly in excess of 20 percent. Schumann (1982) showed that approximately 50 percent of his utterances were nonsyntactic or paratactic and that about 92 percent of these were topic-comment forms (in this paper, referred to as theme-rheme forms). The present study revealed that in a sample of 100 utterances, 53 percent were verbless, and in the 39 utterances that would require subjects in Standard English, they were missing 25 percent of the time. The following examples are typical of about 52 percent of José's speech.

TABLE 2
NEGATION AND PERCENTAGE OF CORRECT USE OF MORPHEMES BY JOSÉ
(adapted from Noble 1979, and Stauble and Schumann in press)

No + V	No + Phrase	Phrase + No
35/35	37/42	5/42
1.00	.88	.12

base		.45	am	(cop)	0/1	.00	is	(aux)	1/2	.50
3rd sing		.06	is	(cop)		.69	have	(aux)	0/1	.00
p. irr.		.00	are	(cop)	2/5	.40	has	(aux)	0/2	.00
p. reg.	0/9	.00	was	(cop)	2/2	1.00				
ing	1/3	.33	were	(cop)	0/1	.00				
en	0/3	.00								

1. 1/3 Mexico. -On the Colima.
   [As for Mexico, I lived in Colima.]

2. 1/4 A state. -Colima.
   [Colima, it's a state.] In this example the topic follows the comment.

3. 2/4 And the agricultura. Agricultura. -Make and the (/kowkeyn/) and everything.
   [As for agriculture, we grow (/kowkeyn/) and everything.]

4. Interviewer (I): Tell me about your family. Did they come? Your family. Familia.
   2/8 José (J): Yeah -Five year.
   [As for my family, they came five years ago.] In this example, the word yeah serves as a surrogate for the topic, family, introduced by the interviewer in the topic, family, introduced by the interviewer in the previous utterance.

5. 2/8 My familia. Famil, - Five year … my famil. California.
   [As for my family, they came to California five years ago.] In this example, the topic my family is restated in the comment.

6. 3/1 Yes, the name -Marta, Delores, (XXX), Maria Luisa.
   [As for their names, they are Marta …]

7. 3/2 And the men - Alfred yo xxx no, José, and Ramon.
   [Concerning the men, they are Alfred, José, and Ramon.]

8. 3/9 Ramon, -seventeen.
   [Ramon, he's seventeen].

9. 3/9 (Anna), -fifteen.
   [Anna, she's fifteen].

10. 3/10 Y José, -ten.
    [And José, he's ten].

11. 3/10 And the school, -three.
    [And as for school three of them go].

12. 3/17 Alfredo … - work in the room.
    [As for Alfredo, he works in the room].

13. 3/18 And me, -in nine xxx and nineteen fifteen. Edifice, no? and de apartment four one.
    [And as for where I live, it's building 1915, Apartment 41].

14. I: How long does it take to go home? Cuanto tiempo?
    J: Oh, -in the one hour. Thirty minute in the bus, no?
    [As for how long, it takes one hour with thirty minutes on the bus. In this example, Oh seems to serve as a surrogate for the topic, how long, introduced by the interviewer in the previous utterance].

2.3 Tamiko

Tamiko is an 85-year-old Japanese immigrant who has lived in the United States for 63 years. She and her Japanese husband spent the first 8 years of their marriage farming in Northern California. When they lost their ranch, they moved to Los Angeles where they have lived for 55 years. For her first 33 years in Los Angeles, Tamiko was a housewife. Then between the ages of 55 and 62 she worked as a cleaning woman for American families in the Bel Air area. She is now retired. Tamiko finished the equivalent of junior high school in Japan and for several years has attended an elementary English class offered by a Japanese senior citizen center where the language classes are more social gatherings than serious language-learning situations.

Stauble (1981) demonstrated that Tamiko had 63 percent preverbal negation and that except for base forms, ing, and am (cop)[3], she had no targetlike use of English morphology in excess of 20 percent (see Table 3). The present study revealed that in a sample of 100 utterances, 35 percent were verbless, and in the 114 utterances that would require subjects in Standard English, they were missing 36 percent of the time.

TABLE 3
NEGATION AND PERCENTAGE OF CORRECT USE OF MORPHEMES BY TAMIKO
(adapted from Stauble 1981)

No + V	Aux-neg	No + Phrase	Not + Phrase
24/38	10/38	40/45	5/45
.63	.26	.89	.11

base	122/302	.40	am	(cop)	10/21	.48	be	(aux)	9/13	.00
3rd sing	0/44	.00	is	(cop)	7/75	.09	have	(aux)	0/1	.00
p. irr.	8/94	.09	are	(cop)	0/9	.00				
p. reg.	3/66	.05	was	(cop)	0/43	.00				
ing	12/26	.46	were	(cop)	0/3	.00				
en	0/1	.00								

Tamiko's speech, however, appeared to be structured somewhat differently from that of Ah Chun and José. In a sample of 193 utterances only about 17 percent could be identified as theme-rheme forms of the type produced by the other two subjects. Like Anita and Mona, who will be discussed later, Tamiko seems to use a "listing" strategy as the major organi-

zational principle of her discourse. In addition, she employs a "sketching" strategy in which she appears simply to throw out words or phrases to describe an event or explain a situation.

In the listing strategy, Tamiko narrates events by listing phrases and classes preceded mainly by the word then, but also by the word and. In a sample of 100 utterances, 28 were preceded by then and 3 were preceded by and. In the following example we can see both the listing and sketching strategies being employed.

1. 7/19 Son?
My oldest son?
Yeah. He's ah, I told you and ah Berkeley college she [= he] finish. xx.
I go to the Berkeley college for.
I (Interviewer): Where does he live?
T (Tamiko): Live (this). [= He lives here now.]
Then after she [= he] working city hall, you know.
7/31 Then nervous broke-down.
8/1 Then garden-work. Start garden-work.
Nervous broken-down.
I: How come? What happened?
T: I don't know. Something, you know. The wife. She [= he] got wife, you know.
8/5 Wife, got trouble wife.
Because, ah, he nervous broke-down.
Time go in the hospital, you know.
Then take money for bank, you know.
Take money bank. All. Wife.
Um. Then after divorce.
Then, more, more, more, nervous for my son.
I: Is the wife American or Japanese?
T: Japanese.
8/14 She, she born Macedo, California.
Then after white people marry.
Two dau -two, one boy, one girl.
8/17 A-, again divorce.
Um. She living Macedo, California.
8/19 North. Then one boy, one girl. White people. Some ah, Jewish, something. I don't know.
Then this time and go, co-, co- come back (in) mama house, mother house.
Then she no living, you know.

Come back mother house.
Then two girl about 15, 20, 15, 20.
Stay j-, ah, Macedo California.
8/28 Make Farmer.

In the above example, the listing strategy is evident in about 30 percent of utterances where then precedes either phrases or clauses. In addition, the sketching strategy is especially evident in lines 7/31 -8/5 where Tamiko describes her son's nervous breakdown. It is also evident in lines 8/14 -8/17 and 8/19 -8/28, where she describes her daughter-in-law's life after she and her son got divorced. In these examples, Tamiko, by tossing out words and phrases, sketches a verbal picture of what she wants to say.

Some examples of the 17 percent of the structures that can be considered theme-rheme forms are:

2. 6/16 Stockton, before Stockton. - Ah onion, potato.
Makey lots of money.
[As for Stockton, there we grew onions and potatoes and made a lot of money].

3. 6/24 I: She got sick?
T: Um - sickey. Catch cold. Pneumonia. Pneumonia, you know.
[Concerning the cause of her death;, she got sick, she caught a cold which became pneumonia].

In this example the expression Um may serve as a surrogate for the topic, the cause of her death, introduced by the interviewer in the previous utterance.

4. 8/4 Wife - got trouble wife.
[His wife, he had trouble with his wife].

5. 9/16 Grandson - nice head, you know.
[My grandson, he's very bright, you know].

6. 13/6 Then Japan - come back Japan
- Changey weather
- Is too, is too changey.

[As for Japan, if I go back there I have to put up with changes in the weather].

This example may actually be a manifestation of the sketching strategy being used within a theme-rheme structure.

7. 8/25 Then two girl -about 15, 20, 20.
[Then she had two girls - they were about 15 or 20 years old].

2.4 Anita

Anita, who is 52 years old, has been living in the United States for 23 years. In Mexico she had only 3 years of schooling, during which she studied a little English. At the time of the study she had been attending an elementary English class in an adult education program for five months. Anita has never worked outside the home.

Stauble (1981) demonstrated that Anita had 80 percent preverbal negation and that except for base forms, ing and is (cop), she had no targetlike use of English morphology in excess of 20 percent (see Table 4). The present study revealed that in a sample of 100 utterances, 24 percent were verbless, and in the 115 utterances that would require subjects in Standard English, they were missing 36 percent of the time.

TABLE 4
NEGATION AND PERCENTAGE OF CORRECT USE OF MORPHEMES BY ANITA
(adapted from Stauble 1981)

No + V	Don't + V	Aux-Neg	No + Phrase	Not + Phrase
34/42	4/42	4/42	55/56	1/56
.81	.09	.09	.98	.02

base	129/299	.43	am (cop)	1/5	.20	is (aux)	1/18	.06
3rd sing	1/50	.02	is (cop)	159/205	.78	are (aux)	1/18	.06
p. irr.	4/91	.04	are (cop)	0/12	.00	have (aux)	0/5	.00
p. reg.	0/58	.00	was (cop)	0/31	.00			
ing	15/76	.20	were (cop)	0/4	.00			
en	0/3	.00						

Anita's speech also did not appear to have as straight-forward a theme-rheme format as that of Ah Chun and José. In a sample of 180 utterances only about 19 percent could be designated as theme-rheme forms. Like Tamiko, Anita seems to use a listing strategy in which she narrates events. This strategy is

realized by placing the word and before phrases and clauses. In a sample of 100 utterances, 51 percent were preceded by and. The following example illustrates Anita's listing strategy.

1. 5/10 And see, my daughters, Patricia.
Ah, this time coming de Mexico vacaciones for one week.
And my daughters no coming.
My daughters estay overhere.
And the baby ah, nine, nine, nine months.
Put it in the, in the water, como se dice, in the tina
[= tub], como se dice, tina, the shower.
No shower. Es bath.

2. 5/23 and knock the door somebody.
And this too much time knocking and knocking.
And Patricia no going.
And the, baby ya [= already], como se dice, clean and everything and xxx.
And easy for my daughter.
And go to the door.
And babies and like that.
And I don't know how much time. Answer the door the people.
And then, I don't know. Maybe, como se dice, the water - put it the
The, the babies, Ruby tenia [= had] two, two years.
And traviesa [= naughty]. I don't know. Horrible.
Maybe put it to the, in the wa- and open the water and the-

3. 6/1 Pues [then] my daugher say, ey
"I don't know how much. If fifteen minutes or twenty.
Or I don't know. Ten minutes."
And cuando my little Ruby go to the, in the water.
See, Go uh, inside.
And my daughter Patricia remember.
And go to the, in the baby in the water and
I: The baby died?
A: Wait. And my - I don't know.
Nunca [-never] answer.
My daugher, she pick it up
And (throw over)
And, como se dice, for the water.
Maybe scare
and look in the outside
and "help somebody."
And, and day Saturday.

And somebody go to the ambulancia.
Oh, too much time come
and the baby no, no dead.
Coming the hospital
and no, no find
The water go to the lungs.
And dead.

The ands in the above example are a means for moving the narrative along (Aksu, Dittmar, Klein, and von Stutterheim 1982). But Anita uses this listing strategy even in discourse which is more description than narration. In a second example of 80 utterances in the 10 pages of transcript where there was much less narration, and preceded phrases and clauses 28 percent of the time. Some examples of the 19 percent that might be considered theme-rheme structures are:

4. 5/2 Me small -no scare.
[As for when I was small, I wasn't afraid].

5. 5/4 One time, -como se dice, swim.
[Once I tried to swim].

6. 5/15 And the baby, ah - nine, nine, nine months
?As for the baby, who was nine months old ...].

7. 6/10 My daughter, -she pick it up.

8. 7/18 And then my daughter, Patricia -oh, right now, separate.
[As for Patricia, right now she's separated from her husband].

9. 9/18 Uh, more, -como se dice, child drive.
[When I was younger, I drove].
This example might be considered a comment-topic form.

10. 9/18 Right now, -no.
[As for right now, I don't drive].

11. 9/28 And me, -I gotta nervous.
[And as for me, it made me nervous].

12. 10/25 In the service -dice, uh, uh, the truck and the tank.
[As for when he was in the service, he drove trucks and tanks].

13.13/3 And, and la house, - making como se dice, rocks. And put it you work. [And as for the hosue, he made a stone walk].

2.5 Mona

When Mona's speech samples were collected she was 52 years old and had been living in the United States for 33 years. She first came to this country from Mexico at the age of 19. She settled in Texas and worked in a canning factory for 9 years. Later she moved to California with her husband, worked in a sewing factory for 2 years, and then became a housewife. She had no education in Mexico and had never studied English except for a one-semester basic English grammar course which she attended at a local community college.

Stauble (1981) demonstrated that Mona had 93 percent preverbal negation and that except for base forms, ing and is (cop), she had no targetlike use of English morphology in excess of 20 percent (see Table 5). The present study revealed that in a sample of 100 utterances, 23 percent were verbless. In the 133 utterances that would require subjects in Standard English, they were missing 25 percent of the time.

TABLE 5
NEGATION AND PERCENTAGE OF CORRECT USE OF MORPHEMES BY MONA
(adapted from Stauble 1981)

No + V	Don't + V	Aux-neg	No + Phrase
91/98	5/98	2/98	25/25
.93	.05	.02	1.00

base	61/240	.25	am	(cop)	1/7	.14	be	(aux)	1/30	.03
3rd sing	0/43	.00	is	(cop)	143/233	.61	have	(aux)	0/3	.00
p. irr.	4/135	.03	are	(cop)	3/18	.17				
p. reg.	0/44	.00	was	(cop)	0/68	.00				
ing	26/121	.21	were	(cop)	0/11	.00				
en	0/1	.00								

Mona's speech also did not immediately appear to fall into the theme-rheme format. In a sample of 200 utterances, about 8 percent could easily be identified as theme-rheme structures. Like Tamiko and Anita, Mona seems to use a listing strategy

which is realized by placing and before phrases and clauses. In a sample of 100 utterances, 41 percent were preceded by and. The following example illustrates Mona's listing strategy.

1. 3/16 Here Mona is describing her experience in studying English.
Nineteen forty-seven. Come for Texas, Texas for California.
and no going the sch-, the school.
And my husband, my husband help,
and, the /crowlier/ [= college] and for me.
And talking con one teacher in Santa Ana, Santa Ana, for, eh, give me class in the night for me.
And no talk.
Es difficult for me.
And, and this time we going for the square, for the school.
And (I don't know why) Mr. V es too trouble for me. Es all time.
And me, es, es too hard my test.
And, and no, no, no good the-. The lesson, no
Es a, the como, es a verbos, the verbos?
No, no good conjuje, conjuje [= conjugate].
No, no good.
All time is trouble for me.
All night, all night be writing.
All night me writing.
and, and, and put the taperecord
and reading my books.
And all time es too mal a cabesa [= sick in the head].

2. 4/3 No good. This, this.
And my husband, "this, change for the other, the other head."
And, and my husband es ah have two, two /clycropedia/. One in English, one in Spanish.
And me no sabe.
Is difficult for me the English.
Professor, the Mr. V. tell me, es um, the language in English es difficult, for all people.
And, and for me es too much.

Some examples of the 8 percent structures that seem to be theme-rheme forms are:

3. 3/30 And me, - es, es too hard my test.
[As for me, the test was too hard.]

4. 3/32 And, and no, no, no good the - the lesson, no.
[As for the lesson, it was no good.]

This utterance appears to be a comment-topic form.

5. 4/14 This, -change for the other, the other head.
[As for your head, exchange it for another.]

6. 5/17 And me - sick too much.
[And as for me, I was very sick.]

7. 5/21 Me, -Oh I, I have, I have pain in my stomach.
[As for me, I had a pain in my stomach.]

8. 6/16 And and me es a, - one pain in my home and no going to the doctor.
[And as for me, I had a new pain at home, but I didn't go to the doctor.]

9. 6/18 And me ea a, -my, my skin es uh, como es a (manchar) pink.
[And as for me, my skin was pink.]

10. 7/13 And me - is too much sleep.
[And as for me, I slept for a long time.]

11. 7/17 Water -No like.
[As for water, I didn't want any.]

12. 7/26 And me is um, - como es, up.
[And as for me, I was up.]

Clive Perdue (personal communication) has argued that the utterances which comprise Tamiko's, Anita's, and Mona's lists may actually constitute theme-rheme-like structures in the sense that they juxtapose two types of information: givenness or aboutness versus new information. In addition, they lack subject-verb agreement. Perdue (1982) proposes a three-place organizational framework for utterances in early interlanguage (IL):

(Place 1) (Place 2) Place 3

Place 1 would ordinarily be filled by a word or words which provide a context (time, place, modality) for the utterance. The second position would contain given information including zero anaphora, and the third position would provide new information or the focus of the utterance. Only the third position is obligatory.

Table 6 applies this scheme to segment one of Tamiko's speech. In Place 2, all but three of the items, including zero anaphora, refer to either Tamiko's son or his wife. The question, then, is whether these items are themes followed in Place 3 by rhemes or whether they are subjects (sometimes deleted) followed by predicates in which the verbs are often absent. Perdue (personal communication) would maintain that items in Place 2 are not subjects unless the utterance shows subject-verb agreement. An examination of Table 6 shows that such agreement is not present, and this result is supported by Table 3 which indicates that Tamiko lacks the morphology necessary to produce such agreement. Thus, even if we accept Perdue's position that Tamiko's Place 2 items are not subjects, we have to agree that they are at least more subjectlike than the items designated as themes in Ah Chun's and José's speech.

Tables 7 and 8 apply Perdue's schema to segments of Anita's and Mona's speech and show the same result: Place 2 items are subjectlike, but they lack the requirement of agreement with the verb. They perhaps could be considered argument + predicate structures as in Keenan (1979), and these constructions might, in turn, be considered either a subclass of the theme-rheme forms or a developmental stage slightly in advance of such forms.

Figure 1 presents an analysis of how the speech of Tamiko, Anita, and Mona differs from that of Ah Chun and José. Only Ah Chun has a hierarchical organization of themes and rhemes in which both constructions can be whole utterances. In the other subjects, the themes are generally NPs or single-item structures, and for Tamiko, Anita, and Mona these items are subjectlike and are frequently not expressed. Also, for the latter three subjects, rhemes or Place 3 items are generally predicates and not independent utterances. Finally, whereas Ah Chun's, José's, and Tamiko's utterances tend to lack verbs, Anita's and Mona's tend to contain verbs (see Table 9).

Wolfgang Klein (personal communication) has suggested that for an English utterance to be minimally syntactic it must contain a verb and a subject, and agreement between the two must be expressed. From this perspective, we can see a developmental progression from pragmatic to syntactic speech (see Figure 2) in which the first step towards syntacticization is the presence of verbs, and the second is the presence of subjects of subjectlike items, and the third is subject-verb agreement. Ah Chun seems to be squarely in the pragmatic mode, José is a little more advanced because only about 50 percent of his utterances

are theme-rheme forms. Tamiko, Anita, and Mona are operating with somewhat stronger syntax (perhaps described as argument + predicate forms), but Tamiko is slightly less developed than the other two because her speech contains fewer verbs.[4]

TABLE 6
ANALYSIS OF TAMIKO'S UTTERANCES ACCORDING TO PERDUE'S SCHEME

	Place 1 (context)		**Place 2 (givenness, aboutness)**	**Place 3 (focus, new information)**
7/20			Son?	
			My oldest son?	
			He	's I told you
			Berkeley College	she's finish
				I go to the Berkeley
			Ø live	College for this
7/29	Then	After	She [= he]	working city hall
	Then		Ø	nervous brokedown
8/1	Then		garden work	
			Ø	start garden work
			nervous brokedown	
				I don't know
				something
				The wife
			She [= he]	got wife
			Ø	wife, got trouble wife
8/16			he	nervous broke-down
		Because		
	Time go in hospital			
	Then		Ø	take money for bank
				take money bank.
8/9				All Wife
	Then	after	Ø	divorce
8/11	Then			more, more nervous
8/14			She	born in Macedo,
				California
	Then	after white		
	people	marry	Ø	one boy, one girl
		Again	Ø	divorce
			She	living Macedo,
				California
	Then		Ø	one boy, one girl
			Ø	white people, some ah,

Place 1 (context)	**Place 2 (givenness, aboutness)**	**Place 3 (focus, new information)**
		Jewish, something, I don't know
Then this time	Ø	come back (in) mama house
Then	she	no living
	Ø	come back mother house
Then	Ø	2 girl about 15, 20
	Ø	stay Macedo, California
	Ø	make farmer

TABLE 7
ANALYSIS OF ANITA'S UTTERANCES ACCORDING TO PERDUE'S SCHEME

	Place 1 (context)		**Place 2 (givenness, aboutness)**	**Place 3 (focus, new information)**
5/11			my daughters,	this time coming Mexico
			Patricia	vacaciones one week
			Ø my daughters	no coming
			my daughters	estay over here
			the baby	9 months
			Ø	put it in the water
	And			knock on the door
				Somebody
	And		And this	too much time knocking
	And		Patricia	no going
	And		the baby	ya clean and everything
	And			easy for my daughter
	And		Ø	go to the door
	And			I don't know how much
				time answer the door
				the people
5/24				the water
			Ø	put it the -
			The the babies, Ruby	tenia 2 years
	and		Ø	traviesa
		Maybe	Ø	put it to the,
				in the wat-and open
				the water and the -
			nine, nine months	in the water
	Pues	my daughter		say "...."
	And	quando	my little Ruby	go to the water

Place 1 (context)	Place 2 (givenness, aboutness)	Place 3 (focus, new information)
	Ø	go inside
And	My daughter Patricia	remember
And	Ø	go to the, in the, baby in the water
	Ø	Nunca [= never] answer
	My daughter	she pick it up
And	Ø	(throw over)
Maybe	Ø	escare
And	Ø	look in the outside
And	Ø	help somebody
And	day	Saturday
And		somebody go to the ambulancia
	Ø	too much time come
And	the baby	no dead
	Ø	coming to the hospital and no find
	the water	go to the lungs
And	Ø	dead

TABLE 8
ANALYSIS OF MONA'S UTTERANCES ACCORDING TO PERDUE'S SCHEME

Place 1 (context)	Place 2 (givenness, aboutness)	Place 3 (focus, new information)
All time	me	live in United States
and	me	come in 1947
	Ø	come for Texas, Texas for California
and	Ø	no going there the school
	Ø	no going
And	my husband	help and the crowlier [= college] for me
	Ø	talking one teacher in Santa Ana - for give me class in the night for me
And	Ø	no talk
	Ø	Es difficult for me
Andthis time	me	going for the school
And	Mr. V	es too trouble for me

Place 1 (context)	**Place 2 (givenness, aboutness)**	**Place 3 (focus, new information)**
all time	me	es too hard my test
	Ø	no good the lesson
	the verbos	no good conjujue
All time	Ø	is trouble for me
All night	me	writing
All night	me	writing
and	Ø	put the taperecord
and	Ø	reading my books
and all time	Ø	is mal a cabesa
And	my husband	[= said]
	"This	change for the other, for the other head"
And	my husband	is ah have cyclopedia
	one	in English
	one	in Spanish
And	me	no sabe
		is difficult for me the English
	Professor, the Mr. V.	tell me
	the language in English	es difficult, difficult for all people.

FIGURE 1
ANALYSIS OF THE DIFFERENCES AMONG SUBJECTS' SPEECH

Ah Chun	José	Tamiko	Anita and Mona
1. Hierarchical organization of themes and rhemes	1. Nonhierarchical organization of themes and rhemes		
2. Higher themes are often whole utterances	2. Themes are generally NPs or single-item structures	2. Themes are generally NPs or single-item subjectlike structures, but they are frequently not expressed	
3. Higher rhemes are often whole utterances	3. Rhemes are generally predicates (part of an utterance)		

4. Rhemes frequently lack verbs	4. Rhemes generally lack verbs	4. Rhemes often lack verbs	4. Rhemes generally contain verbs

TABLE 9
PERCENTAGE OF VERBLESS UTTERANCES IN EACH SUBJECT'S SPEECH

		Ah Chun	José	Tamiko	Anita	Mona
percentage	Ø Verb	58	53	35	24	23

FIGURE 2
DEVELOPMENTAL PROGRESSION FROM PRAGMATIC TO SYNTACTIC SPEECH

Pragmatic Syntactic
presence of verb presence of subject subject-verb agreement
Ah Chun José Tamiko Anita and Mona

3. DISCUSSION

Many researchers may object to Perdue's requirement that in order for an item to be considered a subject it must show agreement with the verb. But the requirement seems more reasonable when two questions are asked simultaneously: (1) Is a particular Place 2 item a subject? (2) What constitutes development from pragmatic to at least minimally syntactic speech? If we answer the latter question by stating (as Klein has done) that minimal English syntax requires a verb, a subject, and agreement between the two, then it is reasonable to consider any Place 2 NP less subjectlike when agreement with the verb is lacking. For the moment we can leave unresolved the question of whether such structures constitute theme-rheme forms, argument + predicate forms, or some other type of structure. But the formulation presented here (see again Figure 2) provides us with some tentative notions about the nature of the pragmatic mode as found in early SLA.

As mentioned earlier, Givón (1979, in press) sees early pidginization and early SLA as identical processes which are manifestations of the presyntactic or pragmatic mode of communication. Data on the early stages of pidginization are extremely rare (Bickerton 1981), but data on its counterpart, early SLA, are readily available wherever immigration is taking place.

Thus, continued research directed at a description and explanation of basilang speech will contribute to a more complete understanding of the universals of discourse pragmatics, the process of pidginization, and the ultimate formation of pidgin languages.

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Pacific Area

EARLY PIDGINIZATION IN HAWAII

Richard R. Day

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the possibility of the existence of an early pidgin in the Hawaiian Islands, a pidgin which might have been first used in the late 1700s by Hawaiians and the sailors and traders who arrived in the Islands after the British sea captain, James Cook, made contact with the Hawaiians in 1778. It could have been that Hawaiian Maritime Pidgin (HMP) was first used in Hawaii between fur traders and the Hawaiians, subsequently used by sandalwood traders in the early 1800s, and then served as the lingua franca for whalers, Hawaiians, and foreigners in Hawaii from about 1820 to the 1870s, when the whaling industry faded from the Islands. It is also possible that a variety of HMP, Hawaiian Plantation Pidgin (HPP), was first used on the Hawaiian plantations in the mid 1800s, and became widespread in the late 1800s, as immigrants arrived to work on the plantations. Finally, it is claimed that HPP served as one of the donor languages to Hawaii Creole English.

These possibilities are motivated by what happened in other situations involving language contact and by observations of others in Hawaii during various periods of time.

The chapter is organized in the following fashion. The second section outlines briefly the social and economic history of the Hawaiian Islands from 1784 to the early 1800s, which might have initiated a pidginization process. The following section presents the case for the use of HMP in the period 1805 to 1819, mentioning its possible use during the fur and sandalwood trading period. In the fourth section, we turn to the period from approximately 1819 to 1852, to see how HMP might have been used in the whaling industry and on the early plantations. The fifth section examines the period between 1852

and 1876, and treats the possible origins of HPP, a variety of HMP, which was used on the plantations in the mid-1800s. The chapter concludes with a summary of my speculations and claims.

2. THE POSSIBLE ORIGINS OF HAWAIIAN MARITIME PIDGIN: 1784-1805

Polynesians reportedly settled the Hawaiian Islands in at least two waves, in the fourth or fifth centuries and the tenth or eleventh centuries, sailing north from the southern Pacific. The islands remained in isolation until the arrival of Captain Cook, in 1778, although this is a matter of dispute. There are arguments that Spanish sailors and later Dutch sailors landed in the islands, but, if these reports are indeed true, they had no apparent linguistic impact, and need not concern us here.

Communication between Cook and the Hawaiians was done primarily through the use of a Tahitian sailor Cook had picked up while visiting Tahiti. The Tahitian, when speaking to the Hawaiians, probably spoke a simplified version of his language, which is a Polynesian language, similar to Hawaiian. The Hawaiians probably modified their language a bit, and communication, however imperfect, was achieved. In addition, an entry made by Cook in his logbook claimed that some of his English-speaking sailors talked to the Hawaiians using their version of Tahitian which they had imperfectly and partially learned during their earlier visit to Tahiti. Thus, Cook's encounter is perhaps the first documented use of what might be termed a "pidgin" in Hawaii.

Apparently no other westerners arrived in Hawaii for six years after Cook's expedition. In 1784, the British sea captains, Dixon and Portlock, visited the islands, and proved to be the first of hundreds of traders who used Hawaii as a port of call between 1784 and 1820. Involved with fur trading between China and the northwest coast of America, their ships stopped in Hawaii to take on additional fuel, water, and fresh supplies.

Information about this early fur trading period is uneven and sketchy. Information on language use is nonexistent, but we do know what has happened in other trading situations—a pidgin may develop between the interlocutors. Hancock (1977b), in a survey of pidgin and creole languages, lists a number of instances where a pidgin developed as a result of local inhabitants trading with visiting outsiders. In China, for example,

during the 18th century, China Coast Pidgin English was widespread on the China coast, used by foreign traders and the Chinese (1977b:378). New Jersey Amerindian Trade Pidgin was reportedly used between the local Amerindian tribes and visiting Dutch and English traders (1977b:387). A third example is Pidgin Spanish, used by two Amerindian tribes in western Venezuela when trading with outsiders (1977b:382).

There are reasons why, throughout history, pidgins have developed in trading situations. Among the more obvious and well known are the lack of time for the participants to learn each other's language, the lack of motivation to do so, and the lack of stability in a trading situation. Le Page (1977:299) also noted another reason for the process of pidginization: The universal and the learned expectancies of how to behave in a contact situation. Ferguson (1971) discussed how every speech community has a special register to deal with people who do not speak its own language(s). So it would be reasonable to claim that, under the circumstances briefly outlined above, a pidgin could have developed in Hawaii in the late 1700s to help the Hawaiians and the fur traders conduct their business.

I refer to this possible early pidgin as Hawaiian Maritime Pidgin. "Hawaiian" indicates its geographical use and one of the major (if not the principal) donor languages—it was probably a Hawaiian-based pidgin. "Maritime" is used to indicate the undoubtedly heavy influence from the sailors and traders who used it. They were a polyglot mixture, and had exposure to a number of widely differing language-contact situations (see note 1). Most likely, HMP received lexical items representing such diverse linguistic situations.

There are a few references to the use of language during this time in Hawaii which may be interpreted to support the speculation that HMP may have existed. For example, in Captain Dixon's description of his sea adventures, he wrote the following in describing his contact with the Hawaiians:

> Their language is soft, smooth, and abounds with vowels. In their conversation with each other it appears very copious, and they speak with great volubility; but when conversing with us, they only make use of those words which are most expressive and significant, purposely omitting the many articles and conjunctions made use of when speaking to each other. (Dixon 1789:268).

Apparently Dixon observed the simplification or reduction of language, often used as a marker of the pidginization process. Reduction or simplification, on the other hand, is also an indication of foreigner talk—the way native speakers talk to nonnative speakers. So it could be that what Dixon observed was not an indication of the pidginization process, but foreigner talk.

3. HAWAIIAN MARITIME PIDGIN: 1805-1819

When the sandalwood trade with China began around 1805, a different type of contact between foreigners and the Hawaiians developed. Since sandalwood trading originated in Hawaii, and not somewhere else as with the fur trading, the traders developed greater contacts with the Hawaiians than had occurred previously, when the fur traders stopped only for fuel, provisions, and general merrymaking. It again seems reasonable to claim that HMP played a role in this increased contact between Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians. It is not unlikely that HMP's lexicon was modified slightly to reflect its different domain, but it still served the same function—as a lingua franca to assist in trade between Hawaiians and foreigners.

There are no traces or records of HMP, leaving us with little to say about its structure. From what we know about pidgins in general, however, we can say that it was probably heavily Hawaiian, both in vocabulary and grammar, but rather simplified or reduced. Its phonology reflected the first languages of its speakers.

Among the references to this period by individuals who were in Hawaii at the time, there are some which might support the possible existence of a Hawaiian-based pidgin. For example, a German captain, Krusenstern, describing his contact with Hawaiians, noted, "a few English words, which these islanders pronounced with tolerable correctness, assisted us greatly in our intercourse with them" (1813, vol. 1:195). Ellis (writing about his experiences in Hawaii in 1822, reprinted in 1979) recorded kaukau 'eat, food', which he identified as a Chinese word, and pikaninny 'small', used by Hawaiians to make themselves more intelligible to foreigners (1979:279). If we add these observations to the one given above by Dixon, we have three markers of a pidgin: simplification of the speaker's first language, a mixture of more than two languages (what

Whinnom called "tertiary hybridization," see Section 4), and the use of unconnected lexical items from one of the other contact languages in an effort to communicate with a foreigner.

There is evidence to show that a few Hawaiians became reasonably fluent in some of the Western languages and acted as interpreters. And undoubtedly there were a few foreigners who became fluent in Hawaiian. I submit, however, that, by and large, much of the linguistic contact during the period 1784 to 1819 between Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians made use of some form of HMP.

A review of the observations of others who have written about the pidginization of language in Hawaii shows that these two periods, 1784-1805 and 1805-1819, have been somewhat neglected. Reinecke (1969) examined this period only in terms of the interrelation of English and Hawaiian, and did not mention the possibility that a pidgin (or a mixed or makeshift language) based on Hawaiian might have been used for communication between Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians.

Bickerton's position (Bickerton and Odo 1976) is similar to Reinecke's. In a single paragraph on the period, he claimed that the contacts between English speakers and Hawaiians were too brief to have caused "any kind of stable or permanent contact medium" and that interpreters were often used (1976:12-13).

Nagara (1969) has a more detailed summary of the period. He concluded that this period was "characterized linguistically by the use of the Hawaiian language and by the use of interpreters in communication" (1969:7), and agreed with Reinecke that there might not have been enough direct contact between Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians "to make possible the establishment of a make-shift language" (1969:7).

I submit, based on what we know happened in other contact trading situations and on the quotations given above, that speculation about the possible existence of a Hawaiian-based pidgin influenced by the sailors is well motivated. I agree, as I mention above, that there were most likely individuals with some competence in Hawaiian as a foreign language and some Hawaiians with competence in foreign languages, particularly English. Of course, the existence of such persons would not preclude the possibility of the pidginization of language.

4. HAWAIIAN MARITIME PIDGIN: 1819-1852

In 1819, the first whaling ships arrived in Hawaii, increasing the Hawaiians' contact with foreigners dramatically. It was at this time that rich sperm-whaling grounds were discovered off the coast of Japan, which was then closed to foreigners. So it was appropriate that the Hawaiian Islands became the main ports for the whaling ships working the region. As the whaling industry grew, the number of ships stopping in Hawaii grew significantly, peaking between 1840 and 1860, when an average of 400 ships landed each year.

It is of linguistic importance to take note of a characteristic of the whaling trade: The visits of the ships were concentrated in two periods of about two to three months each—spring and fall—spilling illiterate, unschooled sailors onto Hawaii's shores. It is difficult to imagine these visitors, having spent the previous three or four months cooped up on a small whaling vessel at sea, taking the time or effort to learn Hawaiian. It would appear that speculation that linguistic communication could have been accompanied by the use of HMP, the same linguistic code used in the fur and sandalwood trades, is well motivated. Of course, there is a likelihood that some of the same sailors were involved in both sandalwood trading and whaling.

Not only might foreigners have used HMP during this period, but Hawaiians might have, too. Since foreigners in this time were generally found in Honolulu and Lahaina, the two major ports, those Hawaiians who had contacts with the foreigners most likely were found in these two ports. A sizable Hawaiian population served the fur traders, the sandalwood traders, ships' agents, and the whaling industry. In addition, a small foreigner merchant industry had to be serviced by the Hawaiians. While there were Hawaiians who learned a foreign language, I speculate that most of the communication between foreigners and Hawaiians was accomplished through a variety of HMP, adopted to suit the particular circumstances of its interlocators.

In addition to the growth of the whaling industry, this period, 1819-1852, is also notable for the arrival and increasing importance of American missionaries. While their initial efforts were devoted to learning Hawaiian and translating the Bible in order to convert the Hawaiians to Christianity, their subsequent influence became so strong that they played an important role

in the shift from Hawaiian to their language, English. As we see later in this chapter, this affected the pidginization process, shifting the base from Hawaiian to English.

Support for the existence of a Hawaiian-based pidgin in the first half of the 1800s may be found in the writings of Reinecke (e.g., 1969). He was one of the early and most astute individuals to examine the linguistic history of Hawaii. Writing in 1935, he claimed that there was an English "of a makeshift character" which was mixed with Hawaiian, and poorly pronounced by foreigners (1969:34). Reinecke referred to it as "hapa haole (half white)" and quoted Ella H. Paris, born and raised on the island of Hawaii, as reporting that "it was the most common means of communication between Haole residents and Hawaiians and practically the sole means between sailors and Hawaiians" (1969:34). Reinecke further claimed that it arose about 1830 and 1840, as a result of the development of the whaling trade and the beginning of the plantations.

I speculate in this chapter, based on the social and economic conditions of the time, that what Reinecke called hapa-Haole (and I call HMP) developed much earlier. Reinecke questioned whether hapa-Haole fulfilled the definition of a pidgin (1969:34-36). Unfortunately, Reinecke, in that work, failed to give definitions of any of the linguistic terms he used: pidgin, creole dialect, or colonial dialect. That he failed to do so is not too surprising. Recall that he was writing in 1935, one of a handful of scholars concerned with such marginal linguistic phenomena. Reading Reinecke's comments about hapa-Haole carefully, it is possible to infer that he might have been writing about something which today we might call a pidgin. We would disagree, though, about the basis of what that linguistic system might have been. He implied that it must have been English, given the superordinate-subordinate relationship in which English was the prestige language (1969:17). I am not convinced of this, since Hawaiian remained strong, although on the decline, throughout the first half of the 19th century.

I had several occasions to question Reinecke about the possibility that hapa-Haole was indeed a pidgin, as is generally defined today. He said that that was a definite possibility, and referred me to some early observers of Hawaii whom I quote in this chapter.

Nagara examined this same period to determine if a pidgin might have been used and agreed with Reinecke that "a certain type of marginal language called 'hapa haole' ... had existed around the ports where trade with foreigners was flourishing

even before the immigration of plantation laborers took place" (1969:76). However, Nagara did not categorize hapa-Haole as a pidgin, since it "seems not to have shown any stable status and is most appropriately classified as a marginal language between English and Hawaiian" (1969:76).

DeCamp defines a pidgin as follows (1971:15-16):

> A pidgin is a contact vernacular, normally not the native language of any of its speakers. It is used in trading or in any situation requiring communication between persons who do not speak each other's native languages. It is characterized by a limited vocabulary, an elimination of many grammatical devices such as number and gender, and a drastic reduction of redundant features … A pidgin … is so limited, both lexically and structurally, that it is suitable only for specialized and limited communication.

If we accept DeCamp's definition of a pidgin, then it might reasonably be claimed that hapa-Haole—the early contact language which I call HMP—was a pidgin.

Bickerton (Bickerton and Odo 1976), in examining the period 1820 to 1976, claimed that hapa-Haole "constituted a foreigner's English continuum, rather than a pidgin language in the sense in which the latter term is normally understood; it would pass by Hall's definition (1966), but not by that of Whinnom (1971), which is more widely accepted by workers in the field" (1976:14). Whinnom's definition of a pidgin in his 1971 article is difficult to summarize easily and briefly, for he drew an analogy between biology and linguistics, comparing, for example, "primary hybridization" to "fragmentation" (1971:91). Lacking a clear-cut definition by Whinnom, we might turn to what he believed to be two conceivable processes by which pidgins might arise: "tertiary hybridization" and "relexification" (1971:105). As he pointed out, either one or the other process could lead to a pidgin.

If I understand Whinnom correctly, tertiary hybridization in the pidginization process refers to a situation involving a target language and at least two substrate languages. If HMP had been used only between, say, speakers of Hawaiian and English, then it might not qualify as a pidgin according to Whinnom's tertiary hybridization process. However, as I attempt to demonstrate above, there were a variety of languages spoken by the traders and sailors who landed in Hawaii for a number of different reasons. As Whinnom himself acknowledged (1971:107),

it is difficult to designate precisely the substrate languages. Thus, we could conceivably claim that HMP was a pidgin as a result of the process of tertiary hybridization.

Since there is so little substantial evidence about the nature of HMP, it would be of little value to speculate about the possibility of its having been relexified. It is worthwhile noting, though, that the data presented earlier in the paper do indicate that relexification occurred. Further, Bickerton and Wilson (this volume) present data which also indicate that relexification must have occurred.

Bickerton and I are in general agreement on the issue of a pidgin based on Hawaiian which might have been used on the early plantations, starting in the 1830s. He disagreed with Reinecke (1969), who posited English as the basis for the makeshift language used on the plantations. Bickerton claimed that "If the language was still Hawaiian when the Chinese arrived, the latter—who had to interact with the Hawaiians on the job or off it, as well as respond to their supervisors' orders—would obviously have acquired a pidgin Hawaiian rather than a pidgin English" (Bickerton and Odo 1976:16). Bickerton noted, "the original plantation language was, and remained for several decades, more or less a pidginized form of Hawaiian" (1976:17).

We can glean some ideas of what HMP might have been. Among the references to the use of mixed language in the early and mid-1800s are the following. From the Missionary Herald, April 1841, in its Annual Report for May 1840, we find that

> The islands are depopulating in a fearful ratio. Our hearts are pained when contemplating the fact, and we sometimes tremble lest the land become desolate, without inhabitant, or filled with a mongrel race, which shall speak, like certain men of old, "half in the speech of Ashdod," employing a corrupted dialect of the Hawaiian language, and cursing and swearing in broken English (1841:149).

Wise (1849), in Hilo, Hawaii, in 1848, reported that the seductive young "wyheenees" spoke broken English (346). When he asked a young lady to dance the "hevar," she replied indignantly that she was "mikonaree all ovar" (353). Bates, traveling in Hawaii in 1853, found that English was spoken occasionally, but he seemed to have relied upon "broken" Hawaiian. A few Hawaiians in country districts, who had been to English-medium schools, spoke English well. They apparently were ex-

ceptions. For example, at Koloa, Bates wrote, "His ears are greeted with detached sentences, composed of Hawaiian and English nearly as unintelligible" (1854:157).

Warren (1859) wrote that Hawaiian girls would "strike up [a conversation] in the most incomprehensible jargon of Kanaka and bad English" (245). Seeman, from his visit in Hawaii in 1849, observed that "In Honolulu nearly all the boatmen, and those connected with shipping, understand it [English] tolerably well, but speak it in a broken and disjointed manner" (1853:89). Bishop, in the preface to his manual of words and phrases in English and Hawaiian, wrote, "There has long prevailed, between natives and foreigners, a corrupted tongue, which the former only use in speaking to the latter, but never among themselves. It is a method of speech which should be abandoned, as it gives a false impression, derogatory to all rule, and is without system or beauty" (1854:3).

These references to a mixed language used throughout the Hawaiian Islands might be construed as evidence for Reinecke's original position (as set forth in his 1935 M.A. thesis, published as 1969) and Bickerton's claim that hapa-Haole was a foreigner's English continuum. I must agree. However, it is difficult to interpret what others mean in labeling something "broken English." For example, Bickerton observed (Bickerton and Odo 1976:1) that a tourist who spends two weeks in Honolulu might encounter "the night club entertainer who sometimes spices his act with remarks in what seems to be some kind of broken English." Bickerton did not mean to imply, of course, that Hawaii Creole English is broken English, but those unfamilar with his writings could infer that the entertainer did indeed use broken English. And if we were to rely on such observations in an attempt to explain various linguistic processes in Hawaii in the 1970s and 1980s, we might have a completely different picture from what more linguistically sophisticated observers might report from firsthand data.

The HMP of the period 1819 to, roughly, 1852, was probably somewhat different from the HMP of the first two decades of the 19th century. The possible difference is that HMP came more and more to be influenced by English. The rise of the English language and the fall of the Hawaiian language would take us beyond the scope of this chapter. (See Day in press for a detailed account.) I can only note here that the increasing dominance of American businessmen and the important role of American missionaries, as noted previously, were the major factors in this story.

Also important in this period is the beginning of the plantation system in Hawaii, a system which profoundly influenced all spheres of island life and continues to do so today. Although there were a number of attempts at establishing sugar plantations in the 1820s and early 1830s, the first permanent sugar plantation in Hawaii was founded in 1835, at Koloa, Kauai. Kuykendall (1938) reported that there were a great many sugar mills established between 1835 and 1840, especially on Maui, Oahu, and Kauai. He observed that Chinese played a large part in the setting up and operation of those mills.

This observation is important for the development of HMP, for it is the first report of an important non-Indo-European language group in sustained contact with Hawaiians (and others) away from the waterfront, and sailing-or trade-related activities. Very little information is available on the activities of these early Chinese, and there is no information whatsoever on their linguistic behavior. We can only speculate that they were either bilingual, or used interpreters, or used a contact language, such as HMP. Of course, none of these possibilities rules out the others.

It is possible that these early Chinese got along linguistically by using their version of HMP and, when that was not sufficient, called for interpreters. The mills had to have workers, who were probably native Hawaiians. The Hawaiians could have spoken the one language used in Hawaii to communicate with those who did not know the speaker's language—HMP.

Given the different function which HMP was being used for on the plantation, and given the different language group using it (the Chinese), HMP probably changed. It was no longer limited to use for contacts among non-Hawaiian sailors and merchants and Hawaiians in trading, whaling, and merry-making; its use was extended to a nonmari-time function—working a sugar plantation—by a different group—the Chinese. Because of this change to suit its new functions and new users, I refer to the new variety as Hawaiian Plantation Pidgin. In the next section of this chapter, I speculate that this modified version of HMP was the lingua franca on the plantations, and served as the language of communication which the masses of immigrants used after they arrived on the plantations in the last thirty years or so of the 19th century and the first part of the 20th century.

The linguistic picture which I paint for Hawaii in the first half of the 19th century is a complicated one. It could have involved the indigenous language—Hawaiian; a major Western

language increasing in importance—English; any number of other languages from all over the world, including Russian, Chinese, and German; and a pidgin language with at least two different varieties. As complex as this picture is, it gets more complicated in the last half of the 19th century.

5. HAWAIIAN PLANTATION PIDGIN: 1852-1876

The period 1852 to 1876 is noteworthy in the history of pidginization in Hawaii for at least two reasons. The first is the arrival of Chinese in 1852 to work as plantation laborers, and not as founders and operators of plantations, as described above.

Also of interest in this period is the role which the English language came to assume in the Hawaiian Islands. The learning of English took on new significance and gained dramatically in prestige. The Hawaiian language, on the other hand, lost much of its prestige, and declined in importance relative to English. This is important to the history of pidginization in Hawaii because, as Hawaiian declined and English grew, the varieties of Hawaiian Pidgin reflected the shift, and gradually changed from a Hawaiian-based pidgin to an English-based pidgin.

Even though this section is separated from the preceding one by dates—1852 to 1976—it should not be inferred that 1852, for example, marks a clean break between the previous period and the one under discussion. These dates merely mark convenient time frames by which the events can be conceptualized. The events described during the preceding period continued and, in some instances, increased. The contacts between sailors and Hawaiians, for example, increased in number and intensity. Thus, during the shipping season, clashes between sailors and Hawaiian police were not infrequent. Kuykendall (1938:311-312) mentioned one particular incident which turned violent: In 1852, "a mob of sailors burned down the police station at Honolulu and terrorized the town for more than twenty-four hours."

The missionaries—prominent from the early 1820s to 1852—continued to be important in the period under discussion. Their successors and descendants assumed increasingly important roles in all phases of island life: the social fabric, government, and the economy. Since they spoke English, English continued to gain in stature. Kuykendall and A. G. Day (1948) claimed that the influential positions held by American

missionaries was the primary reason for the early establishment of the dominance of English. In the mid-1800s, the missionary families built a library and sponsored such cultural activities as music events, public lectures, and plays.

Between 1846 and 1859, the United States acquired Oregon and California, gold was discovered in California, and the area was rapidly settled by Americans. As Kuykendall pointed out (1938:319), all spheres of life in the Islands were influenced by these events. The expansion of the western United States provided a large and convenient market for Hawaiian sugar, molasses, and coffee. This, of course, meant expanded production of these products. And it also meant increased dealings with an English-speaking population. The discovery of gold in California also meant augmented contacts between Hawaiians and Americans, for a number of Hawaiians journeyed to California to look for gold.

The increased contacts with Americans and other speakers of English influenced the pidginization process in Hawaiian, precipitating a gradual shift from a Hawaiian-based to an English-based pidgin. This slow evolution was also precipitated by the growth of the plantation economy.

The beginnings of the sugar cane industry, as discussed previously, are found in the 1830s. It was not until the 1850s that the industry began to expand to such a size that it needed additional labor, outstripping the local supply. The first foreigners imported to work on the sugar cane plantations arrived January 3, 1852, when nearly 200 Chinese males landed in Honolulu harbor on the British bark Thetis. About 100 more males were brought to Honolulu by the same vessel in the same year, bringing the total number of Chinese workers by the end of 1852 to about 300. Their contracts were for five years at three dollars per month and promised round trip transportation, food, housing, and clothing.

The situation which these immigrant Chinese laborers faced was difficult: After a two-month ocean voyage, they were in an island community where the food, the languages, the customs, and the people—everything—were totally different from their lives in China. These Chinese immigrants were not sophisticated, educated Chinese. They were poor workers, trying to better their lives by traveling to an unknown world to do back-breaking work. Learning Hawaiian (or English) was not one of their priorities, especially since they saw themselves, and were viewed by others, as temporary laborers. After five years, they planned to return to China.

Under these circumstances, it is reasonable to claim that they used a readily available language—the variety of HMP which I call Hawaiian Plantation Pidgin (HPP). These newly arrived immigrants were probably treated, linguistically, much the same as any newly arriving foreigners who could not speak Hawaiian. And, being addressed in HPP, the Chinese probably assumed it was Hawaiian, learned it, and only later did some of them go on to learn the Hawaiian language or English.

As noted previously, Bickerton (Bickerton and Odo 1976) also argued for the existence of a Hawaiian-based pidgin used by the Chinese on the early plantations. We differ, however, on its source. He did not go into detail on how it might have arisen; he did dismiss the possibility of a pidgin prior to the early plantations, as pointed out earlier in this chapter (Section 2).

On the other hand, Reinecke (1969) claimed that hapa-Haole expanded "into a creole dialect which shows mingled influences from several linguistic stocks, and a great mass of immigrants learned this makeshift language instead of either Hawaiian or Standard English" (1969:88). He continued, arguing that the first immigrant group to have been involved with the creole dialect was the Chinese who arrived as plantation laborers during the period 1852 to 1876. It is apparent that Reinecke's "creole dialect" is what we would call a pidgin.

Nagara did not agree with this claim. He noted that he had not found "any scientific or historical evidence supporting the theory that the Hawaiian plantation pidgin English was derived from the hapa haole of Hawaiian ports" (1969:76). Nagara explored the possibility that what he called "Hawaiian pidgin English" was derived from the "Chinese pidgin English of the southern Chinese coast." This was possible, he noted, because the first immigrant group to arrive in Hawaii was made up primarily of coolies from the southern Chinese coast (1969:76-77). Reinecke, however, claimed that the Chinese influence on the creole dialect was slight (1969:89-91).

Nagara observed that since "no one knows what 'hapa-haole' really was, this problem will remain unsolved forever" (1969:76). I agree that we cannot prove one possibility or the other to be true. However, from what we do know about the pidginization of language today, and from what did occur in Hawaii in the first half of the 19th century, I believe that one reasonable interpretation is that there was a pidgin, based on Hawaiian, first used for communication between Hawaiians and sailors and traders, and then, in a slightly different form, used on the increasing number of plantations.

We can speculate about some of the differences that must have distinguished HMP from HPP. Since HPP was used primarily for communication in a plantation setting, it probably had a vocabulary which reflected its agricultural uses; HMP's lexicon was maritime in general and dealt with whaling in particular. In its initial stages, from 1852 to about 1876, HPP was generally used by those whose first languages were Hawaiian or Chinese or English, whereas HMP's users came from a variety of language backgrounds, including Hawaiian, English, German, Russian, and Portuguese.

In addition, HPP was used in a more stable environment. Most of the non-Hawaiian speakers of HMP came and went each whaling season; the non-Hawaiian speakers of HPP remained constant, for at least a five-year period, working on the plantations. This relative stability undoubtedly affected HPP, most likely causing it to become much more systematic than HMP.

Like HMP, HPP was affected by the first languages of its speakers. Its realization differed between, say, Hawaiians and Chinese. Regardless of the amount of variation, it did have enough stability to be learned by new arrivals in the Islands and to serve as the vehicle of communication on the plantations in language contact situations.

Since the whaling industry remained viable until the 1870s, HMP was used until that time, and then died out as the need for it ceased. As the plantation economy grew stronger, HPP came to play a more important role linguistically in Hawaii's history. My claim is that it was used on the plantations before the masses of immigrant workers arrived in the 1870s and 1880s, and served as the lingua franca for them, and as one of the donor languages for Hawaii Creole English.

6. CONCLUSION

I have attempted, in this chapter, to present a case that a pidgin—referred to as a Hawaiian Maritime Pidgin—might have existed in the Hawaiian Islands in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, and has been overlooked by previous writers. If there were such a pidgin, it would have been based on Hawaiian, could have been used between Hawaiians and sailors and traders, and could have been employed later in the whaling industry. There is evidence of the existence of a mixed language

called “hapa-Haole”; it is possible that this was a pidgin; I speculate that it could reasonably have been the earlier Hawaiian-based pidgin.

It is possible that there was a Hawaiian-based pidgin used on the early Hawaiian plantations (1830s to 1870s). I speculate that this pidgin—called Hawaiian Plantation Pidgin—could very well have been a variety of HMP. HPP then became the language used by the immigrant plantation workers—Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, and others—who worked on the plantations in the late 19th and early 20th centuries; it later served as one of the donor languages for Hawaii Creole English.

Much of what has been presented in this chapter is speculative and circumstantial. It is much too late for the existence of HMP to be empirically established. However, I claim that these speculations are well motivated, based on our knowledge of what happened in other trading situations and on the descriptions of first-hand observers. It is possible that the first language of many of today’s residents of the Hawaiian Islands—Hawaii Creole English—has roots which can be traced to the late 18th century.

Trying to build a substantive case for a language which no longer exists is, at best, difficult. I have had to rely on history in trying to build a case for what might have happened. Hancock (1977a:279), in commenting on how to recover the origins of pidgins, wrote: “For these languages [pidgins], perhaps more than for others, the historical rather than the linguistic evidence must provide the principal leads.” He also noted that the problem is vexing because the “linguistic or circumstantial evidence lacks the verification of any kind of documentation” (280). In spite of the difficulties, it is possible that documentation-based research such as presented in this chapter can yield insightful clues to the origin and development of pidgins, and, in the process, clues to the nature of language.

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THE HISTORY OF RESEARCH INTO TOK PISIN 1900-1975

Peter Mühlhäusler

1. INTRODUCTION

It was one of the greatest achievements of John Reinecke to bring to the attention of pidginists and creolists the enormous body of work which had already been carried out in this field. The Bibliography of Pidgin and Creole Languages edited by Reinecke and others (1975) is the culmination of his lifelong scrutiny of sources relating to the pidgins and creoles of the world, and I feel that he would have liked very much for this activity to be continued by others. Going back to the sources in the field of pidgin and creole studies means more than just doing language histories. Rather, it is only against the background of such careful and time-consuming studies that many of the high-flying theoretical debates in the pidgin-creole field can be carried out. Not only is it essential to have as complete a record of earlier work as possible, one also needs to know the criteria by which earlier data and pronouncements about them should be assessed. The status of a language rule in an early (normative or prescriptive) missionary grammar may be very different from that in a grammatical sketch given in the appendix to a travel book or in an early attempt at a scientific description. As the metalinguistic value system of students of language tends to be strongly reflected in their linguistic statements, to ignore this fact can easily lead to confusion.

Reinecke's contribution to Tok Pisin studies has been greatly instrumental in reducing such possible confusions. The chapter "Beach-la-Mar" in his 1937 doctoral dissertation (covering also the related varieties of Pidgin English of the southwestern Pacific) not only provides a detailed survey of a large body of writings on Melanesian varieties of Pidgin English, it also as-

sesses the plausibility and validity of many of the inferences in these sources. This second aspect of assessment is again strongly represented in the above-mentioned bibliography.

The Tok Pisin historian is most fortunate to have such sources. In addition to Reinecke's ground-breaking work, more recent research of note includes Laycock's summary of Tok Pisin studies (1970c) and the preliminary results of work carried out in the Department of Language at the University of Papua New Guinea (McDonald 1975) and the Anthropos Institute (Z'Graggen 1976). However, as the compilers of the above bibliographical works would be the first to admit, their findings are by no means complete. The principal shortcomings of their works are:

(i) They ignore a vast body of missionary and official writing on Tok Pisin in languages other than English (particularly German).
(ii) They underestimate the relevance of writings concerned with other areas of the Pacific, in particular Samoa, which, for many years, provided employment for large numbers of indentured workers from the Papua New Guinea region.
(iii) The cutoff point of most bibliographical work is around 1965, although there has since been an extremely active phase of writing both in and on Tok Pisin.

Whereas I propose to amend points (i) and (ii), and to cover all important work up to 1975, work written since cannot be covered in the same comprehensive manner. I have in my possession a fairly complete and up-to-date collection of writings on Tok Pisin. However, many publications are first drafts and unpublished manuscripts, and, moreover, would need to be discussed in the light of a number of ongoing debates of great complexity. I have, therefore, chosen not to include many of them here. A good idea of the kind of work which has appeared since 1975 can be gained from a scrutiny of the bibliographical references in the Carrier Pidgin.

Before discussing the history of research into Tok Pisin, a few brief notes about the language itself are called for. Among the many English-based Pidgins and Creoles of the southwestern Pacific, Tok Pisin is both the linguistically most developed and the socially most firmly institutionalized variety. It is the major lingua franca of Papua New Guinea, being spoken by some 750,000-1,000,000 speakers as a second language and

in about 20,000 households as a first language. The total population of Papua New Guinea amounts to slightly more than 2,000,000. The language has been known by many names, among them New Guinea Pidgin, Neomelanesian, and Tok Boi. Its present name, Tok Pisin (literally: talk pidgin), reflects the linguistic independence of this language as well as the political independence of its speakers.

2. MOTIVES IN THE STUDY OF TOK PISIN

As has been pointed out by a number of writers, most recently by Bickerton (1976), the field of pidgin and creole studies was regarded (until very recently) as being marginal to the wider field of linguistics. This lack of serious scientific studies of pidgins and creoles is encountered in the case of Tok Pisin, though recent research by McDonald of the Tok Pisin Research Unit of the University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG) and the present author at the Australian National University (ANU) has led to the discovery of a number of valuable older research materials. Thus, it seems warranted to say that Tok Pisin is one of the best-documented pidgins. Still, the documentation of its linguistic past is not as complete as one would wish, especially since the value of much of the older work on this language is diminished by the motives underlying its compilation and by the rather blunt analytic tools used in its description. The motives underlying work on Tok Pisin can be labeled as follows:

(i) The desire of writers to amuse their audience with anecdotal observations about a “queer” variant of English.
(ii) Pedagogical motives, in particular the desire to teach Tok Pisin to expatriates
(iii) Scientific interest in the structure and social role of the language.
(iv) Discussing the merits of Tok Pisin as an official language or its use in education, that is, making qualitative judgments.

The first motive is the one most frequently encountered in the shorter statements on Tok Pisin such as are found in numerous popular articles, travel books, and diaries written by expatriates and newspapers such as the prewar Rabaul News. A longer monograph with this expressed aim is that by Churchill (1911), who remarks:

> Beach-la-mar[1] is an amusing speech; in this brief treatise we have studied it with a gaiety of enjoyment which it would be a shame not to have expressed.

Prior to Churchill's monograph a number of German and English writers had expressed a similar view. Names that come to mind are the much cited travel writer Baron von Hesse-Wartegg (1902:52-4), Daiber (1902:254-6), and Hernsheim (1883:102). Very often, Tok Pisin is used as a literary device illustrating the "primitiveness" of its speakers rather than an object of study per se.

This tradition of writing about Tok Pisin without much knowledge and insight continues, though in recent years anecdotal accounts have come to be replaced by more serious assessments. Instead of giving an exhaustive account of such popular writings, some common ideas found in many of them (often being handed down for generations) will be illustrated by means of a number of quotations. It is hoped, however, that a fuller history of popular accounts of Tok Pisin and the prejudices contained in them will be written, once the materials have been located and properly catalogued. Two of the often-repeated myths about the language in such accounts are:

(i) Tok Pisin is a hodgepodge of words from many sources. The following quotations illustrate this:

> The pidgin-English as spoken in these days is about the most atrocious form of speech perhaps one could find in any corner of the globe. It is neither one thing or the other. Consisting of a mixture of Samoan and Chinese here and there, with an occasional word of Malayan, it is conglomeration truly worthy of the tower of Babel (Editorial, Rabaul Times, October 16, 1925).
>
> Pidgin, which is a completely unscientific and apparently spontaneous arrangement of words and phrases, is used by millions of people (R. W. Robson in The Australian Soldiers Pocket Book, August 1943).
>
> It will be a welcome change to speak a language, a real language, instead of this hybrid conglomeration of crudities known in the aggregate as Pidgin (Pacific Islands Monthly, July 1945:24).

(ii) It is just “Comic Opera Talk Talk” (Robertson 1971:13). Most popular accounts of Tok Pisin contain a number of real or imagined examples to illustrate this point. The following two passages exemplify this:

> This “pidgin” Since publication of my note in last issue, quite a number of good friends have sent in some startling examples of lingual ingenuity. The best comes from the Editor of a Metropolitan daily—a man, otherwise, of unblemished reputation—but as this is a family journal of unchallenged respectability, we must firmly refuse to print it. Here, however, are two, direct from New Guinea, which have been passed by the censor: A European Lady: “Big fella missus he got water belong stink along him.” In other words, the average white woman is best remembered by the natives owing to her use of perfume. A Piano: “Big fella bokus (box) you fightem he cry.” This is highly ingenious—particularly the description of key-board action (Pacific Islands Monthly, September 16, 1930).

> A Resident of Townsville sends me more lively examples of “pidgin.” This is how a New Guinea boy says: “You’re bald”: “Grass belong coconut he no more stop.” “Piccaninny” is a “baby”; “deewhy”, “tree”-“Piccaninny belong dewhy” therefore is “fruit.” “Copper” is a covering, such as a roof; therefore “copper belong ‘and,” for fingernail, is quite ingenious (Pacific Islands Monthly, December 16, 1930).

Underlying many such statements about Tok Pisin is a distinctly racist attitude towards the indigenous speakers of the language. The following remarks by Daiber (1902:54) are representative of many made later:

> Translation:
> Thus the white man attempted when he settled upon the palm-shaded islands of the South Seas, to bring English as a common language to the multilingual black natives, with which they could communicate with the whites as well as among one another. But the childish son of the wilderness was not yet ripe for abstract linguistic concepts. He transformed the language in his own ways, intermingled it with his own expressions and the quaint Pidgin English was created (author’s translation).

This quotation illustrates another preoccupation of many popular writers, namely their desire to demonstrate that Tok Pisin developed as a result of certain quirks of history rather than out of a need for communication while maintaining social inequality. Thus, one myth about the origin of Tok Pisin encountered in the popular literature is that it was invented by the Germans, either in order to prevent the indigenes from using German (cf. Reed 1943:271) or because they were unable to pronounce its "guttural" sounds (Helton 1940:5). Another widely held belief is that Tok Pisin was brought to New Guinea by indentured Chinese laborers. These views have been discussed in detail by Mühlhäusler (1978a and 1979a). Since popular and anecdotal accounts of Pidgin form a large percentage of the older sources on this language, investigators have to rely on information gleaned from them for the reconstruction of earlier stages of this language. Although this is a time-consuming task, valuable data can be found among careless presentations and obvious misrepresentations. Mühlhäusler (1979a) has found these sources of particular help for the reconstruction of the lexical component of Tok Pisin, but there are indications, as given by Sankoff (1976a), that some insights into earlier stages of syntax can also be gained from them.

The literature about Pidgin designed to entertain is complemented by a second set of materials, namely pedagogical materials. Again, the usefulness of these materials to the linguist (and the language learner) varies. The general impression gained from a review of Tok Pisin teaching materials (i.e., materials teaching it as a second language) is that, with very few exceptions, those writers who knew the language best knew little about writing down its rules or the principles of language teaching, while some of the technically more sound pedagogical grammars are characterized by a lack of insight into the structures of the language. There are some exceptions. In particular, Dutton's audiolingual course (1973) is based on an intimate knowledge of the language and its speakers and a thorough understanding of second language teaching.

The development of reliable materials which could be used for teaching Tok Pisin as a second language was hampered, as were linguistic descriptions, by the negative attitudes prevailing throughout the colonial period in Papua New Guinea. In addition, certain assumptions about second language learning processes on the part of those who provide pedagogical grammars and course materials also interfered with their de-

velopment. The learning of Tok Pisin by speakers of English is a relatively recent phenomenon. Previously, it was usually assumed that it is a simplified and corrupted form of English and to produce “Pidgin English” one needed only to speak a sort of baby talk “liberally besprinkled with -em and reduplication, and ignoring all syntax” (cf. comments by Wedgwood 1954:784), and with certain lexical items such as were felt to be appropriate to a pidgin situation.

This attitude was generally not shared by the survivors of the abortive French attempt to colonize New Ireland, for example, Mouton (cf. Biskup 1974) and the German colonizers. German settlers made serious efforts to learn Tok Pisin before written grammars were available, and it was generally learned by the Germans orally in their dealings with the “natives,” that is, it was learned in the restricted set of contexts in which it was used, with the result that many German speakers acquired an excellent working knowledge untainted by English habits of speech.

However, the hostile attitude of the German administration towards Tok Pisin (cf. Mühlhäusler 1975a) prevented serious work on materials which could help newcomers to acquire the language quickly. It appears that no phrase books and vocabularies of the kind provided for West African Pidgin English in the Cameroons (Hagen 1910) were made available for New Guinea. However, newcomers from Germany found some guidance in accounts of Tok Pisin such as that by Schnee (1904), which outlines the essentials of its grammar and lexicon, and Friederici (1911). The latter explicitly states that he wishes to supplement Schnee’s sketch with further remarks which would be of use to those “who would like to inform themselves about Pidgin English before their journey to the South Sea” (author’s translation). However, on page 95, Friederici remarks that proper Tok Pisin should be learned in one’s dealings with “natives” and that grammatical sketches compiled by Europeans could at best be supplementary to this. (For more comments on Friederici’s article see McDonald 1977.)

It is interesting to note that there was widespread semiofficial support for the teaching of Tok Pisin to indigenes. This was done by the immersion of “bush-natives” in selected mission and government settlements. As observed by Nolde (1966:65):

> We often encountered some of the wild men who had arrived with us on the steamers … The purpose of their forced stay in Rabaul was to gradually acquire means of communication, be it gestures, the customary "Pidgin English" or German concepts and words (translation mine).

Another item of interest is a plan, developed in Germany during World War I, to teach an artificial Pidgin German (called Kolonialdeutsch) to the indigenes of all German colonies, including those in the Pacific (cf. Schwoerer 1916).

While the learning of Tok Pisin by the German settlers through dealings with the indigenous population was moderately satisfactory, the need was felt, particularly by the Catholic mission which had adopted it as a medium in the 1920s to have at hand teaching materials for newcomers from Germany. Thus, the first complete course for German missionaries was written in 1930 (Borchardt, Anleitung zur Erlernung des Tok-Boi). In many ways, this course was a step backwards. Borchardt, like many scholars at the time, held that a pidgin language is a combination of native syntax and European vocabulary. Thus, his course is based almost entirely on Bley's Kuanua grammar (1912). This assumption had two consequences: Those rules of Tok Pisin which reflected independent developments or transfer from English were neglected, and both pronunciation and meaning of lexical items are characterized as being closer to English than was actually the case.[2] Borchardt's course was based on the grammar translation method with the grammatical categories used being those of the classical European languages. This decision further weakened the course materials. The use of this and similar books has resulted, in the meantime, in the development of a special mission dialect of Tok Pisin which is at variance with that spoken by the indigenous population.

Borchardt translated his course into English in the early 1930s. However, it appears to have remained unknown outside the archdiocese of Rabaul and to have been used only by missionaries. Pedagogical motives also prompted a small group of Divine Word missionaries (Alexishafen) to compile dictionaries and grammars of Tok Pisin. They had come to realize, on the occasion of a conference in Marienberg in the late 1920s, that few of the missionaries had the necessary understanding of the language to carry out mission work in it. Schebesta's grammar (which I have not as yet seen) and dictionary, and van Baar's vocabulary and later enlarged dictionary, were some of the results

of this conference. The dictionary work is impressive, not only because of the wealth of materials but also because of a number of remarks about variation, the use of individual entries, etymologies, and so forth. An interesting side effect of these efforts by the Alexishafen missionaries was a number of aids designed to help indigenes to acquire a reading knowledge of Tok Pisin, among them a comic strip, Pigtel 'pig-tail.' Most of the Alexishafen materials were written in the German language and appear to have had little influence outside the mission sphere.

Such was the situation of the English-speaking settlers in the new Trust Territory; no teaching aids were available to them. This fact is mentioned and deplored in several editorials of the Rabaul Times, for instance that of December 17, 1937:

> A handbook of Pidgin would be invaluable to everybody providing it was comprehensive, and compiled by someone who had a real knowledge of the matter, and one who knew at least one native language to guide him. If such a handbook gave us the origin of Pidgin words, the way such words could be interpreted to mean the many things they often do, the reason for the curious construction of phrases, and the elements of native psychology, a newcomer might learn in a few months what it would take him as many years to learn.

The call for pedagogical grammars and other teaching materials fell on deaf ears during peacetime. They became available to speakers of English only as a result of World War II, that is, under the pressure for effective communication and propaganda during the war. American soldiers were taught Tok Pisin by the audiolingual method, based on Hall's structuralist analysis of this language (Hall et al. 1942), while many Australians learned it from booklets such as those by Helton (1943) and Murphy (1943). The latter were written by laymen and, though providing valuable sociolinguistic information, often fell short of adequately characterizing the syntax and lexicon of the language. In addition, they did not constitute works of any pedagogical value.

The effects of the war on the teaching of Tok Pisin were not lasting. After 1945 the majority of expatriates did not learn it in any formal way but continued to use their variety of broken English when dealing with the natives. The situation did not change until only just before the achievement of self-government for Papua New Guinea. The wind of change blowing in the country in the late 1960s and early 1970s resulted in

the appearance of a number of courses in this language. The sudden desire to have teaching materials resulted in the publication of materials which otherwise might not have seen the light of day. For the use of anthropologists and field workers, two courses teaching Highlands and Lowlands Pidgin respectively were published (Wurm 1971, Laycock 1970a), consisting mainly of notes on grammar, a long list of useful phrases, and texts. While lacking pedagogical sophistication, these courses proved to be of considerable value to linguistically sophisticated academics.

At the same time, Litteral's Programmed Course in New Guinea Pidgin (1969) for members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and missionaries provided a less technical introduction to the language. The principal drawback of this course lies in its orientation towards linguistic structures rather than socially relevant language. As pointed out by Laycock (1970b:47): "The user of this book will not be able to ask his way to even the most primitive village toilet; and the entire vocabulary of sex and its organs is also lamentably absent." A second course which appeared in the same year, Thomas' Learning Pidgin, put out by the ABC for its broadcast Tok Pisin courses, teaches a far more useful body of language, but falls short in its pedagogical approach and contains several vague and incorrect statements about the language. However, even with these shortcomings, Thomas' course fulfilled an urgent need and must be regarded as one of the factors contributing to a more ready acceptance of New Guinea Pidgin (NGP) by the expatriate community. Finally, the year 1969 saw publication of yet another course, namely Mihalic's Introduction to New Guinea Pidgin. Though designed for self-instruction, it is primarily a brief reference book. Its main virtues are the relevance of the language materials to communication in Papua New Guinea and the avoidance of unwarranted generalizations about Tok Pisin. Further notes on these three courses can be found in Laycock (1970b) and Tomasetti (1970).

Teaching aids for private tuition and instruction by radio were supplemented in the late 1960s and early 1970s with materials accompanying the adult education courses of the Department of Education in Port Moresby. A number of such booklets, entitled "Tok Pisin" and written by Healey, appeared between 1969 and 1971. They differ from earlier teaching materials in that they are much more comprehensive and designed for use by a teacher in a classroom situation. The method advocated is basically a grammar translation method; however,

grammatical exercises are supplemented with an impressive amount of sociolinguistic information. The main drawback of these books is a lack of organization, and an often confusing treatment of points of grammar, reflecting the author's lack of background in linguistics and methods of language teaching. However, Healey's materials would still make good supplementary reading to the more formalized courses by Litteral (1969) and Dutton (1973).

The demand for more sophisticated teaching materials continued to increase and resulted in the publication in 1973 of two courses designed explicitly for the teaching of Tok Pisin to Europeans, namely those of Dutton (1973) and Sadler (1973a). Both courses are based on the grammar and vocabulary of Mihalic (1971), though Dutton, in particular, supplies additional observations about the language and its use. A comparison between the content offered in the two courses has been made by Franklin (1974).

The method used by Sadler is one outlined by Nida (1957), namely the learning of a language in a field situation with the help of an unskilled native informant. Because of the limitations of the informant-teacher, the discussion of grammar and vocabulary needs to be comprehensive, explicit, and systematic. Unfortunately, Sadler's course falls down badly on these points. Further drawbacks of the course are the lack of sociocultural information, and the unjustified stress on production skills rather than comprehension skills. With regard to the latter point, Sadler repeats the mistakes of many of his forerunners: The aim of language learning is seen as being able to speak the language rather than to comprehend and meaningfully interact in it. The emphasis on production brings with it the danger that Tok Pisin is used by the white learner for one-way communication, that is, to give orders and instructions rather than to learn from the indigenous speakers of the language.

These shortcomings are not encountered in Dutton's course. In fact, Dutton's Conversational New Guinea Pidgin must be seen as a major breakthrough, and it can only be hoped that the author, who himself has taught the course many times to various groups of learners, will incorporate his experience in a revised version soon.[3]

Dutton's method is audiolingual and is appropriate mainly to language laboratory teaching on an intensive or semi-intensive scale. Language skills are built up in a controlled manner by grading of grammatical structures and by means of carefully devised drills. Strong points of the course are its relevance to

everyday life situations in Papua New Guinea, its presentation of culturally relevant vocabulary, and its notes on the social context in which the language is used. The main drawback of Dutton's course is probably his fairly strict adherence to the audiolingual method which may become tedious for intelligent learners. However, as the course is a short one in comparison with audiolingual courses in other languages, this criticism is not serious. (In my opinion, a certain amount of drilling is essential, particularly with adult learners.) A final strong point of Dutton's course is the availability of tapes for private study. It must be stressed, however, that an experienced teacher cannot easily be replaced by tapes. Dutton (1976b) discusses how his course can be expanded to promote communicative competence among the learners.

Teaching materials for speakers of languages other than English or German have not been available until very recently. In particular, no materials for Papua New Guineans, apart from some unpublished mission texts, were available. In 1973, the first course designed to teach Tok Pisin to adult Papua New Guineans (particularly illiterates from newly opened-up areas) was made available (Sadler 1973b). This uses the direct method, that is, the teacher employs Tok Pisin for instruction from the beginning, moving from words and phrases for actions in the classroom to common situations outside. The book is designed in a way which requires only minimal teaching experience on the part of the instructor. As yet, no report about the use of the book in an actual classroom situation has come to my attention. However, I suspect that some of the advantages of the use of the direct method would be neutralized by the fairly rigid and unimaginative organization of the contents. It must be hoped that empirical research in the ways in which Tok Pisin is acquired informally by Papua New Guineans on plantations, towns, or patrol posts will result in new insights into how it is best taught in such a situation.

3. LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTIONS OF TOK PISIN

Descriptive work in Tok Pisin has been carried out for two principal reasons: First, in order to provide a foundation for pedagogical grammars and teaching materials, and second, to settle certain controversies in linguistic theory; though, in many instances, the two motives cannot be strictly separated. The earliest studies of Tok Pisin are those by Schuchardt, who, in

the 1880s, obtained samples of several varieties of Melanesian Pidgin English including those spoken in the Duke-of-York Archipelago and Samoa. Recent archival research at Graz University by Dutton and myself suggests that Schuchardt failed to obtain information from those who would have been his best sources, that is, resident missionaries. However, Schuchardt's sparse collection on Pacific Pidgin English does contain an informative letter from the trader Hernsheim (Duke-of-York) and Governor Solf of German Samoa; the linguistic implications of these two letters are discussed in Schuchardt (1881, 1889). Unfortunately, we were unable to locate a letter promised by Governor Solf on sociolinguistic questions.

Amazingly little descriptive work appears to have been carried out in German colonial days, the most complete accounts of the language being those of Neffgen (1915, 1916) on the Samoan variety (SPP). More ambitious attempts at grammatical description appear only after 1920. We find a number of "straightforward" descriptions, beginning with Brenninkmeyer's grammatical sketch of Tok Pisin (1924). Though the description is made within a strictly conventional ("classical") framework and therefore tends to be unenlightening, Brenninkmeyer's Einführung ins Pidgin English contains a large number of sample sentences which appear to be an accurate representation of Tok Pisin spoken in the Baining area of New Britain at the time.[4] Very interesting data supplementing Brenninkmeyer's are the Tok Pisin equivalents in Thurnwald's Baining fieldnotes, a preliminary draft of which has been compiled by Carrington at the ANU.

Borchardt's Kleine Tok-Boi Grammatik (n.d.) has less grammatical detail than Brenninkmeyer's, but contains some interesting insights into the aspectual system of Tok Pisin in the mid-1920s, a result of its not being fitted into the straitjacket of traditional grammar. The grammar later became the basis of Borchardt's course.

Unfortunately, I am in no position to comment on Schebesta's Tok Pisin Grammar, but if it is anything like his dictionary, it should constitute an important piece of evidence about the language in the 1930s. From around this time we also have a sadly uncompleted manuscript by Dempwolff, Pidgin-Englisch von Deutsch Neuguinea, discovered by Dr. Mosel of Cologne University and deciphered and transcribed by Dr. G. Mühlhäusler. The general layout for a Tok Pisin grammar is very impressive indeed, though it is not clear to what extent it was

meant to be based on Dempwolff's own data, obtained during his stay in German New Guinea, or on secondary missionary sources obtained subsequently.

As the first complete scientific description, Hall's (1943b) grammar and dictionary constitute a major breakthrough in the description of Tok Pisin, being the first attempt to provide a comprehensive account of the language using modern descriptive techniques. It is still considered a standard reference work in spite of the fact that it exhibits certain shortcomings due to the methods and theoretical orientation current at the time it was written. Thus, it is a description of the "overall pattern" of Tok Pisin, an abstraction from the various subsystems of the language, and it therefore creates a false impression of homogeneity which, in actual fact, is not found. The argumentation used by Hall that Tok Pisin as spoken by Europeans constituted valid data for such an overall description cannot be subscribed to in full; it certainly seems dangerous to give such a prominent position to European varieties (Tok Masta). Hall's structuralist approach also accounts for shortcomings in his treatment of word formation (see discussion by Mühlhäusler 1978c). However, it is easy to criticize a book written thirty and more years ago, and for its time, it was an excellent piece of work; moreover, much of it remains valid.

The next major grammatical description is that of Mihalic (1957, and the revised version of 1971). Mihalic bases his description on Hall (1943b) and Schebesta's grammar, as well as his own observations. Both the 1957 and the 1971 versions are written for a lay audience. This has led to a lack of precision in a number of areas of grammar, although the numerous examples make good many of the shortcomings, and the book remains a standard reference work for linguistically unsophisticated learners and speakers of the language. However, as Tok Pisin has been undergoing a number of changes in recent years, particularly in the urban areas and in the context of creolization, a revision of certain areas of the grammar, such as relativization and complementation, seems necessary. At present, a revision of Mihalic's dictionary and grammar is being prepared by Mihalic and Mühlhäusler. Two comprehensive descriptions of Tok Pisin are those by Laycock (1970a) and Wurm (1971). Both arose out of courses designed for fieldworkers, but Wurm's account of Highlands Tok Pisin in particular takes more the form of a reference grammar. Wurm states his aim as providing "a reasonably systematic sketch of some of the most important structural features of Pidgin, including remarks on

some of the characteristics of Highlands Pidgin" (1971:3). He exceeds this goal, however, and his treatment of parts of Highlands Tok Pisin grammar, such as the aspect and tense system, remains a valuable source of information about this variety at a time when it appears to have been maximally divergent from coastal varieties. Both Wurm's and Laycock's grammars include transcribed texts from a number of speakers and localities.

The most recent descriptive account of Tok Pisin is that by Bauer (1974). This analysis suffers from the author's lack of firsthand experience and an inconsistent descriptive framework. The first factor has led Bauer to accept both suspect data and reliable recordings on a par. The second factor accounts for his attempt to write an "overall pattern" grammar of Tok Pisin which includes apparently unrelated varieties of Pidgin English such as Kiwai Pidgin of Papua. As it is, Bauer's description is of value only to those who have an intimate knowledge of the language and who are able to distinguish between genuine insights and unwarranted generalizations. A detailed discussion of Bauer's grammar is found in a review article by Mühlhäusler (1978d).

All treatments of grammar discussed so far were done within traditional, ad hoc, or structural frameworks of description. While these models facilitate the treatment of a large part of Tok Pisin grammar with limited resources, this tends to be done at the cost of insights into some less obvious aspects of the language.

New trends in the description of Tok Pisin can be observed from the early 1960s. However, new descriptive frameworks, such as the transformational-generative model or various models aiming at explaining variation, have forced linguists to pay attention to small subparts of Tok Pisin grammar rather than its grammar as a whole.

An early attempt to deal with Tok Pisin in a transformational framework is an article by Hooley (1962). Hooley's principal purpose is to use a pre-Chomskyan (Harris) type of transformational description to discover areas of grammar that differ from English. His general conclusion is that Tok Pisin and English are indeed closely related structurally. However, as pointed out by Turner (1966:206f), his conclusions are hardly warranted in view of his rather blunt analytical tools and the restricted body of evidence considered. A further weakness of Hooley's approach is that he compares two static abstract models, ignoring both present-day variation in Tok Pisin and its diachronic development.

Another article inspired by the work of Harris is one dealing with a contrastive analysis of Tok Pisin and English morpheme sequence classes (Dingwall 1966). As the author himself notes, the logical simplicity of the model used is paired with its inability to account for many aspects of real language. Nevertheless, Dingwall's article deserves more attention than it appears to have received hitherto.

Another attempt at a transformational-generative description by Young (1971) has not been made available to a wide audience, and I have not seen a copy of it. It appears, however, that a static generative model of description imposes severe limitations on those working with living pidgin languages. The criticisms made against it include that it is inappropriate for dealing with linguistic variation and that it forces the investigator to sweep under the carpet of "linguistic performance" data which are of direct relevance to the shape and development of linguistic rules, such as those relating to speakers' strategies. As a result, many of the studies carried out in the more recent past follow a linguistic paradigm which admits quantitative analyses and sociolinguistic data.

Much of this criticism cannot be applied to Woolford's Duke university Ph.D. thesis (1977), Aspects of Tok Pisin Grammar. This thesis is based on extensive fieldwork and a thorough knowledge of recent developments in syntactic theory. The model of description used is similar to that of Chomsky's revised standard theory, a theory well suited to the discussion of near-surface level syntax and to a comparative study of Tok Pisin and English.

Some more recent papers concerning aspects of phonetics and phonology include Bee's account of interference between Usarufa and Tok Pisin (1972). Bee's analysis illustrates the limitations of both informant tests and the predictive power of contrastive analysis, as well as the danger of testing outside an adequate situational context. Her study is important in that it constitutes the first comprehensive study of substratum influence in any part of Tok Pisin grammar.

As yet, few aspects of the sound system of Tok Pisin are well documented. Both Pawley's account of epenthetic vowels (1975) and Tetaga's study of prenasalization (1971) are welcome exceptions. These features are highly variable in Tok Pisin phonology, and both Pawley and Tetaga consider a number of linguistic and social factors which could account for such variation. No conclusion is reached in either case as this would have required the analysis of a considerable amount of addi-

tional data. Pawley's tentative conclusion, that the deletion of epenthetic vowels appears to be stylistic, that is, determined by the rate of utterance, is true mainly of Urban Tok Pisin. Tetaga's demonstration that prenasalization is a feature most common among older speakers of non-Melanesian languages and his prediction that prenasalization is on the way out must be questioned, particularly as the language is increasingly becoming the language of non-Melanesian-speaking Highlanders.

An attempt to present an exhaustive account of Tok Pisin's segmental phonology is that by Litteral (1970). In spite of its use of static "phonemes," this study is very valuable, and it is to be deplored that it was never published. A recent M.A. thesis (Technical University Berlin) by Pishwa (1977) contains a chapter on its sound system. While it uses data from Laycock (1970a) and Litteral (1969), the post-Sound Pattern of English (SPE) framework used provides new insights into the nature of this part of Tok Pisin grammar.

A group of studies by Sankoff and a number of her associates are concerned with the question of linguistic change and development of Tok Pisin, particularly with regard to creolization in the urban centers of Papua New Guinea. Although the creolization of Tok Pisin may be a special case among creole languages inasmuch as it has followed a prolonged period of stabilization and expansion of second language varieties, the case studies at hand are still of great importance for a better understanding of language change in general. Languages change either as a result of contact or because of various as yet only partially understood internal pressures. Sankoff concerns herself mainly with the latter. She aims at providing functional explanations for the development of a number of grammatical devices in Tok Pisin, namely the change of the adverb *baimbai* to the tense marker *bai* (Sankoff and Laberge 1973), the development of the relative clause marker *ya* out of the adverbial *hia* (Sankoff 1975b, Sankoff and Brown 1976), and most recently the clitization of pronouns (Sankoff 1976a, 1977). The studies are important in that they involve a return to a functionalist approach to language, that is, they no longer exclude—as required by both structuralists and transformationalists—"performance" factors, such as the strategies speakers adopt in order to meet certain communicative requirements. These studies by Sankoff allow significant insights into the forces underlying the linguistic change and development of Tok Pisin.

Similar questions are raised in an often quoted but never published paper by Labov (1971). He examines, among other things, how the reduction in form influences the communicative potential of various pidgins and creoles, including Tok Pisin. The paper contains some valuable observations about the tense-aspect system of the language.

One of the tools for displaying ongoing trends in the development of languages is quantitative analysis. This figures prominently in the articles just mentioned as well as in several others written at about the same time, including Woolford's treatment of the conditions underlying the variable presence of the predicate marker i and Lattey's account of object deletion (both 1975). The last two papers illustrate the suitability of implicational scaling for data from pidgins and creoles. However, the results are based on a fairly limited set of data and must be regarded as preliminary explorations rather than as solutions to some very complex problems. The same must be said of Smeall's analysis of the predicate marker i (1973). A preliminary quantitative study on the grammatical category of number in Tok Pisin is in a working paper by Mühlhäusler (1976b). More research on number, using better data and more refined techniques, is at present being carried out (Mühlhäusler 1980a).

Developmental studies on other aspects of Tok Pisin grammar deal with causatives (Mühlhäusler 1979b) and complementation (Woolford 1979). A summary of developmental studies is given by Sankoff (1979), while Mühlhäusler (1980b) discusses the wider implications of "gradual creolization" for the field of creole studies. It appears that studies based on a dynamic framework of description promise to result in significant advances in the study of this language.

Before turning to other topics, mention must be made of a number of smaller linguistic studies. An early analysis of Tok Pisin's lexicon (mainly restricted to the lexical inventory) is contained in a paper by Hall (1943a). An important article by the same author is his discussion of innovations and changes between 1943 and 1954 (Hall 1956a), which demonstrates the incipient development of an urban variety of the language. In the same year, a brief note on yes and no in Tok Pisin, illustrating the "yes, we have no bananas" usage of the two words, appeared (Hall 1956b). This article deals with sentence-questions and their answers only, and does not consider the use of yes no after wh-questions (see Mühlhäusler 1979a:300-1). Many of Hall's linguistic writings on Tok Pisin between 1942 and 1955 are summarized in his defense of the language (1955a). A de-

tailed critical review of this book is that by Morgan (1956). Finally, a preliminary discussion of ergative aspects of Tok Pisin is given by Heringer (1966). Since this question is potentially of great theoretical interest, it is hoped that it will receive further treatment soon.

4. STUDIES OF TOK PISIN'S ROLE IN EDUCATION

Efforts to spread Western-type education among the population of Papua New Guinea were begun only relatively recently, and research into educational policies, in particular language policies, is sparse. The impression gained from the large body of writings on the question of the use of Tok Pisin in education is that untested assumptions about the relative merits of Tok Pisin and English prevail and that genuine research into the problem is only beginning. Among the first to raise the question of language and education was Groves in his Native education and cultural contact in New Guinea (1936). Groves argues strongly against the introduction of English, a view which he expressed in several places after 1945, when he was Director of Education.

The question of language choice in education became topical after World War II, and the merits and deficiencies of Tok Pisin as a language for primary school instruction have since been widely debated. A comprehensive summary of the discussion up to 1955, as well as detailed arguments for the use of Tok Pisin, are contained in a number of papers by Dietz (1955). Dietz lists a number of institutions where Tok Pisin has been used with success and concludes that "Pidgin is an adequate medium of instruction at all levels and in all fields" (1955:3). Dietz's views are also shared by Hall (1954a. 1955a). A more balanced account is presented by Wedgwood (1954), who argues that English is not suitable as an initial medium of instruction but should be taught as a second language.

Discussion about the pros and cons of Tok Pisin in education flared up again in 1969 on the occasion of a symposium on Pidgin and Nation Building at which Smith (1969) presented a detailed discussion of a number of factors which have often been neglected in the heat of debate. His paper contains some valuable insights into the language problem and can be regarded as programmatic for research into this question. Gunther (1969), on the other hand, made a strong plea against the use of Tok Pisin, his main argument being that it was not a "real" language since it could not be used for self-expression or

in functions other than basic communication. Though familiar with the linguistic and sociolinguistic research of the period, Gunther gives the impression of being unfamiliar with the degree of structural and functional sophistication of Tok Pisin at that time. Thus, as his premises can be shown to be in need of considerable revision, his argument remains unconvincing.[5]

A number of participants at the 1973 conference on Tok Pisin again took up the question of its use in education. Of these, Litteral provided the most detailed theoretical argument as well as proposals for the implementation of Tok Pisin teaching policies (cf. Litteral 1974, 1975), while both Franklin (1975) and Staalsen and Strange (1975) provided badly needed data on the actual use of Tok Pisin in teaching situations and cross-cultural communication. With the publication of a two-fascicle volume on the sociolinguistic situation in the New Guinea area (Wurm, ed., 1977), a number of important articles on both the teaching of and teaching in the language have become available to the wider public. These include papers by Olewale (1977), Healey (1977), Dutton (1977), and Carrington (1977).

Dutton's inaugural lecture (1976a) contains many arguments in favor of extending the use of Tok Pisin to secondary and tertiary education. The letters, interviews, and statements arising from the ensuing national language debate have been edited by McDonald (1976), thus providing a fascinating insight into prevailing attitudes towards its use.

As yet, the question of Tok Pisin's merit in education, particularly higher education, remains unsettled, though it appears that at present the facts would favor the use of Tok Pisin in an ever widening context of teaching situations.

5. STUDIES ON THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF SPEAKING

The question of Tok Pisin in education remains controversial, mainly because the large number of factors which need to be considered present ample scope for disagreement. However, descriptions of its use in everyday communication and in a number of special contexts are much less dependent on the observers' personal convictions. Again, though the ethnography of speaking of Tok Pisin is better documented than that of most other pidgins and creoles, there is still a shortage of in-depth

studies in the field. It is impossible to present a full review of shorter notes and articles on this topic here; however, such a review is included in Mühlhäusler (1979a, 1979c).

Some important early studies concerned with the role of Tok Pisin in German times were made by Friederici (1911), Jacques (1922:96f), Neuhauss (1911:121ff), and Schnee (1904:299ff). These studies, together with numerous remarks in travel books and newspapers, provide valuable data on its early history. Of particular importance is Neffgen's article on Samoan Plantation Pidgin (1915), which deals with the Samoan language situation at a time when most of the plantation workers came from the New Guinea area. A survey of the Pidgin English included in the literature on Samoa has been written by Mühlhäusler (1978a).

Documents relating to the social position of Tok Pisin in the years between the two world wars have, until recently, been considered rare (cf. Laycock 1970c:108). However, recent research at the Australian National University has brought to light a number of important documents concerning the use of Tok Pisin during this period. These supplement the two major sources, namely Mead (1931) and an outstanding sketch by Reed (1943:267-91), as well as Reinecke's survey of printed sources (1937:727-71).

The social position of Tok Pisin during World War II, in particular its use in communication between the warring parties and the indigenous population, has been the topic of a number of smaller studies, two particularly interesting ones being by D. Clark (1955) and Luke (1945). The role of Tok Pisin in the army in Papua New Guinea is the topic of two well-documented articles by Bell (1971, 1977).

Notes on the social context in which Tok Pisin is acquired as well as a discussion of its role vis-à-vis English are given by Ruhen (1963, 1976). It is interesting to observe that this author has undergone a complete change from a rather negative to a sympathetic view of Tok Pisin in his second article. A number of studies dealing with more restricted aspects of its use have appeared in recent years. Its use in the House of Assembly is discussed in a paper by Hull (1968), and its role in agriculture is discussed by Scott (1977). Scott's article contains interesting remarks on referential deficiencies of the language and the negative impact of an impoverished version of Pidgin on agricultural progress. The role of Tok Pisin in publications is discussed briefly by Baker (1944:271-4), though a much better documented discussion is that by Turner (1960). More recent

remarks on literary and printed Tok Pisin as well as its role in community development have been made by Piniau (1975), Mihalic (1977), and Laycock (1977a).[6]

Mission recognition of Tok Pisin has been slow, and this lack of recognition has resulted in the neglect of studies concerned with the use of the language by the missions. Apart from some minor articles and notes, discussed by Mühlhäusler (1979a), the only major summary to appear for a long time was that by Höltker (1945). However, a number of other accounts have recently been published, including Mihalic's description of language policies of the Catholic church (1977), Neuendorf's survey of teaching in Tok Pisin by the various denominations (1977), and Renck's statement about the policies of the Lutheran church (1977).

A number of studies concerned with the role of Tok Pisin in the global context of Papau New Guinean life, in particular its role as a vehicle for promoting nationhood, have appeared since the end of World War II. An early example, foreshadowing developments after the end of World War II, is an article by Bateson (1944). The status of Tok Pisin in the mid-1950s is discussed by Hall (1954b, 1956a), while its role in nation building is discussed in a number of articles by Wurm (1966, 1969, 1977). Wurm strongly advocates the use of Tok Pisin as a national language, pointing out the advantages of such a move. At the same time, he considers the necessity of preserving both the local languages and English as vehicles of communication in a number of contexts not covered by it.

A useful general survey of the situation with regard to Tok Pisin in the late 1960s was made by Wolfers (1971). A survey of its status, emphasizing the growing importance of the language, is that by Laycock (1969). Another account of the status of the language was published by Capell in the same year (1969). A comprehensive survey by Bauer (1975), purporting to deal with the sociocultural function and development of Tok Pisin, fails to achieve this goal mainly because of the uncritical acceptance of earlier writings and its "static view" of the language which fails to bring out the drastic changes over the last 20 years. A popular but well-documented account of the role of Tok Pisin in pre-independence Papua New Guinea is that by Brash (1975).

A topic touched upon by a number of writers just mentioned is that of Tok Pisin being a colonial relic, or, more precisely, a manipulative tool belonging to an outmoded social system. A study by Sankoff (1976b) contains a number of pertinent remarks on its role in expressing nonegalitarian relationships.

With Tok Pisin having become a language of self-expression (as is documented by a growing body of Tok Pisin literature which Laycock has analyzed in detail [1977a]) and for the assertion of political aspirations (cf. Noel 1975), the regimented character of relations between speakers of Tok Pisin has been considerably relaxed. However, as has been pointed out by Scott (1977) and Mühlhäusler (1977a), Tok Pisin continues to be used as a means of social control, if only for the fact that publications in this language are almost entirely controlled by the government and missions (Lynch 1979).[7]

Practical problems with the language and its role in Papua New Guinean society include its growing diversification, as well as questions of standardization, planning, and spelling reform.

While most earlier writers subscribed to a view that Tok Pisin was fairly homogenous, more recently there has been a growing realization that "Tok Pisin" is just a cover term for a variety of different "lects." This was first pointed out by Laycock (1969:12) and subsequently elaborated upon by Mühlhäusler (1975b, 1979d). While most writers are now in agreement that there are a number of structural properties which set apart the four main varieties distinguished in folk taxonomy (i.e., Tok Masta, Bush Pidgin, Urban Pidgin, and Rural Pidgin), no exhaustive study of the linguistic character of the continuum along which these sociolects are ranged has yet been made. There are, however, indications of certain breaks in intelligibility both between Urban and Rural Pidgin (cf. Wurm, Mühlhäusler, and Laycock 1977) and between Tok Masta and other varieties of Tok Pisin (cf. Hall 1955a:18ff).

The lexical properties of the principal varieties of Tok Pisin have been discussed by Mühlhäusler (1979a), To date, however, these varieties have been analyzed with reference to abstract sociolects rather than to a linguistic continuum. Reasons for this include the fact that the study of variation in Tok Pisin is only just beginning, and that, because it is not the first language of most of its speakers, attention must be paid to factors such as substratum influence. The possibility of a continuum developing between Urban Pidgin and New Guinean English has been raised by Bickerton (1975a), though no case study has yet been made. Variation in Tok Pisin has been studied not only from the viewpoint of social dimensions but also with regard to stylistic variation. The presence of special secret registers of the language has been discussed by Aufinger (1948, 1949), while Brash (1971) has drawn attention to the "imaginative dimensions in Melanesian Pidgin," in particular the use of figu-

rative expressions (tok piksa). A survey of the registers found in Tok Pisin has been made by Wurm and Mühlhäusler (forthcoming).

A special case of variation is that provided by creolization, that is, the process by which Tok Pisin becomes the first language of a speech community, involving significant changes in linguistic structure. An article by Sankoff and Laberge (1973) discusses the development of tense marking among first language speakers of Tok Pisin, and the data collected by Sankoff have served as the basis of a lengthy theoretical discussion by Labov (1971). As pointed out by Bickerton (1975b, 1976), Tok Pisin must be regarded as a special case among the creoles of the world, in that its creolization occurs only after a long period of expansion and restructuring and not from an undeveloped incipient pidgin. It is for this reason that the structural changes accompanying creolization in Tok Pisin are gradual rather than sudden, and that the children growing up speaking it as their first language appear largely to develop tendencies already encountered in second language varieties, rather than to introduce completely new structures. This is also confirmed in investigation of the creolized Rural Pidgin of Manus Island carried out by Mühlhäusler (1977b). The study of child language acquisition of Tok Pisin has been begun by Lang (1976). Further work in the field of creolization is to be encouraged, since, although the findings for Tok Pisin may not be generalizable to other creoles, they will undoubtedly contribute substantially to an understanding of language change.

Linguistic change can be observed not only in creolized Tok Pisin but also in the diachronic development of the language from its early beginnings as a rudimentary jargon to its present-day sophistication. However, studies of language change are still hampered by a lack of data, though studies by Sankoff and Brown (1976) and Sankoff (1976a) indicate that a careful screening of earlier data may well enable detailed studies of Tok Pisin's diachronic development. The position with regard to the lexicon is much better, as most earlier work was concerned with the lexical properties of the language. A detailed account of the development of both the lexical inventory and word formation in Tok Pisin is given by Mühlhäusler (1979a).[8]

Many of the older diachronic or historical studies were concerned with the question of Tok Pisin's origin, in particular its relationship to other pidgins such as Chinese Pidgin English and Queensland Pidgin English. As yet, linguistic documentation of this factor is sparse. External evidence for its origin on the

Queensland plantations has been proposed by a number of authors including Wurm (1966) and Laycock (1970a). Salisbury (1967) objects to this hypothesis, however, both because the number of New Guineans involved in the Queensland labor trade was fairly insignificant and because of the prior presence of Pidgin English in the New Guinea area. Salisbury's article also contains interesting remarks on the parallels between the stabilization of Tok Pisin in remote areas today and the development of a stable pidgin in New Guinea in the 1880s. Hall (1955a:33f) appears to give support to the Queensland hypothesis, though in later writings (e.g., 1966:118f) he seems to support the view which derives Tok Pisin from a kind of Proto-Pacific English, which subsequently developed into a Proto-Pidgin English.

The debate about the origin of Tok Pisin was revived by Mühlhäusler's claim (1976a, 1978a) that many of the structural and lexical properties of Tok Pisin are the result of the employment of New Guineans on the German plantations of Samoa. While the Samoan plantations are certainly not the only source of Tok Pisin, it is beyond doubt that they have played a much more important role in its formation that previously assumed (cf. Reinecke 1937:736). Further indications of other influences may come from Clark's present research into the early history of the Pacific varieties of Pidgin and Creole English (Clark 1977) and Mosel's work on linguistic aspects of Tolai and Tok Pisin (Mosel 1978). Studies of Queensland Plantation Pidgin were made by Mühlhäusler (1979a) and Dutton (1980), and an analysis of the hitherto relatively unknown Papuan Pidgin English has also appeared (Mühlhäusler 1978b). While many details remain to be filled in, it has become clear that single-cause explanations, such as that of relexification, are inappropriate as explanations of the origin and history of Pacific Pidgin English. Instead, present-day Tok Pisin must be regarded as the result of a large number of diverse linguistic and social forces. Interesting, though not entirely convincing, accounts of this relationship are given by Johnston (1971) and Heitfeld (1979).

6. LEXICOGRAPHY AND LEXICOLOGY

The belief that external social conditions lead to the development of pidgin languages accounts for a fair proportion of lexicographical and lexicological studies of Tok Pisin. Early vocabularies of varieties of Pacific Pidgin English are those by

Ray (1907) of Pidgin English recorded in the Torres Straits and Churchill's Beach-la-Mar vocabulary (1911). Only the latter contains materials taken directly from Tok Pisin, together with items from related varieties of Pacific Pidgin English.

Apart from very brief word lists such as are found in a number of travel books, no lexicographical work appears to have been carried out in the days of German control of New Guinea (1884 to 1914). More comprehensive vocabularies and dictionaries appeared only in the mid-1920s. As in the case of syntactic descriptions, the Catholic missions were the main force behind the developing tradition of dictionary making in Tok Pisin.

The only study containing fairly exhaustive information on Tok Pisin lexicography is that by Laycock (1977b).[9] The absence of information as to the author, place, and year of publication of many vocabularies and dictionaries makes such a study a difficult one. Very useful bibliographical information about mission publications has recently been provided by Z'Graggen (1976).

The first dated vocabulary, comprising about 1000 entries, is ascribed to Brenninkmeyer. It is dated September 9, 1925, and consists of Tok Pisin entries with very short German and English translations. A similarly basic vocabulary is an undated German-Tok Pisin ascribed to Borchardt and presumably a predecessor of the more comprehensive Tok-Boi Wörterbuch by the same author (1926). This dictionary-like work contains about 1200 entries in Tok Pisin with German and English translations, numerous example sentences, and remarks on variable pronunciation, as well as monolingual Tok Pisin explanations of many lesser-known terms. It appears to represent Rabaul and Manus Pidgin.

Further works written within the archdiocese of Rabaul include Kutscher's German-Tok Pisin vocabulary and two versions of a detailed Tok Pisin-English and English-Tok Pisin dictionary by Dahmen (1949, 1957). I have seen only the enlarged 1957 edition which takes the form of an encyclopedic dictionary in which Tok Pisin entries are explained in the language itself and illustrated with sample sentences, in addition to providing English equivalents of the dictionary entries. Dahmen's dictionary in particular is a source of information about many aspects of the language, and it must be deplored that it has never been published for use by a wider audience.

The writing of Tok Pisin vocabularies and dictionaries by the Alexishafen (SVD) missionaries began somewhat later than that of the Rabaul missionaries. According to private letters and mission circulars made available to me by Father Z'Graggen, the first dictionary compiled on the New Guinea mainland was van Baar's German-Tok Pisin vocabulary (undated—possibly 1930), which both in scope and format has the character of a preliminary inventory. Following a meeting of the SVD missionaries in Marienberg, 1930-1931, a resolution was adopted which recommended that van Baar complete his dictionary project. His German-Tok Pisin dictionary was completed before 1938 (Z'Graggen, personal communication) and gives the impression of being a thorough piece of lexicographical work. Again, this dictionary was regarded as the predecessor of a larger dictionary, whose preparation was delayed for many years.

In the meantime, Father Schebesta was independently preparing a dictionary, and proposals for spelling and content were being circulated for comment. The outcome of Schebesta's work was a dictionary (*Wörterbuch mit Redewendungen*, undated) which was far more comprehensive than anything that had appeared earlier. The *Wörterbuch* contains numerous examples, idiomatic expressions, remarks on variable pronunciation and neologisms, and is an invaluable document on the state of Tok Pisin's lexicon in the late 1930s. A revised version of this dictionary appeared shortly after World War II (Schebesta and Meiser 1945), the main difference being that the glosses were provided in English and that a number of new lexical items, reflecting the increased use of Tok Pisin in the mission context, were added.

While the vocabularies and dictionaries mentioned so far were never printed, Father Mihalic's *Grammar and Dictionary of Neo- Melanesian* (1957) was the first work designed for a wider audience. In more than one respect it can be regarded as a summary of all the dictionary work carried out by the Alexishafen (SVD) missionaries. In addition, it contains new entries, and the spelling conforms with the 1954 standard spelling. For many years, this dictionary remained the standard reference work on Tok Pisin. The enlarged revised edition (1971) contains the results of dictionary work carried out by the Vunapope/ Rabaul Catholic missionaries and as such includes the knowledge and work of both schools. It is intended for the use of laymen but contains valuable materials for the linguist. It remains the most comprehensive dictionary of Tok Pisin. As the

language has undergone significant changes in recent years, including a considerable expansion of its lexicon, a major revision is at present being prepared by Mihalic and Mühlhäusler.

Little dictionary compilation has been carried out outside the Catholic missions. The earliest example is a handwritten draft accompanying Dempwolff's projected grammar (see above), comprising about 500 lexical entries. Unfortunatley it is not dated, but the title *Pidgin-Englisch von Deutsch Neuguinea* could mean that it was written before 1914. The fact that variant pronunciations are given in phonetic transcriptions makes Dempwolff's vocabulary a very important document.

A number of vocabularies and phrasebooks for the use of soldiers appeared during World War II. Of these, that by Helton (first edition 1940) is the most comprehensive, while others, such as Ostrom's (1945), are very restricted in scope. Hall's (et al.) *Melanesian Pidgin Phrasebook and Vocabulary* (1943), published for the United States Armed Forces, is more reliable than the others examined by the author, but again limited in scope. A special status is occupied by the various editions of Murphy's *Book of Pidgin English* (first edition 1943), since it contains useful cultural information on many lexical entries. Steinbauer's trilingual Tok Pisin-German-English dictionary (1969) contains little that is not listed by Mihalic, as its aim was to include only those words which were in general use.

Lexicographical data gathered on Manus Island and in the New Guinea Highlands form the backbone of Smythe's Tok Pisin-English dictionary. Due to the premature death of its author, it was not completed. Nevertheless, the manuscript contains many valuable observations, particularly on Manus varieties of the language.

Balint's sports dictionary (1969), on the other hand, must be regarded as one of the major disasters in dictionary-making for Tok Pisin. It is full of inaccuracies, inconsistencies, and downright howlers. Balint's attempt to create neologisms in the field of sport terminology is, however, interesting, inasmuch as it illustrates some of the mechanisms used in vocabulary extension. Balint's second project, discussed by Balint (1973), is an encyclopedic dictionary of Tok Pisin. It is not clear at this point whether it will appear in print, though there certainly is the need for a monolingual dictionary designed for the use of Papua New Guineans. A comprehensive scientific dictionary of the language, similar to the one prepared by Cassidy and Le Page for Jamaican Creole (1967), would be most welcome.

However, this would need intensive teamwork over a prolonged period of time, additional fieldwork, and close scrutiny of existing materials.

While lexicography is concerned mainly with the compilation of reference works, lexicology studies words and other lexical items with regard to promoting an understanding of the structural and social dimensions of the language. In the study of Tok Pisin, concern with the origin of its vocabulary figures prominently. An early study devoted mainly to this problem is that by Nevermann (1929), who examines a number of possible sources of Tok Pisin's vocabulary, including cases of syncretism.[10] Hall (1943a) again looks at the composition of the vocabulary as well as at some aspects of word formation, and his discussion of the names of parts of the body is an early example of the linguistic treatment of a semantic field. A more up-to-date version of this paper is found in Hall (1955a:90-99).

Among more recent lexical studies one has to distinguish between those concerned with etymologies and composition of the lexicon, such as Roosman's (1975) treatment of Malay words in Tok Pisin or remarks on lexical items of German origin by Mühlhäusler (1975a) and Heitfeld (1979), and those dealing with Tok Pisin's derivational lexicon, such as those by Mühlhäusler (1975c, 1978c, and 1979a). These studies document the amazing "power" of the derivational lexicon of this language, and thus its great potential for vocabulary planning (cf. Wurm, Mühlhäusler, and Laycock 1977; Lynch, ed. 1975). Higher-level lexical items, in particular idioms involving parts of the body, have also been the subject of studies by McElhanon (1975), McElhanon and Barok (1975), and Todd and Mühlhäusler (1978).

7. CONCLUSIONS AND OUTLOOK

This concludes my brief review of major studies on Tok Pisin. Their very number has made it impossible to discuss every individual publication in detail.

With regard to the future of Tok Pisin studies, it seems important that, after many years of neglect, Tok Pisin has now moved to the center of interest, not only for linguists concerned with the New Guinea area, but also for general linguistics. A reflection of this fact is the growing number of younger scholars who are writing theses on this language. My own thesis, Growth and Structure of the Lexicon of New Guinea Pidgin (Australian

National University) was completed in 1976. Ellen Woolford's thesis on Aspects of Tok Pisin Grammar (Duke University) was submitted in 1977. A thesis dealing with sociolinguistic aspects of Tok Pisin was submitted by Valerie Heitfeld at Essen University in 1978. Tok Pisin features prominently in Bauer's dissertation on Pidgin English (Regensburg University 1973), and the proposed thesis on relativization by Gail Dreyfuss (University of Michigan).

The setting up of a Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin Research Unit (cf. Dutton 1976a) at the University of Papua New Guinea raises hopes that young Papua New Guinean scholars will soon be engaging in studies of the languages which are the country's most important lingua francas. At the same time, Tok Pisin studies continue to be one of the long-term projects of the Department of Linguistics at the Research School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University. Moreover, a number of overseas universities have shown a fresh interest in Tok Pisin in the wake of the recent expansion of pidgin studies as a whole. It is significant that a major project on metropolitan languages in the Pacific area should have recently received support from a number of national and international academies, and there is little doubt that this development will help to advance Tok Pisin studies.

However, I want to conclude this survey with a cautious note. The optimism generally shown with regard to the role of Tok Pisin in promoting progress in general linguistics, in particular the development of a new dynamic and sociolinguistic model of language, can be justified only if research continues into the multitude of aspects of Tok Pisin's grammar which at present are only poorly understood. Among the projects which should prove particularly worthwhile would be:

(1) Acquisition of creolized Tok Pisin as a first language,
(2) Child language development in creolized Tok Pisin,
(3) The study of speech errors,
(4) A study of the pragmatic aspects of communication,
(5) A study of the developing Tok Pisin-English continuum in urban areas,
(6) Further scrutiny of unpublished sources on the earlier stages of the language, including private lettters, diaries, and court reports,
(7) Studies of the development of grammatical structure,
(8) Studies on substratum influence,
(9) Studies on the standardization of grammar (as pioneered by Wurm 1978).

This will require money and manpower as well as the willingness of investigators to carry out fieldwork and to live in the areas where the language is used. The potential contribution of the study of Tok Pisin to general linguistics seems enormous, particularly as one can observe, in situ, developments which have only been postulated by linguistic historians. Now that the straitjacket of static linguistics has been cast off and more realistic models of linguistic description have become available, the chances that this will indeed happen are better than ever.

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Atlantic Area

SUPRASEGMENTALS IN GUYANESE: SOME AFRICAN COMPARISONS

Hazel Carter

INTRODUCTION

> Probably almost without exception, the studies hitherto made to determine either aboriginal or European influence upon the general structure and the linguistic details of any marginal language have been supported by insufficient evidence, and have lacked the wide comparative view necessary to truly settle the problem … Ascertainment of the influence of the non-European languages … will require a fuller comparison than has yet been made … especially to find out how far intonation and phonetic features have been retained.

Thus John Reinecke In his monumental Marginal Languages (1937: 134-6, my underlining), and the observation is as true today as then. Although much effort has been expended on attempts to show presence or absence of African influence on the suprasegmentals of the Caribbean Creoles, the “wide comparative view” of Reinecke’s dream is still unattained. The great polymath who knows something of all the African phonological systems has not yet appeared—not surprisingly, since over one-third of the world’s languages are spoken in Africa, and the one thousand and more languages of the continent present a daunting picture of complexity.

In particular, there has been very little work on the comparison of Caribbean and African suprasegmentals as systems. The values of the “same” pattern will vary within, for example, a tonal as opposed to an intonational system, and apparent survival of a particular word pattern does not imply survival of the original system. Only recently has progress been made towards describing the suprasegmental systems of the Caribbean and Africa, permitting a start to be made on comparisons.

This study is a small beginning, on a very humble and restricted scale, of that comparative view which John Reinecke urged us to adopt. The languages chosen from the African side are three which are known to have played an important part in the development of the Caribbean Creoles, since many items of vocabulary traceable to them survive, and there are, or were until recently, geographical or social “pockets” of their use. A fourth, West African Pidgin English, may have a role as yet undetermined in creole development. The Caribbean language is Guyanese “English-based” Creole, or “Creolese.” Twi and Yoruba are both classified as Kwa languages, but are not closely related; Kongo is a Bantu language. All three share one important characteristic: they do not have lengthening of the penultimate syllable of a word, as do many (especially Bantu) languages.

The method adopted is to describe the phonological system of each language with respect to its suprasegmentals, such as vowel length and pitch system, especially in relation to processes of compounding, reduplication, and iteration, a prominent feature of Caribbean Creoles.[1] An important aspect is the treatment of loans from English or other European languages into the African languages. It is hoped in this way to detect what systematic similarities there may be, which might, in turn, lead on to hypotheses concerning a possible African substrate in Guyanese.[2]

Since this approach relies heavily on patterns of loan assimilation, the main study is prefaced by a brief description of some features of Standard (British) English which appear to have significance for the borrowing process. In the present writer’s opinion, studies of this kind are often bedevilled by an oversimplified view of such areas as the relationship between pitch and stress, and the question of vowel length. In a full-scale investigation, this would not be enough; one would have to take into account the numerous varieties of English, some with very different intonation and length systems, to which the ancestors of the modern Guyanese speakers were exposed.

A word of caution is appropriate here. The data are all from modern languages; we have virtually no knowledge of how the ancestor languages sounded, and until man’s technology finally achieves the time machine, we shall not. Inferences drawn from synchronic facts can be no more than unproven hypotheses. Further, the very nature of a substrate is that it is changed, giving a product which does not necessarily betray its origin in any transparent way.

The remainder of the study is arranged as follows:

1.0 is an account of the Standard English intonation and stress-timing systems.
2.0 describes Guyanese, under the following headings:
- 2.1 Introduction, including sources of data
- 2.2 Tone-bearing elements, and other phonological considerations
- 2.3 Syllable-and word-structure constraints
- 2.4 Number of tonemes
  - 2.4.1 Tonal features (e.g., downdrift, downstep, upstep, phrasing)
  - 2.4.2 Tonal processes (e.g., assimilation, dissimilation)
- 2.5 Functions of tone (e.g., lexical and grammatical distinction)
- 2.6 Distribution of tone patterns
  - 2.6.1 Uncompounded items
  - 2.6.2 Compounds
  - 2.6.3 Iteration and reduplication
- 2.7 Comparison with English.

Subsequent sections deal with each of the African languages:

3.0 Twi
4.0 Yoruba
5.0 Kongo
6.0 West African Pidgin English

These sections follow the same arrangement as 2.0, except that 2.7 is replaced by Treatment of loans, with two sections:

X.7.1 Segmental considerations relevant to tonal behavior
X.7.2 Tonal behavior

In addition, there is a section X.8 for each language, comparing the system with that of Guyanese, and assessing the probabilities of relationship between them. Finally there is

7.0 Conclusions

1. STANDARD ENGLISH

In discussing loans from English into tone languages, scholars sometimes refer to the association of stress and high pitch in English, and the corresponding association of lack of stress with low pitch. This is only a partial truth, and some account of the English intonation system is pertinent here.

The analysis presented is based on O'Connor and Arnold (1976), with the modification that the term Tone Group has been replaced by intonation group. Terms from O'Connor and Arnold are cited with the original capitals.

The English intonation group is envisaged as being built up around a Nucleus, consisting of the most prominent, or accented word—more properly, from its stressed syllable onwards. The Nucleus is symbolized by preceding (“), and may have one of at least seven pitch profiles, which carry different connotations and further vary according to sentence-type (statement, command, WH-question, etc.).

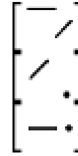
An accented monosyllable carries the entire Nucleus pitch profile:

1.	Low Fall:	“No.	(neutral)
2.	High Fall:	“No.	(emphatic)
3.	Low Rise:	“No.	(firm, irritated)
4.	High Rise:	“No?	(question)
5.	Fall-Rise:	“No ...	(doubtful)
6.	Rise-Fall:	“No	(amused, embarrassed)
7.	Mid-Level:	“No.	(severe, “clipped”)

The final stressed syllable of an accented word also carries the entire Nucleus pitch, for example, bro”cade, cigar”ette; but an accented word with unstressed syllable(s) following the stressed one will show a divided nucleus:

1.	Low Fall:	“Never.
2.	High Fall:	“Never.
3.	Low Rise:	“Never.
4.	High Rise:	“Never.

5.	all-Rise:	"Never…	
6.	Rise-Fall:	"Never	
7.	Mid-Level:	"Never.	



It should be clear by now that the stressed syllable of an accented word is associated with high pitch only if (a) it is the first component of a divided nucleus, and (b) carries a "fall" pattern. For statements, the Low Fall carries connotations of neutrality, with no emotional attitudes, and the High Fall carries connotations of emphasis.[3] These are the patterns normally chosen for isolate citation, for example, in answer to a question such as "What's the word for X?" In the following conversation, the answer would have one of the Falls:

(Q. What's the English negation particle?)	A. "No.
(Q. And what's the word for 'not at any time'?)	A. "Never.

The correlation of English stress and high pitch does hold good for a context in which a word is introduced in citation, and individually. If, however, words are listed, then all items but the last take a Rise Nucleus, either Low Rise or High Rise. In the following, a Low Rise is used, with final High Fall:

"No one, "nothing, "nowhere, "never.

An accented monosyllable, or stressed final syllable, will show the complete Rise or Fall:

"One, "two, "three, "four.

Twenty-"one,[4] twenty-"two, twenty-"three, twenty-"four.

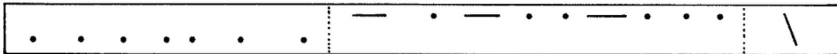
This will become relevant during the discussion of English and other loans into Twi, Yoruba, and Kongo.

The Nucleus may in addition have a Tail, which is an extension of the final pitch of the Nucleus:

"Surely she didn't say that!

The section of the intonation group preceding the Nucleus is divided into the Head and the Pre-Head. The Head begins at the first stress syllable of the group and continues to the prenuclear syllable; the Pre-Head consists of all unstressed syllables before the Head. Stressed syllables are indicated by preceding ('):

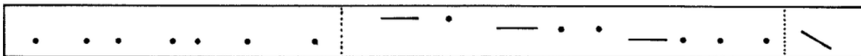
He doesn't ever take the 'slightest 'notice of 'anything I "say.



Pre-Head (Low) Head (High) Nucleus (High Fall)

There are four main types of Head: Low, High, Rising, and Falling, each with an unemphatic and an emphatic variant. The High Head, as used in the above example, has an emphatic form, the Stepping Head, carrying connotations of resignation or indignation:

He doesn't ever take the 'slightest 'notice of 'anything I "say!



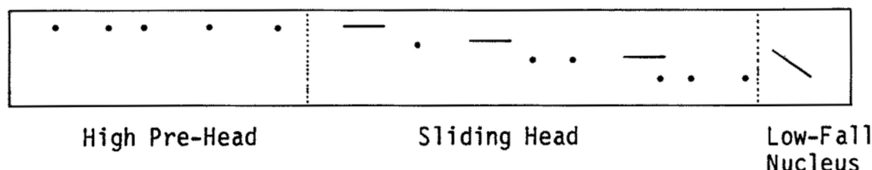
Low Pre-Head Stepping Head Low-Fall Nucleus

Each succeeding "step" of the Head begins on a stressed syllable, lower in pitch than the preceding one, but every unstressed syllable has the same pitch as the preceding stressed one. It will later be seen that this pattern is similar in contour to those of Guyanese and Kongo, but it is important to remember that the latter are, in any particular instance, the only patterns

possible, whereas the English Stepping Head is a choice among several, and has the effect of making “the whole word group sound weightier” (O’Connor and Arnold 1976:37).[5]

Two other patterns relevant to the present study are the Sliding Head and the Climbing Head. Both are, like the Stepping Head, emphatic patterns. The Sliding Head is the emphatic form of the Falling Head; stressed syllables gradually descend in pitch, as in the Stepping Head, but the unstressed syllables show a slight fall:

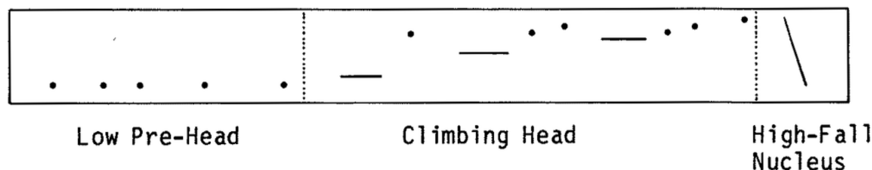
He doesn't take the 'slightest 'notice of 'anything I "say



The connotations of this are very strong indeed. The speaker is in a towering rage, and may accompany each stress with some bodily gesture such as banging a clenched fist on the table or shaking it above his head. (The calm, detached Englishman of the stereotype sometimes has off days.) Comparison with the sentence profiles of African languages such as Twi and Yoruba with downdrift, but little or no assimilation, will show similar contours, but again, the implications of the pattern are quite different: in the tone languages there is no choice, and hence no emotional or other attitudinal connotations.

The Climbing Head is an emphatic variant of the Rising Head. Here the stressed syllables gradually rise in pitch, with a further “mini-rise” on the unstressed:

He doesn't take the 'slightest 'notice of 'anything I "say

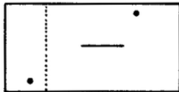


Here the speaker is despairing, rather than angry. He (or, more likely, she) has “given up for lost” the offending character. The accompanying gestures might be throwing up of the hands,

palms facing away from the speaker, marking stresses by sideways rolls of the head. There would almost certainly be a smile, however “hollow.”

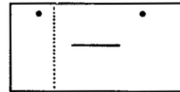
Finally, the Pre-Head, consisting of all unstressed syllables before the Head (or Nucleus, if no Head), may be High or Low. A High Pre-Head is nearly always indicative of emphasis; compare:

(a) A "handbag?



Low Pre-Head High-Rise Nucleus

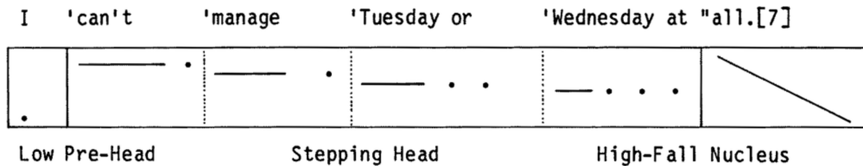
(b) A "handbag?



High Pre-Head High-Rise Nucleus

The connotations of (a) are surprise, but without emotional involvement; those of (b) are strongly shocked ... unbelief–“Good heavens! I cannot credit it,” etc.[6] (Note that the Sliding Head was preceded by High Pre-Head.)

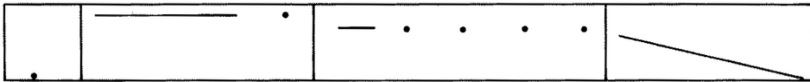
The stress-timing dimension of English is also important, when looking at the ways in which African languages assimilate loans from English. Stressed syllables occur at roughly equal intervals of time, whether or not unstressed syllables intervene, and regardless of how many of the latter there may be.



The segment between the onset of two stresses is a stress foot (see Abercrombie 1964), and since the feet are of roughly equal length, both vowel and consonant length will be affected by how many syllables have to be crammed into each foot. The length of the “same” word can differ dramatically, according to whether it occupies a whole foot, or only part. Compare the two occurrences of tell in:

(a) I 'can't 'tell "Simon.

(b) I 'can't 'tell him that you're a"way.



A monosyllabic citation form, and the final stressed syllable of a longer word, will normally occupy a whole foot, and be at maximum length. This will be shown reflected in the way some African languages take in such syllables with double vowels, even when the English vowel is of the so-called "short" variety, for example, Twi bɔ́ʔsu from 'bus', and Yoruba bɛ́ɛdi from 'bed'. Conversely, stressed syllables followed by another in the same word—hence the same foot—will be reduced in length, even when the vowel is supposedly "long"; compare Twi sótéshin 'station' and Yoruba opuréshɔ̃ 'operation'.

The system described here is not, of course, the only one in use, even among British speakers. Welsh English, for instance, is quite different. The present account will none the less provide a basis for comparison with Guyanese, and for the examination of loanword assimilation patterns in the four African languages.

2. GUYANESE

2.1 Sources of data

For this section I am greatly indebted to three distinguished Guyanese linguists: Richard Allsopp, who has constantly asserted, on paper (1972) and in personal communication, the existence of minimal tonal pairs in Guyanese; Maurice Holder, whose excellent study of accent shift in Guyanese (in press) provided the essential insights; and Dennis Craig (1982), who not only generously allowed me to make use of a surreptitiously-made recording of his own speech, but also, in the course of the conference paper so recorded, gave illuminating examples and comments on iteration and compounding. Holder was further

kind enough to supply additional material in his own and other voices, as well as checking other points, and providing much useful discussion. I have also made some use of Berry (1972, 1976, 1977). The interpretation of the data is to be clearly understood as my own responsibility.

In particular, Holder's accentual terminology has been translated into tonal terms; "primary stress" becomes underlying H(igh tone), "accent shift" or "retraction" become H(igh tone) shift; and "stress effacement" becomes H-deletion.

2.2 Tone-bearing elements (and other phonological considerations)

Holder's work has demonstrated the importance of stress, and the existence of more than one degree of this feature; nevertheless, I propose here to describe Guyanese in terms of a tonal system. The association of stress and pitch is such that any syllable with primary stress has surface high pitch, though not all surface high pitches are analyzed as having underlying H.[8] "Stress effacement," in Holder's terms, which takes place in reduplication and compounding processes, and in some syntactic structures, is associated with absence of high pitch, hence analyzed as H-deletion.

The nucleus of the tone-bearing segment is a vowel, diphthong, or syllabic consonant: pɛnsl 'pencil' has two syllables, akáwnts 'accounts' likewise. To minimize difficulty of reading off examples, I shall, in the rest of the description, use Standard English orthography, except when attention is to be specially drawn to a feature. Thus 'pencil' will be written pensl, to show absence of vowel before the syllabic final consonant, but acóunts will be written without modification.

2.2.1 Vowels. Vowel quality, in the material examined, is close to Standard English, with a tendency towards simplification of diphthongs to the first component: /ay/ tends to show less [y] than in English. More importantly, from the tonal point of view, it does not seem necessaary to set up categories of long or double vowel. This absence of phonemic (as opposed to stylistic) length gives the language the sound of syllable-timing, though Kelly and Local (1984) have shown that this perception cannot be supported by instrumental analysis.

2.2.2 Consonants. Consonants capable of acting as nucleus of a tone-bearing element seem to be limited to nasals and liquids, compare the syllabic consonants of Standard English. However, the Guyanese syllabic consonant can bear stress, hence

H: pensĺ 'pencil' [. \]

and Nelsń 'Nelson' [. \]

In some forms of Guyanese, there are restrictions on consonant clustering, thus tik 'stick'; in comparison with Standard English, these show resolution by simplification, rather than by anaptyxis.

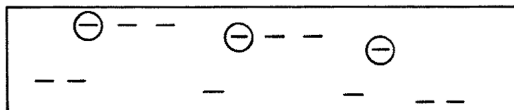
2.3 Syllable-constraints

Syllable structure is close to that of English, notably in allowing of word-final consonants. As Alleyne (1980:64) notes, "In Jamaican, Guyanese, and Gullah ... vowel final syllables constitute merely the residue of an historical layer" and are no longer the general rule.

2.4 Number of tonemes

The Guyanese tonal system has two surface tones, high (h, marked ´) and low (l, marked ˎ only over syllabic consonant, otherwise unmarked). The initial h of a series, or an isolated h, is regarded as the realization of underlying high tone (H); succeeding surface high tones, up to the end of a word, or up to a downstep mark (!) are taken to be underlying low tones (L), raised by progressive assimilation, for which see 2.4.2. In the following, -vér-, -cépt- and -tér- are underlying H, and all other syllables marked (´) are underlying L:

univérsállý accéptáblé altérnatives



2.4.1 Tonal features. Downdrift is a problematic question. While some sentences display a gradual lowering of the pitch of high tones, as in the phrase cited above, very many do not; in some, the pitch of all high tones is level, up to the last:

When word-final h is followed by word-initial h (always from H), there is downstep, a slight drop in pitch; this is symbolized by (!):

In these cases it is possible to explain downstep as an exclusion of *HH sequence, i.e., a kind of dissimilation process. In others, the final h is a raised L (see 2.4.2), and downstep can be attributed to downdrift, preceding H being higher in pitch than the following H:

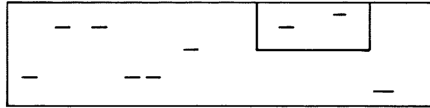
The existence of downstep without downdrift is unusual in tone languages, since downstep is frequently associated with loss of a low tone between high tones (see e.g., 3.4.1 for the downstep phenomenon in Twi).

Similarly, there are sentences which consist of several downdrift groups, with raising of the pitch of the first H of each fresh group:

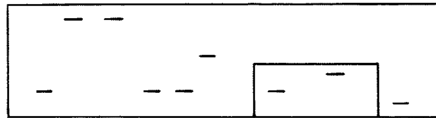
> the príór exístence / of uni↑vérsál lý accéptábĺe altérnatives,
> or the ↑ présénce of óthér restríctíons in Standard-Énglish.

Slash indicates boundary between downdrift groups, and ↑ shows the points at which the pitch returns to the highest point. This may be related to a kind of register shift, in which the raising of the pitch connotes emphasis:

He ísń't Guyanése, ↑ he's Énglish!



replacing He ísń't Guyanése, he's Énglish.



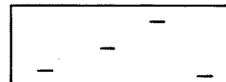
This register-shift, or upstep, has a status different from that of downstep, which is an automatic junctural feature. Upstep is apparently optional, and has connotations of emphasis in some cases, unknown in others.

Interrogation, especially when the question is not 'WH-' type, also has associated pitch features which can be classed as upstep:

Mi black-jáck↑ét?

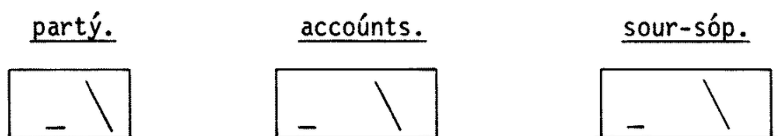
Here the final syllable, which under noninterrogative conditions would be realized as l, is not only raised, but also register-shifted, in a kind of double raising. Emphatic astonishment is similarly conveyed, and in such a case there may be "upstep" during an initial L sequence:

di ↑ brown-jácket!



All these features require further research.

Sentence-final H shows the feature of cadence:



Citation forms, which are a subset of sentence-final, show the same feature. Before a nonfinal pause, however, h has level or rising pitch.

2.4.1.1. The unit in the tonal system above that of the tone is not so much the word as the tone-group, the composition of which is not yet clear, but which is apparently determined by syntax, and may contain several "words." The group is defined as a stretch of utterance containing one and only one H; by processes of compounding, and in certain other conditions, a word may "lose" H, but so long as it retains H, it forms the nucleus of a tone-group. Thus, an adjective not compounded with the noun it qualifies will be in a tone-group different from that of the noun: Créole ! sp éaker and néw ! jackét, whereas an adjective compounded with the noun will have no H, and will form part of the tone-group of the noun: Creole- spéakers, brown-jácket (see further under 2.6.2).

The composition of the tone-group is still under investigation, and it is likely that factors of emphasis play a part. Some aspects, however, are clear. The behavior of adjectives, as illustrated above, falls into two categories: numerals do not go into the tone-group of the noun, thus twó pensĺs 'two pencils' and one exámple; conversely, colors are compounded: green-téa, brown-jácket. The difference appears to lie in the permanence or otherwise of the characteristic: numerical sets may be added to or subtracted from, while colors are more inherent and less subject to change. On the other hand, some adjectives may be either compounded or uncompounded, and this seems to reflect differences such as those obtaining between black bird and blackbird in Standard English.

In much of the data, a noun with any preceding articles, prepositions, and conjunctions (a, the, of, a s, to, in, and) forms a group: to the créek, and in Jamáica. Subject and verb or predicative adjective sometimes form a group, with H on the predicate, and H-deletion in the subject noun phrase: His father díed, Most bushes béttér. In other cases the predicate too shows H-deletion, the Nucleus being formed by the object: and we boil coffée, you put a bay-léaf.

2.4.2 Tonal processes. Guyanese operates a progressive assimilation rule, such that all Ls in a tone-group after H are raised to the pitch of H, when a further tone-group follows:

The ballot-pápérs / have been distríbútéd / to the mémbers.

Compare Ballot-pápers. Distríbuted.

Other examples have been shown under 2.4 and 2.4.1. Raiding of L by assimilation leads to many cases of the juxtaposition of h+h at word-juncture, which results in the downstep shown under 2.4.1.

2.5 Functions of tone

As noted under 2.1, tone has lexically distinctive function in Guyanese. The minimal pair recorded by Allsopp (1972) is supported by Holder (in press): turkéy (bird) and Túrkey (country). Another pair suggested by Lawrence Carrington (pers. comm.) is gyal-frén 'girl friend' contrasting with gyál ! frén 'girl's friend', the first being compounded and the second uncompounded.[9] It is too early to make firm statements about the grammatical functions of tone, other than those outlined in the foregoing remarks on tone-group composition and in the section on compounding (2.6.2).

2.6 Distribution of tone-patterns

In examining the distribution of patterns, it is important to distinguish between uncompounded and compounded items. Compounded items may be affected by (i) H-deletion and (ii) H-shift (Holder's stress effacement and accent shift or stress retraction [in press]): thus English (HL) and people (LH) as isolate citations, but English- péople (LL-HL) as a compound, in which the first component has H deleted, and the second has H shifted from last to first syllable. This is dealt with in greater detail in 2.6.2.

2.6.1 Uncompounded items. All nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs have one H in the underlying pattern. There appears to be no preference for certain patterns over others, beside this limitation. However, it should be noted that H does not always correspond to primary stress in the Standard English equivalent: storý, jackét, watér, dirtý, hospítal, Rastamán, organíze. Further examples are given in 2.7, under comparisons with English.

2.6.2 Compounds. As Holder (1984 and in press) and Craig (1982) show, compounding is a highly productive process. In the major pattern for compounds, the first component shows H-deletion, and the second has H on the first syllable:

ISOLATE CITATION	COMPOUNDED
thírty, séven	thirty-séven
Reinécke, Fúnd	Reinecke-Fúnd
indivídual, spéakers	individual-spéakers
snów, cóne	snow-cóne (type of ice-cream)
párts, mán	parts-mán 'dealer in spare parts'
Énglish, wórds	English-wórds
gírl, fríend	girl-fríend
físher, mán	fishermán

This may involve H-shift in the second component, from postinitial to initial syllable:

brówn, jackét	brown-jácket
bállot, papérs	ballot-pápers
Énglish, peopĺe	English-péople
Lábour, partý	Labour-Párty

Verbs may be compounded with following adverb in this pattern: sidón 'sit down', go-wáy, come-fróm, flare-úp, shut-úp, but data is insufficient to see how far this applies to longer components.

A slightly different pattern is displayed by personal names, in which the first name is compounded with the surname, showing H-deletion, but the surname retains the original pattern: Paul- Nelsń, Keyin-Nelsń, John-Reinécke, Maurice-Holdér, Hazel-Cartér, Richard-All sópp, Lawrence-Carringtón.

2.6.3 Iteration and reduplication. Iteration and reduplication are also very productive. Iteration is the simple repetition of a word, with no change in pattern; for Guyanese, this means that each component is in a separate tone-group. The connotation is always intensive: táll ! táll ‘very tall’.

By contrast, reduplication is a subtype of compounding, it shows the same pattern of H-deletion for the first component, and nuclear H on the first syllable of the second, whatever the isolate pattern. The connotation of reduplication is distributive: tall- táll ‘rather tall’. The following are from Craig (1982):

SIMPLEX	ITERATED	REDUPLICATED
táll	táll ! táll	tall-táll
	‘very tall’	‘rather tall’
holéy	holéy holéy	holey-hóley
‘holed’	‘very full of holes’	‘rather holed’
crickető	crickető crickető	crickety-críckety
‘decrepit’	‘very decrepit’	‘somewhat decrepit’
óne		one óne
		‘a few’
pláy		play-pláy
		‘make-believe’

Compare also bitey-bítey pensĺ ‘a somewhat chewed pencil’, for which no simplex is recorded.[10]

2.7 Comparison with English

Superficially, Guyanese can sound similar to English. The Stepping Head, with or without Low Pre-Head, has a contour not unlike that of the downstepped patterns of Guyanese, but the resemblance is spurious; the two systems are different in kind (see also Note 5).

An important difference, for the comparison with African languages also, is the existence of a considerable number of words whose pattern does not match that of Standard English, in that the position of H does not correspond to that of the English stress. Holder (1984) says:

> it is quite common in G(uyanese) E(nglish) to find primary stress on schwa, or again on syllabic consonants l and n (tabĺe, cottoń … kitchén, tickét … sodá, watér.

Holder's stress notation here has been replaced by high tone marks (´). Other examples, from Holder (1984, in press, and pers. comm.) unless otherwise shown:

(a)		(b)	(c)
storý	monkéy	hospítal	cabinét
papér	Latín	manáger	Rastamán
jackét	dirtý	offícers	coconút
Creóle	guavá	stupídness (Craig)	telephóne
appĺe	watér	baptísm̀	maniféstś
pensĺ (Craig)	lilác	midsúmmer	organíze
			elevátor

All these have initial syllable stress in Standard English. The (a) and (b) groups show the H one syllable to the right, as compared with English, and the (c) group shows "shift" two syllables to the right.

When such words appear as the second component in a compound, their patterns resemble those of English, owing to H-shift:

SIMPLEX	COMPOUND
papér	ballot-páper
jackét	black-jácket
pensĺ	lead-péncil
tickét	plane-tícket, season-tícket
tabĺe	metal-táble
watér	sea-wáter
manáger	floor-mánager
coconút	water-cóconut

However, the total pattern is quite unlike that of the English equivalents, which in some cases are not compounds at all (black jacket, lead pencil, metal table, water coconut), and in others show the customary compounding pattern of reduction of stress on the second component ('ballot-paper, 'plane-ticket, 'season-ticket, 'sea- water, 'floor-manager). The Guyanese -wáter, in fact, appears only in a context where English would not have HL pattern in citation form (i.e., divided Fall nucleus).

2.8 Tone in Guyanese summarized

The Guyanese tonal system may be summarized thus:

(i) Tone-bearing segments may have vowel or syllabic consonant nucleus; no phonemic vowel length; no vowel sequences.
(ii) Ditonemic system, underlying H and L, surface h and l; H realized as h, L as l unless assimilated (see [iii]). Down drift (perhaps optional), final cadence of H, junctural features of downstep and upstep (or register shift), the latter associated with interrogation and emphasis. Tone-group has only one underlying H; composition of group determined by syntax.
(iii) Progressive assimilation of all Ls to pitch of preceding H in the same group, when another group follows. Downstep is a kind of dissimilation.
(iv) Lexical distinctiveness manifested by different placement of H. Possible grammatical function of tone, especially syntactic.
(v) Isolate/underlying forms have one H; in compounding first component shows H-deletion, second component sometimes H-shift. (Color adjectives compound with noun, numerals do not; reduplications are compounds, with distributive connotation, but iteration without tonal variation connotes intensity.)
(vi) Existence of words with "eccentric" patterns, where H does not correspond to English stress; typically H is one or more syllables to the right of the English stress position.

The question to be asked is, therefore, how much of this system can be paralleled by African systems, and possibly traced back to them?

3.0 TWI

3.1 Introduction

Twi (Twii, Twi-Fante, Akuapem Twi, Ashante, Akan) is spoken over a wide area of Ghana, from the coast northwards. The number of speakers was estimated at three million by Redden et al. (1963). This account of the phonological system is based principally on Stewart (1962), 1965), with additions from Redden et al. and Schachter and Fromkin (1968). Spelling has been modified, chiefly for the sake of consistency. One departure from current orthography which should be noted is the

replacement of the digraphs ky, gy, and hyby the symbols c, j, and sh, to help show correspondences in English loans: wácɛ 'wátch' rather than wákyɛ, and shúu 'shoe' rather than hyúu.

3.2 Tone-bearing elements

Tone-bearing segments may have vowel or nasal consonant nucleus: siká 'money' has two syllables, asɛ́ḿ 'story' has three.

3.2.1 Vowels. Twi has ten oral and ten nasal vowels, here written i̧, i, e, ɛ, a̧, a, ?, o, u, u̧, and ĩ̧, ĩ, ẽ, ɛ̃, ã̧, ã, ɔ̃, õ, ũ, ũ̧, cedilla indicating closer varieties. The phonemic status of some of these is unclear, for example, [a̧] and [a] are probably allophonic variants of one phoneme. There is neither phonemic nor conditioned length; sequences of vowels, whether of identical or different quality, are each in a different syllable: ɛburɔ́ɔ́ 'maize, corn' (LLHH) has four syllables, and ?fíɛ́ 'house' has three. Assimilation processes can produce up to three vowels: ?hwyɛ́ɛ́ + abufíráń — ohwyáaabufíráń 'he looked at the child'. Word-final -VV is permitted, and there are several processes productive of final double vowel, such as the interrogative marker, -V:/ weébwé 'he has opened it' but weébwée 'has he opened it?'.

3.2.2 Consonants. There is phonetic [r], but [l] seems to be limited to loans. Syllabic nasals occur, as ǹ- in ǹsyá 'liquor' and -ńin abufiráń 'child'.

3.3 Syllable- and word-structure constraints

Permitted word-final consonants are nasals (syllabic or asyllabic), -r, and semivowels. The glottal stop also occurs finally, but it has a special status, and will not be marked here.

Twi admits monosyllables, including closed syllables with permitted final consonants, but many nouns consist of a stem with prefix and/or suffix: ?-yírí 'wife', ?-yírí-nóm 'wives'. In the following paragraphs, the terms "monosyllabic," "disyllabic," and so on will refer only to stems.

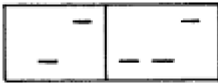
3.4 Number of tonemes

The tonal system has two basic tones, high (H, marked ´) and low (L, unmarked for vowels, marked ` over syllabic nasal). Sequences of Hs and Ls are found:

Asarɛ wo Acɛmf? (all L) 'Asare is in Saltpond'
dɛe wóbéká ácɛ́rɛ́ nɔ́ɔ́ nɔ́ nɔ́ (all H except initial word)
'that is what you will tell your friend'

3.4.1 Tonal features. The Twi sentence is composed of one or more tone-phrases, the composition of which is determine by syntax. Within each phrase, downdrift operates, such that each H or H sequence between Ls is at a pitch lower than that of the preceding H; each L or L sequence is similarly lower in pitch than the preceding (separated) L. Unless there is downstep (see below), a sequence of Hs shows level pitch. Stewart (1962) also claims that adjacent Ls are level, but to my ear there is a lowering of pitch throughout L sequences. The downdrift group starts afresh with each new tone-phrase:

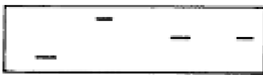
Kofí, maacɛ́ 'Kofi, good morning'



consists of two tone-phrases.

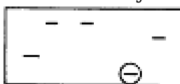
Downdrift and tone-phrasing give rise to downstep and upstep, which operate only between Hs.[11] Downstep is a slight descent in pitch between two Hs, symbolized by exclamation mark before the downstepped syllable:

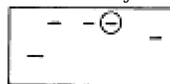
? - bɛ́ ! cí - rɛ́ 'he will show it'



This is normally the result of the disappearance of L between Hs, through one of two processes: assimilation of L to the pitch of preceding H, in the sequence HLH, which accordingly is replaced by HH!H:

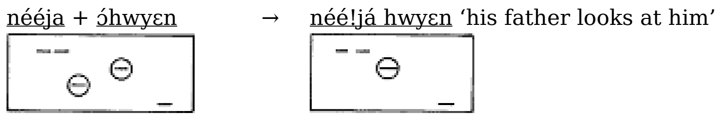
?bɔ́twɔ́ + ǹsyá → ?bɔ́twɔ́ ń!syá 'he will buy liquor'





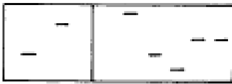
and elision, when an H-bearing vowel is dropped, and H transferred to the eliding vowel:

nééja + ɔ́hwyɛn → néé!já hwyɛn ‘his father looks at him’



Upstep is the reverse of downstep, that is, a slight rise in pitch as between adjacent Hs, symbolized here by ↑ before the upstepped syllable. This is the result of “collision” of two Hs at phrase-juncture:

?K?fi ↑ wáyɛ adɛ́é ‘Kofi, you have done well’



3.4.2 Tonal processes. There are both progressive and regressive assimilation rules, always involving the assimilation of L to H. Progressive assimilation has the form HL → HH and seems only to operate over or at word-juncture, compare ?bɛ́ka ‘he will bite it’ but prepausal form ?bɛ́ká. Regressive assimilation is apparently restricted to intraverbal position, and usually results from the addition of an H-bearing affix:

> ? + bɛ́ + cirɛ́ → ?bɛ́!círé ‘he will show it’ (-bɛ́- future marker)

Certain morphemes exhibit dissimilation (or polarity) in relation to an adjacent element: wo bá ‘your child’, but wó papá ‘your father’ shows the possessive /wo/ with tone polar to that of the following syllable.

3.5 Functions of Tone

The lexical load of tone in Twi is not great. As Ward (1948:31) points out, Twi is ‘near the bottom’ of the list of West African languages in this respect. There are a few minimal pairs, mostly of monosyllabic verbs, such as ká ‘remain’ and ka ‘bite’, but grammatical function is more important. In the next example, tone carries the distinction between past and present tenses:

?bwaá 'he helps' vs. ?bwáa 'he helped'

In the following, tone is the exponent of indicative/relative contrast:

orugura 'he is washing' vs. órúgurá 'who is washing'

3.6 Distribution of tone-patterns

The following remarks on distribution of patterns are based on a very small sampling, principally Redden's vocabulary of 650 items, excluding obvious loans (Redden et al., 1963).

3.6.1 Uncompounded items. Noun prefixes are L unless subject to assimilation. The list of tone-classes below refers only to stems. Both theoretically possible patterns for monosyllables are found, though L for verbs is not very common. Disyllables and trisyllables are distributed thus:

	PATTERN	NO. OF ITEMS	COMMENTS
Disyllabic	HH	39	
	LH	29	
	HL	19	
	LL	11	Mostly adjectives
	H!H	9	
Trisyllabic	LLH	37	May include some compounds
	HHH	17	
	LHH	11	
	HLL		Days of week, place and personal names

The pattern sets LLL, LHL, LH!H, HH!H, H!HH contains two or three items each; HHL is unrepresented. Longer stems are all apparent compounds.

3.6.2 Compounds. Compounds show a variety of patterns; there is some correlation between the structure, in terms of syntactic relationship between the components, and the tone-pattern.

Many object + verb formations are simple concatenations of the two patterns: adwų́má 'work' + yɛ 'do' → adwų́máyɛ́ 'work-doing, working' and sįká 'money' + kurá 'save' → sįkákurá 'money-saving'.

Certain suffixal formatives are associated with addition of H in the first component: g?ru 'play' + biá 'place' → ag?rú!bíá 'playground'.

Most interesting are combinations of noun + noun, or with adjectival components. These show the first component stripped of any Hs, and the second component with H in the first syllable, whatever the uncompounded pattern: nsų́(ó) 'water' + ɛnám 'meat' → nsųomnám 'fish', ɛhó 'body' + dẽn 'hard' → ahõ?dẽn 'strength'. The pattern of no Hs until the last component extends to tricomponent compounds: anansi 'spider' + asɛ́ḿ 'story' + ká 'speak' → anansisɛm̀ká 'spider-story-te1ling, folktale-telling'. (Compare also Stewart's "pre-object case" in verbs: hwyɛ́ 'look!' but hywɛ k?fí 'look at Kofi!').

3.6.3 Iteration and reduplication. Patterns of reduplication are quite complex and display a rather unusual interaction between segmental and tonal phonology, especially in verbs. The shape of the syllables, the presence of certain consonants, may determine the pattern. Stewart (1962:101-2) gives LH as the sole pattern for reduplicated monosyllabic verbs, with suppression of lexical distinction, and for disyllabics, LHLL and HLLL:

cír	'catch'	cicír	'tie up'
ciré	'show'	ciréciré	'teach'
kásya	'speak'	kásyakasya	?'speak a lot'

Redden illustrates reduplication of adjectives for intensive connotation as simple repetition of the pattern, hence iteration rather than reduplication: pápá 'good' but pápá(p)ápá 'very good'. Formation of adjectives from nouns by reduplication, however, shows the pattern LLHH: nciní 'salt', ncinincíní 'salty'. Verbs, he notes, have distributive meaning when reduplicated: bua 'be grouped together' but buábua 'lie about all over the place'.

3.7 Treatment of loans

Loans from English are in the majority, with some from Portuguese, French, possibly Dutch, and West African Pidgin. Loaning is apparently restricted to nouns, and these do not seem to acquire affixes, whether by accretion or metanalysis.

3.7.1 Segmental considerations relevant to tonal behavior. Final C, unless of the permitted group, is generally followed by -V: bɔ́?su 'bus', búkiti 'bucket', bɔ́?sutapu 'bus-stop'. Addition of final vowel is unusual after a nasal, and variable for [l] and [r]: tį́į́m, 'team' and bɔ́?l 'ball', but ɔ́ili 'oil'. Final nasal is permitted, as in sótéshin 'station', but is often syllabified: wáǹ 'one', tiríǹ 'train'. Sometimes English final [l] is deleted: sųkų́ų 'school' perhaps reflecting the English tendency to vocalize in this position.

Voiced NC clusters are simplified to N: nɔ́ma 'number', kanía 'light' (Portuguese candeia). NC generally shows syllabified nasal: tą́ǹki 'tank', pɛ́!ńsiri 'pencil'. Similarly, s+C clusters are sometimes simplified to [s] as in pɔ́sų?fisi 'post office', but more often excluded clusters are resolved by anaptyxis: sútɔ́? 'store', tiríǹ 'train', bį́rų́ų 'blue' dɔ́kita 'doctor'.

The vowels of monosyllables and final stressed vowels are mostly represented by double vowels: káa 'car', shúu 'shoe', róodo 'road', bų́ųkų, 'book', sigarɛ́ɛti 'cigarette'. Stressed vowels in other than final syllables are not normally doubled: pɛ́pa 'paper', lɛ́tɛ 'letter', dɔ́kita 'doctor'. Diphthongs may be assimilated as two vowels, or simplified to one: báisikirɛ 'bicycle', pɛ́gin 'pagan'.

As pointed out in 1.0, this variation of treatment of stressed syllables is probably a reflection of the stress-timing system of English, where a monosyllable or stressed final syllable in citation form will occupy a whole foot and hence automatically be longer than the stressed syllable of a longer word, where following unstressed syllables must be accommodated in the same time span.

Loans with final syllabic nasal do not show the doubling: wáǹ 'one', tɛlifɔ́!ń 'telephone' (possibly from French téléphone). This supports the suggestion that stressed final syllables are perceived as longer, equivalent to the value of two Twi syllables; vowel doubling and nasal syllabification are two strategies with the same function.

3.7.2 Tonal behavior. It is clear that in most cases the English isolate citation context has been used as a basis for the Twi tone-pattern. The usual intonation pattern for this is the Low Fall or the High Fall, in which final stressed syllables, including monosyllables, carry falling pitch, but polysyllables show a "divided nucleus," the stressed syllable having high pitch and the unstressed low pitch. This is perceived as equivalent to Twi HL, and both types show this pattern: káa 'car', shúu 'shoe', pɛ́pa 'paper', lɔ́rı̥ 'lorry'. Loans with additional final vowel show a further L: cɔ́?ku 'chalk', róodo 'road', búkiti 'bucket'.

Pretonic unstressed syllables are normally represented by L: sigarɛ́ɛti 'cigarette', faransíɛ́ 'French' (probably from français). Syllables produced by anaptyxis vary: sútɔ́? 'store' and bírúu 'blue' but tiríǹ 'train' and su̧kú̧u̧, 'school'.

This leads to a preponderance of HL patterns for loans which end up as disyllables, and of HLL and HHL for trisyllabics, which does not at all correspond to the indigenous Twi distribution, where HL is a small class, HLL even more so, and HHL probably nonexistent. Thus the HL and HLL classes have been greatly enlarged by the influx of loans, and the HHL class probably created. Patterns with initial L fit more comfortably into the preexisting picture.

Some loans do not follow this pattern of correspondences, and show the equivalent of the English stressed syllable with L, and H elsewhere. One such is washimáǹ 'laundryman', where the expected pattern would be HLL, reflecting initial stressed syllable. There is the possibility that this type of pattern was loaned from a context in which a Rise Nucleus was used, such as listing, or a question; in this particular instance, however, I think the explanation lies elsewhere.

The word washerman, though included in some dictionaries, certainly has no wide currency in modern English, but formations of this kind, with the -man suffix, which moreover has high tone, occur in West African Pidgin English, where the suffix appears to be still productive (see 6.0). This suggests that Twi borrowed the item from Pidgin, rather than directly from Standard English. (A similar explanation may be put forward for tɛlifɔ́!ń.)

A small but significant number of items, mostly from Portuguese, do not follow the system of correspondences described above. One of them, akɔ̃́!ntaá 'arithmetic, accounting' (contar) has even acquired a nominal prefix. Others are: sá!fẽ́ 'key' (chave), páánɔ́ 'bread' (p ão), mínití/m írití 'minute' (?minuto), tíkí!tí 'ticket', m̀fɛ́ǹsirí 'window' (perhaps from Dutch etiket

'label' and venster 'window'). All these show patterns closer to the indigenous Twi system, which suggests early borrowing, before the creation of new tone-classes for loans, or the enlargement of existing rare ones.

3.8 Comparison with Guyanese

The Twi tonal system can be summarized as follows:

(i) Tone-bearing segments may have vowel or syllabic nasal nucleus; no phonemic or conditioned length, juxtaposed vowels are in separate syllables; word-final -VV permitted, limited closed syllables.
(ii) Ditonemic system, H and L; H sequences permitted; words arranged in tone-phrases, apparently determined by syntax, throughout each of which there is downdrift; junctural features of downstep, which may occur intraverbally, and upstep, at the juncture of tone-phrases.
(iii) Progressive and regressive assimilation of L to H, very restricted; dissimilation (polarity) displayed by certain monosyllabic elements.
(iv) Little lexical distinction by tone; grammatical function more important.
(v) Preferred patterns for nouns HH, LH, LLH.
(vi) Great variety of compound patterns, including one in which first component shows H-deletion, and second has initial H. Reduplication is very complex, and may have distributive connotations, as well as serving as an adjective formation process. Iteration has intensive connotations.
(vii) Loans show double vowels for English final stressed syllables, unpermitted final C has -V added, nasals may be syllabified, and excluded clusters resolved by simplification or anaptyxis; many monosyllables and disyllables are taken in as trisyllabics or longer. The replacement of stress by H leads to patterns which do not fit well into the Twi system, having preponderance of HL, HLL, and HHL patterns. "Eccentric" items, where H does not correspond to English stress, are not numerous, and probably from West African Pidgin.

Compounding and reduplication patterns such as those of Guyanese are certainly to be found in Twi, and the dominant Guyanese compounding pattern is very similar; however, both of

these have parallels in the other African languages described, and Guyanese otherwise shows very little resemblance to Twi. Tonal assimilation patterns in Guyanese are quite the reverse of those in Twi, and the contexts are also different. Twi excludes progressive assimilation from interverbal position, precisely where it is found in Guyanese.

4.0 YORUBA

4.1 Introduction

Yoruba (Yòrubá) is the first language of more than ten million people in the Western and Northern regions of Nigeria, and in Dahomey. This summary makes principal use of Rowlands (1969), with additional material from Ward (1948, 1949), Carnochan (1978 and pers. comm.), and, especially for loans, Salami (1972).

4.2 Tone-bearing elements

Tone-bearing segments may have vowel or syllabic nasal nucleus: iwé ‘book’ and ńlá ‘big’ both have two syllables.

4.2.1 Vowels. The Yoruba vowel system has seven oral and five nasal members, here spelled i, e, ɛ, a, ?, o, u and ĩ, ẽ, ã, õ, ũ. There is no phonemic or conditioned vowel length; as in Twi, juxtaposed vowel characters represent nuclei of separate syllables: aáro ‘morning’ has three syllables, and efúufu ‘strong wind’ has four.

4.2.2 Consonants. The consonants /l/ and /r/ are distinct phonemes: akala ‘hornbill’ and akara ‘bean-cake’. [1] alternates with [n] in some contexts, for example, ní ‘to have; to say; in, at’ but l’ɔ́kɔ̀ ‘has a canoe’.

In current Yoruba orthography, the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative is symbolized by ş, but is here written sh. Similarly, nasal consonant characters representing nasalization of vowels have here been replaced by the tilde: Rowlands’ téşàn ‘station’ becomes téshã.

4.3 Syllable- and word-structure constraints

Double vowels can occur finally and, again as in Twi, there are morphemes consisting of -V, such as the postverbal pronominal object: fa ‘pull’, faá ‘pull it’ (often written fa á), and the possessive marker: ile ‘house’, ilée Bísí ‘house of Bisi’. In contrast to Twi, word-final consonants are not permitted, whether syllabic or not.

Verbs may be monosyllabic, but a noun must have at least two syllables. Nouns normally begin with a vowel, if uncompounded, but the vowel may be elided in structures such as verb + object compounds: fá ‘make smooth’, igi ‘wood’, whence fágifági ‘carpenter’. Unlike Twi, Yoruba has no nominal prefixes, nor indeed any other morphological marker to indicate number distinctions; awǒ ‘they’ may precede the noun to show plurality if needed.

4.4 Number of tonemes

The tonal system has three basic tones, high (H, here marked ´), mid (M, marked ’), and low (L, unmarked over vowels, marked ˎ over syllabic consonants).

4.4.1 Tonal features. Carnochan (pers. comm.) states that there is downdrift of the kind described for Twi, leading to the junctural feature of downstep (!) between Hs and between Ms in certain contexts.[12] As in Twi, downstep is usually the result of disappearance of L, especially by elision: kɔ́ ‘to learn’, iwé ‘book’, whence kɔ́!wé ‘to learn book, to study’. H following L or downstep has rising pitch; kɔ́!wé has the profile [- /]

(Rowlands calls !H and !M “modified tones.”)

4.4.2 Tonal processes. There is no assimilation, but certain morphemes, as in Twi, show dissimilation, or polarity. Postverbal object pronouns are H after L and M verbs, but M after H verbs: shí ‘open’, shíi ‘open it’; compare faá ‘pull it’ above. An eliding vowel takes on the tone of an elided H-bearing vowel: lé ‘(to be) on’, il ɛ́ ‘ground’, whence lélɛ ‘on the ground’.

4.5 Functions of tone

The semantic load of tone in Yoruba is very heavy indeed. The comparatively small vocabulary of some 650 items in Rowlands (1969) includes 102 minimal pairs or sets, including fourteen with three-way contrast, and the oft-quoted four-way contrast:

ọ̀kọ̀	'husband'	ọ̀kọ́	'hoe'
ọ̀k?	'canoe'	?k?	'spear'

Some grammatical distinctions are carried by tone: ọ̀ 'you sg.' versus ó 'he, she, it', but by no means so many as in Twi. The verbal systems of the two languages are, in any case, quite different; Yoruba, for instance, makes no past/present distinction.

4.6 Distribution of tone-patterns

Since derivational and compounding processes are extremely productive in Yoruba, it is often difficult to decide what should be admitted as a simplex item of lexis. Very many nouns are compounds of some kind, for example, ìyọ̀nụ̀ 'worry, trouble, annoyance' from yọ̀ 'come out' and ẹ̀nụ̀ 'mouth' (ó yọ̀ mí l'ẹ́nụ̀ 'it made my mouth come out', i.e., 'it annoyed me'). The following summary probably includes many undetected compounds.

4.6.1 Uncompounded items. The most striking feature of the typical vowel-commencing noun is that this vowel has L or M, but never H outside loans. Thereafter any of the three basic tones may occur, in any position; the only unrecorded pattern in Rowlands' vocabulary is MML. Distribution is as follows:

PATTERN	NO. OF NOUNS	COMMENTS
LL	52	
MH	42	
LH	35	
MM	34	
LM	28	
ML	31	
LLL	47	
LHH	30	Probably many compounds
LLH	24	
LHL	23	

MHH	15	Includes compounds
MMM	13	
LLM	8	
MMH	8	Relative pronouns, adjectives
MHL	8	
LML	6	At least one compound
MLM	5	

Other patterns recorded are LMM, LMH, LM!M, MHM, MLH, MH!M, and MH!H, each with fewer than four entries. Longer items are almost certainly compounds, or obvious reduplications.

Derivational processes, such as the formation of adjectives from verbs by affixation, can produce H-initial words: dũ ‘be tasty, pleasant’ whence dídũ ‘tasty, pleasant’. Similarly the “total” form of numerals: eji ‘two’ but méji ‘total of two’.

4.6.2 Compounds. Compounding, as already illustrated, is highly productive. In addition to the verb + object and locative + noun formations, there are multicomponent compounds such as alápámáshíshέ ‘lazybones’ (a + ní + a̍pá + ma + she + ishέ, lit. ‘person + have + arms + not + do + work’, i.e., ‘one who has arms but does not work’), and aláfὲhìntì ‘one who has backing/a backer’ (a + ní + a + fi̍ + ὲhìn + tì ‘person + have + person + put + back + lean’, i.e., ‘one who has one on whom he can lean back’).

From the tonal point of view, however, the compound shows a simple concatenation of the patterns of the components, subject to elision and transference where appropriate: shé ‘snap’ + igi̍ ‘wood’ + ta ‘sell’ gives ashégi̍ta ‘firewood-seller’.

4.6.3 Iteration and reduplication. Iteration and reduplication are again complex topics, and this is a much simplified account.

Iteration, with repetition of the unchanged pattern, has connotations of intensity for verbs and adverbs, of plurality for nouns and adjectives, and of distributive for numerals:

je̍	‘eat’	mo̍ je̍ je̍ je̍	‘I ate and ate and ate!’
púpo	‘much’	púpopúpo	‘very much’
shíle	‘shilling’	shíle shíle	‘shillings’
ńlá	‘big’	ńláńlá	‘big ones’
méji	‘total of two’	méji méji	‘two each’

One of the morphological processes for agentive nouns is compounding of verb + object, then iteration of the result, as in fágifági (4.2.3). Compare also woléwolé ‘sanitary inspector’, from wo ‘look at’ and ilé ‘house’.

Reduplication with a different pattern for each component bestows intensive connotation on adjectives: contrast ńláǹlà ‘very big’ with ńlá ńlá ‘big ones’ above. Many phonaesthetic words have a similar “reversed” pattern, LL(L)-MM(M) being especially common: jibatajibȧtȧ ‘soaking wet’. This, as also LL(L)-HH(H), is found, in nominais, not all of which have corresponding Simplexes: kãnak ãnȧ ‘pied crow’. Compounds may be reduplicated, as monamóná ‘lightning’, from mó ‘be bright’ and ná ‘for a moment’.

Reduplication of verbs has a special pattern, with Cí-prefixed, C repeating C1 of the verb. This results in a verbal noun used particularly in focusing cleft sentences such as pípȧ nị nwɔ̃́ pȧá ‘it is killing that they killed him’, compare pȧ ‘to kill’. There appears to be no parallel to the Twi reduplication of verbs for distributive effect; a set of apparently reduplicated phonaesthetic words with the pattern HM-LM has pejorative connotations: wúrụ̇wurụ̇ ‘untidy’, shákịshakị ‘shaggy, rough’.

4.7 Treatment of loans

The Yoruba are mostly Muslim, hence there are many Arabic loans, for example, wákàtị ‘hour’ (Ar. waqt- ‘time’), but this study concentrates on English-derived vocabulary, with some mention of Portuguese and Pidgin. As in the case of Twi, most loans are nouns.

4.7.1 Segmental considerations relevant to tonal behavior. Treatment of loans also shows much similarity to Twi, especially in the representation of English and Portuguese monosyllabic and final stress by double vowel (HL pattern) and elsewhere by single vowel:

bɛ́ɛdi	‘bed’	but	lɛ́ta	‘letter’
búlúu	‘blue’		t?rɔ́sa	‘trousers’
fíimu	‘film’		opuréshɔ̃	‘operation’
Gɛ́ɛsi	‘English’ (Port. Inglês)		bɔ́tini	‘button’
kóomu	‘comb’		ópuna	‘opener’
páanu	‘pan, corrugated iron’		ɛ̇likɔ́púta	‘helicopter’
kpɛtɛ́ɛsi	‘upstairs’			

borokéedi 'brocade'

There are, however, many exceptions to the double vowel representation of monosyllabic/final stress: títi 'street', kérémi 'crane'.

Final consonants are either omitted, as in shíle 'schilling',[13] or, more often, followed by -V, as in bɛ́ɛdi 'bed', bóolu 'ball'. Final nasal consonant of a monosyllable, and of most disyllables, is thus treated: kóomu 'comb', bɔ́tini 'button'; but -tion endings have nasalization of the vowel: opuréshɔ̃ 'operation'. (Compare Yoruba téshã or téshɔ̃ with Twi sótéshin 'station'.)

Unpermitted consonant clusters are either simplied, as in títi 'street', góolu 'gold', fíimu 'film', shóoshi 'church', or separated by anaptyctic vowel, as in búlúu 'blue', búréeki 'brake', sítóofu 'stove'. Salami (1972:169) points out a distinction between "eye-loans" and "ear-loans" in this respect: loans derived from written sources tend to show anaptyxis, with the consonants fully pronounced, while those derived from heard speech tend to show simplification. Thus there is bíbéli 'Bible' by the side of báíbu, the first an eye-loan, the second an ear-loan.

NC sequences are often assimilated with syllabification of N: báńki 'bank', Mɔ́ńde 'Monday'. There are even cases of syllabification of intrusive nasal: sítɛ̃́m̀bu 'step'. NÇ, if not treated with syllabification or anaptyxis, shows simplification by deletion of the nasal: isipɛ́kít? 'inspector'. A further likeness to Twi is in the blocking of vowel doubling for monosyllables when the following N is syllabified: shɛ́ńji 'change', báńki 'bank'.

4.7.2 Tonal behavior. Adaptation of loans to the tonal system is in broad outline as for Twi. The following monosyllabic nucleus in the English Low Fall or High Fall citation pattern is represented by HL on the corresponding Yoruba double vowel: bɛ́ɛdi 'bed' shɔ́?bu 'shop', and so on. The divided nucleus is given HL on the two corresponding syllables: lɛ́ta 'letter', ópuna 'opener'. Extra syllables generated by anaptyxis and consonant syllabification are, if adjacent to the tonic syllable, given H: súkúulu 'school',[14] dɔ́kíta 'doctor', báńki 'bank'. (This contrasts with treatment of such syllables in Twi: sṳkṳ́ṳ, 'school', dɔ́kita 'doctor', and táǹki 'tank' show the extra syllables with L.) Additional unstressed pretonic syllables are normally M: isipɛ́kít? 'inspector', ɛlikɔ́púta 'helicopter' (implying stress on the third syl-

lable), but sometimes L: opuréshɔ̃ 'operation'. Other unstressed syllables have L, as the final of opuna and syllables from vowel suffixation, as in kóomu, bɛ́ɛdi.

Twi has no M tone, but it is interesting to note that Yoruba speakers apparently perceive English initial low pitch as closer to M than to L. As will be clear from the foregoing sketch of the distribution of patterns in Yoruba nouns, not only is there no bar to initial L, but L-commencing nouns are the largest class.

The overwhelming majority of loans have first syllable H, leading, as in Twi, to dominant patterns HL, HLL, and HHL for English loans. Although initial H on a vowel-commencing word such as óda 'order' is an importation, as Salami (1972:167) rightly points out, the morphological processes of the language are such that initial H is characteristic of locative formations, compounds, and reduplications. Thus the patterns of H-commencing loans do not offend against the patterns of Yoruba; only, they probably sound like compounds to a Yoruba speaker.

There is a small residue of items, as in Twi, which do not follow the major patterns. Notably there are disyllables with LH pattern, where HL would have been predicted: d?tí 'body dirt', kokó 'cocoa'. As in the case of Twi, loaning from contexts where the item has a Rise Nucleus is a possiblity, or alternatively, borrowing from West African Pidgin English, rather than directly from Standard English, since Pidgin includes corresponding words with precisely this pattern (see 6.6.1): compare also sigá 'cigarette', possibly from Portuguese cigarro, but *sígáaru is the predicted pattern, and Pidgin has the forms sigá/sik á.

4.8 Comparison with Guyanese

The Yoruba tonal system is summarized as follows:

(i) Tone-bearing segments have vowel or syllabic nasal nucleus; no phonemic or conditioned vowel length; vowel sequences are in separate syllables; open syllable only (no final consonants).

(ii) Tritonemic system, H, M(id), and L; downdrift; downstep, especially from elision; rising contour for H in some contexts. No upstep or tone-phrasing recorded.

(iii) Dissimilation shown by certain (monosyllabic) morphemes; no assimilation.

(iv) Lexical distinctions by tone very numerous; some grammatical function.

(v) Nouns typically commence with L-or M-bearing vowel.

(vi) Compounding has no effect on tones of components, apart from elision; iteration has connotations of intensity (verbs, adverbs), plurality (nouns, adjectives), and distribution (numerals) and is an agentive noun formation process; redupli cation has intensive connotations.

(vii) Loans show double vowel for English final stressed syllable; nasals may be syllabified and excluded clusters resolved by simplification or anaptyxis; many monosyllables and disyllables are taken in as trisyllabics or longer. Tone-patterns are eccentric for simplex formations, but accord with compound patterns. As for Twi, patterns agreeing with Guyanese against Standard English are attributable to borrowing from West African Pidgin.

Comparison of Yoruba and Guyanese yields very little obvious similarity. One of the reduplication patterns is remotely like that of Guyanese; if the effect of Guyanese progressive tonal assimilation is taken into account, LL-MM or LL-HH forms would be equivalent to underlying *LL-ML or LL-HL. Such similarities as Yoruba shows to Guyanese are also shared with Twi, but Yoruba is less like Guyanese than Twi in having three tones, no assimilation, no upstep, and no phrasing. Individual patterns in which Yoruba and Guyanese agree against Standard English (d?tí, kokó) are to be attributed to borrowing from Pidgin.

5.0 KONGO

5.1 Introduction

Kongo (Kóongo, kiKóongo) is an umbrella term for many varieties some scarcely inter-intelligible, of a Bantu language spoken in the Republic of Congo, eastern Zaire, Cabinda, and northern Angola. The number of speakers is unknown, but is certainly several millions. Language study of Kongo has been prosecuted since soon after the discovery of the mouth of the River Congo (Ndzádi) in 1484 and an early seventeenth century grammar is still extant. The dialect to be described here is that of northern Angola, spoken in the area of the ancient capital of Mbanz’ aKongo, later called San Salvador. This account is based on personal research, with some reference to Daeleman (1966), Van den Eynde (19686), and Kevin Donnelly (pers. comm.).

5.2 <u>Tone-bearing elements</u>

The tone-bearing segment has obligatory <u>vowel</u> nucleus. As argued in Carter (1970), there are no tonal grounds for setting up a category of "syllabic consonants." Geminate consonants, written with double characters, do not function as tone-bearing elements: <u>mmbú</u> 'mosquito' and <u>mbbú</u> 'sea' are monosyllables, and <u>nkkáanda</u> 'skin, letter, book' has three syllables.

5.2.1 <u>Vowels.</u> Kongo has five vowels, here spelled <u>a</u>, <u>e</u>, <u>i</u>, <u>o</u>, <u>u</u>, which may be optionally nasalized under certain conditions. Nasalization is not phonemic, however, and is not marked. There is no vowel length, whether phonemic or conditioned; written VV indicates two tone-bearing elements: <u>ndzaámbi</u> 'God' has three syllables, and <u>ofwíidi</u> '(s)he has died' has four. Some cases of double vowel before NC are contracted to single V in some types of compound, for example, <u>ndzambi-ámphuungu</u> 'God of the highest, the High God', and when affixation brings stem length to four syllables: <u>-váanga</u> 'make, do' but <u>-vángakaná</u> 'be feasible'.

5.2.2 <u>Consonants.</u> Gemination has already mentioned; it is important as the exponent, or part exponent, of a number of morphemes:

<u>-sádisá</u>	'help'	<u>-váanga</u>	'do, make'
<u>ssádisá</u>	'to help'	<u>vváanga</u>	'to do, to make'
<u>yásadisa</u>	'I helped'	<u>váangu</u>	'action' Class 5)
<u>yássadisa</u>	'I helped you sg.'	<u>vváangu</u>	'creature (Class 7)
<u>yánssadisa</u>	'I helped him'	<u>mvváangi</u>	'creator' (Class 1)

It should be apparent from these paradigms that gemination has no effect on tone-pattern.

/l/ occurs, and *<u>r</u> is excluded; /l/ is realized as [d] after nasals and before [i]: <u>-laánda</u> 'follow', <u>kúnndaánda</u> 'to follow me', and <u>-tála</u> 'look at', <u>nttádi</u> 'overseer'.

5.3 <u>Syllable- and word-structure constraints</u>

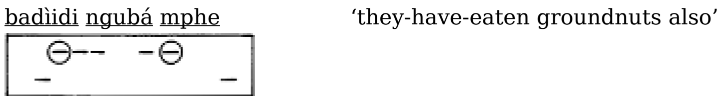
Final double vowels do not occur, except in interjections and ideophones: <u>napíí</u> 'quiet(ness)'. Monosyllables are permitted: <u>sé</u> 'father', <u>llá</u> 'to be long, high, deep'. Nouns (and verbal infinitives) typically consist of prefix + stem, the prefix being a marker of class ± plurality: <u>ma-sé</u> 'fathers' (Class 6). Class

prefixes vary from Ø through V- or C- to CV-structure; some nouns have a further element, a "stem augment" or "inoperative prefix" between prefix and stem: mú-nn-dele 'European, white man', mú-nt-se 'sweet-cane'. An initial vowel e- or o- may be affixed to the noun, with roughly the function of definite article: emá-se or omá-se 'the fathers'.

All words end in a vowel.

5.4 Number of tonemes

In underlying structure, Kongo has two basic tones, high (H) and low (L), but realizations of surface tones are governed by very complex rules, and syllables having identical pitch in an actual utterance may not be classed as the same in analysis:

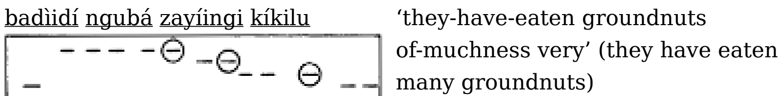

badìidi ngubá mphe 'they-have-eaten groundnuts also'

Of all the syllables uttered on a high pitch, only the flanking pair, -dì- and bá, are classed as underlying H.

Underlying H is marked in several ways: (ˇ) indicates H realized at peak pitch, with no further syllables at that pitch:

wasěva 'he laughed'

(`)indicates H at peak pitch, but as the first of a series of pitches at the same level, as in badìidi ngubá mphe. (´) indicates H realized either as the last of such a series, or in any other position, not at peak pitch, after with voice pitch goes down:


badìidí ngubá zayíingi kíkilu 'they-have-eaten groundnuts of-muchness very' (they have eaten many groundnuts)

"Splitting" of the peak pitch between two high tones, indicated as (` ´), with raising of all Ls in between, is known as bridging (Daeleman 1966:80).

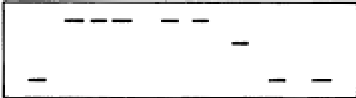
In direct WH-questions, the first H is realized at extra high pitch; this is shown by (̏), i.e., a double "unbridged" peak pitch sign:

Nkhǐ kasínga vváanga? ‘It is what that he is going to do?’

5.4.1 Tonal features. The Kongo sentence consists of one or more tone-phrases. As in Twi, the tone-phrase is a downdrift group, within which each H after the bridge (if any) is lower in pitch than the preceding H. However, owing to the operation of the regressive assimilation rule (see 5.4.2), Ls other than initial and final in the downdrift group are at the pitch of the following H, giving a series of “steps,” as in badìidi ngubá zayíingi kíkilu in 5.2.2 above.

If Hs are juxtaposed, except in a bridge, there is downstep:

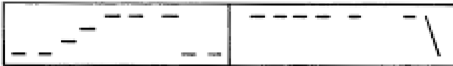
badìidi ngubá zámmbote ‘they-have-eaten groundnuts of-goodness’



Downstep is automatic in Kongo and need not be marked.

As in Twi also, the composition of the tone-phrase is determined by syntax; more properly, the various syntactic categories are either phrase-initial or noninitial. An indicative verb is phrase-initial; a relative verb is noninitial, thus:

oasạdisì ayíingi/àkalaanga mmbazí ‘the-helpers of-muchness/were outside’ (most assistants ...)



contrasts with

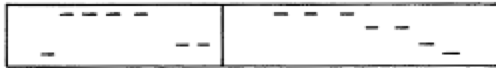
oasạdisì ayíingi ákalaanga mmbazí ‘the-helpers of-muchness who-were outside’ (many assistants who were ...)

Similarly, a postverbal object is noninitial; a preverbal subject is phrase-initial:

bànwa malavú	‘they drank palm wine’
omalavụ / mǎnuwa	‘the palm wine / was drunk’

Different realization rules apply to nouns in phrase-initial position, according to whether or not they have initial vowel. Nouns in subject position and as predicates (‘it is …’) are both phrase-initial, but subject requires initial vowel, and predicate requires absence of vowel. Nouns with initial vowel have first H realized as L, shown by subscript dot, as omalavụ and oasạdisi above; ‘they are helpers’ would have the form asàdisí. The two first realized Hs are always bridged, except in a direct WH-question; indirect questions contrast with direct, compare Nkhì > kasínga vváanga above with:

Kizèeye-kó kana / nkhì kasínga vváanga



‘I-don’t-know whether / it-is-what that-he-is-going to do’ (I don’t know what he’s going to do.)

5.4.2 Tonal processes. There is a regressive assimilation rule, which raises all Ls after the first realized H to the pitch of following H; this is also responsible for the raising of Ls in a bridge.

Final vowels are frequently elided, the eliding vowel taking on H of an elided vowel: okkotá ‘to enter’ + omúndzo ‘into the house’ whence okkot’ómúndzo. Should the eliding vowel also have H, the elided vowel H is shifted to the preceding syllable: onnatá ‘to carry’ + ónkkaanda ‘the book(s)’ becomes onnát’ónkkaanda.

5.5 Functions of tone

Tone in Kongo has both lexical and grammatical function. Some items of lexis distinguished by tone are:

-kaánga	‘bind’	ffúlu	‘flower’
-káanga	‘roast’	ffulú	‘place’

Grammatical distinctions however are the more important:

twakala	‘that we may be’ (subjunctive)
twákala	‘we were’ (past indicative)
yámmona	‘I saw you (sg.)’
yammóna	‘I actually did see’ (past emphatic)

These contrasts are additional to the modal contrasts in verbs, and subject/object “case” in nouns, already illustrated.[15]

5.6 Distribution of tone-patterns

The account of pattern distribution is based on my own vocabulary of circa 2,500 items, which includes many derivatives. I am indebted to Kevin Donnelly for the concept of the “moving H,” which has simplified the description and permitted the abandonment of the former unwieldy system of tone-classes.

5.6.1 Uncompounded items. Nouns and verbs in the “lexical entry” form have at least one H, and no more than two. (Certain verb forms, such as the subjunctive, have no H.) Monosyllabics may have only H, disyllabics HL or LH, and trisyllabics HLL, HLH, or LHL. There is a further subdivision in that nouns (including verbal infinitives) may have “moving” H, which shifts one syllable to the left when a prefix is attached, as compared with the unprefixed form:

nkkúya	‘spirit, ghost’	but	malavú	‘palm wine’
énkkuya	‘the spirit’		omalavú	‘the palm wine’
yónkkuya	‘and the spirit’		yomalavú	‘and the palm wine’

H and HL stems with moving H are related to longer patterns with two Hs: -fwá ‘die’, óffwa ‘to die, the dying’, and -fwíilá ‘die at/for’; -móna ‘see’, ómmona ‘to see, the seeing’; and -mónekená ‘appear at’. A second H is acquired when the stem reaches three syllables; VV before NC behaves as a single syllable in this way, although/tonetically there is no distinction between VV in any context: -váanga ‘do’, -váangamá ‘get done’.

Within a word, *HH is excluded; adjacent Hs occur only at word juncture.

Subject to these restrictions, there is no statistical preponderance of any particular pattern or type of pattern, except that “nonmoving” H on the first syllable of the stem is not very common (ssé/ossé ‘color, kind’; llúdi/ellúdi ‘truth’).

5.6.2 Compounds. Compounds are of two kinds: (a) with deletion of H in the first component, ± reduction of VV to V, and (b) with deletion of H in the second component. Type (a) is often an appositional group:

yáandi ‘(s)he’ + nndezí ‘nurse’ → yandi-nndezí ‘the nurse’
yáau ‘they’ + yoolé ‘two’ → yau-yoolé ‘the pair of them’

But some possessive complexes are compounded, as ndzambi-ámphuungu ‘the High God’ under 5.2.1. Type (b) is less common, and seems to be restricted to nominalizations:

moóyo ‘life’ + muúntu ‘person’ → moóyo-muuntu ‘living person’

5.6.3 Iteration and reduplication. Rather than a distinction between iteration and reduplication, Kongo displays two kinds of reduplication. In one case the repetition is of the whole word, but the resultant form is a compound:

yiyyole-yiyyolé ‘two by two’ compare -yoolé ‘two’ (stem)

In the other, there is repetition of the stem only, with class-change (to Classes 7 sg. and 8 pl.) and addition of a stem augment. The form resulting has diminutive connotation, and fits into the general scheme:

nkkóko/énkkoko ‘river’ and yínkhoko-nkhokó ‘streams’

5.7 Treatment of loans

Most loans into Angolan Kongo are from Portuguese, with a sprinkling of French. Unlike Twi or Yoruba, Kongo has not restricted borrowing to nouns. Verbs are included in loans, possibly because of the similarity of the Portuguese infinitive -ar ending to the Kongo -a. Even other parts of speech are borrowed: iboosí-mphe ‘then also’ is regarded as derived from Portuguese depois também, whence ́-mphe ‘also’.

5.7.1 Segmental considerations relevant to tonal behavior. Stress in Portuguese may be penultimate or final. Penultimate stress is represented in Kongo by double vowel: sikoóla ‘school’ (escola) and kifwalaánsa ‘French (language)’ (França). Final stress on a closed syllable is similarly represented, and

final vowel added: papéele 'paper' (papel) and kingeléezo 'English' (inglês). Final stressed open syllables cannot be treated this way, owing to the exclusion of -VV; either the vowel is short, as in syá 'tea' (chá), or -CV is added, allowing the preceding vowel to be doubled: ppaáwu 'spade' (pa). This may lead to doublets, such as -gomá and -womáala 'iron', from engomar 'to starch and iron'.

Sequences of three vowels are not found in Kongo, hence epenthetic C in forms such as luúla 'street' (rua). Excluded consonants are given anaptyctic vowel: sikoóla (escola) and kifwalaánsa (França), but initial unstressed vowel is usually omitted. Intrusive nasals are common: ntsápaatú/ntsámpaatú 'shoe' (sapato) and Ndónzwaawú 'Dom João'; sometimes, as in the latter case, attributable to the nasalized vowels of the Portuguese.

Elements of the loan may be interpreted as a prefix: me-éza 'table' (mesa), assigned to Class 6 through similarity of the first syllable to the class prefix of, e.g., me-éso 'eyes', and lu-miíngu 'Sunday, week' (domingo) assigned to Class 11, with plural tu-miíngu, Class 13.

5.7.2 Tonal behavior. Loans appear to be completely assimilated to the tonal system. Kongo has not created a new tone-class for them, nor substantially enlarged a preexisting small class. This may be explicable by the fact that all Kongo nouns and verb stems contain at least one H, which can occur in almost all positions required to represent stress in the adoptive.

Double vowels representing Portuguese stress show LH for penultimate stress (lumiíngu from domingo, luúla from rua), which probably reflects level high pitch in Portuguese citation pattern (cf. English "divided nucleus," in which the stressed syllable has level high pitch). Final closed syllables represented by double vowel show HL, which is derivable from the falling pitch of the Portuguese citation pattern (papéele from papel, kingeléezo from inglês).

There are some cases where Kongo H does not correspond with Portuguese stress: ntsámpaatú 'shoe' from sapato (penultimate stress). *LLHL is an excluded pattern, making LH on the double vowel impossible; the whole pattern has been modified to accord with the system.

5.8 Comparison with Guyanese

Summary of the Kongo system:

(i) Tone-bearing segment has obligatory vowel nucleus; adjacent vowels are in different syllables, but VV can be contracted in some instances; open syllables only.
(ii) Ditonemic system, H and L; downdrift within the tone-phrase, composition determined by syntax: certain categories are phrase-initial, others noninitial. Downstep between juxtaposed Hs; no upstep.
(iii) Regressive assimilation within tone-phrase.
(iv) Considerable lexical and grammatical distinctive function of tone.
(v) Nouns and verb stems have at least one H; a second H can appear in longer forms, but *HH is excluded intraverbally. Some verb forms have no H.
(vi) Compounds are varied, but the dominant pattern has H-deletion in first component (and double vowel reduction). Two types of reduplication, with distributive and diminutive connotations respectively.
(vii) Loans (mostly from Portuguese) have stressed final/penultimate syllable of the original represented by VV ± addition of CV for final stress. All items fully assimilated to the tonal system: final stress is represented by HL, penultimate by LH; some instances of departure from this pattern, to accord with the Kongo system.

There is some superficial resemblance between the Kongo and the Guyanese tonal systems, but not very much. Both are ditonemic, group items in tone-phrases determined by syntax, and have downstep. One of the Kongo compounding patterns is similar to that of Guyanese. As against this, the Kongo assimilation rule is regressive, the Guyanese progressive. In Kongo there is no upstep as such, though recommencement of the downdrift group at each phrase boundary gives a similar effect.

At a deeper level there is the Kongo restriction on H occurrence in a word, and the exclusion of *HH except at word-juncture, which is somewhat reminiscent of the Guyanese limitation of one H per group. Of the four languages examined, Kongo alone displays this feature.

Twi, Yoruba, and Kongo largely agree in their incorporation of stressed syllables in European loans with double vowels; as previously pointed out, this stems from their sharing the feature

of absence of penultimate lengthening.[16] Kongo is the only language to have a typical LH pattern on the long vowel, but this reflects the loaning source pattern (Portuguese) rather than being a Kongo feature, since HL also occurs. Guyanese shows no such treatment of its English-derived vocabulary.

6.0 WEST AFRICAN PIDGIN ENGLISH (WES KOS)

6.1 Introduction

West African Pidgin English (henceforth simply Pidgin) probably developed along the West Coast trading routes from 1631 onwards, and has shown remarkable powers of endurance, given the widespread view that pidgins have a short life span (see e.g., Berry 1971:519, fn.19). In fact, Pidgin now qualifies as a creole, having first language speakers, but its main use is still as a contact language between speakers of other languages. Hence, it displays considerable variation, and this lack of stability and standardization is reflected in the differences in data recorded by different observers, even in the same area, or by the same observer at different times. Compare, for instance, Schneider (1960) with Schneider (1963, 1966, and 1967) and with Berry (1971), as also Hancock (1970) with Dwyer (n.d. [1967?]), and both with Todd (1982). Any discussion of African sources for Caribbean Creoles must however include Pidgin, in view of the hypothesis, first advanced by Stoney and Shelby (1930:ix), and more recently by Cassidy (1962, 1971), that these languages were based on “an English pidgin along the African coast … brought with slaves to the New World and which became the source of Caribbean-based creoles.” The hypothesis has been taken up by Hancock (1970), whose comparative vocabulary of Krio, Sranan (Djuka), Saramaccan, Cameroons Pidgin, Guyanese, Jamaican, and Gullah was envisaged as a first step to the reconstruction of this “Proto-Pidgin.”

For the following description I have relied chiefly on Dwyer (n.d.), whose vocabulary of about 2,400 items includes many variants and is marked for tone and stress. This is supplemented by Berry (1971), Todd (1982), and Anyadike (1984). I have taken liberties in spelling, notation, and interpretation of data, which I hope do not amount to distortion.

6.2 Tone-bearing elements

Unlike Standard English, Pidgin is tonal. As in the case of Kongo, the tone-bearing segment will here be assumed to have obligatory vowel nucleus. Although Dwyer classes the nasal of initial NC clusters as syllabic, there seems to be no good tonal reason for so doing. The pitch is always low and noncontrastive, and I shall here follow the arguments of Carter (1970) in relation to the so-called “syllabic nasals” of Kongo, treating such nasals as asyllabic. Dwyer’s ǹkànda ‘skin, hide’ accordingly becomes nkandá.

6.2.1 Vowels. The number of vowels postulated for Pidgin ranges from six to eleven. Dwyer opts for six, here written i, e, a, ?, o,u. There appears to be neither phonemic nor conditioned vowel length, and vowel sequences are also excluded. There are “falling” and “rising” diphthongs, serving as nucleus for single tone-bearing elements, written here, following Dwyer, with one vowel and one semivowel component: ay, aw, ?y,ye,ya, wa, and so on.

6.2.2 Consonants. The position with regard to consonants is unstable, especially in respect of clusters. This results in variants with and without simplification or anaptyxis: ‘síks/‘sís/‘sík ‘six’ and ‘tán ‘stand’ by the side of stándat/sítánda ‘standard’. It is probable that forms farthest from English are of earlier date of entry into Pidgin.

6.3 Syllable- and word-structure constraints

A major difference between Pidgin and the other African languages is that it permits word-final consonants, though restricted to nasals, /l/, and voiceless plosives and fricatives: ‘kɔ́m ‘come’, ‘tík ‘thick’, ‘smɔ́l ‘small’, ‘bát ‘bad’, ‘krés ‘be crazy, mad’. As already shown, clustering is variable: ‘sɔ́ft/‘sɔ́pt ‘soft’, ‘cáns ‘chance’, but ‘bén ‘bend’, sítíma ‘steamer’.

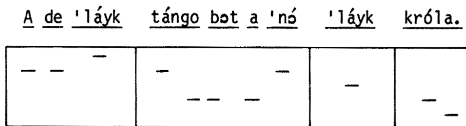
6.4 Number of tonemes

The tonal system has at least high (H, marked ´) and low (L, unmarked) tones. Dwyer further distinguishes two varieties of H: weak high (WH) and strong high (SH), the latter being stressed. SH is indicated here by preposed (’): pí’kín ‘child’ has second syllable stressed. This notation is different from

Dwyer's, which does not require marking of syllable boundary; in many cases my decision on the segmentation has been arbitrary.

The data from Todd and Anyadike has not seemed to warrant the WH/SH distinction, but I have kept it in material cited from Dwyer.

6.4.1 Tonal features. Downdrift in Dwyer's description is of a somewhat different nature from that in the languages dealt with already. In Pidgin, the sentence consists of a number of registers, or groups of tones in which all Ls are at the same pitch, and all Hs at the same pitch:



'I like (the) tango but I don't like (the) crawler.'
Dwyer (n.d. 507, no. 189; my profile).

A SH terminates a register, and thereafter a fresh register begins, with all tones on lower levels (as after 'layk and 'n ɔ́). Dwyer does not use the term downstep, though this feature will obviously occur when SH is immediately followed by WH. Marking is unnecessary, since the position is predictable from the disposition of the basic tones.

Todd and Anyadike show downstep wherever H + H occurs at word-juncture: transfé ! dát ! pásínja 'transfer those passengers' (Todd) and ál ! dís ! káyn wahála 'all this kind of hassle' (Anyadike).

Question intonation involves raising the register of the final group:

(Dwyer n.d.:20)

This can result in a kind of upstep, when the final register begins with H. SH is rarely followed by L in the same word.

6.4.2 Tonal processes. A limited progressive assimilation is shown in Todd's material: hɔspítal 'hospital' but hɔspítál ! bíl 'hospital bill'. Examples so far show only one L affected.

6.5 Functions of tone

Tone has some lexically and grammatically distinctive function:

akárá 'Accra; gown' vs. ákara 'food steamed (sic) in palm wine'
bánga 'palm kernel' vs. bangá 'Indian hemp'
'dé 'day; to be there' vs. de continuous aspect marker
'fɔ́ 'four' vs. fɔ 'should' and relator particle
'wé 'wear' vs. wé 'that (conjunction)'
gó 'go, went' vs. go future marker (Anyadike)

Thus i gó ! gét 'he went to get' contrasts with i go gét 'he will get, there will be'.

6.6 Distribution of tone patterns

The grammatically distinctive function is related to the distribution of patterns for the various word categories, for example, lexical item (noun, verb, adjective) versus grammatical element (pronoun, tense marker, conjunction). While it is not true to say that all the former contain 'H or H, and none of the latter, this is certainly the tendency.

6.6.1 Uncompounded items. 'H is the usual pattern for monosyllabic nouns, verbs, and adjectives: 'jám 'accident', 'cyé 'chair', 'cúk 'inject', 'pɔ́ 'poor'.

H is a small class, consisting of bí 'to be' and grammatical elements such as conjunctions, pronouns, and adverbs: wé 'that, when' mí 'my', dén 'then', tú 'also, too' (cf. 'tú 'two').

L is limited to grammatical elements such as tense markers, auxiliaries, pronouns, and relational particles: de continual marker, fo 'should', a 'I', wit 'with (var. wití; Dwyer, pers. comm.), di 'the'.

HL is the usual, but not exclusive, pattern for disyllabic loans with stressed first syllable: hévi 'heavy', wúman 'woman', and for monosyllables with final consonant cluster resolved by anaptyxis: mílik 'milk', trɔ́bul 'trouble'. In the HL class are also some non-English loans: dénge 'hand-piano', búndu 'camwood', nyínga 'slave, inferior person'.

HH is a small class, including some words of French origin: bókú 'plenty' (beaucoup, apparently borrowed from nonfinal context, without final stress), and some African words:, járá 'tip, dash'. There are also a very few English loans: shílí/shílé which are eccentric, considering the overwhelming use of the HL class for English stress + unstressed pattern.

H'H is the major class for English disyllabics with final stress: dí'váyt 'divide', fɔ́'gét 'forget', and for French disyllabics: má'dám 'important woman', pé'trɔ́l 'petrol, gasoline'. Monosyllabics with initial cluster resolved by anaptyxis are also in this class: sí'tík 'stick', sí'pɔ́yl 'spoil'.[17] Here also is the ubiquitous pí'kín 'child' (Portuguese pequeno 'small') and a number of English loans where the original has first syllable stressed: né'tíf 'native', bí'skít 'biscuit', bás'két 'basket'. These would have been expected to be in the HL class; derivation from French rather than English is a possibility for the first two, but scarcely for 'basket'.

LL is almost entirely restricted to words of known or assumed African origin: una/wina/wuna 'you pl.' (Igbo unu, Kongo and kiMbundu nu), banda 'ceiling, attic', butu 'bend down'; one English loan here is kayna 'kind of, sort of'.

LH also contains many words of African origin: nkandá 'skin, hide', katá 'head-pad', jangá sp. fish, mumú 'deaf, stupid', but this pattern does not always reflect the pattern in the loaning language. Equivalents of nkandá and katá in modern Angolan Kongo are nkkáanda and nkháta. A very interesting group is composed of apparent English loans, whose originals are disyllabics with first syllable stressed: mɔní 'money', watá 'water', mɔtɔ́ 'motor', simí 'shimmy, blouse', kokó 'coco(a)', belé 'belly', mɔtó/mɔ́to 'motorcar', dɔtí 'dirt, rubbish', turí 'story', brangí 'blanket'. In these, Pidgin H does not correspond to English stress; but as pointed out earlier, English stressed syllables are not invariably high pitched, and in question intonation a divided nucleus would show the pattern low-high: 'Have you got any money?' 'Can you mend my motor?' A few words in the LH class are derivable from English or French words with final stress: katá 'catarrh', taksí 'taxi'.[18]

Trisyllabics do not seem to be restricted as to pattern, but the largest class is LHL—compare Twi, with LLH as the dominant pattern, and Yoruba, with LLL, LHL, and LHH. Pidgin differs from Twi, Yoruba, and Kongo in the high proportion of English derivatives which have initial L.

HLL accommodates principally English trisyllabics with stressed first syllable: mánija ‘manager’, kɔ́stama ‘customer’, hɔ́spital ‘hospital’ (but cf. Todd hɔspítal) with some presumed African loans: njákiri ‘play tricks on, tease’, kwéifon ‘traditional society’.

HHL includes words of similar provenance, and it is not clear what governs assignment to one class rather than the other: élífan ‘elephant’, báysíkul ‘bicycle’, mínísta ‘minister’. Here also are derivatives of disyllabics with anaptyxis of initial cluster: sípíri ‘spirit’ (?French esprit), sítíma ‘steamer’, síkáta ‘scatter’ (cf. Yoruba).

‘HHL seems to be basically a class for compounds (see 6.8); the inclusion here of ‘yésáde/‘yéstúde ‘yesterday’ and ‘párábul/‘pánápul/‘páynápul ‘parable’ may be due to reanalysis (‘párábul etc. also mean ‘pineapple’).

‘HLH is another pattern associated with compounds, but which contains some items from English, with initial stress: ‘ánimál ‘animal’, which might have been predicted for HLL.

HL’H similarly contains many compounds, but a few English words with final, stress: kéro’sín ‘kerosene’; and one with initial stress: ínta’vyú ‘interview’.

HH’H is almost wholly derivatives of French trisyllables, reflecting French high level intonation, with final stress: kálí’fɔ́ ‘crossroads’ (carrefour), kálá’bás ‘calabash’ (calebasse), kámí’nyón ‘lorry, truck’ (cami on).

LLL is restricted to presumed African loans: sokoto ‘baggy trousers’ (Yoruba shokoto), jigada ‘woman’s waist beads’, brukutu ‘millet beer’.

LHH patterns are likewise limited to apparent or presumed African derivatives: akpárá/akwárá ‘prostitute’ (Efik akpara), egúsí ‘pumpkin seed’, cakárá ‘break to pieces’, ngondélé ‘young girl’, ɔyóyó ‘beautiful’, makíví ‘wristwatch’ (from a Hausa term for ‘fishlike’, referring to a make of watch with fish painted on the dial).

LHL is a large class, divided about equally between supposedly African words and English trisyllables with penultimate stress: mukára ‘white man’, okríka ‘secondhand clothing’, masánga ‘woman’s waist beads’, and potéto ‘potato’, jamnéshan ‘examination’, sɔrénda ‘surrender’.

LL'H is another predominantly compound class, whose noncompounded members may have undergone reanalysis as such: krɔka'dáy 'crocodile', langa'trút 'longing', kɔngo'sáy 'gossip', maka'bú 'yam', kɔsta'mán 'customer' (by the side ot kɔ́stama). Compounding patterns of this kind are further discussed under 6.6.2.

6.6.2 Compounds. Compounding is a complex subject in Pidgin. There appear to be three types of pattern, classifiable according to the treatment of the first component:

(a) first component has isolate pattern: 'mán'hán 'right hand, lit. man hand'
(b) SH in the first component is replaced by WH: rén'kɔ́t 'raincoat', cf. 'rén
(c) the first component 'loses' any high tones, and has only L: grɔŋ'nɔ́t 'groundnut', beni'grɔ́ŋ 'burying-ground' cf. béni 'bury'.

This suggests three kinds of structure, distinguished by varying degrees of cohesion of the components. Type (a) seems to resemble English nominalizations, and is a simple concatenation of the components; (b) is a kind of semicompound; and (c) is the true compound. Where the first component is a disyllable of the pattern HL, there will be no surface distinction between (a) and (b) types; wúman'hán 'left hand, lit. woman hand' is classed as (a) by analogy with 'mán'hán, the pattern alone being ambiguous.

Examples of the three types are given below.

(a) initial 'H is found only for monosyllabic first components:

'nɔ́k'hét	'headache, lit. knock head'
'wán'fút	'together, lit. one-foot'
'smɔ́l'táym	'soon, lit. small time'
'mán'hán	'right hand, lit. man hand'
'swáyn'bíf	'pork, lit. swine beef (meat)'
'blák'mán	'black man'
'wáyt'mán	'white man'
'hét'háws	'roof, lit. head (of) house'
'mán-fáwul	'rooster, cock, lit. man-fowl'
'lás-mímbo	'dregs of palm-wine, lit. last (of) mimbo'

‘dráy-sísɔn	‘dry season’
‘páyn-ápul	‘pineapple’
‘mán-pí’kín	‘young man, lit. man-child’
‘cɔ́p-mɔ́ni	‘food money’

HL for disyllabic first component is ambiguous:

wúman’hán	‘left hand, lit. woman hand’

(b) initial H of monosyllabic first component:

tí’kɔ́p	‘teacup’
rén’kɔ́t	‘raincoat’
sán’táym	‘daytime, lit. sun-time’
dɔ́’mɔ́t/dɔ́’mɔ́f	‘doorway, lit. door-mouth’
táy’hét	‘head-tie’
wás’náyt	‘night watchman’
trɔ́ŋ’hán	‘intimidate, lit. strong-hand’
bát’hát	‘show ill-will, lit. bad-heart’
sɔ́m’tíŋ	‘something’
shɔ́t’ɔ́p	‘shut up’
gó’bák	‘go back’
sí’dɔ́ŋ	‘sit down’
tán’ɔ́p	‘stand up’
tú’dé	‘today’
tú’mɔ́s	‘too much’ (also ‘tum s)
fɔ́’tín	‘fourteen’
pós’ɔ́fís	‘post office’
cás’ɔ́fís	‘charge office’

(c) monosyllabic first component, L:

sɔm’táym	‘perhaps, lit. some time’, cf. sɔ́m’tíŋ ‘something”
grɔŋ’nɔ́t	‘groundnut’, cf. ‘grɔ́ŋ ‘ground’
kɔt’lás	‘cutlass’, perhaps reanalyzed as ‘cut’ + ‘lass’
dɔk’fáwul	‘duck’ (to distinguished from ‘dɔ́k ‘dog’[[19]]

disyllabic first component, LL:

faya’wút	‘firewood’, cf. fáya ‘fire’
lɔri-pák	‘lorry-park’, cf. lɔ́ri ‘lorry, truck’
beni’grɔ́ŋ	‘burying-ground’, cf. béni, ‘bury’

afta'nún	'afternoon', cf. afta 'after'
suka'kén	'sugarcane', cf. súka 'sugar'
kɔntri'klós	'country clothes, cf. kɔ́ntri 'country'
rɔba'gɔ́n	'catapult, slingshot, lit. rubber-gun', cf. rɔ́ba 'rubber'
fala'bák	'younger sibling, lit. follow-back', cf. fála 'follow'
tela'mán	'tailor, lit. tailorman', cf. téla 'tailor'
hɔnta'mán	'hunter, lit. hunterman', cf. hɔ́nta 'hunter'
treda'mán	'trader, lit. traderman', cf. tréda 'trader'
ngambe'mán	'diviner'
mɔto'fút	'tyre, tire, lit. motor-foot', cf. mɔ́to/mɔtó 'motorcar'
bele'bús	'full belly, lit. belly-bust?', cf. belé 'belly'
koko'nɔ́t	'coconut', cf. kokó 'coco(a)'
koko'yáms	'cocoyam', cf. kokó 'coco(a)'
ova'ték	'overtake'
sase'tɔ́k	'Standard English, lit. saucy-talk'
kɔtin'grás	'sp. beaverlike animal (cane-rat?), lit. 'cutting-grass'
hɔli'dé	'holiday'[20]

The (c) compounding process is very productive, and it needs scarcely to be said that few of the examples have corresponding compound English forms.[21] The superfluous -mán formations have already been mentioned in connection with Twi wahyemáǹ 'laundryman' and number of apparent compounds either have no recorded corresponding uncompounded first component (e.g., hɔli'dé—originally a compound in English, 'holy' + 'day') or are possible reanalyses of longer words (kɔngo'sáy). See 6.7 for correlation of Pidgin tone and English stress.

6.6.3 Iteration and reduplication. The correlation of iteration and reduplication with meaning is not very clear. Iteration, the repetition of a pattern without change, has, in the main, inten sive connotations:

bifɔ́	'before'	bifɔ́ bifɔ́	'a long time ago'
dɔtí	'dirt(y)'	dɔtí dɔtí	'very dirty'
ná	'now'	ná ná	'right this minute, right now'
'trú	'true'	trú trú	'quite true'

Iteration of numerals, on the other hand, has distributive meaning:

‘wán	‘one’	wán wán	‘one by one’

Reduplication appears to be a subtype of compounding, in that the first component has no high tone(s); however, the second component, if disyllabic, has no SH, and all examples so far recorded have -HH:

‘tɔ́n	‘turn’	tɔntɔ́n	‘be dizzy, confused’
‘táy	‘tie’	taytáy	‘rope bridge’
wɔ́ri	‘worry’	wɔriwɔ́rí	‘be in a hurry
kɔ́ni	‘cunning, clever, devious’	kɔnikɔ́ní	‘very clever and devious’
‘híl	‘hill’	hilihílí	‘hilly, mountainous’

It is difficult to abstract a single common connotation for reduplications of this kind. There are further large numbers of reduplications without corresponding simplex: krɔkrɔ́ ‘craw-craw’, tumtúm ‘motorbike’, tantán ‘pig-headed, unreliable’ (perhaps from ‘tán ‘stand’?), pɔtɔpɔ́tɔ́ ‘mud, mortar’, wuruwúrú ‘unreliable’, njamanjámá ‘greens’, cukucúkú ‘porcupine’. Some of these have almost undoubtedly been taken over in reduplicated form from African languages such as Twi, but as before, Pidgin does not necessarily show identical tone-patterns for African loans.

6.7 Treatment of loans

Since the vocabulary of Pidgin is over 90 percent of English origin, it may seem inappropriate to talk of “loans” from English, but as the phonological system into which they were taken was considerably different from that of Standard British English, I shall continue to use the term. Some information has already been given on the relationship of Pidgin tone-classes to the original input, both English and non-English; the following paragraphs summarize the principal tendencies.

6.7.1 Segmental considerations relevant to tonal behavior. Pidgin treatment of English loans shows certain resemblances to that of Twi, Yoruba, and Kongo, but differs in some important respects. Vowel sequences being excluded, stress in English is never represented by double vowel, and as final consonants are permitted, addition of a final vowel is not so common. Conversely, resolution of consonant clusters by anaptyxis or simplification is very common.

6.7.2 Tonal behavior. It has already been shown that the correlation of English stress and Pidgin tones is not exact. Generally, English strong stress is represented by SH in monosyllables and final stressed syllables .(‘lúk ‘look’ and fɔ’gét ‘forget’), but by WH for nonfinal stress (hévi ‘heavy’ and mánija ‘manager’). This may reflect the difference between ‘whole foot’ and ‘partial foot’ syllables in English, which the other languages represent by double and single vowel respectively. It may even be that the SH/WH distinction in Pidgin had its origin in the perception of this difference. SH is noticeably absent from words of African origin, except those which, like kɔngo’sáy, can be explained by reinterpretation as a compound.

There remains a substantial group of items whose patterns are not predicted by this system of correspondences, including the (c) type compounds. Most of these show the same general pattern: H or ‘H is later in the form than the corresponding English stress:

watá	cf.	‘water	sɔm’táym	cf.	‘sometimes
turí	cf.	‘story	faya’wút	cf.	‘firewood
mɔnkí	cf.	‘monkey	suka’kén	cf.	‘sugarcane

English compounds typically show reduction of stress in the second component—the reverse of Pidgin:

‘something	vs.	‘some ‘things
‘black-bird	vs.	‘black ‘bird
‘coconut	vs.	‘cocoa ‘bean
‘sewing machine	vs.	‘sewing ‘dresses
‘holiday	vs.	‘holy ‘day

Similarly, in reduplication, as contrasted with iteration:

> ‘goody-goody (self-righteous) vs. ‘goody ‘goody! (splendid!) ‘pom-pom (ball of wool) vs. ‘pom ‘pom! (sound of drum)

Compare also ‘picky-picky, ’can-can, ‘frou-frou.

Derivation from an intonation pattern with Rising Nucleus has been suggested as a possible source for some of these patterns: ‘Water?’, ‘Story?’, ‘Firewood?’, and so on. Another possibility is African substrate influences: compounding patterns in particular are very similar to those of Twi, Yoruba, and to

some extent Kongo (Twi ncinincíní 'salty', Yoruba monamóná 'lightning'). On the other hand, even African derivatives do not always retain their original patterns (Kongo nkkáanda, Pidgin nkandá). The provenance of the eccentric patterns is still something of a mystery.

6.8 Comparison with Guyanese

Of all the four languages described so far, Pidgin shows the most marked resemblance to Guyanese. The languages are similar in their segmental structure, particularly in the lack of long or double vowels, providing similar bases for the tonal systems; both display downstep in similar circumstances; Pidgin "register shift" characterizes interrogative structures in the same way as upstep in Guyanese. Most notable of all are the "eccentric" patterns in which Pidgin and Guyanese agree against English, and in not following the loaning patterns of Twi, Yoruba, and Kongo:

PIDGIN		GUYANESE	ENGLISH
watá		watér	'water
turí		storý	'story
kɔt'lás		cutláss	'cutlass
suka'kén		sugarcáne	'sugarcane
kɔko'nɔ́t		coconút	'coconut
treda'mán	cf.	fishermán	'fisherman

Pidgin sometimes shows H-shift of the kind found in Guyanese, compare hɔspítal but Shisɔŋ-hɔ́spital 'Shisong Hospital' with Guyanese papérs but ballot-pápers.

Pidgin reduplications are superficially less like those of Guyanese, in that a disyllabic second element has double H: Pidgin hilihílí 'hilly' versus Guyanese holey-hóley 'somewhat holed'. However, when it is remembered that Guyanese operates a progressive assimilation rule, it will readily be seen that Pidgin HH is equivalent to Guyanese (underlying) HL. As pointed out in 6.4.2. traces of a similar rule are found in Pidgin.

The distinction between the (a) and (c) types of compound resembles the Guyanese system of uncompounded and compounded noun phrases; compare Pidgin waká ! mán 'walking man' but tifmán 'thief' (Todd 1982) with Guyanese óne ! mán but parts-mán 'man who sells motorcar parts'.

Conversely, Pidgin does not show the grouping into larger tone-phrases, with further H suppression, and the apparent restriction to one underlying H per group, nor is the progressive assimilation rule so evident.

All this builds up a reasonably good case for regarding Pidgin and Guyanese as sister languages, deriving from a former Proto-Pidgin, though it may be added that we do not know what changes have taken place in Pidgin since the time when the ancestors of modern Guyanese speakers were exposed to it.

7.0 CONCLUSIONS

Examination of the tonal system of Guyanese as compared with those of Twi, Yoruba, Kongo, and West African Pidgin English has failed to yield resemblances which can be interpreted in terms of a genetic relationship, except for Pidgin. Guyanese displays sufficient similarity to Pidgin to support a hypothesis that Proto-Pidgin was the direct ancestor of both. Pidgin has exerted a powerful influence along the coast, such that “English” loans into the other African languages can often be traced to Pidgin rather than Standard English, which complicates the picture, but the general pattern of loaning into Twi, Yoruba, and Kongo is very different from the Guyanese system.

This, of course, takes the question of origins only one step further back; the roots of Pidgin phonology, both segmental and tonal, have yet to be uncovered. It seems clear that they are not to be sought in the languages examined here, and certainly not in Standard English. Since Pidgin apparently developed in the area of greatest linguistic diversity (the so-called “fragmentation belt”), it is unrealistic to look for an early solution to the problem, though languages further west, such as those of the West Atlantic group, are good candidates. People from these areas formed a high proportion of those taken over the Atlantic during the early years of the Slave Trade, as Curtin (1969:97–8), 111, 113) has demonstrated. The comparative view has to become wider yet.

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A PRELIMINARY CLASSIFICATION OF THE ANGLOPHONE ATLANTIC CREOLES WITH SYNTACTIC DATA FROM THIRTY-THREE REPRESENTATIVE DIALECTS

Ian Hancock

Scholars in the field of creole studies have been discussing the genetic affiliations of creolized languages since the late 19th century. Current hypotheses have grown out of the works of Schuchardt, Hesseling, Coelho, and others, and more recently from the research of Taylor and Hall in the 1950s. Such earlier investigations, however, have concerned themselves almost exclusively with examining the nature of the relationship of the creole with the lexically related metropolitan language, rather than with the relationship between one creole and another. Alleyne has most recently addressed this: "The problem is not whether certain dialects of common lexical base … are historically or genetically related to each other; the problem is first their genetic relationship in the 'parent/daughter' sense" (1971:177), although he goes on to say that "the question of genetic classification of linguistic forms [may] be unanswerable or irrelevant" (178). Nevertheless, the purpose of the present paper is to move toward providing an answer to this question, and to demonstrate its relevance to our understanding of Anglophone Creole history.

The concern of the present study is not with, say, how Sranan and Jamaican are related to English, but rather with how they are related to each other, and to other creoles sharing an English-derived morpheme stock. Incorporating the contri-

butions of recent research, and the kind of specific language samples such as those given in the fifty sentences below, we are beginning to be able to construct increasingly detailed isoglosses which enable us to map the distribution of different linguistic forms. By comparing these with the external histories of the various Atlantic Creole dialect communities, we can better evaluate the monogenetic against the polygenetic approach to explaining Atlantic Anglophone Creole origins.

It must be stated at the outset that it is not the contention of this study that each of the dialects dealt with here represents a contemporary form of the hypothesized protocreole; the thesis is rather that each is the product of an ongoing continuum growing out of, inter alia, the contact of speakers of various metropolitan British dialects, various African languages, and Guinea Coast Creole English in its various forms, in differing representations and subject to differing social, temporal and geographical factors. Each has become further distinguished by processes of internally generated change, rate of metropolitanization, and degree of influence from other dialects resulting from migrations within the area. The chart reproduced at the end of this paper cannot, of course, represent all of these factors, and indicates only connections within the creole component.

I do not, then, believe that, for example, Black English was once like Gullah, or that Gullah was once like Jamaican, or that Jamaican was once like Sranan, each a more decreolized version of the other along some kind of mystical continuum, although this notion certainly has attracted a large number of adherents. Dillard (1975:96), for example, was moved to question whether

> the earliest Plantation Creole in the United States ... spoken by the field hands on the big plantations was closer to Saramaccan [than it is today].

My feeling is that most of the principal characteristics that each creole is now associated with were established during the first twenty-five years or so of the settlement of the region in which it came to be spoken: Black English has always looked much the way it looks now, and this is true of the other languages dealt with here. The earliest documented samples of creole languages we have (and Sranan, Jamaican, and Papiamentu are good examples) do not differ greatly from the contemporary forms. Later external influences upon them and self-generated rules must, of course, also be taken into consid-

eration as modifying factors, as well as metropolitanization. However, creole language maintenance has surely been much more vigorous than is usually acknowledged; there have always been at least some speakers familiar with the metropolitan varieties within the various creole communities, and pressures to retain the creole, for some people, should be seen as being equally important as pressures to metropolitanize are for some others. It is simply wrong to assume that the lexically-related metropolitan language is the only desirable target for all speakers in all communities where it coexists with the creole.

The family tree method of creole classification, now some two centuries old, has become well established; groupings presented in this manner are to be found in all our general linguistics textbooks. Creolists, however, are well aware that this technique alone cannot be successfully applied to creole languages; indeed, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) criticize attempts to classify the creoles genetically because the whole family tree analogy is a false one. They note that determining a common creole progenitor is not a very profitable question to ask, since it derives from a misunderstanding of the genetic metaphor commonly applied to languages, so that for example French, Spanish and Italian are all misleadingly said to derive from one 'parent' language, some variety of Latin.

Genetic affiliations provide just one kind of linguistic relationship, and the histories of the different creoles must acknowledge all modes of historical interrelatedness: genetic in part, but, as Hymes (1971:80–3) has already pointed out, typological, functional, and areal-diffusional as well.

One question presenting itself in this study is whether we are to consider the parent language of the creole input—the "Latin"—as English or as something else; certainly what was called Latin in Gaul was not the same as what was called Latin in Dalmatia. The majority of Latin speakers outside of Rome spoke it as a second language, and the indigenous languages in the various provinces differed from place to place. A protolanguage reconstruction based upon the modern Romance languages does not yield what we recognize as textbook Latin, and even if we accept that it was a variety of Vulgar Latin, it could not have been the same in all parts of the Empire. The approach being taken here does not consider the "Latin" of the Anglophone Creoles—presumably varieties of 17th-century English—because it is already apparent from existing research that a reconstruction based upon them does not give us anything that was ever spoken in English.

Despite objections to the traditional genetic approach, there has been a revival of interest in the past several years in establishing such relationships for some groups of creoles. Clark (1979) has attempted a grouping for those in the Pacific, and so have Mühlhäusler and Bailey (1979), discussed further by Mühlhäusler (this volume). Hall attempted a brief phonological reconstruction of proto-Anglophone Creole in 1966, and this was expanded upon by Johnson (1974), Ziegler (1982), and especially Gilman (1978, 1985). Norval Smith in Holland is currently undertaking a reconstruction of proto-Suriname Creole for his doctoral degree and has already published a number of his findings (1977 ff.).

The problems involved in such an undertaking are many. We are, for example, limited in the corpus available to us since very few of the fifty or so languages being examined possess written records of any time depth, and it is the older, less-evolved varieties which need to be compared. For this reason, shared forms occurring now only in the literature have been referred to in the notes following each of the sample sentences. Again, there has been extreme population mobility within the Atlantic area, and significant disruptions (such as the Caribbean Plague of 1647–1649, which drastically affected the local white population). So, practically all of the languages have been subject to sometimes abrupt modification and cross influence—this last sometimes from three or four other creoles. These factors are especially apparent in the more recently established dialects, such as those of Guyana or Trinidad—both of which have emerged since 1800. It is difficult to represent this diagrammatically, and to separate the various historical periods of external influence in any neat way. The value of such an undertaking must nevertheless be apparent, not only for the perspective it is already beginning to provide on the historical relationships shared by each, but also for the insights being made into changing grammatical function and the implications of universalist theory.

This approach is in opposition to the polygenetic stand of, for example, Meyer or Coelho, or, more recently, Hall; and although the mechanisms of Bickerton's bioprogram hypothesis (1981) undoubtedly account for some of the linguistic characteristics of these creoles, that theory is more directly relevant to a discussion of the origins of the protocreole itself. The technique employed here has been to select a dialect and work backwards from its most conservative available varieties, comparing and contrasting the data with the same findings for creoles

spoken in the same area, working in an ever-widening circle. Use is being made of the work of others in specific domains, for example on phonology (by e.g., Johnson, Smith, Gilman), on historical relationships (by e.g., Cassidy, Goodman, Price, Voorhoeve), on the grammar (by e.g., Le Page, Holm, Mühlhäusler, Bickerton), and on the lexicon (by e.g., Le Page, Cassidy, Holm, Winer). An attempt is being made to obtain copies of all pertinent literature on all the languages being compared; sadly there are still too few such studies available, and those which are, are often in the form of hard-to-obtain theses and dissertations. When studies of the speech of Anegada, say, or Barbuda or Bequia become available, we will certainly have to modify our conclusions.

The corpus presented here, and upon which the present discussion in part rests, provides examples of structure and idiom in a selection of Anglophone (i.e., English-morpheme-source) Atlantic Creoles, in order to represent the distribution of those features. Although reconstruction of the protocreole is also an issue, this must be attempted using other techniques; it would be premature at this point to draw any firm conclusions on the basis of synchronic data of this sort. As Washabaugh (1981:86) has made clear,

> Comparisons have been made on the prevailing assumption that all creoles are comparable, being young languages which have not been substantially altered by processes of language change. But if the assumption that creoles are comparable can be shown to be false, then the whole business of comparing creoles to reveal structural similarities is up for reconsideration. Specifically, if different creoles can be shown to have undergone processes of language change at different rates, then only those creoles that are at a similar stage of change will be comparable. And the results of such limited comparisons may well be altogether different from the free-for-all comparisons on which most etiological hypotheses have been based.

Having thus drawn attention to this possibility, Washabaugh (1981:99) concludes his study by saying that "Only a specific historical explanation seems to account for the structure of connectives in the C[aribbean] E[nglish] 'creole base'," and by emphasizing the significance of individual internal changes as oppposed to externally stimulated decreolization in each dialect. The sentences below reflect both factors. They were obtained through the medium of colleagues working with native

speakers or who were native speakers themselves. Although it was not possible to locate speakers of the same age and socioeconomic background, in each case the most conservative, naturally occurring utterances were sought. A file is being built up of the same sentences in as many other creoles as possible also, for a later comparative study.

Bickerton (1975:56–7) has rightly cautioned that “if one mails a questionnaire into a lectal continuum there is no way of knowing exactly what one is getting back … Any future comparative work in the Caribbean must ensure that equivalent levels are compared in all cases.” This makes good theoretical sense, although if we are to wait until each dialect has been exhaustively enough analyzed and the different “levels” of each abstracted and compared in order to arrive at some common basis for comparison—assuming that this were even possible—then progress in comparative work would be slow indeed.

The notion raises some interesting points, however: Did the creoles dealt with here begin at the same time? Assuming a common origin in their shared creole component, when does, for example, Belizean start being Belizean? And if we do not assume such a common origin, are we then justified in speaking of “equivalent levels”? Is Saramaccan decreolizing, and, if so, in what direction? Can we talk about a continuum where Djuka is concerned in the same way as we can for Jamaican, or Sea Islands Creole? Is the decreolization continuum for which many creolists argue identifiable or measurable in the same way as variation resulting from internal change? In what ways does such change differ from metropolitanization (i.e., decreolization toward the lexifier language) or other kinds of decreolization (the drift of some varieties of Sranan toward Dutch, for instance, or Papia Kristang toward Malay). (Most recently Robertson 1982 has discussed the phenomenon of Guyanese Creole Dutch and Trinidadian Creole French both decreolizing toward the coexisting Creole Englishes.) Panamanian bin has given way to woz: im woz sii shi ‘he saw her’, but this is no “closer” to English than the form it has supplanted. The very term decreolization may be called into question since it implies the reversal of the same process as that which initially produced the creole, whereas progression towards the lexifier language is change that moves ahead, not backward.

Rate of change is the result of a great many factors, societal perhaps being more significant than temporal. St. John Creole is “younger” than Trinidadian, but is more conservative; a Djuka-like language survives in Jamaica because of its status as an

esoteric spirit language, and an early offshoot related to Sea Islands Creole continues to be spoken in South Texas and Mexico by a handful of people more than two centuries after separating from it.

The present study provides a body of synchronic data for others to use in whatever productive way they may. It does not indicate, except occasionally, how earlier stages of each dialect stood, nor does it provide all possible forms existing in the continua. It does reflect the distribution in the present day of certain linguistic features typically associated with the Atlantic group, and which ones may or may not occur in the individual dialects. The West African group (excluding Liberian), for example, cannot, under any circumstances, construct a future with wi or sa; it may, of course, be that either or both of these were present at some earlier date, but no evidence has been found testifying to this. Boni appears to be the only Anglophone Creole with a past marker a: mi a koti 'I have cut' (Hurault 1952:47; although not elicited from the informant who provided the present Boni material). Is this related to Sranan ha' 'have', listed by Focke (1855:41) in Joe no ha' foe go 'you don't have to go' (with the same form in the contemporary language), or perhaps to a Dutch Creole—it occurs with this function in Virgin Islands Creole Dutch, though not in the Guyana dialects. Contemporary data will not easily answer these questions.

Having had to rely, in the majority of cases, upon the good graces of those whom I approached to help me obtain these sentences, I found myself with varying qualities of material. In some instances I was sent several possible variants for each, with copious notes and biographical data on the informants; in a number of cases, I received only partially completed lists, and for about twelve, I received no responses at all. These latter have been excluded from the present study, but data are still coming in, and I shall publish supplementary lists at a later date. Other than a loosely geographical one, no definite order has been followed in listing the dialects. Hawaiian Creole English and Norfolk Island Creole have been included for purposes of comparison, and because, in the case of the latter in particular, its history links it with the Atlantic locus rather than with Tok Pisin and other Pacific Creoles (see Hancock 1969:35, notes 83 and 84). Saramaccan equivalents have also been included because of its large English-derived lexical component (but see also Hancock 1975:224–7 for a 100-item lexical comparison of Saramaccan with fourteen Iberophone Creoles).

The question perhaps also arises as to the justification of including Saban, U.S. Black English, and Caymanian here, when they are clearly closer to metropolitan English than they are to common creole. I believe that their inclusion is justified, however, since geographically and historically they belong to the area, and it is only in some aspects of their respective social histories that they differ. They might represent cases of rapid metropolitanization, which would presuppose an earlier, underlying creole, or else they might be shown to be the modern descendants of a "white" West Indian/colonial American English transmitted to the Africans while being retained by the Europeans, which would not. The extent of contact between these notional systems would then have to be acknowledged and measured as one of the factors determining the "creoleness" of the contemporary languages, a factor independent of the origin of their speakers: some ten thousand white native speakers of Louisiana Creole French live in the southwestern portion of that state (Neumann 1983:63), while the speech of the North American black population is typologically closer to Saban or Caymanian than to Sea Islands Creole.

Decreolization has been discussed as a mechanism to account for both the varying proximities of different creoles to English and their differences from each other, and for variation within individual creoles. The assumption here, however, is that the reason for this variation is to be sought in the componential matrix at the time of the formation of each individual creole. To illustrate: in Suriname, speakers familiar with Guinea Coast Creole English (few of whom spoke it natively) were outnumbered by those who spoke only African languages, and outnumbered in turn speakers of regional British dialects. In parts of the Caribbean, the same components came together, except that those arriving with a knowledge of creole were outnumbered by speakers of metropolitan English, as in Barbados, or Saba, or the Caymans. It was the interaction of these, that is, creole and different African languages (on the one hand), or creole and English and different African languages (on the other), in different proportions in different places, which gave rise to the forms of the various local dialects, although in each case, the social and topographical circumstances, as well as the rate at which the emerging creole fed back into the ongoing contact situation which allowed this to proceed, more or less differed. In the Suriname case, the significantly smaller metropolitan English component resulted in the creoles developing

there diverging further from "core creole"; elsewhere, as for example in North America, the opposite situation caused the outcome to converge with metropolitan English.

So far, little acknowledgement has been made of the white Caribbean dialects, spoken in parts of the Caymans, Anguilla, Bequia, Carriacou, Saba, the Bahamas, Barbados, Montserrat, and the Bay Islands (Williams 1983b:25–7). An examination of these, as well as of the dialects spoken in St. Helena, Tristan da Cunha, Bermuda, and elsewhere, will perhaps clarify our knowledge of the first kinds of English to be taken on the ships out of England. Conclusions here regarding the grouping of the dialects on the basis of historical and syntactic criteria need also to be systematically compared with the lexical investigation begun by Le Page; for example, from a comparison of the entries for the letters *A*, *D*, *E*, *G*, *H*, and *I* in the first edition of the *Dictionary of Jamaican English* (Cassidy and Le Page 1967), Le Page (1978:6) finds a 25 percent lexical overlap between Jamaican and Guyanese, 13 percent for Jamaican and Belizean, 8.5 percent for Jamaican and Trinidadian, 7.6 percent for Jamaican and Barbadian, and only 4.5 percent of items shared by Jamaican and Nicaraguan. Allsop (1983:94) adds the figure of a 21.5 percent overlap between Jamaican and Antiguan (for the letter *B*). To these, it might be added that Lise Winer (pers. comm.) has found only approximately 15 percent of the items in her preliminary dictionary of Trinidadian English (in preparation) listed in Bahamian (Holm with Shilling 1982), and of the 144 items Holm lists as occurring in all of the Central American Coast Creoles which do *not* occur in the *Dictionary of Jamaican English*, 17 percent are found in Sierra Leone Krio.

SEA ISLANDS CREOLE AND AFRO-SEMINOLE

I shall begin by dealing with the relationship between Sea Islands Creole (SIC) and Afro-Seminole Creole (ASC), spoken in Georgia/South Carolina and Texas/Oklahoma/Mexico, respectively. This provides a useful starting point, since linguistic and historical resources for each are abundant.

We know that the ASC-speaking population separated from the speakers of an earlier stage of that creole (for which I retain the name *Gullah*), which also gave rise to Sea Islands Creole, between about 1670 and 1760 (Hancock 1986). Lexically and phonologically, SIC and ASC share common forms in excess of 90 percent, with the significant difference that the

large number of African items from Sierra Leonean languages such as Mende and Vai, as well as a number of features found in Krio (e.g., the marker of habitual action blan(t), and the negated copula nɔto) do not exist in ASC. The latter creole also lacks the African palatal and labiovelar phonemes found in SIC, and has a somewhat different intonational pattern. Grammatically, unlike SIC, ASC has no serial constructions such as an instrumental with take (take axe cut wood, see Sentence 45) or comparative with pass (you old pass me, see Sentence 16), and no possessive of the type for + NP (that the house for John, see Sentence 1). Since these are found elsewhere, they may be postseparation introductions into SIC; the comparative with pass, for example, is found in Krio and everywhere else on the Guinea Coast, but not in any of the insular creoles. Sierre Leonean influence upon Sea Islands Creole is well documented for the period 1800–1860. An habitual with does (da, də, dɔ, dɔz, d?z) occurs in Guyana, Liberia, and the eastern Caribbean (cf. Sentence 36), and has been introduced into the latter in the Central American coastal dialects by migrant workers; and while it occurs in SIC, it is not found in Krio, Cameroonian, or ASC. It may be tentatively seen, therefore, as an introduction into SIC from the Lesser Antilles some time later than the mid-18th century, although the chance of its being a self-generated, independent development cannot, of course, be dismissed; most recently, Nichols (1983:209) has maintained that “Gullah and the Caribbean English Creoles have different source languages and different grammars in certain fundamental respects.”

THE EASTERN AND WESTERN CARIBBEAN

Although both areas of the Caribbean were settled within twenty years of each other, a sufficient number of grammatical and other features distinguish the two to warrant establishing a broad division between them:

Eastern	Western
Possessive absolute with NP + own (also Krio, Cameroonian, ASC, SIC) or for + NP + own (St. Vincent, Tobago). Mesolectal Guyanese can have NP + own.	Possessive absolute without own; Jamaica, Suriname, SIC (but not ASC) and Liberian have for + NP; Miskito Coast and Rama Cay dialects have NP + wan, also Guyanese (but see Gibson and Johnson 1984:21, note 3). Liberian can have NP + pa (from part).

Progressive and habitual action expressed with the same particle.	Progressive action indicated by a preverbal particle, habitual action usually indicated by zero, although Christie (1984) gives examples of this occurring in Jamaican: dem hav wan plies we dem a plie haki mach 'they have a place where they (habit.) play hockey matches'.
The progressive particle may also express future action.	The progressive particle may not express future action.
Future marker derived from go (go, 'o, gwain, gwen, wen, en, and so forth). Antigua has wi and gu, and wi was recorded for 19th-century Tobago. See also notes for sentences 11 and 25.	Future marker is based on will; also Liberian, and possibly Boni. Go, and so forth, in some parts of Central American Coast.
Third-person singular object pronoun am/ ɔm/ə m; also Caymanian. Yielding to i/hi/im/him in many places.	Third-person singular object pronoun i/hi/im/him. Am in archaic Jamican.
Conditional constructed from past marker plus infinitive marker in Antigua (also Guyana and SIC).	No similar conditional except in Belize, Providencia, and San Andres. Wud(a), kud(a), shud(a) spreading elsewhere except Guinea Coast (but not Liberia) and Suriname.
Conditional based on past marker plus future marker in Guyana only. Also Krio (but not Lower Guinea), Suriname, and earlier Trinidadian.	Conditional based on past marker only in Belizean.
Benefactive gi surviving in Antigua; archaic in Bahamian and Guyanese, rare in Trinidadian (See notes for Sentence 21). Also Suriname.	Benefactive gi rare in Krio; absent elsewhere on Guinea Coast and in SIC, ASC.
Second-person plural pronoun with final low or central vowel. Also Guinea Coast, Caymans, Roatán, SIC, ASC, Bahamas: un, ɔna, wuna, yina, hənə, and so forth.	Second-person plural pronoun with high back final vowel: unu. Also Suriname. A Krio variant of una not found elsewhere in West Africa. See notes for Sentence 17.
Infinite marker fɔ/fu/fə; fi noted as variant of fu for Tobago. See sentences 20 and 41.	Infinitive marker fi common; also found in Berbice (an area settled by Jamaicans).

Holm (pers. comm.) suggests that Providencia and the Miskito Coast might have been distribution points historically for the western Caribbean Creoles since they were settled in the 1630s, some twenty years before Jamaica (1655); Jamaica, however, has had considerable later influence throughout the Caribbean, probably because of the size and mobility of its population. Belizean is historically an extension of Miskito Coast Creole (MCC), the earliest settlers coming there in 1786. The first black population taken to Panama has become Spanish speaking (Herzfeld 1980, Joly 1981), while the descendants of those who were brought in during the middle of the 19th century from Barbados, St. Lucia, and especially Jamaica to work in the fruit plantations, and later to build the railway and the canal, speak an Anglophone Creole. Jamaican migrants also settled in Limón, Costa Rica, during the same period and speak a closely related dialect (Herzfeld 1978, Holm 1983a).

Some features of Central American Coast Creole (CAC) dialects have parallels with the West African group; apart from the above-mentioned significant lexical similarities, Panama, Limón, Miskito (i.e., Nicaragua), Providencia, San Andrés, and Belize all negate the completive with never (= no + done). Shared only with Krio is the anterior equative construction in Belizean which combines the nominal copula with the past marker: Belize di gyal da mɛ wi tiiča, Krio di gyal na bin wi čiča 'the girl was our teacher', but compare Miskito Coast di gyal woz (fi-) wi tiiča, Jamaican di gyal en a (fi-) wi tiiča, Cameroonian di gel bi(n) bi wi tiča.

In Panamanian, past marker bin has gone to woz: ši woz hav plenti moni 'she had plenty of money', and negative no/na before verbals is shifting to don't: im doon dom 'he's not dumb' (Mason 1978:7–8). In Bay Islands, the past marker is had: w?n bɔi had neim Jɛk 'one boy was named Jack', hi had luk 'he looked' (Ryan 1973:132). Perhaps this marker was introduced with the speech of the Caymanians who were the first permanent settlers there in the 1830s; compare Caymanian hed in shi hed ded 'she died' (Holm 1983a:176–7). Both Panama and Bay Islands have a does habitual, probably via Barbados and St. Vincent respectively; the related dialect of Limón does not have this, and was not settled from those countries (Herzfeld 1980:228).

KRIO AND CAMEROONIAN

There is abundant evidence to indicate that Cameroonian is, in part, an offshoot of 19th century Krio, especially the variety spoken in Francophone Cameroon. In Anglophone Cameroon, the substratal influence of Nigerian Pidgin, and interference from English, are more in evidence. Differences and similarities between Krio and Cameroonian have been dealt with elsewhere (Hancock 1983), but the proximity of each to the other and to Sranan may be illustrated by the following:

	KRIO	CAMEROONIAN	SRANAN
	You should have walked		
1.	una bin go waka	wuna bi fɔ wɔka	unu ben sa waka
2.	Duck; ear; ask		
	dɔks; yes; aks	dokfawu; hɔa; as	doksi; yesi; aksi
3.	Wasp; pubic hair		
	waswas; wiriwiwi	manawa; hɛa fɔ bɛlɛ	waswasi; wi'wiri
4.	Exchange; hear; dead; foot		
	čenji; yɛri; dede; futi	čens; hia; day; fut	čenči; yere; dede; futu
5.	Outside		
	na-do	fɔ awsayt	na-doro
6.	Knife; night; bite		
	nɛf; nɛt; bɛt	nap; nat; bat	nefi; neti; beti
7.	House; jump		
	os; jomp	has; jɔm	oso; jombo
8.	Strong; long		
	tranga; langa	trɔng; lɔng	tranga; langa
9.	White; climb		
	wet; klem	wat; klam fɔ ɔp	weti; kren
10.	Work; worm		
	worok; wɔrɔm	wɔk; wɔm	woroko; woron

11. Scorpion; toadstool; nipple		
kak-tel; ɔkpɔlɔ-os; bɔbi-mɔt	sikɔpyɔn; njonjo; mɔp-fɔ-bɔbi	kruktu-tere; todo-prasoro; bobi-mofo
12. And		
ɛn	an; na	en
13. Recently		
trade	di ɔda de	trade
14. Here		
na ya	fɔ hia	d'ya (from da ya)
15. We can do it		
wi kin du am	mi-na-yu fit du am	wi kan du en
16. They are sweethearts		
dɛn na swɛtɛ	dɛm na šwitat	den na switi
17. The water which she boiled in her pail		
di wata we in bin bwɛl na in kitul	di wɔta we i bi bɔya am fɔ yi lungang	a watra di a ben bori na en ketre

The phonology of many Cameroonian forms points to an underlying Krio, rather than English, source; thus, CAM fambru 'family' is more likely to be from Krio fambul (> *fambulu > *famburu > fambru) than from English ['fæməɪj]. But it is the African, rather than the English adoptions, which are most supportive of this contention. From a list of some seventy shared non-English-derived items, those found only in indigenous Sierra Leonean or Gambian languages are listed here:

KRIO	CAMEROONIAN	ENGLISH	SOURCE
bombo	mbumbu	vulva	Sherbro; Temne
bonga	mbonga	fish species	Mende
čukčuk	čukačuka	thorn; pierce	Fula
jakato	njakatu	garden egg	Wolof
karangba	karangwa	body louse	Mandinka
krɔkrɔ	kɔrɔkɔrɔ	scabies	Vai
podapoda	padapada	struggle	Limba
pɔli	pɔli	parrot	Temne

pojo	pojo-lɔng-fut	heron	Vai
ras	las	buttocks	?Fula
saraka	sadaka	alms	Mandinka
toto	toto	vulva	Mandinka
tumbu	ntumbu	maggot	Mandinka
una	wuna	you (pl.)	?Limba; ?Serer

These were likely to have been taken into Cameroon by second-language (L2) speakers as well as by native-speaking administrators; L2 speakers articulate the /r/ phoneme as a flap rather than as the velar fricative typical of the creoles, hence, for example, its reinterpretation as a dental stop in CAM /sadaka/. Mende laborers sent to work on the railway in Cameroon in the late 19th century were so numerous that they were able to introduce their Poro Society into that country, where it still exists.

THE GUINEA COAST CREOLES AND SURINAME

In a paper presented at the 1968 conference on creole languages in Jamaica, I argued that the Suriname Creoles were more closely related to the West African group than to those of the Caribbean (Hancock 1969). Some years later, I presented further arguments in suppoort of an Upper Guinea Coast origin for the protocreole, which Gilman (1978) has called Creole A, and to which I have referred as Guinea Coast Creole English (GCCE), on the north bank of the River Gambia, the Sierra Leone River estuary, and the Sherbro Coast (Hancock 1980a, 1980b). In the 19th century, administrators and settlers from Freetown took their language to the other end of the Guinea Coast, where Krio-speaking enclaves survive today in Limbe (formerly Victoria, in Cameroon), and in Macias Nguema (formerly Santa Isabel), in Bioko (formerly Fernando Po), where it is called Poto, and in São Tomé (Sɛntɔmí in Krio). Krio influence on Cameroonian and Nigerian Pidgin as a result of the same migration has also been more or less extensive. The various forms of GCCE, which Schuchardt reported in 1892 as having been current on the coast as far south as Angola (Gilbert 1985), have been discussed in Hancock (1983).

Although Ghana has no indigenous Anglophone Creole population, and less extensive use of GCCE than elsewhere in Anglophone West Africa, African-derived items from Ghanaian languages are very widely found in Western-Hemisphere Creoles,

unlike in those spoken in West Africa itself. This suggests that, although the Gold Coast served as a major source of slaves for the Americas, it was probably not a dispersal point for GCCE, which language was not able to displace the Portuguese Pidgin already established there as the lingua franca. It also suggests that Africans arriving in the Western Hemisphere with no knowledge of GCCE acquired it from those who had preceded them. In the acquisition of the creole, slaves from the Gold Coast supplemented it with material from their own languages as did slaves from all parts of Africa, their large numbers accounting for the retention and distribution of (especially) Akan and Ewe forms throughout the western group. It is significant that none of the available sources for Ghanaian Pidgin English (Awoonor 1974, Herskovits and Herskovits 1937, Trutneau 1975, and Ziegler 1974) list the common creole (and especially West African) items don and una as occurring in that dialect.

I am proceeding with the present discussion on the assumption that the American Creoles have part of their origin, their creole component, in GCCE, and that the Dutch, as much or even more than the English, were responsible for its initial transmimssion into Guiana and the Caribbean during the first decades of the transatlantic trade. A much less likely possibility that might also be explored is that between about 1625 and 1635, the Spaniards and the Portuguese were also instrumental in bringing GCCE-speaking Africans to the Central American coast, since they monopolized both that area and the Senegambia (Rodney 1969:328). By the same means, the Portuguese could have introduced both GCCE and Portuguese Pidgin into Suriname, via northern Brazil.

Postma's 1970 study of the Dutch slave trade indicates that few records of that nation's trading in Senegambia and Sierra Leone have come down to us, although seventeen of the fifty-six Dutch voyages he documents (about 30 percent of them) as leaving from the Windward Coast were from those areas. We must be cautious about drawing too firm conclusions from too scanty data. For these unwritten languages and linguistic histories in particular, our strongest case cannot be made on the basis of formal records. Fage's observation (1969:66) supports Postma:

> By 1654 … the Dutch West India Company, retaining … Goree and posts on the mainland opposite the island … remained by far the strongest European power on the coast of Guinea. It was also the most active and best organized agent in the Atlantic slave trade.

In 1659, the Dutch West India Company took over and occupied St. Andrew's Island in the River Gambia. After 1667, when Suriname was ceded to Holland, it began shipping slaves there both from the Guinea Coast and from Angola. By 1713, two-thirds were to be by contract from Ardra (on the Gold Coast) only (Unger 1956). Between 1661 and about 1678, Dutch slaving in the Gambia was going on "free from molestation" (Gray 1940:85, Thurloe 1678:10). This was clearly a crucial time in the development of the Anglophone Creoles in Suriname. Price (1976:13) comments further:

> Even during the initial period of Suriname's colonization, the slaves—almost all of whom, except for the maroons, were later removed from Suriname—had been supplied largely by the Dutch West India Company … Up to 1663 the slave trade to Barbados was practically a Dutch monopoly … and the Dutch eagerly supplied the English planters in Suriname as well, directly from Africa.

Voorhoeve (1973, and in Voorhoeve and Lichtveld 1975) suggested that there is no evidence of an Anglophone Creole in Suriname—or West Africa—during this period, but that evidence for the existence of Portuguese Pidgin in both areas is abundant. He therefore proposed that Sranan was a relexification from it. Taylor (1977:10) agreed with this:

> Hancock (1969) and some other creolists believe that the differently based creoles stem from different African pidgins … But there is no conclusive evidence for a pidgin other than Portuguese-based being current in Africa before the eighteenth century, nor of more than one creole being spoken in Surinam before 1779. The relationship between Sranan and Saramaccan, today both English-based according to the criterion we have chosen, is of prime importance to the problem of other creoles' origin, as Voorhoeve (1973) points out.

Like a number of scholars, Taylor's suppositions rest mainly upon the fact that he was unable to locate written documentation indicating otherwise; yet an examination of the early travel accounts of Bosman, Atkins, and others does provide clues pointing to the existence of the early GCCE. All of the following items in modern Krio have been located in these 17th- and 18th-century accounts in various forms: amaka 'hammock', bare 'meeting place', bɔgbɔg 'termite', bombo 'vagina', bukman

'scholar', daš 'gratuity', fitiš 'charm', grigri 'charm', kɛkrɛbu 'die', kola 'colanut', kyanwud 'camwood', lɛfa 'type of fan', marabu 'Muslim', ɔkrɔ 'okra', pamwayn 'palm-wine', panya 'seize', pikin 'child', plaba 'contention', plasas 'a prepared dish', rɛd-wata 'liquid for trial by ordeal', tafti 'a red fabric', takin 'trousers', totonja 'loincloth', tumɔs 'very much', was-mɔt 'liquor', as well as phonological forms now obsolete (discussed below) and items now found only in the Western Creoles, such as mobby 'a drink', collilu 'a green vegetable', kambosa 'concubine', grandee 'big', and fresh 'rancid'. But evidence for a pre-1675 Anglophone Creole in Suriname may, in fact, exist in Jamaica. Ken Bilby, in probably the most important study in the field in recent years, has published, for the first time, data on the Spirit Language of the Moore Town and Scotts Hall Maroons (Bilby 1983). This appears to be a cryptolectal retention, in part, from the approximately 1000 slaves who arrived in Jamaica in 1671 and 1675 with their English owners after expulsion from Suriname by the Dutch. The African population of Jamaica at that time was about 10,000; other Surinamers went to Antigua to settle, where an archaic dialect of the local creole barely survives in the southern part of that island.

Features shared by the Suriname Creoles and Maroon Spirit Language (MSL) in Jamaica include, besides considerable lexical and phonological similarities, the following grammatical forms:

na	copula (JC a), cf. Sranan/Djuka na
sa	future marker (JC wi), cf. Sranan/Djuka sa
a	'he, she' (HC i m), cf. Sranan/Djuka/Saramaccan a
i	'you' (JC yu), cf. Sranan/Djuka i
e	progressive marker (JC (d)a, de), cf. Sranan/Djuka e
um	'who?' (JC huu), cf. Sranan osuma
ufa	'how?' (JC ou), cf. Djukaɔ̃fa
onti	'what?', 'which?' (JC wara), cf. Djuka ondi

It is also quite probable that the Dutch brought some Portuguese-Pidgin-speaking Africans into Suriname too (as they did from Java into the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa). The large number of specifically Ewe and KiKóongo items in Saramaccan points to areas on the West African coast where the Dutch and the Portuguese were both trading. Cooper (1984:17), utilizing the work of Ferraz, has suggested that the Portuguese element in Saramaccan is of Angolar Creole origin, and that "the Angolares would more likely have come from Saõ Tomé

or from Angola in the early 1600s on Dutch ships.” Goodman (this volume) has drawn attention to the significance of the Portuguese-speaking Jewish slave owners in Suriname for the retention of Saramaccan. This is likely to have arrived as a non-native language, as did GCCE; from the componential approach this may be seen, in the process of nativization and expansion, as having drawn upon the coexistent Anglophone Creole, with the speakers of whom the Jewish-owned slaves socialized extensively. Presumably marronage and the decline of Jewish influence hastened this process.

There are very many grammatical and lexical features shared by modern Krio and Sranan, and they were certainly greater three centuries ago. Ninety years ago, Schuchardt (1893:16) wrote that “to be sure, [Krio] did not grow on the spot … but rather it was transplanted from American by means of the freed slaves who settled in Sierra Leone and Liberia starting at the end of the 18th century.” Other proponents of this notion are quoted in Hancock (1980b:247–8), and most recently it has been upheld by Boretzky (1983:45–6):

> Krio … did not, however, originate on the West African coast, but developed in America, and was brought by the returning freed slaves who came to Africa.

Apart from the existence of actual samples of GCCE recorded prior to the arrival of the Jamaican Maroons in 1800 (e.g., in Smith, Crow, Falconbridge, Matthews, and others; see also Dillard 1979 and Hancock 1969:12–3 and especially forthcoming), if Krio were an American Creole, it would have had to modify some of its essential grammar, and acquire independently the large number of lexical, structural, and phonological features it shares with Sranan, as well as losing significant vowel length and acquiring tone. There is no evidence of any Sranan speakers going to live in Sierra Leone, and the absence of any Dutch items in GCCE, apparent in the earliest Sranan texts—though not in MSL—supports this.

Unlike Jamaican, both Sranan and Krio share adverbial forms such as Krio wantɛm, sɔntɛm, ɔltɛm, trade; Sranan wanten, sonten, alaten, trade; ‘immediately’, ‘perhaps’, ‘always’, ‘recently’ (Jamaican nou-nou, myebi, aalwiez, tedadie). Grammatically, modern Krio and modern Sranan both share a conditional construction formed by combining past and future markers (discussed above for Belizean; see also sentence 31). Both have nominal copula na, not found elsewhere in the

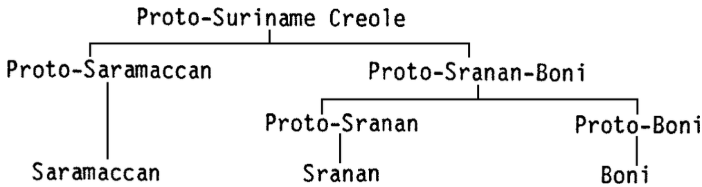
Western Hemisphere outside of Suriname except in Virgin Islands Creole Dutch and Jamaican MSL. In addition, both share the same functions of aspectual de, not occurring, or else very restricted, in Jamaican and other western dialects. Specific combinations or new uses of English-source morphemes are found in each where no model exists in the lexifier language itself, for example, kɔmɔt/komoto 'be from (a place)' (from come out); this process is discussed for the pan-creole item papisho in Hancock (1985c).

Phonologically, Krio forms, some of them archaic, with acquired final vowels all have parallels or near-parallels in the Suriname Creoles: arata, disi, drinki, drɔngɔ, fredi, futi, grandi, gɔdu, gudi, gudu, mata, meki, supi, tiki, yɛri ('rat', 'this', 'drink', 'drunk', 'afraid', 'foot', 'big', 'god', 'good', 'good', 'mat', 'make', 'stew', 'tree', 'hear'; Sranan alata, disi, drinki, drungu, frede, futu, grandi, gado, gudu, gudu, mata, meki, supu, tiki yere). Other phonological parallels have been discussed in Hancock (1969, 1971). As stated above, shared African-derived items are a more convincing indication of common origin than shared English-derived ones. Some of these include Krio bo mã, brokobak, dɛgɛdɛgɛ, fukfuk, gongongong, jagajaga, jɔnkɔ̃, lawlaw, pima, sɔkisɔki ('boa constrictor', 'vine species', 'shaky', 'lungs', 'gullet', 'untidy', 'nod head', 'foolish', 'vagina', 'copulate'; Sranan aboma, brokobaka degedege, fukufuku, gorogoro, jagajaga, jonko, lawlaw, pima, soki), and calques such as Krio a tek gɔd beg yu (an expression of surprise, Sranan mi teki Gado begi yu) tik- an, ɔnda-an, pima-yes ('branches', 'armpit', 'labia'; Sranan tik'anu, ondr'anu, pima-yesi). Such lists could be extended considerably.

The late Jan Voorhoeve, who was also becoming attracted to the possibility of a GCCE input into Sranan, related a story (pers. comm.) which he collected in Suriname in which Mende-kondre (i.e., Mende country, in Sierre Leone) is referred to as the original home from which two daughters searching for their mother, who was taken into slavery, eventually arrived in Suriname.

Smith (1977a; 1977b; 1978) has divided the Suriname Creoles on the basis of historical and phonological evidence in the following way (1977a:23):

This differs from my own chart (and from the classifications of Voorhoeve and Goodman) in its inclusion of Saramaccan, which, for reasons given above, I believe to belong to the Por-



tuguese group in terms of its core of direct retention. Smith (1977a) also refers to Krio, which he believes to be the most closely related creole to the Suriname group (pers. comm.).

MULTIPLE INFLUENCE

I have noted here and there throughout this essay that many of the features associated with a particular creole, or group of creoles, also turn up elsewhere; almost none of the features discussed here are restricted exclusively to the creoles with which they have been associated. Indeed, if this were not so, the argument being made here would be considerably weakened. For example, although unu 'you (pl.)' is associated with Suriname and the Western Caribbean, it is found in West African Krio (but not elsewhere in the African group). Conversely, una is recorded from Jamaica, where the West African aspect marker de and third-person pronoun am may also be found. Boni (Aluku), spoken in French Guiana and Suriname, may have a will-derived future marker comparable to Western Caribbean wi or Liberian wu. Hurault (1952:47) has yu wo meki 'you will make', and mi be wo koti 'I should have cut'. This might be a development from o (from go) (compare Saramaccan wodu 'house', but note Sranan oso, Boni ošu), although Voorhoeve and Kramp (1982:7) discuss a will future which might have existed in Sranan.

Archaic Guyanese retains a as a form of the definite article, like the Anglophone Creoles in neighboring Suriname. In the conservative and moribund dialect of southern Antigua, the definite article has the form i (see Sentence 42). In the same dialect, the third person singular object pronoun is om, as in St. Vincent, St. Kitts, and Nevis; the progressive marker is de; 'whose' is fuda; and the complementizer se is retained. Elsewhere in the island, the corresponding forms are di, im/š i, a, huufa, and ø (Farquar 1974:15–6). Barbadian and Guyanese are alone in having om/ʌm possible in subject position: BAR om iz

a boi 'it's a boy', GUY wisaid ʌm dɛ? 'where is it'", which may be compared with Virgin Islands Creole Dutch am ([ɒm]) which has the same syntactic function: wape am bi? 'where is it?'.

Krio has a construction with copula a in highlighter position: a vɛks i vɛks 'he's angry', a fid a fɔ fid am 'I must feed him', and so forth, although this occurs nowhere else in the language, and like unu may be an introduction from Jamaican Creole.

A sample of Trinidadian Creole from 1845 (Warner 1967:151) contains some extremely basilectal forms: you no want me take out da jigga no me foot, na?; Close na Arima de; Clay na Backra house yandar; da yarra one; You no yerry wa dem been da say?, and so forth. This might suggest rapid metropolitanization, since even the most basilectal modern equivalents would admit few of these forms: yu doo wont mi tu teek out da jiga iin mi fut, no?; kloos bai Ariima de; klea tu di bakra hous yonda; dat neks? wan; yu ee hea wa de di seyen? The fact, however, that the entire text contains only one or two of the expected Creole French elements which characterize modern Trinidadian, and that it appeared in print at the height of the influx of immigrants from the islands further north and from Sierra Leone ("Sara Loney boys" are, in fact, mentioned by another author cited by Winer, in press), obliges us to be cautious about accepting the validity of such sources as representing the established speech of the community in which they were recorded. The same must hold true for other territories; while historical and linguistic evidence indicates clearly that the creole component in the formation of the dialect of Barbados was small, Cassidy and others continue to argue for an earlier form of the language so basilectal that it provided the origins of Sranan. The same writer defends the contemporary, English-like form of the language by maintaining that its speakers "decreolized sooner and more fully than did other West Indians" (Cassidy 1980:14). He is apparently unmindful of the fact that increasing anglicization of the supposed original creole would have had to have gone hand in hand with the steadily increasing Africanization of the population during the first few decades of settlement. If we account for the nature of Barbadian componentially in the matrix of what we know of its social history, the extent of its metropolitan English component, compared with the majority of other Caribbean dialects, can be more easily accounted for.

The na form of the preposition, written both <no> and <na> in the above sample from Trinidad, is not restricted to Krio, Suriname, and MSL, but was more widespread at an earlier

time in the Caribbean. A text from Jamaica dated 1823 (Williams 1826:108) contains the line Debbil catch you, put you na bilbo, and the same form occurs several times in an early text from St. Kitts: a cum na me house—a poem dating from at least 1786, reproduced in Day (1852[II]:121–2). From 19th century Guyanese, McTurk (1881:64) has when awe bin come na Ginny. None of these creoles has this form today, although Jamaican and Belizean both have iina, from which na probably derives (cf. SIC iinə ‘in’). Copula na, today only in West Africa and Suriname, turns up in what might be archaic Afro-Seminole Creole in a poem reproduced by Kloe (1974:82): nusso grandy hungry do you, ‘that’s how great hunger affected you’ (cf. Sranan na so grandi angri du yu).

During the late 1700s, the population of St. Croix increased by one and a half times, due mainly to settlers from the Leewards (Sprauve 1977:26). The Crucian dialect differs substantially from the other U.S. Virgin Islands dialects of St. John and St. Thomas, which were not subject to the same migration. The Crucian dialect may prove to share common immediate-origin features, therefore, with SIC, which appears to be most closely related to the Leeward Islands dialects.

While Jamaican is outside of the DO-modal group, recent samples of it indicate that do-forms are beginning to alternate with (b)en and (d)a. A folktale recorded in Millbank in 1958 begins wan taim, a wuman did av wan son an wan daata ... and Ken Bilby (pers. comm.) reports that the forms did and did a are in common free variation with min and min a even in the very conservative dialect of the Moore Town Maroons. A line in Trinity’s “Soul and Devotion” runs di gyal doz a magl fi mi, indicative of change of function as well as form,while Sutcliffe (1982:100) shows that in immigrant Jamaican Creole spoken by people of Jamaican ancestry born in Britain, (b)en has become replaced by did or woz.

Benefactive give, common in the Atlantic Francophone Creoles, survives in the Suriname Creoles and in Antigua (kom mi du om gi yu; let me do it for you’, Farquar 1974:85) and Carriacou (klouz di windou gi mi ‘close the window for me’, Kephart 1980:55) after such verbs as sing, do, send, and so forth (see Sentence 21). Elsewhere it is maintained in serial constructions only where it is semantically more acceptable in English, for example, after verbs like buy, bring, and so on. In Krio it occurs, but is rare: yu bin lai gi mi ‘you told me a lie’. It was more in evidence in earlier times, as indicated by its presence in Bahamian (Parsons 1918:53): They fry cake ... give

him, in Guyanese (McTurk 1881:77): fo' go write hebby lettah sen' gi'e you 'to go and write a serious letter to send to you', and in Trinidad from 1845 (Winer, in press): when he been sel da lan ge am 'when he sold the land to him'. I have recorded it in contemporary Trinidadian only in the Anglophone speech of a speaker of Trinidad Creole French, upon which it might have been calqued: im wink i yai gi shi 'he winked his eye at her', compare TCF (i) fɛ yɔ̃ ku-zye du bai i (Hancock 1985). The same is true in, for example, ASC, SIC, Black English, Liberian, and others for complementizer say, which in common creole can head subordinate clauses following such verbs as prove, believe, and so forth, but which in these has become conditioned by English semantic requirements—only after such verbs as hear or tell.

A widely distributed particle, with different functions (and quite possibly different origins) is sə/s? occurring here in Liberian in Sentences 3 and 5, and in Norfolk Island Creole in Sentences 26, 27, 28, and 30. It has also been recorded in Trinidadian she suh ain today story 'she's not today's story', that is, 'she's old', and Tobagonian you suh nuh fuh talk 'you shouldn't talk', you suh good fuh wake 'you are too talkative' (Ottley 1967:77, 78, 94) and in Guyanese: sa who he a call nagah? 'who's he calling nigger?' (McTurk 1881:90), which Rickford (1978:204) calls an auxiliary verb used as a topicalizing or emphasis marker. Ross and Moverley include wi sə glad 'we're glad' and dɛm sə slai 'they're unwilling' in Pitcairnese (1964:162) from which the Norfolk use is derived.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF DATES

Actual connected texts in the Anglophone Creoles have not been located which date from before the early 1700s. The Herlein fragment for Sranan was recorded in 1718; and while references to conversations with English-speaking Africans in the Gambia were recorded as early as 1620, the first sentence in the local pidgin did not appear in print until a century after that. Taylor, Voorhoeve, Naro, and others have put a great deal of stock in the nonavailability of written texts as an indication of the nonexistence of a language or speech community in a given area, circumstantial evidence to the contrary notwithstanding. English itself was not recorded in print until two or three hundred years after it had been spoken in England; the first documentation of Romani was made in 1547, though the

language is a direct descendant from Sanskrit. By the above reasoning, one would have to suppose that such languages did not exist prior to these dates in the countries in which they were recorded. Accounts of the arrival of both the Saxons and the Romanies in the British Isles had been made when those events were happening; it was only the linguistic details which were filled in later.

I am attempting, in this study, to put into perspective some of the problems we are dealing with in our efforts to unravel Atlantic Creole history: the extent to which undocumented suppositions must be bolstered by creole reconstruction, internal as well as external, and to which known sociohistorical events correspond. We must ascertain which features in some creoles are retentions of what have become obsolete in others, or have been introduced more recently from outside or else have developed independently within them. These things will be ascertained only through rigorous comparative study. The fifty sentences which follow constitute an organon for continuing work in this direction.

COMPARATIVE DATA

1. THREE OF HIS FRIENDS WERE THERE (Locative de; pluralization; possession)

1. SARAMACCAN	dii mati f’ ɛ̃ bi de ala
2. MATAWAI	dii mati fi ẽ bi de ala
3. KWINTI	dii fu ẽ mati be de de
4. BONI (ALUKU)	dii mati fi ẽ be de de
5. PARAMACCAN	dii f’ ẽ mati be de
6. DJUKA	dii mati fu ẽ be de de
7. SRANAN	dri fu ẽ mati ben de de
8. GUYANA	tri a i mati bɩn dɛ dɛ / tri a i frɛn dɩ dɛ
9. CAMEROON	tri fɔ yi kɔmbi bi de de
10. NIGERIA	tri fɔ hĩ frɛ̃ bin de de
11. KRIO	tri ĩ padi bin de de / tri pã ĩ padi bin de de
12. BAHAMAS	tri æn i frɛn bɩn dɛ
13. SEA ISLANDS	tri ə hi frɛn bɩn dɛ de
14. AFRO-SEMINOLE	tri ə i frɩən bɩn de de
15. LIBERIA	tri hɩ frɛ̃ɛ̃ w? dɛ
16. BLACK ENGLISH	trɩy ə hɩ frɩə̃ w? dɛə
17. PROVIDENCIA	fɩ-hɩm trii frɛn mɛ de

18. BELIZE	tri a fɩ-ɩ frɛn mi dɩ dɛ / tri a ɩ frɛn dɩ dɛ
19. CAYMANS	trii i frɛnz wɔr de
20. JAMAICA	tri a fɩ-ɩm frɛn ɛn de de / tri a ɩm frɛn ɛn de de
21. ST. THOMAS	tri a hi frɛn dɛm wʌz de
22. ST. EUSTATIUS	tri ə hi frɛn wαz dɛʌ
23. SABA	θrii αv hɩz frɛənz wɔz ðiʌ
24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS	tri a hi frɛn dɛm bɩn de de
25. ANTIGUA	tri hɩ frɛn mɩn de de
26. ST. VINCENT	trii a hi frɛn bɩn dɛ dɛ
27. CARRIACOU	tri a i frɛn di de / tri a i frɛn an dɛm di de
28. GRENADA	trii αv hi frɛnz wɔz de
29. TOBAGO	črii a hi frɛn ɩn de de
30. BARBADOS	trii ə hi frɛn dɩ de
31. TRINIDAD	tri ə hi frɛn dɩ de
32. NORFOLK IS.	θrii ɔ hɩz frɛn dɛɛʌ
33. HAWAII	čri ɔv hɩz frɛn bɩn ste oowə dɛa

NP + Prep + NP possession also possible in SIC: That house is for Mrs. Washington 'That is Mrs. Washington's house' (Cunningham 1971:41), Carriacou: Matilda fo tanti Mol 'Aunt Merle's child Matilda' (Kephart 1980:56), and Liberian: The cow for the Chief 'The chief's cow' (Singler 1981:77). Falconbridge (1802:82) recorded peginine no for me '(it's) not my child' in Sierra Leone in 1791. This syntactic pattern is characteristic of northern British dialects (cf. Brilioth 1913:100, §397).

2. MY FATHER'S HOUSE (Possessive construction NP + NP)

1. SARAMACCAN	mi tata wosu
2. MATAWAI	mi tata wosu
3. KWINTI	mi tata oso / a oso fu mi tata
4. BONI (ALUKU)	mi t'ta ošu / a ošu fu mi t'ta
5. PARAMACCAN	mi p'pa osu / a osu fu mi p'pa
6. DJUKA	a osu fu mi dəda
7. SRANAN	mi p'pa oso
8. GUYANA	mɩ fada ʌos
9. CAMEROON	ma fada yi has
10. NIGERIA	ma fada hĩ haos
11. KRIO	mi dadi os / mi papa os / mi papa ĩ os
12. BAHAMAS	ma fadə hæos
13. SEA ISLANDS	mɩ dadi hoos / də hoos fə mɩ dadi
14. AFRO-SEMINOLE	mi daadɩ hʌos
15. LIBERIA	ma dædɛ hao

16. BLACK ENGLISH ma fααvə hæos
17. PROVIDENCIA fι mι faada haos / mι faada hɔos
18. BELIZE mi fada hus
19. CAYMANS mι fααdʌz hɔos
20. JAMAICA fι mι faada hɔos / mι faada hɔos / mι popaa hɔos
21. ST. THOMAS mι faada haos
22. ST. EUSTATIUS mʌι dadi hɒos
23. SABA mʌι fααðʌz hɔos
24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS mι fααdʌ hoos
25. ANTIGUA mι faada hʔos
26. ST. VINCENT mι faada hʔos
27. CARRIACOU mi fada hʔos
28. GRENADA mι faada hʔos
29. TOBAGO mι faadʌ hʔos
30. BARBADOS mʌι fααdə hɔos / mə fααdə hʔos
31. TRINIDAD mι faadʌ hoos
32. NORFOLK IS. α hœYs fə mʌιs fααdʌs / mʌιs fααdʌs hœYs
33. HAWAII maι fada haos

3. **HE’S MY PARTNER** (Nominal copula)

1. SARAMACCAN hɛn da wan kɔmpɛ ’u mi /mi ku ɛ̃ ta wooko makandi
2. MATAWAI mi mati disi
3. KWINTI a mi mati
4. BONI (ALUKU) na mi kompe
5. PARAMACCAN na m’ mati
6. DJUKA na mi kompe
7. SRANAN na mi kompe / na mi mati
8. GUYANA i mι kompe / i mι mati / i mι paadna
9. CAMEROON na ma kʔmbi
10. NIGERIA na ma frɛn
11. KRIO na mi kʔmpin / na mi padna
12. BAHAMAS i a ma padnə /i ιz ma padnə / i dæs ma padnə
13. SEA ISLANDS hĩ də mι paadnʌ
14. AFRO-SEMINOLE i də mι pʌdnʌ
15. LIBERIA hi sʌ mʌ padna / hi mʌ padna
16. BLACK ENGLISH hιy ma pααdna**??**
17. PROVIDENCIA hιm a mι paadna
18. BELIZE da mi paadna
19. CAYMANS i mι paadnə
20. JAMAICA ιm a mι paadna / ιm a fι-mι paadna
21. ST. THOMAS hii z mι paadna
22. ST. EUSTATIUS hi z mʌι paadnʌ

23. SABA	hii z mʌɩ pαrtnαr
24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS	hɩ mɩ pααdnə
25. ANTIGUA	hi bi mɩ paadna / hi a mɩ paadna
26. ST. VINCENT	hi a fo-mɩ padnʌ
27. CARRIACOU	i ɩz mɩ padna / i ɩz mɩ kɔmpɛ
28. GRENADA	hi z mɩ paadna
29. TOBAGO	hi a mɩ padna
30. BARBADOS	hi ɩz mə pαrtnə
31. TRINIDAD	hi mɩ paadnʌ
32. NORFOLK IS.	hi ɛs mʌɩs pαα?nʌ
33. HAWAII	hi maɩ patna

Matawai speaker rejected kompe and na mi mati. A children's rhyme in Krio contains the lines mi iya na blak, mi sus na pink 'my hair is black, my shoes are pink', but this use of na is not usual. Similarly it may be deleted in, for example, tide us de? 'what day is today?', tide mi bafde 'today is my birthday'. Gullah has ai di bigis 'I'm the biggest'.

4. WHERE IS HE? (Nominal-derived adverbial; locative de)

1. SARAMACCAN	na asɛ a de
2. MATAWAI	si a de
3. KWINTI	ope a de
4. BONI (ALUKU)	ompe a de / pe a de
5. PARAMACCAN	pe a de / pya de
6. DJUKA	pe a de
7. SRANAN	ope a de / na usai a de
8. GUYANA	wɩsaɩd ʌm dɛ / we ɩ dɛ
9. CAMEROON	hi de fɔ husai
10. NIGERIA	i de husai
11. KRIO	na usai i de / we i de / we am
12. BAHAMAS	wɛ i dɛ / wɛ i ɩz
13. SEA ISLANDS	wɩsai i de / wɛ i de
14. AFRO-SEMINOLE	də wɩsɛ i de
15. LIBERIA	hwɛ e æ?
16. BLACK ENGLISH	wɛɛ i ɛ?
17. PROVIDENCIA	uč paat ĩ de
18. BELIZE	we i dɛ
19. CAYMANS	we i ɩz
20. JAMAICA	wɛpaat ɩm de / we ɩm de
21. ST. THOMAS	wɩ paat hi ɩz (St. John wɩ paat hi bi)
22. ST. EUSTATIUS	wɛʌ hi ɩz
23. SABA	wɛɛ əz i

24.	ST. KITTS/NEVIS	wɛ ɩ bi /wɛ hi
25.	ANTIGUA	we i de
26.	ST. VINCENT	a wɩčpaat hi de
27.	CARRIACOU	we i de / we ɩm
28.	GRENADA	wɛ i dɛ
29.	TOBAGO	we i i de
30.	BARBADOS	wɩčplees i ɩz / wɩčplees ɔm ɩz / wɛ i ɩz
31.	TRINIDAD	wɩčpaat i ɩz / wɛɛ i ɩz
32.	NORFOLK IS.	wees hɛm
33.	HAWAII	wɛ hi ste

Note occurrence of ʌm in Guyanese, possibly a Bajanism of Creole Dutch origin; see discussion above, also Burrowes (1980:7) and Niles (1980:115). For influence of Barbadian on Guyanese, see Cruickshank (1916), and for Dutch in Barbados, Williams (1983a). Matawai speaker rejected naase a de? as Saramaccan.

5. SHE'S ALL RIGHT (Verbal copula)

1.	SARAMACCAN	a dɛ bumbuu / a dɛ wãsɛwãsɛ
2.	MATAWAI	a de bunbuu
3.	KWINTI	a bun
4.	BONI (ALUKU)	a de bun / a de bumbun
5.	PARAMACCAN	a bun / a de bun
6.	DJUKA	a de bumbun
7.	SRANAN	a oreit
8.	GUYANA	i dɛ god / i aaraɩt
9.	CAMEROON	hi de wɛl
10.	NIGERIA	hi de wɛl
11.	KRIO	i ɔrait / i wɛl
12.	BAHAMAS	ši ɔraɩt
13.	SEA ISLANDS	i ɔrɒɩt
14.	AFRO-SEMINOLE	i ɔrʌɩt
15.	LIBERIA	ši sʌ ɔraa / ši ɔraa
16.	BLACK ENGLISH	šiy owræt?
17.	PROVIDENCIA	ɩm aahraɩt
18.	BELIZE	i aalraɩt / ši aalraɩt
19.	CAYMANS	ši ɔɔrɒɩt
20.	JAMAICA	ɩm aaraɩt
21.	ST. THOMAS	ši aaraɩt
22.	ST. EUSTATIUS	ši ɔɔlrɒɩt
23.	SABA	šii z oraɩ?
24.	ST. KITTS/NEVIS	ši aalraɩt

25.	ANTIGUA	i araɩt
26.	ST. VINCENT	hi araɩt
27.	CARRIACOU	ši de / ši de araɩt / ši de god
28.	GRENADA	ši araɩt
29.	TOBAGO	ši araɩt
30.	BARBADOS	ši ɔɔrʌɩ?
31.	TRINIDAD	ši ɔraɩt
32.	NORFOLK IS.	ši ɔɔlrɒɩt / ši wæəl
33.	HAWAII	ši okee

In Guyanese, ši de gud refers to physical state, and ši aarait to personality.

6. NOTHING'S HAPPENING (Negation of nothing; existential there's)

1.	SARAMACCAN	na wan sani ta pasa
2.	MATAWAI	na wã soni ta pasa
3.	KWINTI	na wan sani e pasa
4.	BONI (ALUKU)	na wan sani e pasa
5.	PARAMACCAN	na wan sani na e pasa
6.	DJUKA	na wan sani e pasa
7.	SRANAN	nɔti n' e pasa
8.	GUYANA	nʌtn na a apm
9.	CAMEROON	nati no di hapɛn
10.	NIGERIA	nɔtiŋ no de hapɛn
11.	KRIO	natin nɔ de apin
12.	BAHAMAS	ɛ̃ nətn æpnɩn
13.	SEA ISLANDS	ẽẽ nʌtn də hapm
14.	AFRO-SEMINOLE	nʌtɩn nʌ də hapɩn
15.	LIBERIA	nɔtɩn ẽẽ hæpənĩ
16.	BLACK ENGLISH	ẽẽ nəfĩ hæp?nɩn / ɩd ẽẽ nəfĩ hæp?nɩn
17.	PROVIDENCIA	nɔtn hapnɩn
18.	BELIZE	nɔtn nɔ de hapm
19.	CAYMANS	nʌtɩn hapnɩn
20.	JAMAICA	nɔtn na a apm
21.	ST. THOMAS	t een gɑ nʌtn hapnɩn
22.	ST. EUSTATIUS	nʌθɩn hæpnɩn
23.	SABA	dɛəz nʌtn hæpnɛn
24.	ST. KITTS/NEVIS	nʌtn na a hapm
25.	ANTIGUA	nɔtn nʌ de apm
26.	ST. VINCENT	nɔtn na a apm
27.	CARRIACOU	nɔtn apnɩn
28.	GRENADA	nɔtn apnɛn

29. TOBAGO	nɔtn n’ a apm
30. BARBADOS	nʌtn en hapənɩn
31. TRINIDAD	nʌtɩn ee hapnɛn / ɩt ee ha nʌtɩn gɔɛn ɔn
32. NORFOLK IS.	nʌθin hapnɛn
33. HAWAII	natɩn hæpɛnɩn

Unlike SIC, negating no has not gone to ain’t in ASC probably because it is blocked by its homophonous future-marker ɛn (from gwɛn). The occurrence of Jamaican past-marker ɛn (from bɛn) has constrained the development of the same negative in that creole, though it is widespread elsewhere in the Caribbean.

7. THEY’RE NOT LIKE THAT (Preverbal negator)

1. SARAMACCAN	de an dɛ so
2. MATAWAI	dẽ an tan kuma dati
3. KWINTI	de an tan eki dati
4. BONI (ALUKU)	den na tan eke dati
5. PARAMACCAN	de ã tan eke dati / de ã tan so
6. DJUKA	den na e tan so
7. SRANAN	den no tan lek dati
8. GUYANA	dɛm na stan laka da / dɛm na stan sʌ / dɛm na dɛ so
9. CAMEROON	dɛm no bi lak dat
10. NIGERIA	dɛm no bi lak dat
11. KRIO	dɛn nɔ tan lɛkɛ dat
12. BAHAMAS	dɛ na stæn so / dɛ ɛ̃ stæn so / dɛ ɛ̃ laɩk dæ?
13. SEA ISLANDS	dɛn nʌ staan lʌkə dat
14. AFRO-SEMINOLE	dɛn nʌ staan lʌkə dat
15. LIBERIA	de ẽ la da
16. BLACK ENGLISH	deɩ dõõ bɩy læk dæ?
17. PROVIDENCIA	dɛm no siɛm laɩk dat
18. BELIZE	dɛm da no laɩk dat / dɛm no stan laɩk dat
19. CAYMANS	de na lɒɩk dat
20. JAMAICA	dɛm no tan so
21. ST. THOMAS	de een laɩk da
22. ST. EUSTATIUS	de eɩn lɒɩk dat
23. SABA	dɩ3 nɒ? lɒɩ? dɑ?
24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS	dɛm nʌ tan so / dɛm nʌ tap so / dɛm nʌ lɑɩk dɑt
25. ANTIGUA	dɛm no bi so / dɛm no tan so / dɛm no tap so
26. ST. VINCENT	dɛ na lɛk dat / dɛ na tan so
27. CARRIACOU	nat so de dɔz de
28. GRENADA	de ẽ laɩk dat
29. TOBAGO	dɛm na tan so
30. BARBADOS	dɛm een lʌɩ? ðæ?

31. TRINIDAD dɛm doo bi so / dɛm ee so
32. NORFOLK IS. dɛm nɔɔ dat we
33. HAWAII de nɑ? laɩ da?

In Belizean, stan from is rare. Boni informant rejected den na e tan so as clearly being Djuka.

8. SHE SEES HER BROTHER (ON WEEKENDS) (Habitual aspect)

1. SARAMACCAN a ta si di baaa f’ ɛ̃
2. MATAWAI a ta si en baala
3. KWINTI a e si en baala
4. BONI (ALUKU) a e ši en baala
5. PARAMACCAN a e ši ẽ baala
6. DJUKA a e si en baala
7. SRANAN a e si en brara
8. GUYANA i a si i brʌdʌ / ši dʌz si ši brʌdʌ
9. CAMEROON hi di si yi mbrɔda
10. NIGERIA hi de si hi burɔda
11. KRIO i de si ĩ brɔda / i kin si ĩ brɔda / i blant si ĩ brɔda
12. BAHAMAS i dɔz si i brɛdə / i əz si i brɛdə
13. SEA ISLANDS i də si i brɛɾə / i dəz si i brɛɾə / i blã si i brɛɾə
14. AFRO-SEMINOLE i də si i brʌdə
15. LIBERIA ši dɔ si hɔ brɛdə / ši kɛ̃ si hɔ brɛdə
16. BLACK ENGLISH šɩy siiyĩ hɚ brəvə
17. PROVIDENCIA ɩm si ɩm braada
18. BELIZE i si ĩ brɛda
19. CAYMANS ši si əˆəˆ brɔdə
20. JAMAICA ɩm si ɩm brɛda
21. ST. THOMAS ši dʌz si hɑ brʌda
22. ST. EUSTATIUS ši si ši brʌdə / ši si həˆ brʌdə
23. SABA ši si həˆəˆ brʌdə
24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS ši dʌz si ši brɛda
25. ANTIGUA i de si i brɛda
26. ST. VINCENT hi ɔz sii hi brrda
27. CARRIACOU ši dɔz si ši brɔda
28. GRENADA ši dɔz si həˆ brɛda
29. TOBAGO ši dɔz si ši brɛda
30. BARBADOS ši dʌz sii həˆ brʌðə
31. TRINIDAD ši dʌz si ši brɛdʌ / ši əz si ši brɛdʌ
32. NORFOLK IS. ši yuusə sii həˆ brɑðə
33. HAWAII ši sii həˆəˆ brada

St. Kitts-Nevis also has dʌz a:ši dʌz a sii ši brɛda ‘she is usually seeing her brother’. Barbadian has də today only in St. Philip and St. George parishes, but earlier texts indicate that this was once much more widespread. In Black English, another possibility, viz. šiy biy sivĩ hɜ brəvə exists, and answers the question “what is she doing here this morning?.” In Bay Islands Creole, it appears to be indicated by do/does and be; the following were all recorded by Ryan (1973:131–2): də sii du kʌm frəm də nɔrt said, də kʌm frəm də saut said ‘the sea comes from the north (and) from the south’, ɛn hi dʌz kɔɔl ma ‘and he calls mother’, də man də gɛt nou čeindž ‘the man has no change’, and dɛi bi drifin in də sii ‘they’re drifting in the sea’. For Samaná (Dominican) Black English, De Bose (1984:1) records I been hearin nowadays plenty.

9. SHE SEES HER BROTHER (BY THE DOOR) (Punctual/progressive aspect)

1.	SARAMACCAN	a ta si di baaa f’ ɛ̃
2.	MATAWAI	a ta si en baala
3.	KWINTI	a e si en baala
4.	BONI (ALUKU)	a e ši en baala
5.	PARAMACCAN	a e ši ẽ baala
6.	DJUKA	a e si en baala
7.	SRANAN	a e si en brara
8.	GUYANA	i si i brʌdʌ / ši si ši brʌdʌ
9.	CAMEROON	hi di si yi mblɔda
10.	NIGERIA	hi de si hi burɔda
11.	KRIO	i de si ĩ brɔda
12.	BAHAMAS	i si ɩn brɛda
13.	SEA ISLANDS	i də si i brɛɾə
14.	AFRO-SEMINOLE	i də si i brʌdə
15.	LIBERIA	ši lɛ sii hɔ brɛdə / ši siyẽ hɔ brɛdə
16.	BLACK ENGLISH	šɩy sɩy hɚbrəvə / šɩy sɩyz hɚ brəvə
17.	PROVIDENCIA	ɩm si ɩm braada
18.	BELIZE	i si ɩm brɛda
19.	CAYMANS	ši si əˆəˆ brɔdə
20.	JAMAICA	ɩm si ɩm brɛda
21.	ST. THOMAS	ši siiyɩn hα brʌda
22.	ST. EUSTATIUS	ši si ši brʌdə / ši si həˆ brʌdə
23.	SABA	ši si həˆəˆ brʌdə
24.	ST. KITTS/NEVIS	ši si ši brɛda
25.	ANTIGUA	i si i brɛda
26.	ST. VINCENT	hi sii hi brɛda

27. CARRIACOU ši si ši brɔda / ši siiɪn ši brɔda
28. GRENADA ši siiyɪn həˆ brɛda
29. TOBAGO ši si ši brɛda
30. BARBADOS ši si həˆ brʌðə
31. TRINIDAD ši siiyɛn ši brɛdʌ
32. NORFOLK IS. ši ɛl si həˆ brɑðə
33. HAWAII ši ste sii həˆəˆ brada

Krio and Liberian forms both answer (a) "what is she doing now?" and (b) "what does she usually do?". Older Krio has *brada*. Final /-z/ in Black English is aspectual, and not a marker of person or number (i.e., *I sees her brother* is also possible).

10. HIS MOTHER IS CALLING HIM (Possessive pronominal forms; punctual/progressive aspect)

1. SARAMACCAN hɛ̃ m'ma ta kai ɛ̃
2. MATAWAI ẽ mama ta kai ẽ
3. KWINTI en mama e kai en
4. BONI (ALUKU) en m'ma e kali en
5. PARAMACCAN ẽ m'ma e kal ẽ
6. DJUKA e mama e kai en
7. SRANAN en m'ma e kari en
8. GUYANA i momaa a. kaal am / i mʌdə kɔɔlɪn i
9. CAMEROON yi mama di kɔl hi
10. NIGERIA hi mama de kɔl am
11. KRIO ĩ mama de kɔl am
12. BAHAMAS i maa kɔlɪn əm
13. SEA ISLANDS i mʌmə də kɒɒləm
14. AFRO-SEMINOLE i mʌmə də kɒɒl əm
15. LIBERIA hɪ maa kɔɔlĩ hĩ
16. BLACK ENGLISH hɪy məvə kɒɒliyn ɪym
17. PROVIDENCIA fɪ ɪm maada de kaal ɪm
18. BELIZE in mada de kaal hĩ / fɪ in mada de kaal hĩ
19. CAYMANS i mʌdə kɔɔlɪn am
20. JAMAICA ɪm momaa a kaal ɪm / fɪ ɪm momaa kaalɪn ɪm
21. ST. THOMAS hi mʌda kaalɪn hɪm
22. ST. EUSTATIUS hi mʌmə kɑɑlɪn ɪm
23. SABA hɪz mʌdʌ z ə kaalɪn ɪm
24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS ɪ mʌmɑ a kaal ʌm
25. ANTIGUA hi mada de kaal ɔm
26. ST. VINCENT hi mama a kaal ɔm
27. CARRIACOU i mɔda kaalɪn ɪm
28. GRENADA hi mada kaalɛn ɪm

29. TOBAGO hi mada a kaal am
30. BARBADOS hi mʌdə kɔɔlɩn i
31. TRINIDAD hɩ mʌdʌ kɔɔlɛn ɩm
32. NORFOLK IS. hɩz mɑðə kɔɔlɛn hɛm
33. HAWAII hɩz mada stee kɑl ɔm

11. I WILL GO SOON (Future construction; expression of soon)

1.SARAMACCAN a biti mɔɔ mi o go
2.MATAWAI mi o go jũsu / mi sa go jũsu / mi o go a biti moo
3.KWINTI mi o go joso
4.BONI (ALUKU) mi o go jonson /mi o go bun
5.PARAMACCAN mi o go jonso / mi sa go jonso /mi o go bun
6.DJUKA mi o go jonso
7.SRANAN mi sa go jonsno
8.GUYANA mi a go jɛsnao / mi sa go jɛsnao / a gon go jɛsnao / a gaɩn jɛsnao
9.CAMEROON mi a go go jɔsna
10.NIGERIA simɔl taim ai go go
11.KRIO a go go jisnɔ / a go sun go / bambai a de go
12.BAHAMAS mi gə suun goo
13.SEA ISLANDS a gə go bʌmbɒɩ / a gwɒ̃ĩ go suun
14.AFRO-SEMINOLE mi ɛ̃ go suun
15.LIBERIA a wo sũũ go
16.BLACK ENGLISH aa m ə goo sũũ
17.PROVIDENCIA mii gwaɩn suun
18.BELIZE a gwɛ̃ dɩrɛkli
19.CAYMANS a suun goon
20.JAMAICA mi wɩ goɔ suun
21.ST. THOMAS a goɩn dɩrɛkli
22.ST. EUSTATIUS ɒɩ gɔɩn suun go
23.SABA ɒɩ wol suun goo
24.ST. KITTS/NEVIS mi go go suun / mi gɔn go suun
25.ANTIGUA mi wɩ go suun / mi go go suun
26.ST. VINCENT mi go go dɛsnɔo
27.CARRIACOU a goɩn jɔsnɔo
28.GRENADA a goɛn jɛsnɔo
29.TOBAGO mi gɔ go
30.BARBADOS aɩ gʔɩn go suun
31.TRINIDAD a go go jɔsnɔo /a ʼo go jɔsnɔo
32.NORFOLK IS. aɩ gʔnə suun stɑɑt
33.HAWAII aɩ go go prɩdi suun

Jamaican has wi or periphrastic a guo ‘BE going to’, although MSL has sa, probably a Surinamism (Bilby 1983). Archaic St. Croix also has a sa future (Seaman 1977:26), perhaps a carryover from the once coexistent Creole Dutch. Carriacou (Grenadines) has g o: wi gou dei ‘we shall be present’ (Kephart 1981:2). Belizean informant rejected both soon and just now for ‘soon’.

12. THEIR CAR (Possessive third person plural pronoun)

1.	SARAMACCAN	di woto ’u de
2.	MATAWAI	di waqi ’u dẽ
3.	KWINTI	a oto fu den
4.	BONI (ALUKU)	den oto / a oto fu den
5.	PARAMACCAN	de oto / a oto fu den
6.	DJUKA	a oto fu den
7.	SRANAN	dẽ oto / a oto fu dẽ
8.	GUYANA	dɛm kyaar / de kyaar
9.	CAMEROON	dɛn ka / dɛn ɔto
10.	NIGERIA	dɛn ka
11.	KRIO	dɛn ka / dɛn mɔtoka
12.	BAHAMAS	dɛ kyaa
13.	SEA ISLANDS	dɛm ca
14.	AFRO-SEMINOLE	dɛm kaa
15.	LIBERIA	dɛɛ kaa
16.	BLACK ENGLISH	dey kaa
17.	PROVIDENCIA	dɛm kyar / fι dɛm kyar
18.	BELIZE	dɛm kaa / fι dɛm kaa
19.	CAYMANS	de kaa
20.	JAMAICA	dɛm kyaar / fι dɛm kyaar
21.	ST. THOMAS	dɛɛ kyaa / dι kyaa a dɛɛz
22.	ST. EUSTATIUS	de kaa
23.	SABA	dɛΛ kaa
24.	ST. KITTS/NEVIS	dɛm kyaa
25.	ANTIGUA	fo dɛm kyaa
26.	ST. VINCENT	de kya
27.	CARRIACOU	de ka
28.	GRENADA	dɛ kya
29.	TOBAGO	de kyaar
30.	BARBADOS	dɛm kyar
31.	TRINIDAD	dɛm kyaa
32.	NORFOLK IS.	dɛms kαα
33.	HAWAII	de kaa

Matawai speaker rejected <u>oto</u>/<u>woto</u> for 'car'.

13. I WALKED ALONG THERE YESTERDAY (Past action)

1.SARAMACCAN	mi waka laŋga laŋga de yeside
2.MATAWAI	mi waka langalanga na a kamia de eside
3.KWINTI	esede m' be waka yanda
4.BONI (ALUKU)	mi waka laŋgalaŋga go na a peeši de ešide
5.PARAMACCAN	mi waka go ape ešide / mi waka laŋgalaŋga go na a peeši de ešide
6.DJUKA	mi waka laŋgalaŋga a peesi de eside
7.SRANAN	mi waka go dape esrede
8.GUYANA	mɩ waak əlaŋ dɛ yɛsəde / mɩ bɩn waak dɛ yɛsəde
9.CAMEROON	mi a bi wɔka fɔ da sat yɛstade
10.NIGERIA	a bin wɔka fɔ da sai yɛstade
11.KRIO	a bin waka go da sai eside / a waka go da sai eside
12.BAHAMAS	mi dɩ wɔk dæsaɩd yɛsədɛ
13.SEA ISLANDS	a wɔɔk gɑ laŋ de yɛsədi
14.AFRO-SEMINOLE	a wɔɔk lɒŋ de yɛsdɩ
15.LIBERIA	a wɑɑ əlɔ̃ dɛɛ yɛsəde
16.BLACK ENGLISH	a wɔok əlooŋ ɛə yɛsdɩy
17.PROVIDENCIA	mii mɛn de waak de yɛside
18.BELIZE	a waak laŋ de yɛstadi
19.CAYMANS	a wɛn? bɒɩ de yɛstɩdi
20.JAMAICA	mɩ waak laŋ diir yɛsɩdiɛ
21.ST. THOMAS	a waak da saɩd yɛstade
22.ST. EUSTATIUS	a paas ðeɩə yɛstəde
23.SABA	ɒɩ wɒɒk datwe yɛstədee
24.ST. KITTS/NEVIS	mi waak kras de yɛsɩde
25.ANTIGUA	mi mɩn waak laŋ de yɛstəde
26.ST. VINCENT	mi bɩn waak baɩ de yɛsədɛ
27.CARRIACOU	a pas de yɛstade /a dɩ pas de yɛstade
28.GRENADA	a dɩ waak alaŋ dɛɛ yɛstəde
29.TOBAGO	mi bɩn waak alaŋ de yɛsade
30.BARBADOS	aɩ wɔk lɔŋ dɛɛ yɛstəde
31.TRINIDAD	a dɩ wɔk de yɛstade
32.NORFOLK IS.	ɑɩ wɔɔk alɔŋ dɛə yɛstɛdi
33.HAWAII	mi bin wɑɑk oowə dɛa yɛstade

The presence or absence of <u>bin</u> (discussed in, e.g., Bickerton 1967:65-6, 1975:45-7) results in a grammatical distinction which is not everywhere the same. East Cameroonian has developed <u>bin</u> <u>bin</u> for the progressive past: <u>wi</u> <u>bin</u> <u>bin</u> <u>tok</u> <u>daso</u> <u>inglish</u> 'Nous ne parlions que pidgin' (Féral 1980:241), else-

where bin de. Archaic West Cameroonian has bin lif fo with this function: wi bin lif fo tok inglish 'nous parlions pidgin' (Féral 1980:242); compare Hancock (1969:71, n. 476, for further discussion of this). Did or di replaces bin in acrolectally shifting Guyanese and Jamaican; only 19th-century texts for Barbadian have bin, also true for Black English: a text from Virginia dated 1836 includes is you been ax yo' mammy? and That ah brindle steer been broke into our fence (Visit to a Negro cabin in Virginia 1836:43). The form lang in St. Kitts is archaic but not obsolete. Boni speaker rejected forms without go as being Djuka.

14. AM I RIGHT? (Fronting with na/da/a/iz)

1.	SARAMACCAN	na mi a leti nɔ
2.	MATAWAI	mi abi leti
3.	KWINTI	mi abi leti
4.	BONI (ALUKU)	mi abi leti / mi a' leti
5.	PARAMACCAN	mi abi leti / a leti
6.	DJUKA	mi leti / na leti mi leti
7.	SRANAN	mi leti / na let' mi leti
8.	GUYANA	a raɪt / mɪ raɪt
9.	CAMEROON	mi a rait
10.	NIGERIA	a rait
11.	KRIO	a rait / na rait a rait
12.	BAHAMAS	a rait
13.	SEA ISLANDS	a rɒɪt / ɪz a rɒɪt
14.	AFRO-SEMINOLE	a raɪt
15.	LIBERIA	a ræɪ?
16.	BLACK ENGLISH	ɪz ææm ræ?
17.	PROVIDENCIA	a no trut
18.	BELIZE	a karɛk / a raɪt
19.	CAYMANS	a na rɒɪt
20.	JAMAICA	mɪ raɪt / a raɪt/ ɪz a raɪt / a raɪt mɪ raɪt
21.	ST. THOMAS	a raɪt ɪntɪt
22.	ST. EUSTATIUS	a r?ɪt
23.	SABA	ɒɪ woz rɒɪt
24.	ST. KITTS/NEVIS	a raɪt/ a raɪt a raɪt
25.	ANTIGUA	a raɪt mɪ raɪt
26.	ST. VINCENT	mɪ raɪt
27.	CARRIACOU	a raɪt
28.	GRENADA	a raɪt
29.	TOBAGO	mɪ raɪt
30.	BARBADOS	aɪ raɪt
31.	TRINIDAD	a raɪt / ɪz raɪt a raɪt

32. NORFOLK IS.	ɑɩ rɑɩt nɔɔt / yu θoot ɑɩ rɑɩt
33. HAWAII	mi ste raɩ? mi raɩ?

Not a natural construction with right in Guyana or Providencia, although both allow this transformation otherwise, for example, a chupit yu chupit. See also Sentence 44 below, and notes on Guyanese sa and Krio a above. Something similar to BE as a highlighter turns up in Norfolk Island Creole: Es I nor bin see you fe too lorng 'I haven't seen you for a long time', where es = '(it) is' (Shirley Harrison, pers. comm.).

15. SHE QUARRELED WITH HER (Pronominal gender; with or along of; object pronominal form))

1. SARAMACCAN	a buya ku ɛ̃
2. MATAWAI	a buya ku ĩ / a kisi toobi ku ĩ
3. KWINTI	a kuutu aŋga ẽ
4. BONI (ALUKU)	a kwal i aŋgi ẽ
5. PARAMACCAN	a kwal i aŋgi ẽ
6. DJUKA	a kwal i aŋga ẽ
7. SRANAN	a kwari naŋa ẽ
8. GUYANA	ši kwarɩl wɩd ši / ši dɩ kwarɩl wɩd ši / i kwarɩ1 wid am
9. CAMEROON	hi hala-hala fɔ hi / hi mek palava witi hi
10. NIGERIA	i mek palaba wit am
11. KRIO	i kwarɛl wit am / i mɛk plaba wit am
12. BAHAMAS	i rao wɩt əm
13. SEA ISLANDS	i kw?ɩl wɩt əm
14. AFRO-SEMINOLE	i kwaal wɩt ?m
15. LIBERIA	ši pɩ fɔs wɩ hɔɔ
16. BLACK ENGLISH	šɩy kwɑɑo wɩf hə?
17. PROVIDENCIA	ɩm rao wɩd ɩm
18. BELIZE	i kwarɔl wɩd ẽ
19. CAYMANS	ši kw?rəl wɩd am
20. JAMAICA	ɩm kwaal wɩt ɩm
21. ST. THOMAS	ši kwarɛl wɩd hɑ
22. ST. EUSTATIUS	ši frɛt wɩd ši
23. SABA	ši kwɔrɛl wɩd hə?ə?
24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS	i kwarɩl wɩd ?m
25. ANTIGUA	i aagyo wɩd ɔm
26. ST. VINCENT	hi kwarɛl wɩd ɔm
27. CARRIACOU	ši kwarɩl wɩt ã / ši kwarɩl wɩt ši
28. GRENADA	ši kwarɛl wɩd ši / ši kwarɛl wɩd hə?
29. TOBAGO	ši kwarɛl wɩd ši
30. BARBADOS	ši kwɔrɛl wɩd ši

31. TRINIDAD ši kwɔrɛl wɪd ši / ši dɪ kwɔrɛl wɪd ši
32. NORFOLK IS. ši kwɔɔl lɔŋə hə? / ši grɛol gɛn hə?
33. HAWAII ši bɪn go faɪ? wɪ? hə?ə?

Older Barbadian had ii for 'he/she/it' (Burrowes 1980:7, Niles 1980:177).

16. WHOSE CHILD IS SMALLER THAN MINE? (Comparative construction; possessive absolute forms)

1. SARAMACCAN f' ambɛ mii sumaa mɔɔ di u mi / f'ambɛ piki sumaa mɔɔ u mi
2. MATAWAI f' ambe pikin sumaa moo di u mi
3. KWINTI fu sama pikin sumaa moo u mi
4. BONI (ALUKU) fu sama pikin nyoni moo fu mi / fu sama pikin nyoni pasa fu mi
5. PARAMACCAN fu sama pikin nyoni moo fu mi / fu sama pikin nyoni pasa fu mi
6. DJUKA fu sama pikin nyoni moo fu mi / fu sama pikin nyoni pasa fu mi
7. SRANAN f' suma pəcin smara moro fu mi / f' suma pəcin smara p'sa f' mi
8. GUYANA a huu pɪkni smaala dã mi wan
9. CAMEROON hu yi pikin simɔl pas ma oon
10. NIGERIA hu hi pikin smɔl pas ma oon
11. KRIO na uda yon pikin lili pas mi yon
12. BAHAMAS fə huu pɪkənɪnɪ lɪli mo ən mə uun
13. SEA ISLANDS huu dɪ čɒɪl f? w? lɪlɪ pas mɪ oon
14. AFRO-SEMINOLE də huu čaɪl mo lɪli dan mɪ oon
15. LIBERIA hu čææ smo pa ma õ
16. BLACK ENGLISH huw čæow smoolə dæn maan / huw čæow smoolə ən maanz
17. PROVIDENCIA fɪ huu pɪknɪni smaala an fɪ mii
18. BELIZE da hufa pikni lii ã fɪ mi
19. CAYMANS huu dɪ čɒɪl fɔ da smaala ən mɒɪn
20. JAMAICA a uufɪ pikni muɔ sumaala han fɪ mi
21. ST. THOMAS hu pɪkni mo smaala dan mi wan
22. ST. EUSTATIUS hu č?ɪl smɔɔl? dan m?ɪn
23. SABA huuz čɒɪl smɔɔlə ðən mɒɪn / huuz čɒɪl z smɔɔlə ðən mɒɪn
24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS fo huu pɪkni mo smaal dan fo mi
25. ANTIGUA f' uda pɪkni somaala dan fo mi / huufa Dɪkni somaala dan fo mi
26. ST. VINCENT fo huu pɪkni smaala dan fo mɪ oon
27. CARRIACOU ------

28.GRENADA huuz čaıl mo smaala dan maınz
29.TOBAGO fo huu pıkni smaala dan fo mı oon
30.BARBADOS huuz čɒıl smɔɔlə dan mɒın
31.TRINIDAD huuz pıkni smɔɔl? dan mɒın
32.NORFOLK IS. hus s?l?n lɛtl? ən maıs
33.HAWAII hu keyıki ste mɔ smɔɔl dɛn maınz

The form pass, common in the Atlantic Francophone Creoles, occurs only in West Africa and Suriname, and earlier Sea Islands Creole. Its nonoccurrence in ASC and Bahamian suggests introduction into the coastal SIC from West Africa after 1800 (see Hancock 1980a, 1985). When comparing age, Krio can optionally use fɔ: a big fɔ yu 'I'm older than you', yu sm ɔl fɔ mi 'you're younger than I'.

17. YOU (PL.) HAVE GOT TO DO IT (Form of you plural; hortative mood)

1.SARAMACCAN un musu 'u du ɛ̃
2.MATAWAI u mu du ẽ
3.KWINTI a unu mu du ẽ
4.BONI (ALUKU) na wi de mu du ẽ
5.PARAMACCAN u mu du ẽ
6.DJUKA u mu du ẽ
7.SRANAN unu mu du ẽ / unu a fu du ẽ
8.GUYANA aayo ga fo du əm / mɔnyo ga fo du əm
9.CAMEROON wuna fɔ du am
10.NIGERIA una fɔ du am / una mosto du am
11.KRIO una fɔ du am / una gɛ fɔ du am / una mɔs du am / una a fɔ du am
12.BAHAMAS yınə qædı du əm / yɔɔl gadə du ı?
13.SEA ISLANDS hənə fə du əm / hənə ha fə du əm
14.AFRO-SEMINOLE hənə fə du əm / hənə ha fə du əm
15.LIBERIA yuɔɔ gɑdə du e
16.BLACK ENGLISH yɔɔow gɑdə duw ı?
17.PROVIDENCIA unu ha fı du ı
18.BELIZE unu ha fo du ıt
19.CAYMANS uun? g?t tə du əm
20.JAMAICA unu ha fı dwiit / unu fı dwiit / unu mɔs dwiit
21.ST. THOMAS aal yo gat to du ıt
22.ST. EUSTATIUS yo gɔt to du iit
23.SABA yu hez gɔt to du ɛt
24.ST. KITTS/NEVIS aalyo gada du ɔm
25.ANTIGUA aayo ha fo du ɔm

26.ST. VINCENT mɔŋsyo gɔto du ɩt / mɔŋsyo ha fo du am
27.CARRIACOU alyo mɔs du ɩt / alyo bɔŋ to du it / alyo av to du ɩt
28.GRENADA ɔolyo gɔdə du ɔm
29.TOBAGO aayo ha fo du am
30.BARBADOS wonə gɔ tə du ɩt
31.TRINIDAD ɔɔlyo ha fo du ɩt
32.NORFOLK IS. yɔɔlyə gwɛnə hæwə du ɛt
33.HAWAII yu gada go duu əm

Guyanese get for and Black English get to have both come to mean ‘get (the opportunity) to’, probably reinterpreted on the English model (although Malacca Creole Portuguese has the same construction: eli acha bai ‘he gets to go’, also in Pasar [but not High] Malay). Boni speaker rejected u mu du en as meaning only ‘we must do it’; only wi de possible for ‘you (pl.)’. Utila (Bay Islands) has pronominal mɔnyu; compare Guyana and St. Vincent; 5,000 Vincentian Black Caribs settled in Roatán in 1797 (Ryan 1973:134). Another Bay Islands form is ɛnə (Ryan 1973:139). In the Central American Coast dialects, mos has come to mean ‘probably’. Compare English must have (Holm 1983a:23) and Jamaican mosi, SIC/ASC mosbi, Bahamian mosi/mosa/mosbi with the same meaning. You for/to go is probably from English you are to go, while You get for/to go is from you have to g o, with get in its common creole sense meaning ‘have’. Krio have for is archaic.

18. I HAVE TASTED IT (Completive aspect)

1. SARAMACCAN mi tesi ɛ̃ kaa
2. MATAWAI mi teši ẽ kaba
3. KWINTI mi tes en kaba
4. BONI (ALUKU) mi teši en kaba
5. PARAMACCAN mi tes ẽ kaba
6. DJUKA mi tesi en kaba
7. SRANAN mi tes en k’ba
8. GUYANA mɩ tees am d?n / a d?n tees am / a tees ?m arɛdɩ
9. CAMEROON mi a dɔn tes am
10. NIGERIA a dɔn tes am
11. KRIO a dɔn tes am / a tes am dɔn
12. BAHAMAS mi d?n tees ?m
13. SEA ISLANDS a d?n tees əm
14. AFRO-SEMINOLE a d?n tees əm
15. LIBERIA a nɑ̃ tees e
16. BLACK ENGLISH a dən tɛɩs ɩ?

17. PROVIDENCIA — mi tes ɩ arɛdɩ
18. BELIZE — a tyees ɩt
19. CAYMANS — a tees am arɛdi
20. JAMAICA — mɩ dɔn tyees ɩ / mɩ tyees ɩ dɔn
21. ST. THOMAS — a d?n tees ɩt
22. ST. EUSTATIUS — a tees ɩt
23. SABA — ɒɩ h?v teestɛd ɩ?
24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS — mi d?n tees ?m
25. ANTIGUA — mɩ dɔn tyas ɔm
26. ST. VINCENT — a dɔn tees ɔm
27. CARRIACOU — a dɔn tes ɩt / a tes ɩt arɛdi
28. GRENADA — a dɔn tees ɩt
29. TOBAGO — mɩ dɔn tees ɔm
30. BARBADOS — aɩ tees ɩ?
31. TRINIDAD — a d?n tees ɩt
32. NORFOLK IS. — ɑɩ bɩn teəs ɛt
33. HAWAII — aɩ bɩn tees əm / aɩ wɛn tees əm

Saramaccan has kaa as the completive marker which has diverged from kaba, retained as a verb and meaning ‘complete’ (DeGroot 1977a:52). Belizean informant rejected done in this sentence, but offered a dan gan dɛ arɛdi. Bay Islands has d?n: had d?n gat ‘had (already) got’ (Ryan 1973:129).

19. I LIKE TO DANCE (Preverbal to)

1. SARAMACCAN — mi lo’ baya
2. MATAWAI — mi lobi baya
3. KWINTI — mi lobi dansi
4. BONI (ALUKU) — mi lobl danši
5. PARAMACCAN — m’ lobi dansi
6. DJUKA — mi lobi dansi
7. SRANAN — mi lob’ fu dansi
8. GUYANA — mɩ laɩk fo daans
9. CAMEROON — mi a lak fɔ dans
10. NIGERIA — a laik fɔ dans
11. KRIO — a lɛk dans / a lɛk fɔ dans
12. BAHAMAS — mi laɩk fa dæns
13. SEA ISLANDS — a iɒɩk fə dɑɑns
14. AFRO-SEMINOLE — a laɩk fə dɑɑns
15. LIBERIA — a laa to dɛ̃ɛ̃s
16. BLACK ENGLISH — a læk? to dɛ̃ɪ̃s
17. PROVIDENCIA — mi laɩk dans
18. BELIZE — a laɩk dans

19. CAYMANS a lɒɪk daans
20. JAMAICA mɪ laɪk daans
21. ST. THOMAS a laɪk to daans
22. ST. EUSTATIUS a lʔɪk daans
23. SABA ɒɪ lɒɪk to daans
24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS mɪ laɪk dans
25. ANTIGUA mɪ lɔb dans
26. ST. VINCENT mɪ laɪk fo dans
27. CARRIACOU a laɪk to dans
28. GRENADA aɪ laɪk to dans
29. TOBAGO mɪ laɪk dans
30. BARBADOS aɪ lɑɪk to daans
31. TRINIDAD a laɪk to daans
32. NORFOLK IS. ɑɪ lɑɪk ə dɑɑəns
33. HAWAII aɪ laɪʔ daans

Presence or absence of an infinitive marker is conditioned by the following verb (e.g., it can alternate with ø after <u>want</u>, <u>like</u>, etc.). Barbadian retains <u>for</u> alongside <u>to</u> only in St. Philip parish.

20. I HAVE A SONG FOR YOU (PL.) TO SING (<u>For</u> before infinitive following nominal oblique)

1. SARAMACCAN mi abi wan kanda fu un kanda
2. MATAWAI mi abi wan kanda fu u kanda
3. KWINTI mi abi wan siŋgi f’unu siŋgi
4. BONI (ALUKU) mi abi wan šiŋgi fu wi de šiŋgi
5. PARAMACCAN mi a wan šiŋgi fu u šiŋgi
6. DJUKA mi abi wan siŋgi f’ unu siŋgi
7. SRANAN mi abi wan sinyi f’ unu sinyi
8. GUYANA mi ga wã saŋ fo aayo sɪŋ
9. CAMEROON mi a gɛt wan siŋ fɔ mek wuna siŋ am
10. NIGERIA a gɛt wan siŋ fɔ mek una siŋ
11. KRIO a gɛ wã siŋ fɔ mɛk una siŋ / a gɛ wã siŋ fɔ lɛ una siŋ
12. BAHAMAS mi gat a saŋ fə yinə sɪŋ
13. SEA ISLANDS a gad a sɒŋ fə hənə sɪŋ
14. AFRO-SEMINOLE a ga wã saŋ fə hənə sɪŋ
15. LIBERIA a gad a sɒ̃ɒ̃ fɔ yuɔɔ to sɪŋ
16. BLACK ENGLISH a gad ə sɒoŋ f’ yɔɔo d sɛɪŋ
17. PROVIDENCIA mɪ gat a saŋ fo unu sɪŋ
18. BELIZE mɪ gat wã saŋ fo unu sɪŋ
19. CAYMANS a gɒ ə saŋ fə yo sɪŋ
20. JAMAICA mi ha wan saŋ fɪ unu sɪŋ
21. ST. THOMAS a gat a saŋ fə aalyo to sɪŋ

22. ST. EUSTATIUS	a gɑt ə saŋ fə yu tə sɩŋ
23. SABA	ɒɩ gɑt ə saŋ fɔ yu to sɩŋ
24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS	mɩ gat wan saŋ f' aayo sɩŋ
25. ANTIGUA	mɩ ha wan saŋ fo aayo sɩŋ
26. ST. VINCENT	mɩ gɔt wɔn sɑŋ fo mɔŋsyo sɩŋ
27. CARRIACOU	a av a saŋ fɔ alyo to sɩŋ
28. GRENADA	a hav a saŋ fə ɔolyo to sɩŋ
29. TOBAGO	mɩ ha wɔn saŋ fo aalyo sɩŋ
30. BARBADOS	a gɔt a sɔŋ fo wonə to sɩŋ
31. TRINIDAD	a gɔt ə sɔŋ fɔ ɔɔlyo to sɩŋ
32. NORFOLK IS.	ɑɩ gɔt W?n sɑŋ fə yɔɔlyə sɩŋ
33. HAWAII	aɩ gɛt wan sɑŋ fɔ yu fɔ sɩŋ

Obligatory in West African Creoles, Hawaiian Creole, and metropolitanizing Caribbean dialects, for example, in St. Lucian: iz di raip fig fə hi tu iit 'it's the ripe banana for him to eat' (Carrington 1969:261-2; note subject pronominal form: object form is him in St. Lucian, cf. Krio lɛ a go 'let me go')

21. SHE DOESN'T SING FOR US (Negated habitual aspect; benefactive give)

1. SARAMACCAN	a n' ta kanda da u
2. MATAWAI	a n' ta kanda
3. KWINTI	a n' e siŋgi gi wi
4. BONI (ALUKU)	a n' e šiŋgi gi wi
5. PARAMACCAN	a na e šiŋgi gi u
6. DJUKA	a na e siɲi gi wi
7. SRANAN	a n' e sinyi gi wi
8. GUYANA	i na a sɩŋ fo awi / ši doon sɩŋ fo wi
9. CAMEROON	hi no di siŋ fɔ wi
10. NIGERIA	i no de siŋ fɔ wi
11. KRIO	i nɔ de siŋ fɔ wi / i na de siŋ fɔ wi / i nɔ blant sɩŋ fɔ wi
12. BAHAMAS	i na sɩŋ fə wi / ši dõõ sɩŋ fə wi
13. SEA ISLANDS	i nə də sɩŋ fə wi / i n? blan sɩŋ fə wi
14. AFRO-SEMINOLE	i nə də sɩŋ fə wi
15. LIBERIA	ši ẽẽ sɩŋ fɔ ɔ
16. BLACK ENGLISH	šɩy dõõ sɛ̃ĩ f' a?s
17. PROVIDENCIA	ɩm no de sɩŋ fɔ wi
18. BELIZE	i no sɩŋ fɔ wi
19. CAYMANS	ši dõõ sɩŋ fə wi
20. JAMAICA	ɩm na sɩŋ fɩ wi
21. ST. THOMAS	ši doon sɩŋ fo wi
22. ST. EUSTATIUS	ši doon sɩŋ fɔ ?s

23.	SABA	ši doon sɛɪŋ fɔ ?s
24.	ST. KITTS/NEVIS	ši na a sɪŋ fo wi
25.	ANTIGUA	i na a sɪŋ gi aawi
26.	ST. VINCENT	i na sɪŋ fo wi
27.	CARRIACOU	ši doo sɪŋ gi awi
28.	GRENADA	ši doon sɪŋ fɔ aawi
29.	TOBAGO	ši na a sɪŋ fo wi
30.	BARBADOS	ši don sɪŋ fɔ wi
31.	TRINIDAD	ši doo sɪŋ fɔ wi
32.	NORFOLK IS.	ši naawə yuusə sɪŋ fə ??lən
33.	HAWAII	ši no sɪŋ fɔ as

Bahamian shares belong(s) to with the form [blocks] with Krio and SIC, but with the meaning ‘appertain to’ only, also shared by Krio (blant) and SIC [blɒŋks]. Denasalization in Trinidadian doo < don’t (also Trinidadian kyaa < can’t, ee < ain’t has also been noted for Bay Islands (Holm 1983a:85), Providencia (Holm 1983a: 163), and Norfolk Island (du ‘don’t’, ka ‘can’t’, Harrison 1976:97, 116).

22. SHE ISN’T SINGING (Negated progressive aspect)

1.	SARAMACCAN	a n’ ta kanda
2.	MATAWAI	a n’ ta kanda
3.	KWINTI	a n’ e siŋgi
4.	BONI (ALUKU)	a n’ e šiŋgi
5.	PARAMACCAN	a na e šiŋgi
6.	DJUKA	a na e siŋi
7.	SRANAN	a n’ e sinyi
8.	GUYANA	a na a sɪŋ / ši ɛn sɪŋɪn
9.	CAMEROON	hi no di siŋ
10.	NIGERIA	i no de siŋ
11.	KRIO	i nɔ de siŋ / i nɔ de pan siŋ
12.	BAHAMAS	i ẽ sɪŋin
13.	SEA ISLANDS	i nə də sɪŋ / i yɛn sɪŋɪn
14.	AFRO-SEMINOLE	i nə də sɪŋ / i n? dɛ paan sɪŋ
15.	LIBERIA	ši ẽ sɪŋĩ
16.	BLACK ENGLISH	ši ẽĩ sɛɪŋin / ši dõõ bɪy sɛɪŋin
17.	PROVIDENCIA	ši ɛn sɪŋɪn
18.	BELIZE	i no de sɪŋ
19.	CAYMANS	ši na sɪŋɪn
20.	JAMAICA	ɪm na a sɪŋ / ɪm n? de pan sɪŋ
21.	ST. THOMAS	ši n sɪŋɪn
22.	ST. EUSTATIUS	ši ẽ sɪŋɪn

23. SABA šii z nɒ? sɛɪŋɛn
24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS ši na da sɪŋ / ši na a sɪŋ
25. ANTIGUA i na n sɪŋ / i no de sɪŋ
26. ST. VINCENT hi na a sɪŋ
27. CARRIACOU ši ɛn sɪŋɪn
28. GRENADA ši een sɪŋɛn
29. TOBAGO ši na a sɪŋ
30. BARBADOS ši en sɪŋɪn
31. TRINIDAD ši ee sɪŋɛn
32. NORFOLK IS. ši nɔɔ sɪŋɛn
33. HAWAII ši no ste sɪŋ

23. SHE DIDN'T SING (Negated past; see notes for Sentence 13)

1. SARAMACCAN a n' kanda
2. MATAWAI a ã kanda / a ã be kanda
3. KWINTI a a be siŋgi / a a siŋai
4. BONI (ALUKU) a na be šiŋgi / a ã šiŋgi
5. PARAMACCAN a ã šiŋgi / a ã be šiŋgi
6. DJUKA a na be siŋi / a na siŋi
7. SRANAN a no ben sinyi / a no sinyi
8. GUYANA a na bɪn sɪŋ / i na sɪŋ / ši dɪn sɪŋ
9. CAMEROON hi no bi sɪŋ / hi no siŋ
10. NIGERIA i no bin siŋ / i no siŋ
11. KRIO i nɔ bin siŋ / i nɔ siŋ
12. BAHAMAS i na bɪn sɪŋ / i na sɪŋ / ši dɪdn sɪŋ
13. SEA ISLANDS i yɛn bɪn sɪŋ / i yɛnt sɪŋ
14. AFRO-SEMINOLE i n? bɪn sɪŋ / i n? sɪŋ
15. LIBERIA ši ẽẽ sɪŋ
16. BLACK ENGLISH šɪy ẽĩ sɛɪŋ / ši dɪtn sɛɪŋ.
17. PROVIDENCIA ɪm nɛva sɪŋ
18. BELIZE i nɛva sɪŋ
19. CAYMANS ši dɪdn sɪŋ
20. JAMAICA ɪm no bɛn sɪŋ / ɪm n' ɛn sɪŋ / ɪm no sɪŋ
21. ST. THOMAS ši n sɪŋ
22. ST. EUSTATIUS ši ẽẽ sɪŋ
23. SABA ši dɪn sɪŋ
24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS ši na mɪn sɪŋ / ši na sɪŋ
25. ANTIGUA ši no mɪn sɪŋ
26. ST. VINCENT hi na bɪn sɪŋ / hi na sɪŋ
27. CARRIACOU ši ɛn sɪŋ
28. GRENADA ši dĩ sɪŋ / ši ẽẽ sɪŋ

29.	TOBAGO	ši no bın sıŋ
30.	BARBADOS	ši dın sıŋ
31.	TRINIDAD	ši ee sıŋ
32.	NORFOLK IS.	ši naawə sıŋ
33.	HAWAII	ši nɛva sıŋ

SIC also alternates bin with did: dem did come 'they came' (Jones 1888:79), and has the alternate form bi whith it shares with Cameroonian: Bro' Rabbit biluk fo' see 'Brer Rabbit looked to see', I bee' tell you I could dibe 'I told you I could dive' (Stewart 1919:395). See also notes for Sentence 13.

24. SHE WILL SING (Future construction)

1.	SARAMACCAN	a o kanda
2.	MATAWAI	a o kanda
3.	KWINTI	a sa siŋgi / a o šiŋgi
4.	BONI (ALUKU)	a sa šiŋgi / a o šiŋgi
5.	PARAMACCAN	a sa šiŋgi / a o šiŋgi
6.	DJUKA	a sa siŋi / a o siŋi
7.	SRANAN	a sa sinyi / a o sinyi
8.	GUYANA	i go sıŋ / i sa sıŋ
9.	CAMEROON	hi go siŋ
10.	NIGERIA	i go siŋ
11.	KRIO	i go siŋ
12.	BAHAMAS	i gə sıŋ
13.	SEA ISLANDS	i gə sıŋ / i qwã̃ĩ sıŋ
14.	AFRO-SEMINOLE	i ɛn sıŋ
15.	LIBERIA	ši wo sıŋ
16.	BLACK ENGLISH	šıy gõõ sɛıŋ
17.	PROVIDENCIA	ım gwaın sıŋ
18.	BELIZE	i gwɛ̃ sıŋ / i wãã sıŋ
19.	CAYMANS	ši ol sıŋ
20.	JAMAICA	ım wı sıŋ
21.	ST. THOMAS	ši goon sıŋ
22.	ST. EUSTATIUS	ši gõ sıŋ
23.	SABA	ši z gooɛn to sɛıŋ
24.	ST. KITTS/NEVIS	ši go sıŋ
25.	ANTIGUA	ši go sıŋ / ši wı sıŋ
26.	ST. VINCENT	hi go sıŋ
27.	CARRIACOU	ši go sıŋ
28.	GRENADA	ši go sıŋ
29.	TOBAGO	ši go sıŋ
30.	BARBADOS	ši gʔın sıŋ

31.	TRINIDAD	ši go sɪŋ / ši o sɪŋ
32.	NORFOLK IS.	ši gwɛnə sɪŋ
33.	HAWAII	ši go sɪŋ / ši goiin sɪŋ

Sranan as o (< go) and e go (< de go) expressing imminent intention, while the form sa in the same language expresses non-imminent intent (a child being told mi sa fon yu ‘I’ll hit you’ is likely to take it as less of a threat than mi o fon y u, for example). Hurault (1952:46) has suggested that sa is derived from sabi, also abbreviated as sa, but compare Dutch zal, Scots sall. Earlier St. Thomas texts have both sa and go, though going and will are now current. Uh (1883) reported wi for 19th century Tobago, this form surviving only in Antigua in the Lesser Antilles in the present time.

25. SHE WILL NOT SING (Negated future)

1.	SARAMACCAN	a ã o kanda
2.	MATAWAI	a ã o kanda
3.	KWINTI	a na o siŋgi
4.	BONI (ALUKU)	a no o šiŋgi
5.	PARAMACCAN	a na o šiŋgi
6.	DJUKA	a na o siŋi
7.	SRANAN	a no o sinyi
8.	GUYANA	i na go sɪŋ / ši ɛn go sɪŋ.
9.	CAMEROON	hi no go siŋ
10.	NIGERIA	i no go siŋ
11.	KRIO	i nɔ go siŋ
12.	BAHAMAS	ši na gəsɪŋ / ši ɛ̃ gə sɪŋ
13.	SEA ISLANDS	i yɛn gwɒ̃ĩ sɪŋ
14.	AFRO-SEMINOLE	i n’ ẽ sɪŋ
15.	LIBERIA	ši wo na sɪŋ
16.	BLACK ENGLISH	šɪy ɛ̃ĩ gõõ sɛɪŋ
17.	PROVIDENCIA	ɪm no gwaɪn sɪŋ
18.	BELIZE	i no wãã sɪŋ / i no gwɛ̃ sɪŋ
19.	CAYMANS	ši wõõ sɪŋ
20.	JAMAICA	ɪm na a sɪŋ
21.	ST. THOMAS.	ši n goon sɪŋ
22.	ST. EUSTATIUS	ši ẽẽ gõõ sɪŋ
23.	SABA	šii z nɒ? gooɛn to sɛɪŋ
24.	ST. KITTS/NEVIS	ši woon sɪŋ
25.	ANTIGUA	i woon sɪŋ
26.	ST. VINCENT	i na a sɪŋ
27.	CARRIACOU	ši ɛn go sɪŋ

28.	GRENADA	ši doon sɪŋɛn
29.	TOBAGO	ši na a sɪŋ / ši na go sɪŋ
30.	BARBADOS	ši en gʔɪn sɪŋ
31.	TRINIDAD	ši ee gɔn sɪŋ
32.	NORFOLK IS.	ši nɔɔ gwɛnə sɪŋ
33.	HAWAII	ši no go sɪŋ

Sa-futures (Sentence 24) also negate like (g)o. Jamaican future marker wi does not negate in the modern dialect (but cf. Antigua wi/woon), the negated progressive aspect na a being used instead. For the same creole, Russell (1868:16) lists the negated future /šaan/, now obsolete: "Observe that we (= wi) is used only in the affirmative sense, and sha'n, a as in law—contraction of shall not—in the negative future; thus, A we go. 'A we not go' is never used, but 'I sha'n go'." Shan't is also recorded in 19th century SIC: de noung King shant hab no wise pusson fuh help um (Jones 1888:131).

26. SHE HAS (ALREADY) SUNG (Completive aspect; see also Sentence 18)

1.	SARAMACCAN	a kanda kaa
2.	MATAWAI	a kanda kaba
3.	KWINTI	a siŋai kaba
4.	BONI (ALUKU)	a šiŋgi kaba
5.	PARAMACCAN	a šiŋgi kaba
6.	DJUKA	a siŋi kaba
7.	SRANAN	a sinyi k'ba
8.	GUYANA	i dɔn sɪŋ / i sɪŋ dɔn
9.	CAMEROON	hi dɔn siŋ
10.	NIGERIA	i dɔn siŋ
11.	KRIO	i dɔn siŋ / i siŋ dɔn
12.	BAHAMAS	ši dʔn sɪŋ
13.	SEA ISLANDS	i dʔn sɪŋ
14.	AFRO-SEMINOLE	i dʔn sɪŋ
15.	LIBERIA	ši nɑ̃ sɪŋ / ši dɑ̃ sɪŋ / ši fɪnɪ sɪŋ
16.	BLACK ENGLISH	ši dəʔn sɛɪŋ / ši dəʔn səʔəʔŋ
17.	PROVIDENCIA	ɪm dɔn sɪŋ
18.	BELIZE	i dɔn sɪŋ
19.	CAYMANS	ši sɪŋ arɛdi
20.	JAMAICA	ɪm dɔn sɪŋ / ɪm sɪŋ dɔn
21.	ST. THOMAS	ši dʔn sɪŋ
22.	ST. EUSTATIUS	ši dʔn sɪŋ
23.	SABA	šii dʔn sɛɪŋ

24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS ši d?n sɩŋ
25. ANTIGUA i dɔn sɩŋ
26. ST. VINCENT i dɔn sɩŋ
27. CARRIACOU ši sɩŋ arɛdi / ši dɔn sɩŋ
28. GRENADA ši d?n sɩŋ
29. TOBAGO ši dɔn sɩŋ
30. BARBADOS ši d?n sɩŋ
31. TRINIDAD ši dɔn sɩŋ
32. NORFOLK IS. ši sə sɩŋ
33. HAWAII ši pao sɩŋ

27. SHE HASN'T (ALREADY) SUNG (Negated completive aspect)

1. SARAMACCAN a n' kanda kaa
2. MATAWAI a ã kanda yet i
3. KWINTI a a siŋgi kaba
4. BONI (ALUKU) a na šiŋgi kaba / a no šiŋgi kaba
5. PARAMACCAN a a šiŋgi ete
6. DJUKA a a siŋi kaba
7. SRANAN a no sinyi k'ba
8. GUYANA i na sɩŋ dɔn / i na sɩŋ arɛdɩ
9. CAMEROON hi nɛva siŋ
10. NIGERIA i nɛva sɩŋ
11. KRIO i nɔba siŋ / i nɔ siŋ dɔn / i nɔ dɔn dɔn fɔ siŋ
12. BAHAMAS i na sɩŋ arɛdi / ši ɛ̃ sɩŋ arɛdi
13. SEA ISLANDS i nə sɩŋ ɔrɛdɩ
14. AFRO-SEMINOLE i n? sɩŋ ɔrɛdɩ
15. LIBERIA ši neva sɩŋ / ši ẽẽ fɩnɩ sɩŋ
16. BLACK ENGLISH šɩy ɛ̃ĩ sɛɩŋ yɛt?
17. PROVIDENCIA ɩm nɛva sɩŋ arɛdi
18. BELIZE i nɛva sɩŋ arɛdi
19. CAYMANS ši nɔɔ sɩŋ yɛt / ši na sɩŋ yɛt
20. JAMAICA ɩm na sɩŋ dɔn / ɩm na sɩŋ arɛdi
21. ST. THOMAS ši n sɩŋ yɛt
22. ST. EUSTATIUS ši ẽẽ sɩŋ arɛdi
23. SABA šii ẽ d?n sɛɩŋɛn / šii ẽ ɔrɛdi sɛɩŋ
24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS i na sɩŋ yɛt
25. ANTIGUA i no sɩŋ arɛdi
26. ST. VINCENT i noba sɩŋ / i na sɩŋ arɛdi
27. CARRIACOU ši ɛn sɩŋ yɛt
28. GRENADA ši nɛva sɩŋ arɛdi
29. TOBAGO ši no sɩŋ arɛdi

30. BARBADOS	ši dın sıŋ ɔrɛdi
31. TRINIDAD	ši ee sıŋ ɔrɛdi
32. NORFOLK IS.	ši nɔɔ sə sıŋ yɛt
33. HAWAII	ši no pao sıŋ arɛdi

Matawai speaker rejected kaa and kaba in this construction. The speakers who provided the U.S. Black English sentences here (one Texan, one Louisianan, and one Alabaman) all rejected she ain't done sing, but this was acceptable for a fourth speaker, also from Alabama. All four speakers are between the ages of 25 and 36.

28. I WILL HAVE FIXED IT ON THERE BEFORE TOMORROW (Future completive)

1.SARAMACCAN	mi o fasi ɛ̃ na anda ufɔ amanya
2.MATAWAI	mi o peka ĩ na ade bifo amanya
3.KWINTI	mi o fasi en dape bifo tamaa
4.BONI (ALUKU)	mi o faši en ape kaba foši tamaa / mi o faši ẽ ape foši bifo tamaa
5.PARAMACCAN	mi o faši ẽ de kaba foši tamaa / mi o faši ẽ ape kaba foši tamaa
6.DJUKA	mi o fasi en na ape ufo tamaa
7. SRANAN	mi o fasi en dape kaba bifo tamara
8. GUYANA	bıtaım tomara mi go tač am pan de
9.CAMEROON	mi a go dɔn mek am fɔ da pat bifɔ tomɔro
10.NIGERIA	a go dɔn mɛk am fɔ dɛa bifɔ tomɔro
11.KRIO	a go dɔn fašin am pan de bifo tumara
12.BAHAMAS	təmɔrə a kodə d?n fıks dæ? dɛ
13.SEA ISLANDS	a gə d?n fıks əm pan de fo təmɔɔrə
14.AFRO-SEMINOLE	a ɛ̃ dən tɛč əm p?n de fo tomɑrə
15.LIBERIA	a wo nɑ̃ fıs e õ dɛ bıfo tomɑro
16.BLACK ENGLISH	a ow bı dən fıks ıd ?wn ɛ? fo dəm??o
17.PROVIDENCIA	mi gwaın fıks ı de bıfɔ tımara
18.BELIZE	a wãã fıks ıt pan dat bifo tomaro
19.CAYMANS	a ol fıks əm ɑn fo təm?rə
20.JAMAICA	mi woda fıks i pad de bıfoɔ tomara
21.ST. THOMAS	baı tomaro aı d?n fıks ıt
22.ST. EUSTATIUS	a go fıks ıt ɔn dɛ bıfo tomɔro
23.SABA	aı l faasn ɛ? ɒndɛ? bıfɔɔr tomɑro
24.ST. KITTS/NEVIS	mı d?n fıks ɔm pan de bıfoɔ tomaro
25.ANTIGUA	mi woda dɔn fıks ɔm pan de bıfoa tomaro
26.ST. VINCENT	mi woda fınıš faasn ɔm pan de bıfwo tomaro
27.CARRIACOU	------

28.GRENADA	a go d?n fɩks ɩt pɔn dɛ baɩ tomɑro
29.TOBAGO	mi go dɔn fɑɑsn am pan de bɩfɔ tomɑro
30.BARBADOS	?ɩ wɩl fɩks ɩ? baɩ tomɔro
31.TRINIDAD	a go dɔn fɩks ɩt ɔn de bɩfo tomɔro
32.NORFOLK IS.	ɑɩ gwɛnə bi sə fɩks ɛt dɛ? bɩfɔɔ mɔɔ?
33.HAWAII	aɩ gɔn pao fɩks əm ɔn dɛa bifɔ tumɔro

Matawai speaker rejected fasi. Prepositional for is given for SIC in Jones (1888:44): de sun dun lean fuh down 'the sun is leaning down' (cf. also sentences 13, 40, and 44 for Cameroonian and Nigerian Pidgin).

29. THE POCKETS (Plural with them)

1.	SARAMACCAN	dee saku
2.	MATAWAI	dee saku
3.	KWINTI	dẽ saka
4.	BONI (ALUKU)	dẽ saka
5.	PARAMACCAN	dẽ saka
6.	DJUKA	dẽ saka
7.	SRANAN	dẽ saka
8.	GUYANA	dɛm pakɩt / di pakɩt dɛm / di pakɩt
9.	CAMEROON	dɛm pɔkɛt
10.	NIGERIA	dɛm pɔkɛt
11.	KRIO	dɛm pɔkɛt / di pɔkɛt dɛm / di pɔkɛt
12.	BAHAMAS	də pɔkɩ? / də pɔkɩ? dɛm
13.	SEA ISLANDS	də pɔkɩt / dɛm pɔkɩt
14.	AFRO-SEMINOLE	də pɔkɩt / dɛm pɔkɩt / də pɔkɩt dɛm
15.	LIBERIA	dɛ pɑkɛ
16.	BLACK ENGLISH	dɛm pɑkɩ?
17.	PROVIDENCIA	dɩ pakɩt dɛm
18.	BELIZE	dɛm pɔkɛt / di pɔkɛt dɛm / di pɔkɛt
19.	CAYMANS	dɩ pɑkɩ?s
20.	JAMAICA	di pakɩt / dɛm pakɩt / di pakɩt dɛm
21.	ST. THOMAS	dɩ pɑkɩt dɛm
22.	ST. EUSTATIUS	dee pɔkɩt dɛm
23.	SABA	dɩ pɔkɛts
24.	ST. KITTS/NEVIS	dɛm pakɩt
25.	ANTIGUA	i pakɩt an dɛm
26.	ST. VINCENT	i pakɩt an dɛm
27.	CARRIACOU	dɩ pakɩt / dɩ pakɩt an dɛm
28.	GRENADA	dɩ pakɩt / dɩ pakɩts
29.	TOBAGO	dɛm pakɩt / dɩ pakɩt dɛm
30.	BARBADOS	dɩ pɔkɩ? / dɩ pɔkɩ?s

31.	TRINIDAD	di pɔkɩt an dɛm / di pɔkɩt dɛm
32.	NORFOLK IS.	ɛm pɔɔkɛt
33.	HAWAII	da pɔkɩt

Modern SIC cannot pluralize inanimates with postnominal them, although this survives in ASC (see next).

30. ALBERT AND HIS GROUP (Them as “and Co.” marker)

1.SARAMACCAN	dee abeeti
2.MATAWAI	dee sombe fu abeeti / dee sembe fu abeeti
3.KWINTI	αlbeti aŋga dẽ mati f’ ẽ
4.BONI (ALUKU)	dẽ baa alibeti / alibeti aŋga ẽ mati
5.PARAMACCAN	albət aŋgi ẽ mati / albət aŋgi dẽ mati f’ ẽ / dẽ baa albət
6.DJUKA	dẽ baa albɛrt
7.SRANAN	albɛrt naŋa ẽ mati
8.GUYANA	alb?t dɛm / alb?t an dɛm
9.CAMEROON	albɔt dɛm
10.NIGERIA	albɔt dɛm
11.KRIO	albat dɛm
12.BAHAMAS	ælbə? dɛm / ælbə? nem
13.SEA ISLANDS	albət dɛm / albət nɛm
14.AFRO-SEMINOLE	albət dɛm
15.LIBERIA	aabɔ dɛm
16.BLACK ENGLISH	æobə? nɩəm / æobə dɛm
17.PROVIDENCIA	albɔt dɛm
18.BELIZE	aabat an i krɔod / aabat an i krɔod dɛm
19.CAYMANS	albərt an i krɔod
20.JAMAICA	albat dɛm
21.ST. THOMAS	alb?t dɛm
22.ST. EUSTATIUS	albət ɛn hi bɔnč
23.SABA	aabər? n ɩz krɔod
24.ST. KITTS/NEVIS	albat an dɛm
25.ANTIGUA	albat an dɛm
26.ST. VINCENT	albat an dɛm
27.CARRIACOU	albɔt an dɛm
28.GRENADA	albat an dɛm
29.TOBAGO	albat an dɛm
30.BARBADOS	albərt an dɛm
31.TRINIDAD	albɔt an dɛm
32.NORFOLK IS.	æəlbət an dɛəm / æəlbət ən ɛm s?lən hi yuusə go abɛot lɔŋɛt
33.HAWAII	aobə? dɛm

Black English with them alone possible only for the speaker from Louisiana. Matawai speaker rejected dee Abeeti. Besides them, Bay Islands has and that as an “and Co.” marker, restricted only to white dialect speakers (Ryan 1973:129).

31. WE SHOULD HAVE REMEMBERED IT (Should have expressed by either (a) past marker + future marker, (b) past marker + infinitive marker, or (c) forms of should have)

1. SARAMACCAN	u bi sa meni ɛ̃ awaa
2. MATAWAI	u bi sa meni in
3. KWINTI	wi be sa meme le ẽ
4. BONI (ALUKU)	wi be sa membe ẽ / wi be o membe ẽ
5. PARAMACCAN	u be sa membe ẽ
6. DJUKA	wi ben sa memee ẽ
7. SRANAN	wi ben sa memre ẽ / wi ben o memre ẽ
8. GUYANA	aabi bɩn sa mɛmba ram / wi bɩn go mɛmba ɩ
9. CAMEROON	wi bi fɔ mimba am
10. NIGERIA	wi bin fɔ mɛmba ram
11. KRIO	wi bin fɔ mɛmba ram / wi bin go mɛmba ram
12. BAHAMAS	wi šoda mɛmbə rəm
13. SEA ISLANDS	wi bɩn fə mɛmbə rəm
14. AFRO-SEMINOLE	wi bɩn fə mɛmbə rəm
15. LIBERIA	wi šodə mɛmbə e
16. BLACK ENGLISH	wɩy šodə mɛmbəd ɩ?
17. PROVIDENCIA	aal wi mɛn fɩ mɛmba ɩ
18. BELIZE	wi mɛ wãã mɛmba rɩt / wi mɛ fɩ mɛmba rɩt
19. CAYMANS	wi šodə mɛmbə rɩ?
20. JAMAICA	wi šoda mɛmba rɩt
21. ST. THOMAS	wi šoda rɩmɛmbar ɩt
22. ST. EUSTATIUS	wi šodə rɩmɛmbə rɩt
23. SABA	wi šodə rɩmɛmbərd ɩ?
24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS	wi šoda mɛmba rɔm
25. ANTIGUA	awi bɩn fo mɛmbar ɔm
26. ST. VINCENT	aawi šoda mɛmbar ɔm
27. CARRIACOU	bɛta wi dɩ rɩmɛmba ɩt
28. GRENADA	wi šoda rɩmɛmbar ɩt
29. TOBAGO	wi šoda mɛmba ɩt
30. BARBADOS	wi šodə rɩmɛmbər ɩ?
31. TRINIDAD	wi šoda rɩmɛmba ɩt
32. NORFOLK IS.	wi ɔɔtə bi sə rɩmɛmbə rɛt
33. HAWAII	wi spoostu rɩmɛmbə rəm / wi šudə rɩmɛmbə rəm

A Trinidadian text dated 1845 has he bin go curse me ‘he would have cursed me’ (Winer in press), a construction repeated by Thomas (1870:58): ‘ e bin go drink am ‘he would have drunk it’. In Carriacou, wuda has been reduced to da: shi da-glad ‘she would have been happy’, wi da-dans tunait ‘we would have danced tonight’ (Kephart 1980:72). In modern Trinidadian and in Bahamaian and Barbadian, shall and can have been lost: you could speak French? ‘Can you speak French?’.

32. THEY ASKED ME IF I WANTED IT (Subordination with if)

1.	SARAMACCAN	de hakisi mi ee mi kɛ ẽ
2.	MATAWAI	dẽ akisi mi efu mi ke ẽ
3.	KWINTI	den akisi mi efu mi wan ẽ
4.	BONI (ALUKU)	dẽ aksi mi efu mi wani ẽ
5.	PARAMACCAN	de akiši mi efu mi wan ẽ
6.	DJUKA	dẽ akisi mi efu mi wani ẽ
7.	SRANAN	den aksi mi efi mi wan’ ẽ
8.	GUYANA	dɛm aks mɪ ɪf mɪ bɪn want am
9.	CAMEROON	dɛm as mi ɛfi mi a bi wɔnt am
10.	NIGERIA	dɛm as mi ifi a bin want am
11.	KRIO	dɛ̃ aks mi ɛf a bin want am
12.	BAHAMAS	dɛ æks mi ɪf a dəz wɔn əm
13.	SEA ISLANDS	dɛm aks mi ɛf a dʔz wɔɔn əm
14.	AFRO-SEMINOLE	dɛm ɑɑks mɪ ɛf a wɑn əm
15.	LIBERIA	de aas mi ɛf a wãã e
16.	BLACK ENGLISH	deɪ æɪks mɪy dɪd a woon ɪʔ
17.	PROVIDENCIA	dɛm aaks mi dɪd a waan ɪt
18.	BELIZE	dɛm aaks mi ɪf a waan ɪt
19.	CAYMANS	de aks mi ɪf a wɑnt ɪʔ
20.	JAMAICA	dɛm haaks mɪ ɪf mɪ waan ɪt
21.	ST. THOMAS	dɪ aaks mɪ ɪf aɪ waan ɪt
22.	ST. EUSTATIUS	de aaks mi ɪf aɪ wɔɔnt ɪt
23.	SABA	de ɑɑs mɪ dɪd ɒɪ wɑnt ɛt
24.	ST. KITTS/NEVIS	dɛm aaks mi ɪf mi doz wɑɑn ɔm
25.	ANTIGUA	dɛm ɑɑs mi ɪf mi waant ɔm
26.	ST. VINCENT	dɛ aks mi if mi waan ɔm
27.	CARRIACOU	de aks mi ɪf a dɪ want ɪt
28.	GRENADA	de aaks mi ɪf mi dɪ want ɪt
29.	TOBAGO	dɛm aaks mi ɪf mi ’n waan am
30.	BARBADOS	də aas mɪ ɪf aɪ wɔnt ɪʔ
31.	TRINIDAD	de dɪ aaks mi ɛf a dɪ wɔnt ɪt
32.	NORFOLK IS.	dɛm ɑɑsa mi ɛf ɑɪ wɔnt ɛt

33. HAWAII	de aas mi if aɩ laɩk əm

Some responses are given in the past tense.

33. TELL THAT MAN YOU'RE SORRY (Complementizer derived from say or talk; prepositional give [see also Sentence 21]; position of determiner)

1.SARAMACCAN	taki da di womi dɛ taa čali kisi i
2.MATAWAI	taki da di womi de taki čali kisi yu
3.KWINTI	ta gi a man dati taki yu šẽ
4.BONI (ALUKU)	ta gi a man dati taki čali kisi yu
5.PARAMACCAN	taa gi a man de taki čali kiši i / taa gi a man de čali kiši i
6.DJUKA	tai gi a man dati taki šen kisi yu
7.SRANAN	tai gi a man dati taki yu šen
8.GUYANA	tɛl a man dat sɛ yo sɑri / tɛl dat man sɛ yo sɑri
9.CAMEROON	tɛl da man se yu di šem
10.NIGERIA	tɛl da man se yu de šem
11.KRIO	tɛl da man se yu de šem
12.BAHAMAS	tɛl da man sɛ yu sɔri
13.SEA ISLANDS	tɛl da mɑn sɛ yo sɔri
14.AFRO-SEMINOLE	tɛl da man sɛ yo sɑri
15.LIBERIA	tɛ da mɛ̃ɛ̃ se yu sɑrɛ
16.BLACK ENGLISH	tɛə dæ mɛ̃ɛ̃ sɛɩ yo sɑrɛ
17.PROVIDENCIA	tɛl da man se yo sari
18.BELIZE	tɛl dat man se yu sari
19.CAYMANS	tɛl dɩ mɑɑn y? sɑri
20.JAMAICA	tɛl dara man se yu šyɛm
21.ST. THOMAS	tɛl da mɑn yo sɑri
22.ST. EUSTATIUS	tɛl dat man dat yu sɔɔri
23.SABA	se yu sɒri tu ðat man
24.ST. KITTS/NEVIS	tɛl da man sɛ yu sɑri
25.ANTIGUA	tɛl da man de se yo sari
26.ST. VINCENT	tɛl da man sɛ yo sɑri
27.CARRIACOU	tɛl da man yo sari
28.GRENADA	tɛl dat man yo sɑri
29.TOBAGO	tɛl dat man se yo sɑri
30.BARBADOS	tɛl dat man yu sɔri
31.TRINIDAD	tɛl dat man yo sɔri / tɛl dat man sɛ yo sɔri
32.NORFOLK IS.	tɛla da mɛɛɩn yu sɔɑri
33.HAWAII	tɛl da man yu sɑri

34. IT'S YOUR UNCLE WHO'S TALKING (Relativized clause marker; existential it's)

1.SARAMACCAN na a tio fi i di ta taki
2.MATAWAI na yu tio di ta taki / na yu tio fi i di ta taki
3.KWINTI a a tio fu yu di e taki
4.BONI (ALUKU) na yu tiu di e taki / na yu omu di e taki
5.PARAMACCAN na a omu fi i di e taki / na i omu di e taki / na a tiu fi i di e taki
6.DJUKA na a omu fu yu di e taki
7.SRANAN na a omu f' yu d' e taki
8.GUYANA a yo ?ŋkl a taak
9.CAMEROON na yɔ ɔŋko we i di tɔk
10.NIGERIA na yɔ ɔŋkul we de tɔk
11.KRIO na yu ɔŋkul we de tɔk
12.BAHAMAS dæ s yo ?ŋkl wɛ tɔkιn
13.SEA ISLANDS da də yo ?ŋkl w? də tααk
14.AFRO-SEMINOLE da də yo ?ŋkl w? də tααk
15.LIBERIA e bi yɔ ɔ̃ɔ̃ko lɛ tɔɔ
16.BLACK ENGLISH ι? čɔo ɔŋkow bιy tɔokin
17.PROVIDENCIA a fι yu ɔŋkl de taak
18.BELIZE da fι yu ɔŋkɔl de taak
19.CAYMANS ι s y? ?ŋkəl hu tɒɒkιn
20.JAMAICA a fι yo ɔŋkl wa a taak
21.ST. THOMAS da s yo ?ŋkl wα tααkιn
22.ST. EUSTATIUS da yo ɔŋk?l hu tɔɔkιn
23.SABA da s yɔ ɔŋkəl ðæ? s ə tɒɒkɛn
24.ST. KITTS/NEVIS a yo ?ŋkl wa a taak
25.ANTIGUA a fo yo ɔŋkl wa a taak
26.ST. VINCENT a fo yo ɔŋkl hu tɔɔkιn
27.CARRIACOU ιz yu ɔŋkl we taakιn
28.GRENADA ιz yɔ ɔŋkl wα tɔɔkɛn
29.TOBAGO a fo yo ɔŋkl we a taak
30.BARBADOS ιz yu ?ŋkl hu tɔɔkιn
31.TRINIDAD ιz yu ?ŋkl hu tɔɔkɛn
32.NORFOLK IS. ɛs yuus ?ŋkl də w?n tɔɔkɛn
33.HAWAII a s yɔ ɔŋku ste tɔɔk

35. SHE CONTINUALLY DOES IT (Repetitious/continuous action marker)

1. SARAMACCAN a ta du ẽ kodo
2. MATAWAI a ta du ẽ kodo / ibi yuu a ta du ẽ
3. KWINTI ala leisi a so a e du ẽ
4. BONI (ALUKU) a e du ẽ ala ten
5. PARAMACCAN a e du ẽ ala ton / a e du ẽ ala ten / a e du ẽ ala yuu

6. DJUKA	a e du ẽ ala ton
7. SRANAN	a e du ẽ ala tron
8. GUYANA	i a du am stɛdi
9. CAMEROON	hi fit kipɔn di du am
10. NIGERIA	i fit du am leralera
11. KRIO	i blant de du am / i kin kipɔn de du am
12. BAHAMAS	i stɛɛ duɪn əm / ši əz ɔlwez du ɪ?
13. SEA ISLANDS	i blã də du əm / i stɛdɪ də du əm
14. AFRO-SEMINOLE	i st?dɛ də du əm / i ɔɔweez də du əm
15. LIBERIA	ši ɔɔwee duĩ e
16. BLACK ENGLISH	šɪy stɛdɛ bɪy duin ɪ?
17. PROVIDENCIA	ɪm tɔdi do ɪt
18. BELIZE	i stɛdi du ɪt
19. CAYMANS	ši du ɪ? ɒɒl dɛ wɒɪl / ši kɒntɪnsli du ɪ?
20. JAMAICA	ɪm aazwiɛz dwiit
21. ST. THOMAS	ši stɛdi doɪn ɪt / ši fɔrɛva duɪn ɪt
22. ST. EUSTATIUS	ši ɔɔlwez do iit
23. SABA	ši kɔntɪnyuuz ə duɛn ɪ?
24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS	i aalwyɛz a doɪt / i aalwyɛz a du ɔm
25. ANTIGUA	i dɔz aalwyɑz du ɔm
26. ST. VINCENT	a so ši ’z aalweez du ɔm
27. CARRIACOU	ši dɔz du ɪt aal dɪ taɪm
28. GRENADA	ši ɑlwez duɛn ɪt
29. TOBAGO	ši dɔz aalwez du ?m
30. BARBADOS	ši du ɪt ɔɔl də t?ɪm
31. TRINIDAD	ši stɛdɪ duɛn ɪt / ši st?dɪ duɛn ɪt
32. NORFOLK IS.	ši duɛn ɛt ɔɔl a tœɪm
33. HAWAII	ši ɛritaɪm du əm

Contemporary SIC elicitation provided only the form /stɛdi/, although /st?di/ is found in 19th century texts: “Studdy (steady) is used to denote any continued or customary action. ‘He studdy ‘buse an’ cuss me’, complained one of the schoolchildren of another” (Allen 1865:744).

36. HOW DO PEOPLE MANAGE TO LIVE? (Habitual aspect marker; syntactic ordering in WH-questions [a]; see next sentence)

1.SARAMACCAN	un fa dee sɛmbɛ ta libi
2.MATAWAI	fa dẽ sembe ta libi
3.KWINTI	o fa a konde maŋ e libi
4.BONI (ALUKU)	fa den sama e libi / o fa a konde man e libi

5.PARAMACCAN	fa dẽ sama e libi / on fa dẽ sama e libi / fa a konde man e libi
6.DJUKA	fa dẽ sama e libi
7.SRANAN	fa dẽ s’ma e libi
8.GUYANA	h?o piipl a mɛk?ot
9.CAMEROON	ha pipo fit lif
10.NIGERIA	au pipul fit lif
11.KRIO	au pipul dɛn de manej fɔ lib
12.BAHAMAS	hao dɛ z mɛk ɩ? hɛə
13.SEA ISLANDS	hao piipəl də manɩj fə lɩb
14.AFRO-SEMINOLE	hao piipɩl də manɩč fə lɩv
15.LIBERIA	ha pipo dɔ mɛnɛ to lɩ
16.BLACK ENGLISH	hæo pi i pow mɛnɩjɩz tə lɩəv
17.PROVIDENCIA	hao pi ipl manɛj ɩt
18.BELIZE	ho piipɔl manɩj lɩv / ho piipɔl manɩj fo lɩv
19.CAYMANS	hao piipl manɩj lɩv
20.JAMAICA	ɔo piipl manɩj fɩ lɩb so
21.ST. THOMAS	t ɩz hao piipl manɩj to lɩv
22.ST. EUSTATIUS	hɔo piipl gɛt ɔɔn to lɩv
23.SABA	hɔo dɔz pipol manɛj to lɩv
24.ST. KITTS/NEVIS	a hɔo piipl dɔz a mɛk ɔot ya
25.ANTIGUA	a hɔo piipl dɔz kiip ɔp
26.ST. VINCENT	ɔo piipl a manɩj fo lɩb / a hɔo piipl ’ɔz manɩj fo lɩb
27.CARRIACOU	------
28.GRENADA	hɔo piipl dɔz manej to lɩv
29.TOBAGO	a hɔo piipl dɔz manɛj fo get baɩ
30.BARBADOS	hɔo pipəl manɩj to lɩv
31.TRINIDAD	hɔo piipo d?z manɩj tu lɩv
32.NORFOLK IS.	wɔtəwɛɛ s?l?n mænɩč fə lɩw
33.HAWAII	hɔo piipu stee lɩv

37. WHY CAN’T YOU DO IT? (Syntactic ordering in WH-questions [b])

1. SARAMACCAN	fa andi mbei i a sa du ɛ̃
2. MATAWAI	andi me i a mã du ẽ
3. KWINTI	sa de y’ a maŋ du ẽ
4. BONI (ALUKU)	sa i de i na man du ẽ
5. PARAMACCAN	sa i de i ã man du ẽ
6. DJUKA	fu sai de yu a poi du ẽ
7. SRANAN	sai de i no maŋ du ẽ
8. GUYANA	a wa mɛk yo kyãã du am / waɩ yo kyãã du am
9. CAMEROON	fɔseka wati yu no fit du am

10. NIGERIA	wai yu no fit du am
11. KRIO	na wetin du yu nɔ ebul du ã
12. BAHAMAS	wa yu kyãã du əm
13. SEA ISLANDS	wɒɩ yo cãã du əm / mɛk yo cãã du əm
14. AFRO-SEMINOLE	mɛk so yu kyã du ?m
15. LIBERIA	hwa yu kẽẽ du e
16. BLACK ENGLISH	hwæ yuw keɩn duw ɩ?
17. PROVIDENCIA	wa mek yu kyaan du ɩt
18. BELIZE	waɩ yu kyaan du ɩt
19. CAYMANS	waɩ yə kyãã du ɩ?
20. JAMAICA	a wa mɛk yo kyaan dwiit
21. ST. THOMAS	waɩ yu kyaan du ɩt
22. ST. EUSTATIUS	wɑɩ yu kaan dwɩt
23. SABA	wɔɩ yəo kaant dəo ɛ?
24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS	waɩ yu kyaan doɩt
25. ANTIGUA	a hɔo yo kyaan du ɔm
26. ST. VINCENT	wa mɛk yo kyaan du ɔm
27. CARRIACOU	hɔo yo kyaan du ɩt
28. GRENADA	waɩ yu kyaan du ɩt
29. TOBAGO	a hɔo yo kyaan du ɩ?
30. BARBADOS	w?ɩ yu kyaan du ɩ?
31. TRINIDAD	waɩ yu kyaa du ɩt
32. NORFOLK IS.	fot yu kɑɑ du ɛt
33. HAWAII	hɔo k?m yu no kæn du əm

38. IT'S AS THOUGH HE'S NOT COMING HERE, ISN'T IT?
(Like meaning 'it's as though'; tag forms)

1.SARAMACCAN	a ta de kuma a ã ko aki, nɔ
2.MATAWAI	a tan kuma a ã ta ko aki, no
3.KWINTI	a tã eki a n' e kõ ya, no
4.BONI (ALUKU)	a tã eke a n' e kõ ya, no
5.PARAMACCAN	a tã eke a na e kon ya, no
6.DJUKA	a tã eke a n' e kõ d' ya, no
7.SRANAN	a tã leiki a n' e kon d' ya so, no
8.GUYANA	i lok laɩk i na go k?m he, n?
9.CAMEROON	i bi lak fɔ se hi no go kɔm fɔ dis sat, no bi so
10.NIGERIA	abi i no go kɔm fɔ hia, no so
11.KRIO	i tã lɛkɛ i nɔ go kam na ya, ɛnti
12.BAHAMAS	lok laɩk i ɛ̃ gə k?m nɛə, hɛ
13.SEA ISLANDS	lɒɩk i yɛnt k?mɩn y?, ɛntɩ
14.AFRO-SEMINOLE	lok l?kə ɩm n' ɛn kəm y?, ɛntɩ
15.LIBERIA	lo læ i na gɑ̃ kɔ̃ ya, ɛnɛ

16.BLACK ENGLISH laɪk ɩy ẽĩ kəmin hiə, eenɩ?
17.PROVIDENCIA ɩm no gwaɩn kɔm hya, ɛnt
18.BELIZE ɩ lok laɩk i no de kɔm ya, no čuu
19.CAYMANS ɩz lɑɩk i nɔɔ kɔm y?, nn
20.JAMAICA tã ka ɩm na a kɔm ya, no
21.ST. THOMAS t ɩz laɩk hi n k?mɩn, ɩntɩt
22.ST. EUSTATIUS ɩ lok lɒɩk hi ẽ k?mɩn hiə, d?n ɩt
23.SABA ɩ? lo?s lɒɩk hi ẽ kɔɔmɛn hi?, d?n ɛ?
24.ST. KITTS/NEVIS laɩk i na a kom ya, na
25.ANTIGUA laɩk i a na kom ya, na
26.ST. VINCENT lɛk i ɛn go kɔm, ɛŋ
27.CARRIACOU laɩk i ɛn kɔmɩn, wi
28.GRENADA laɩk hi ɛn kɔmɛn, ɛnɛt
29.TOBAGO laɩk i na a kɔm ya, ɛnt
30.BARBADOS l?ɩk hi ɛn k?mɩn hɩa, ɛnt
31.TRINIDAD laɩk hi ee k?mɛn hɛɛ, ɛntɩ
32.NORFOLK IS. sɛmis θɩŋ hi nɔ k?mɛn yɩ?, ɛnɩə / jɛs lɑɩk ə θɩŋ hi nɔ k?mɛn
33.HAWAII lo? laɩk hi no go k?m, no

Tagged ain't it can also be sentence initial in 11, 13, 14, and 17, and probably elsewhere. Norfolk also has hinkəb?s (? < think about) for 'I don't think' (Harrison 1972:308), now obsolescent: hinkəb?S hi nɔ k?mɛn yi? 'I don't think he's coming here'.

39. (WERE YOU ASKING WHETHER) I WANT TO GO WITH YOU? (Repetition for clarification with if; along (of) for 'with')

1. SARAMACCAN ee mi bi kɛ go ku i
2. MATAWAI efu mi bi ke go ku yu
3. KWINTI 'fu mi be wani g' aŋga yu
4. BONI (ALUKU) efu mi be wani go aŋga yu
5. PARAMACCAN efu mi be wani go aŋga i
6. DJUKA efu mi be wani go aŋga yu
7. SRANAN efi mi ben wani fu go naŋa yu
8. GUYANA ɛf a wãã gɔ wɩd yo / ɛf mɩ wãã fo go wɩd yo
9. CAMEROON ifi mi a bi wan fɔ go witi yu
10. NIGERIA ifi a bin wan go witi yu
11. KRIO ɛf a bin wan go wit yu
12. BAHAMAS ɩf aɩ wɔn goo wɩt yu
13. SEA ISLANDS ɛf a wɔɔn go lɔɔŋ yu
14. AFRO-SEMINOLE ɛf a wɑn go lɔɔŋə yu
15. LIBERIA ɛf a wɔ̃ɔ̃ to go wɩ yo
16. BLACK ENGLISH ɛf a woonɩ? tə goo wɩ čow

17. PROVIDENCIA ɩf mi waan go wɩd yu
18. BELIZE ɩf a waan go wɩd yu
19. CAYMANS y? ɑɑksɩn mɩ wɛdə a wã go wɩd y?
20. JAMAICA ɛf mɩ waan goɔ wɩ yu / ɛf mɩ waan fɩ goɔ wɩ yo
21. ST. THOMAS a waan go wɩt yo
22. ST. EUSTATIUS ɩf a wɔ̃ɔ̃ go wɩd yu
23. SABA ɩf ɒɩ d go wɩð yu
24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS ɩf mi waan goɔ wɩd yo
25. ANTIGUA ɩf mi waan go wɩd yo
26. ST. VINCENT ɩf mi waan go wɩd yo
27. CARRIACOU ɩf a want to go wɩt yu
28. GRENADA ɩf a waan go wɩd yo
29. TOBAGO ɩf mɩ waan go wɩd yo
30. BARBADOS ɩf aɩ wɔ̃ go wɩd yu
31. TRINIDAD ɩf a wɔn to go wɩd yu
32. NORFOLK IS. yu bɩn ɑɑs wæædə ɑɩ bɩn wɑnt fə goo lɔŋə yu
33. HAWAII if aɩ laɩk go

40. IS THERE A CHURCH IN THIS STREET (Existential there is; see also sentences 6, 34, and 38)

1. SARAMACCAN keyki de a a tiiti disi
2. MATAWAI keyki de a wan pasi ala
3. KWINTI ceyci de na sitaati disi
4. BONI (ALUKU) keliki de na a sitaati disi
5. PARAMACCAN keliki de na a štati ya
6. DJUKA keeki de na a tiiti disi
7. SRANAN cerci de na a triti disi
8. GUYANA dɛm gɑt č?č pan dɩs strit
9. CAMEROON čɔs de fɔ dis sitrit
10. NIGERIA šɔši de fɔ dis strit
11. KRIO čɔč de na dis trit / dɛ̃ gɛ čɔč na dis trit
12. BAHAMAS ɩz ɛni čəɩč tru dɩs kɔnə / hæß čəɩč tru dɩs kɔnə
13. SEA ISLANDS č?č de inə dɩs čriit
14. AFRO-SEMINOLE č?č de iin dɩsəy? sčriit
15. LIBERIA dɛ ɛ čəɩč in dɩs sčrii
16. BLACK ENGLISH ɩ s ə čəɩč ɔon dɩs sčrɩy?
17. PROVIDENCIA dɛm gɑt wan čɔrč ya so
18. BELIZE dɛm gɑt wan čɔč ina dɩs strit
19. CAYMANS ɩz iidə č?č y? n? dɩs strii?
20. JAMAICA čɔč de ina dɩs triit
21. ST. THOMAS t ɩz a č??č ɩn dɩs striit
22. ST. EUSTATIUS de hav ə čəˆč ɩn də sčrit

23. SABA iz dɛə ə čəˆč ɒn dɩs strii?
24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS dɛm gɑt wan čɔč iin dɩs črit
25. ANTIGUA dɛm gat wan čɔč ɩna dɩs čiit ya
26. ST. VINCENT čə?ə?č dɛ ɩn dɩs sčriit
27. CARRIACOU i av a čɔč ɩn dɩs strit
28. GRENADA dɛ hav a čə?č ɩn dɩs čriit
29. TOBAGO t ha a čɔč ɩn dɩs čriit
30. BARBADOS də gɔt ə čə?č ɩn dɩs striit
31. TRINIDAD ɩt av a čəəč ɩn dɩs striit
32. NORFOLK IS. gɑt ɛni čəəč in ee strii?
33. HAWAII gɛ? w?n čəˆrč ɔn dɩs sčrii?

In Caymanian, is replaces existential de: “don’t never let nobody ever tell you that there ain’t no duppies … duppies is” (Fuller 1967:64; cf. Jamaican dopi de). In Bay Islands, this is be: dɛ biiz ?nə də rɔks ‘they’re under the rocks’, dɛ bi də pigz ‘there are the pigs’ (Ryan 1973:132). Guyanese has deying: hi woz deyin aal abaut.

41. THEY WILL SOON BE TIRED OF FIGHTING (Gerund expressed by infinitive)

1. SARAMACCAN a biti mɔɔ, de o wei fu feti
2. MATAWAI dẽ o wei fu feti a biti moo aki
3. KWINTI den o wei fu feti joso
4. BONI (ALUKU) den o weli fu feti jonson
5. PARAMACCAN dẽ sa weli fu feti jonso
6. DJUKA den o weli fu feti jonso
7. SRANAN den sa weri fu feti jonsno / den sa weri fu feti bembei
8. GUYANA dɛm go taya fo faɩt jɛs n?o / bambaɩ dɛm go taya fo faɩt
9. CAMEROON dɛm go taya fɔ fait jɔsna
10. NIGERIA simɔl taim dɛm go taya fɔ fait
11. KRIO dɛn go taya fɔ fɛt jisnɔ / bambai dɛn go taya fɔ fɛt
12. BAHAMAS dɛm gə suun tayə fə fɒɩt
13. SEA ISLANDS dɛm go gɩt tayə fə fɒɩt podi suun
14. AFRO-SEMINOLE dɛm ɛn suun gɩt t?ɩə fə faɩt
15. LIBERIA bambaɩ dɛm ɛn gɩt t?ɩə fə faɩt
16. BLACK ENGLISH dɛy gõõ sown gɩ? tææd ə fææ?n
17. PROVIDENCIA dem gwaɩn taɩad fɩ faɩt suun
18. BELIZE de wãã taɩad fɩ faɩt dɩrɛkli
19. CAYMANS de suun tɑɩəd ə fɑɩtɩn
20. JAMAICA baɩmbaɩ dɛm wɩ taya fɩ faɩt
21. ST. THOMAS dɩ suun goon bɩ taɩad a faɩtɩn
22. ST. EUSTATIUS de gɔɩn suun gɛ? tɑɩəd ə fɑɩt

23. SABA — de woi suun gɛt tɑɪəd ə tɑɪtɛd
24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS — dɛm go suun taɪad a faɪtɪn
25. ANTIGUA — dɛm wɪ taɪad fo faɪt jɔs nɔo
26. ST. VINCENT — dɛ go suun kɔm tuu taɪad fo faɪt
27. CARRIACOU — de go taɪad faɪt sun
28. GRENADA — de go suun taɪə?d a faɪtɛn
29. TOBAGO — dɛm go taɪad fo faɪt vɛri suun
30. BARBADOS — de g?ɪn gɛ? taɪ?rd ə fɑɪ?ɪn suun
31. TRINIDAD — dɛm go suun gɛt taɪəd ɔv faɪtɛn
32. NORFOLK IS. — dɛm gwɛnə taɪɛd fo faɪt bɛmbɛɪ
33. HAWAII — de gõõ gɛt tayad faɪtin prɪdi suun

Krio (and probably others) just now can mean ‘a little while ago’ as well as ‘in a little while’.

42. THE DOG OF THE MAN WHO LIVES IN THAT HOUSE, IS NAMED KING (Predicate with complex subject)

1. SARAMACCAN — di dagu fu di womi dati di libi n’ a wosu de a nɛ̃ kiŋ
2. MATAWAI — di dagu fu di womi di ta libi a di wosu ade, ẽ nẽ kiŋ
3. KWINTI — a dagu di libi n’ a osu dati f’a man dati, a dagu nen kiŋ
4. BONI (ALUKU) — a dagu f’ a man di e libi na ini a osu de, en nen kiŋ
5. PARAMACCAN — a dagu fu a man di e libi ini a osu de, en nen kiŋ
6. DJUKA — a dagu f’ a man di libi ini a osu dati, a nen kiŋ
7. SRANAN — a dagu f’ a man di libi n’ ini a oso dati nen kiŋ
8. GUYANA — a man w? lɪv a da hɔos dag neem kiŋ
9. CAMEROON — di dɔk we i bi se na di man we lif fɔ da has gɛt am, i nem kiŋ
10. NIGERIA — di dɔg we na di man we lif fɔ da haus gɛt am, i nem kiŋ
11. KRIO — di man we tap na da os dɔg nɛm kiŋ
12. BAHAMAS — də mæn lɪß ɪn dæ? hæos dɔg i nɛm kiŋ
13. SEA ISLANDS — dɪ dɒg fə dɪ mɑn w? lɪß iinə da hɔos neem kiŋ
14. AFRO-SEMINOLE — dɪ dag ə də man w? lɪb iin da h?os neem kɪŋ
15. LIBERIA — dɛ mɛ̃ɛ̃ wɔ stee ĩ da hɑo gɑ e dɑ nẽẽ kĩĩ
16. BLACK ENGLISH — də mɛ̃ɛ̃ lɪəv in dæ? hæəs dɔog nẽĩ kiəŋ
17. PROVIDENCIA — di dag fɪ di maan wɛ lɪv ɪna di haos nyɛm kiŋ
18. BELIZE — da man dag wɛ lɪv ɪna da hɔos nyɛm kiŋ
19. CAYMANS — da mɑn ho lɪv ɪn da hɔos, i dɑg neem kɪn
20. JAMAICA — di maan wa lɪb iina da hɔos daag nyɛm kiŋ
21. ST. THOMAS — dɪ man hu lɪv ɪn da haos dag neem kɪŋ
22. ST. EUSTATIUS — di man dɔg ho lɪv in dɪ hɒos i nem kɪŋ
23. SABA — dɪ maanz dɒg da? lɪvz ɪn da? haos ɪz neɪm kɪŋ
24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS — di dag a dɪ maan wa a lɪb in da hɔos nɪem kɪŋ
25. ANTIGUA — i man wa a lɪb ɪna da hɔos dag nyam kɪŋ

26.ST. VINCENT fo i man dɑg wa a lɪb in da hɔos neem kɪŋ
27.CARRIACOU dɪ dɑg fo dɪ man we steɪɪn ɪn dat hɔos i neɪm kɪŋ
28.GRENADA dɪ dɑg wat bɪlɔŋ to dɪ man hu lɪvɛn in dat hɔos neem kɪŋ
29.TOBAGO di dag fɪ di man we a lɪv in dat hɔos neem kɪŋ
30.BARBADOS dɪ dɔg da? bɪlɔŋ to dɪ man da? lɪv ɪn da? hɔos, i neem kɪŋ
31.TRINIDAD di dɔg dat bɪlɔŋ tu di man dat lɪvɛn ɪn dat hɔos, neem kɪŋ
32.NORFOLK IS. ɑɑ mɛɛɪn lɛwɛn in ɑɑ hœYs gɑ? w?n dɔɔg də neɪm ɛz kɪŋ
33.HAWAII da man liv iin dat hɑos, hɪz dɔg neɪm kiŋ

St. Vincent and Antigua i for 'the' has also been noted for Providencia/San Andrés (Holm 1983a:163); both dialects also have i as a variant of fi (Holm 1983a). Compare u < fu in Suriname Creoles.

43. HERE'S MY BOOK, AND THERE'S THE LIBRARY

(Expression of demonstratives here is/are, there is/are)

1.SARAMACCAN luku di buku aki fu mi, te luku di buku-wosu di dɛ ala
2.MATAWAI luku di buku fu mi aki, luku di buku-osu di de ala
3.KWINTI luku a buku disi ya fu mi, ma luku a moo-fuu-pisi yanda
4.BONI (ALUKU) luku a buku fu mi ya, luku di buku-osu di de anda
5.PARAMACCAN luku a buku fu mi ya, luku di buku-osu di de anda
6.DJUKA luku a buku disi fu mi, luku a buku-osu di de anda
7.SRANAN luk' a buku dis' f' mi, dape a buku-oso de
8.GUYANA lok mi bok he, an lok di laɪbri de yanda
9.CAMEROON luk ma buk fɔ hia, an die laibri de fɔ yɔnda
10.NIGERIA luk ma buk fɔ ma han, di laibri de ova de
11.KRIO luk mi buk ya so, ɛn yanda na di laibri
12.BAHAMAS dɪs hɛə ma bok, ən dæs də laɪbri
13.SEA ISLANDS dɪš y? də mɪ bok, ɛn da də dɪ lɒɪbri
14.AFRO-SEMINOLE dɪš y? də mɪ bok, ɛn da də dɪ laɪbrɪ
15.LIBERIA lo ma bo yɛ so, ɛ̃ dɪ labrɛ de oowə de
16.BLACK ENGLISH hɪ gow ma bo?, ɛn da gow də labɛrɛ
17.PROVIDENCIA ya so mi bok, de so di laɪbrɛri
18.BELIZE dɪs da mɪ bok, ɛn dat da di laɪbrɛri
19.CAYMANS dɪs mɒɪ bok, an dɛɛ z dɪ lɒɪbri
20.JAMAICA ku fɪ mɪ bok ya so, an dɪ laɪbrɛri de yanda
21.ST. THOMAS lok mɪ bok, sii dɪ laɪbrə
22.ST. EUSTATIUS lok m?ɪ bok hi?, æn dat dɪ laɪbri
23.SABA hɛə z mɒɪ bo? aan dɛəə z də l?ɪbri dɛ?
24.ST. KITTS/NEVIS lok mi bok ya, an de dɪ laɪbri
25.ANTIGUA ku mi bok ya so, an i laɪbri wa de so so
26.ST. VINCENT lok mɪ bok ya, an de i laɪbri
27.CARRIACOU lok mɪ bok ye, an lok dɪ laɪbrɛri de

28. GRENADA	lok a mɩ bok, an dɛ dɩ laɩbɛri
29. TOBAGO	luku mɩ bok ya so, an yanda de dɩ laɩbri
30. BARBADOS	lok? m?ɩ bok? hiir, an lok? di laɩbri de
31. TRINIDAD	lok mɩ bok hɛɛ, an dɩ laɩbri de de
32. NORFOLK IS.	hæs mαɩs bok, ɛn dααs αα lɒɩbri dɛon dɛə
33. HAWAII	dɩs maɩ bok, an dɛa da laɩbɛri

U.S. Black English forms also occur in Pitcairn as higɔ: and ha:gɔ: (Ross and Moverley 1964:231), not recorded for Norfolk Island Creole. Beekie (1967:86) records Guyanese lookoo 'exclamation: look', not provided by any of the present informants.

44. DID YOU WALK HERE OR RUN HERE? (Nominalizing and fronting verb for emphasis or contrast)

1. SARAMACCAN	da waka i waka naa da kule i kule ko aki
2. MATAWAI	da waka yu waka efu da kule yu kule ko aki
3. KWINTI	na waka yu waka ofu na lon yu lon kon ya
4. BONI (ALUKU)	na waka yu waka efu na lon yu lon kon ya
5. PARAMACCAN	na waka i waka efu na lon i lon kon ya
6. DJUKA	na waka yu waka ofu na lon yu lon kon ya
7. SRANAN	na waka i waka ef' na lon i lon kon d' ya
8. GUYANA	a waak yo waak ar a r?n yo r?n k?m he
9. CAMEROON	na wɔka yu wɔka ɔ na rɔn yu rɔn kɔm fɔ hia
10. NIGERIA	na wɔka yu wɔka ɔ na rɔn yu rɔn kɔm fɔ hia
11. KRIO	na waka yu waka ɔ na rɔn yu rɔn kã ya
12. BAHAMAS	ɩz wɔɔk yə wɔɔk ɔr ɩz r?n yo r?n k?m hɛə
13. SEA ISLANDS	yo wɔɔk y? ɔɔ yo r?n y?
14. AFRO-SEMINOLE	ho wɔɔk y? ɔɔ yo r?n y?
15. LIBERIA	yo wɔɔ hɛɛ ɔɔ yo rɔ̃ hɛɛ
16. BLACK ENGLISH	ɩz yo wɔok ɔ rə?n tə gɩč iə
17. PROVIDENCIA	ɩz waak yo waak aar ɩz rɔn yo rɔn kɔm ya
18. BELIZE	da waak yo waak ɔ da rɔn yo rɔn kɔm ya
19. CAYMANS	yo dɩd wɔɔk hɛə ɔɔ r?n hɛə
20. JAMAICA	a waak yo waak ar a rɔn yo rɔn kɔm ya
21. ST. THOMAS	yu waak y? ɔɔ yu r?n y?
22. ST. EUSTATIUS	yo wɔɔk hɩ? ɔɔ yo r?n hɩ?
23. SABA	yo wɔɔ hɛə ɔɔ yo ræn
24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS	a waak yo waak aar a rɔn yo rɔn ya
25. ANTIGUA	a waak yo waak ar a rɔn yu mɩ rɔn kom ya
26. ST. VINCENT	a waak yo waak ar a r?n yo r?n k?m ya
27. CARRIACOU	ɩz waak yo waak ɔ rɔn yo rɔn to riič ye
28. GRENADA	ɩz waak yo waak ar ɩz rɔn yo rɔn to gɛt ya
29. TOBAGO	a waak yo waak ar a rɔn yo ɩn rɔn kɔm ya

30. BARBADOS	yo wɔɔk hir ɔr yo r?n
31. TRINIDAD	ɪz wɔɔk yo wɔɔk ɔɔ ɪz r?n yo r?n hɛɛ
32. NORFOLK IS.	yu wɔɔk dɛon yɪ?, ?lə ron dɛon yɪ?
33. HAWAII	yu ʼɛn wɔɔk ɔ yu ʼɛn r?n hia

45. SHE GROUND THE CORN WITH A PESTLE (Instrumental construction expressed serially with take)

1. SARAMACCAN	a bi teki tati masika kalu / a masika kalu ku tati
2. MATAWAI	a bi teki tati naki kalu
3. KWINTI	a be teki mai tiki masi kalu
4. BONI (ALUKU)	a be teki mata tiki maši kalu
5. PARAMACCAN	a teki mata tiki maši kalu
6. DJUKA	a be teki tiki mata masi kalu
7. SRANAN	a ben teki mata tiki masi a karu
8. GUYANA	ɪ teek mɔɔta stɪk fo maš kaarn
9. CAMEROON	ni bi tek di mɔta sitik fɔ maš kɔn
10. NIGERIA	hi bin tek mɔta sitik fɔ maš kɔn
11. KRIO	i tek mata tik mas kɔn / i tek mata tik fɔ mas kɔn
12. BAHAMAS	ši tɛk mɔɔtə stɪk fə graɪn də kɔrn
13. SEA ISLANDS	i tɛk pɛsl fə grɒɪn kɔɔn
14. AFRO-SEMINOLE	i gr?ɪn də kɔɔn wɪd w?n pɛsɪl
15. LIBERIA	ši maš dɛ kɔ̃ɔ̃ wɪ mɔɔda pɛso
16. BLACK ENGLISH	šɪy græ̃æ̃ də kɔ̃ɔ̃ wɪf ə pɛsow
17. PROVIDENCIA	ɪm tek maata stɪk graɪn dɪ kaarn
18. BELIZE	i tek maata stɪk fɪ graɪn kaan
19. CAYMANS	ši pɔoŋ dɪ kɔɔn wɪd ə pɛsl
20. JAMAICA	ɪm tɛk maata tɪk maš kaan
21. ST. THOMAS	ši graɪn dɪ kaan wɪd ə pɛsl
22. ST. EUSTATIUS	ši graɪn di kɔɔn wɪd ə pɛsl
23. SABA	ši graon di kɔrn wɪð ə pesl
24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS	ši tɛk wan pɛsl fo graɪn dɪ kaan
25. ANTIGUA	i tek wan pɛsl graɪn dɪ kaan
26. ST. VINCENT	i teek pɛsl fo graɪn i kaan
27. CARRIACOU	ši tek a pɛsl an graɪn dɪ kɔɔn
28. GRENADA	ši teek a pɛsl an graɪn dɪ kaan
29. TOBAGO	ši tek wan mɔɔta pɛsl an graɪn ɔp dɪ karn
30. BARBADOS	ši grɑɪn dɪ kɔrn wɪd pɛsl
31. TRINIDAD	ši graɪn dɪ kɔɔn wɪd mɔɔtə pɛsl
32. NORFOLK IS.	ši graɪn ɛm kɔɔn lɔŋə w?n pɛsl
33. HAWAII	ši smaš da kɔn wɪt wan meyaku?i

Samples with for grind may also be interpreted as ‘in order to grind’, whether the corn was actually ground or not. For a discussion of this construction, see especially Bickerton (1981:119-26).

46. I WAS SO HUNGRY, I ALMOST DIED (Until/(so) till meaning ‘to the extent that’)

1.SARAMACCAN	aŋgi bi de ku mi tee, mi bi kɛ dɛdɛ
2.MATAWAI	aŋgi bi kii mi te, mi sa dede
3.KWINTI	aŋgii be kisi mi tee, mi be wani dede
4.BONI (ALUKU)	aŋgii be kii mi te, mi be wani dede
5.PARAMACCAN	aŋgii be kii mi te, mi be wan dede / aŋgii be kiši mi te, mi be wan dede
6.DJUKA	aŋgii be kisi mi tee, mi be wani dede
7.SRANAN	aŋgri ben kisi mi sote, mi ben wan dede
8.GUYANA	h?ŋgri bɩn a kyač mɩ sote, mɩ bɩn waan daɩ
9.CAMEROON	mi a bi hɔŋgri sute, a bi wan dai
10.NIGERIA	a bin hɔŋgri sote, a bin wan dai
11.KRIO	aŋgri bin de keč mi sote, a bin wan dai
12.BAHAMAS	mi dɩ həŋgri so tɩl a mous daɩ
13.SEA ISLANDS	a hɔɔŋgrɩ tw?l a mous dɛɩd
14.AFRO-SEMINOLE	a bɩn h?ŋgri so tɩl a moos dai
15.LIBERIA	a wɔ so hɔŋgrɛ tɛɛ a nyalɛ daa
16.BLACK ENGLISH	a wəz soo hɔŋgri tɩl a nɩɩlɩ dææ
17.PROVIDENCIA	mi mɛn hɔŋgri so tɩl mi mɛ̃ wãã dɛd
18.BELIZE	mi mɛ ɔŋgri swo tɛl mi mɛ waan dɛd
19.CAYMANS	a waz so hɔŋgri a niilɩ dɛd
20.JAMAICA	mi ɛn ɔŋgri swo tee mi ɛn waan fɩ dɛd
21.ST. THOMAS	a bɩn s? h?ŋgri tɩl a neel ɩ daɩ
22.ST. EUSTATIUS	a so h?ŋgri dat a nyalɩ dɑɩ
23.SABA	ɒɩ wɔz so h?ŋgri dat ɒɩ niəli dɒɩd
24.ST. KITTS/NEVIS	mi bɩn so h?ŋgri mɩ nyeelɩ dɛd
25.ANTIGUA	mi mɩn so hɔŋgri tɩl mɩ nyalɩ dɛd
26.ST. VINCENT	mi bɩn so hɔŋgri tɩl mɩ nyelɩ dɛd
27.CARRIACOU	------
28.GRENADA	a dɩ so hɔŋgri dat a neelɩ dɛd
29.TOBAGO	mi ɩn so hɔŋgri tɩl mɩ nɛɛlɩ dɛd
30.BARBADOS	a dɩ so hʌŋgri tɩl a nyali dɒɩ
31.TRINIDAD	a dɩ s? hɔŋgri tɩl a nɛɛlɩ daɩ
32.NORFOLK IS.	ɑɩ da h?ŋgrɩ ɑɩ mosə deeɩd
33.HAWAII	aɩ bɩn so h?ŋgri lɩli mo aɩ bɩn mɑkɛ

Jones (1888:40) has so tell for 19th century SIC, recorded in contemporary ASC, though not provided by the present SIC informants: Eh skade so tell eh scacely kin keep eh seat.

47. THEY LOVE EACH OTHER (Expression of reciprocity)

1.	SARAMACCAN	de lobi de seei
2.	MATAWAI	dẽ lobi dẽ seepi
3.	KWINTI	den lobi den seefi
4.	BONI (ALUKU)	den lobi den seefi
5.	PARAMACCAN	den lobi den seefi
6.	DJUKA	den lobi den seefi
7.	SRANAN	den lobi den srefi
8.	GUYANA	dɛm a lɔb mati
9.	CAMEROON	dɛm lak dɛm sɛp
10.	NIGERIA	dɛm laik dɛm sɛf
11.	KRIO	dɛn lɛk dɛn sɛf
12.	BAHAMAS	de l?v iič ?də
13.	SEA ISLANDS	dɛm l?ß iič?də
14.	AFRO-SEMINOLE	dɛm lə?v iič?də
15.	LIBERIA	de læ dɛ̃ sɛf
16.	BLACK ENGLISH	dey lə?ə?vz ıyč əvə
17.	PROVIDENCIA	de lɔv wan anada / de laık wan anada
18.	BELIZE	de laık wan anada
19.	CAYMANS	de lɔv iič ɔda
20.	JAMAICA	dɛm lɔb iič ɔda
21.	ST. THOMAS	dı l?v iič ?da
22.	ST. EUSTATIUS	de lɔv wan ənɔdə
23.	SABA	de l?v w?n ən?ðə
24.	ST. KITTS/NEVIS	dɛm lɔb iičɔda
25.	ANTIGUA	dɛm lɔb wan anada
26.	ST. VINCENT	de lɔv wɔn anada
27.	CARRIACOU	------
28.	GRENADA	dɛ lɔvɛn iič ada
29.	TOBAGO	dɛm lɔv iič ada
30.	BARBADOS	de lov iič ?də
31.	TRINIDAD	de l?v iič ɔda
32.	NORFOLK IS.	dɛm tu l?w w?n nææd?
33.	HAWAII	de l?v iič ada

48. HE EVEN HAD ANOTHER HORSE (Another expressed by next or tra [< t'other]; even expressed by self)

1.	SARAMACCAN	a bi habi wan oto hasi seepi

2. MATAWAI	a bi abi wã oto asi seepi / a bi abi wã taa asi seepi
3. KWINTI	a be abi wan taa asi seefi
4. BONI (ALUKU)	a be abi wan taa asi seefi
5. PARAMACCAN	a be a wan taa aši seefi / a bi a wan taa aši seefi
6. DJUKA	a be abi wan taa asi seefi
7. SRANAN	a ben abi wan tra asi srefi / a ben kisi wan tra asi srefi
8. GUYANA	i gɑt wan nɛks haars sɛlf
9. CAMEROON	hi bi gɛt wan ɔda hɔs sɛp / hi bi kaš wan ɔda hɔs sɛp
10. NIGERIA	i bin gɛt wan ɔda hɔs sɛf
11. KRIO	i bin gɛt wan ɔda ɔs sɛf / i bin gɛt ɔda ɔs sɛf
12. BAHAMAS	i gɑt ən?də hɔɔs sɛf
13. SEA ISLANDS	i haa n?də hɔɔs sɛf
14. AFRO-SEMINOLE	i haa n?də hɔɔs sɛf
15. LIBERIA	hɩ gɑ anɔda hɔɔ sɛf
16. BLACK ENGLISH	hɩy iivn gɑ? ənəvə hɔɔəs
17. PROVIDENCIA	ɩm av a nɛks haas sɛlf 18
18. BELIZE	ɩm av a nɛks aas sɛlf
19. CAYMANS	i iibm hɛd ən?də hɔɔs
20. JAMAICA	ɩm ha wan nɛks haas sɛf
21. ST. THOMAS	ɩ iivn gɑt an?da haas
22. ST. EUSTATIUS	i iiv?n gɑt ənɔdə hɔrs
23. SABA	i iiv?n gɑt ən?ðə hɔrs
24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS	i gɑt wan nɛks haas sɛlf
25. ANTIGUA	i gɑt wan nɛks haas sɛlf
26. ST. VINCENT	i gɔt a nɛks haas sɛf
27. CARRIACOU	i dɩ av a nɛks hɔs agɛn
28. GRENADA	i hav a nɛks haas sɛlf
29. TOBAGO	i bɩn iivn ha wan nɛks hars
30. BARBADOS	hi gɔt ə nɛks hɔrs sɛlf
31. TRINIDAD	hi gɔt a nɛks hɔɔs sɛlf
32. NORFOLK IS.	hi iiwən gɑt nææd? hɔɔs
33. HAWAII	hi stee gɛ? w?n ada hɔs tuu

49. IF YOU WERE STILL THE LEADER (Expression of subjunctive by present indicative; expression of still)

1. SARAMACCAN	ee i bi da di basi ete
2. MATAWAI	efu yu bi de di basi yeti
3. KWINTI	efu yu be yete de a basi
4. BONI (ALUKU)	efi yu be de basi ete
5. PARAMACCAN	efi i be de a baši ete
6. DJUKA	efu yu be de a basi ete
7. SRANAN	ef' i ben de a basi ete

8. GUYANA	ɛf yo bɪn stɪl bi dɪ kyapm / ɛf yo bɪn stɪl a dɪ kyapm
9. CAMEROON	ifi yu bi bi di hɛt man sute nau
10. NIGERIA	ifi yu bin bi di hɛd man sote nau
11. KRIO	ɛf yu bin stil bi di edman / ɛf yu na bin di edman te nɔ
12. BAHAMAS	ɪf yu dɪ stɪl bi də liidə
13. SEA ISLANDS	ɛf yu bɪn stɪl de də liidə / ɛf yu bɪn yɛt bi də liidə
14. AFRO-SEMINOLE	ɛf yu bɪn stɪl de dɪ liidə
15. LIBERIA	ɛf yu wɔ stiə dɛ liida
16. BLACK ENGLISH	ɛf yu w? stiiow də lɪydə
17. PROVIDENCIA	ɪf yu mɛn stɪl de dɪ liida
18. BELIZE	ɪf yu mɛ stɪl dɛ dɪ liida
19. CAYMANS	ɪf yə w?z stɪl dɪ liidə
20. JAMAICA	ɛf yu ɛn tɪl de dɪ liida
21. ST. THOMAS	ɪf yu w?z stɪl dɪ liida
22. ST. EUSTATIUS	ɪf yo wɒz stɪl dɪ liidə
23. SABA	ɪf yu wɔz stɪl dɪ liidər
24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS	ɪf yu mɪn stɪl bi dɪ liida
25. ANTIGUA	ɪf yu mɪ tɪl bi dɪ liida
26. ST. VINCENT	ɪf yu wɔz ɪ liida stɪl
27. CARRIACOU	ɪf yu dɪ stɪl dɪ liida
28. GRENADA	ɪf yu wɔs stɪl dɪ liida
29. TOBAGO	ɪf yo bɪn stɪl dɪ liidər
30. BARBADOS	ɪf yu wɔs stɪl də liidər
31. TRINIDAD	ɪf yu wɔz stɪl dɪ liida
32. NORFOLK IS.	ɛf oonɪe yu ɛs də liidə yɛɛət
33. HAWAII	if yu stɪl bɪn da liida

50. I WAS MERELY CHATTING (Expression of merely, simply, just, only)

1. SARAMACCAN	mi bi ta papia-papia noo
2. MATAWAI	mi bi ta taki-taki nomo
3. KWINTI	mi bi e taki-taki nomo
4. BONI (ALUKU)	mi be e taki-taki namo
5. PARAMACCAN	mi be e taki-taki namo / m' be e taki-taki namo
6. DJUKA	mi be e taki-taki nomo
7. SRANAN	mi ben de kroku nomo
8. GUYANA	a bɪn a gyaaf n?mo
9. CAMEROON	mi a bi di daso tɔk-tɔk
10. NIGERIA	a bin de tɔk-tɔk nomo
11. KRIO	a bin de leri nɔmɔ
12. BAHAMAS	a bɪn ə čat-čat nɔmo
13. SEA ISLANDS	a bɪn ə tɔk šiši n?mo

14. AFRO-SEMINOLE   a bɪn ə r?n ɔɔn mɪ maot n?moo
15. LIBERIA   a wɔ oonɛ tɔɔkɛ̃ jææ nɔmɔ
16. BLACK ENGLISH   a wəz oonɛ čæ?n
17. PROVIDENCIA   mi i mɛ de soso taak
18. BELIZE   a mɛ de soso taak
19. CAYMANS   a w?z jɔs tɔɔkɪn
20. JAMAICA   mi ɛn a čat-čat nɔmɔ
21. ST. THOMAS   a jɛs bɪn taakɪn lala
22. ST. EUSTATIUS   a jɔs wɔz čatɪn
23. SABA   ɒɪ wɔz oonɪ čatɛn
24. ST. KITTS/NEVIS   mi mɪn a jɔs pɔŋ toɔri
25. ANTIGUA   mi mɪn a ɔŋlɪ čat
26. ST. VINCENT   mi bɪn oondlɪ čatɪn
27. CARRIACOU   onlɪ čat a dɪ čatɪn
28. GRENADA   aɪ dɪ oonlɪ čatɛn
29. TOBAGO   mi bɪn a čat-čat oonlɪ
30. BARBADOS   aɪ dɪd oondli čatɪn
31. TRINIDAD   aɪ dɪ jɔs čatɛn
32. NORFOLK IS.   ɑɪ oonɪ jɛs yɑɑnɛn
33. HAWAII   aɪ wɔz ooni ræpin

Belizean speaker rejected no more in this sense. Sentence-initial no more in Bahamian means ‘only’ or ‘nothing but’, but which is translated by soso in 1-11, 17, 18, and 20, and also daso in 8, 9, and 13. In SIC and ASC, sentence-initial no more means ‘except’, ‘unless’, or ‘nevertheless’, which in Krio is pas, in Saramaccan puu, and in Sranan boiti.

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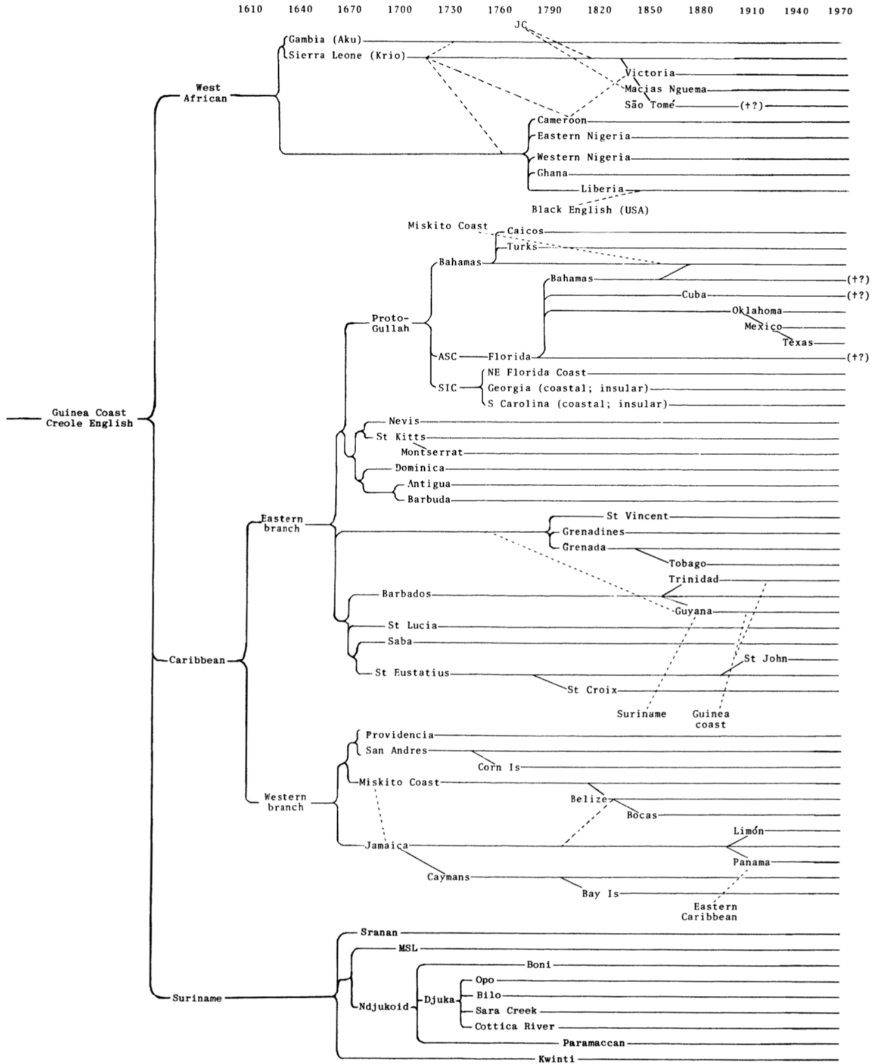
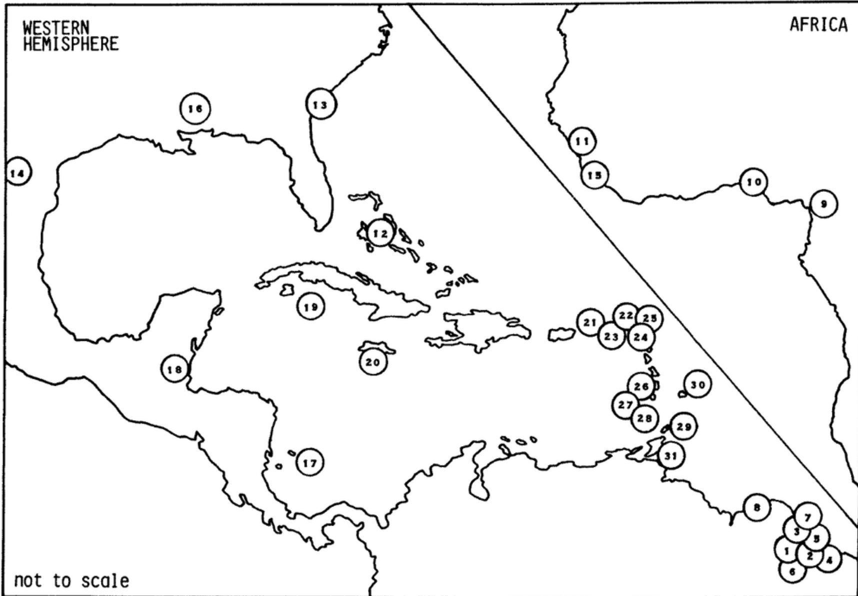
Transcriptions are broadly phonetic, either represented as they were received, or transcribed to conform to my notation from tape recordings. Corrections and additions will be gratefully acknowledged, and incorporated into future work.

Classification of the Anglophone Atlantic Creoles

This chart is based on the present study, and incorporates in particular the ideas of Gilman, Holm, Herzfeld, Price, Sprauve and Smith.


1610
1640
1670
1700
1730
1760
1790
1820
1850
1880
1910
1940
1970
JC
Gambia (Aku)
Sierra Leone (Krio)
West African
Victoria
Macias Nguema
São Tomé
(†?)
Cameroon
Eastern Nigeria
Western Nigeria
Ghana
Liberia
Black English (USA)
Miskito Coast
Caicos
Turks
Bahamas
Bahamas
(†?)
Cuba
(†?)
Oklahoma
Proto-Gullah
Mexico
Texas
ASC
Florida
(†?)
NE Florida Coast
SIC
Georgia (coastal; insular)
S Carolina (coastal; insular)
Guinea Coast Creole English
Nevis
St Kitts
Montserrat
Dominica
Antigua
Barbuda
Eastern branch
St Vincent
Grenadines
Grenada
Tobago
Trinidad
Barbados
Guyana
St Lucia
Saba
St John
Caribbean
St Eustatius
St Croix
Suriname
Guinea coast
Providencia
San Andres
Corn Is
Miskito Coast
Western branch
Belize
Bocas
Limón
Jamaica
Panama
Caymans
Bay Is
Eastern Caribbean
Sranan
MSL
Boni
Opo
Bilo
Suriname
Ndjukoid
Djuka
Sara Creek
Cottica River
Paramaccan
Kwinti



Locations of the Anglophone Atlantic Creoles *(Not shown are Nos. 32 and 33)*

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Portuguese in the New World, West Africa, and Asia

PORTUGUESE CREOLES OF WEST AFRICA AND ASIA

Luiz Ivens Ferraz

Scholars have remarked on a relatedness between the Portuguese-based Creoles of the East, from Diu to Sri Lanka and to Macao. Some, such as Thompson (1960:292), have also claimed that there is a similarity between these Creoles and those of West Africa, a similarity distinct from the fact that they all have a Portuguese base. However, the available evidence, it is claimed below, appears to support the view that there is indeed a degree of interrelatedness between the Portuguese Eastern Creoles, but that they are unrelated to those of West Africa, and that the latter in turn are not all interrelated.

The Portuguese West African Creoles fall into two independent groups: one, the Gulf of Guinea Creoles, comprising São Tomense, Angolar, Principense, and Pagalu (Annobonese), and the other the Upper Guinea Creoles to the north, comprising the Creoles of the Cape Verde islands, Guinea-Bissau, and Senegal. The substrate of the latter three Creoles consists of languages of the African family known as West Atlantic. The Gulf of Guinea Creoles have a Bantu and Kwa substrate. The close relationship between the Gulf of Guinea Creoles is discussed in Ivens Ferraz (1976). For an analysis of differences between São Tomense and Principense, on the one hand, and Cape Verdian, on the other, see Ivens Ferraz and Valkhoff (1975). The relationship between the Creoles of Senegal and Guinea-Bissau is treated in Kihm (1979). The close affinity between Cape Verdian and the Creole of Guinea-Bissau stands out early in the comparative study by Barros (1899). By way of exemplification, a few among the many points of divergence between the Gulf of Guinea and the Upper Guinea Creoles are considered below.

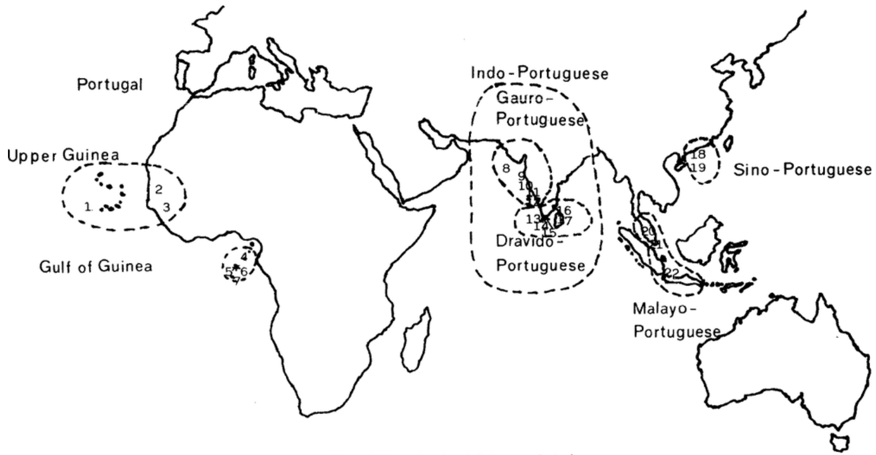
Grammatical and lexical features that, contrariwise, show a link between the groups of Portuguese Creoles in Asia will be considered separately. Despite all their differences and the

large distances involved, the Portuguese Eastern Creoles show a few points of linguistic unity characteristic of the area. Dalgado (1917), noting that Schuchardt (1899:476) divided Asian Portuguese into four groups, Malayo-Portuguese, Sino-Portuguese, and two branches of Indo-Portuguese, namely Gauro-Portuguese (Aryan) and Dravido-Portuguese, was not sure of the validity of dividing Indo-Portuguese into two groups, although they were distinguished by a number of phonological, grammatical, and lexical features due to substrate influence. In discussing this point, Dalgado drew attention to the fact that there had been frequent contact among the Portuguese Asian Creoles and a "partial reciprocal transfusion," resulting in both grammatical and lexical affinities across the areas.

Since the Portuguese Asian Creoles do cluster into different groups, the features pervasive among them and not derived form Portuguese may reasonably be considered attributable to an Asian substrate influence at a particular point in space and time, whence they spread to other parts of South Asia as far as Macao and other points in China. It was to be expected that the Creoles which developed at the various points along the closely linked system of settlements, fortifications, and settlements established by the Portuguese in Asia should have had a degree of influence on each other, although in essence they developed differently according to the substrate languages that were in contact with Portuguese at each point.

We return now to the Portuguese Creoles of West Africa. Unlike the position in the East, there was never much communication between the islands in the Gulf of Guinea and the Upper Guinea zone to the north, but there was a considerable amount of communication within the parts constituting each of the two groupings. The uninhabited islands of São Tomé, Príncipe, and Pagalu were populated with slaves from the Kwa- and Bantu-speaking zones, as reflected in early links with the kingdoms of Benin and the Congo. The islands were administered from São Tomé, the largest island and the first to receive settlers. This group of islands, rather than a northward link, developed a strong connection southward with the kingdom of the Congo, with which it was closely bound historically. Thus, from 1534, the Congo came under the religious jurisdiction of the bishop of São Tomé.

The Cape Verde islands, likewise uninhabited, were populated with slaves from the mainland opposite, speaking languages of the same West Atlantic family as are spoken in present-day Guinea-Bissau and Senegal. From 1466 to 1879



Portuguese-based Creoles in Africa and Asia

1=Cape Verdian
2=Senegal (Casamance and other areas)
3=Guinea-Bissau
4=Principense
5=Angolar
6=São Tomense
7=Pagalu (Annobonese)
8=Diu
9=Daman
10=Norteiro
11=Goan
12=Mangalore
13=Cannanore
14=Mahé
15=Cochin
16=Nagappattinam
17=Sri Lanka Portuguese
18=Hong Kong Portuguese
19=Macanese
20=Papia Kristang (Malacca Portuguese)
21=Singapore
22=Batavia and Tugu

Guinea was governed from the Cape Verde islands (Herculano de Carvalho, 1981). The Casamance area was attached to neighboring Senegal in 1886 (Kihm 1979).

If the differences between the two branches of Indo-Portuguese warrant regarding them as two groups, as did Schuchardt, there will be six groups of Portuguese Creoles, two in West Africa and four in Asia. On the one hand, the evidence adduced suggests that the Creoles within each of these areas originated independently of those in other areas, with the exception of Indo-Portuguese, where Gauro-Portuguese and Dravido-Portuguese probably developed parallel to each other. On the other, the evidence shows that, across the areas, particularly (if not exclusively) in Asia, close contact in the formative stages led to a number of more or less shared grammatical features and lexical items.

The evidence presented in this article thus suggests the polygenesis of Creoles and mutual influence where there was contact at the outset, rather than the converse view that most European-based Creoles have a single source which spread worldwide, being relexified at each point. This source would have been a migratory Portuguese Pidgin or Creole which, as Thompson maintained (1961), spread from West Africa to the East and the West Indies, to serve as the basis for all the West

Indian Creoles, as well as China Coast Pidgin and Tok Pisin in the East. The data discussed here provides no corroboration for the existence of any such single source, either in West Africa or elsewhere. Goodman (this volume) feels that some who do not accept the monogenetic view accept, like himself, the assumption that a certain number of African slaves arrived in the New World with some knowledge of Portuguese. That is an entirely different argument, which on evidence available for West Africa is admissible, though the numbers of such slaves must have been scant (cf. Ivens Ferraz 1979:13). At the end of his article, however, Goodman expresses agreement with Thompson's hypothesis that a West African Portuguese slavers' jargon may have been the model for all the West Indian Creoles, through a process of "extensive calquing and lexical borrowing." This, Goodman refers to as "the essential insight of the relexification theory." In West Africa, a pidgin-creole situation developed, independently, on the Cape Verde islands and on the island of São Tomé—previously uninhabited islands—and was taken from there to the adjacent and jointly administered areas. A "West African Portuguese Pidgin" in any other sense or context never existed, although some Africans on the continent, particularly in the Congo, had a knowledge of Portuguese, mainly through the educational work of the missionaries (again cf. Ivens Ferraz 1979:13).

Whinnom (1956:1), in one of the major expositions of the monogenetic view, postulated that a Portuguese Pidgin which he claimed was spoken on the small island of Ternate was relexified by Spanish and taken to the Philippines, providing the structure for Spanish Creoles there. Because of the theoretical edifice built upon it, it is indeed unfortunate that in the following crucial passage Whinnom does not cite the document to which he is referring:

> I have devoted a good deal of space to the hypothetical history of Ternateño, a language of which no text or sample exists, whose name I have coined, and of which no mention is made in any save one document (1956:10).

Incidentally, Whinnom goes on to state that the Portuguese Pidgin, in turn, may not have been a "pure" contact vernacular, but a kind of imitation of Sabir, the lingua franca of the Mediterranean. In 1961, Thompson recalled Whinnom's words and added: "what could be more exciting than that we should prove that this [Universal Creole] Grammar was a development of

that of a Mediterranean lingua franca?" These are a priori assumptions not followed up by the evidence one might expect. Whinnom (1965:520), speaking of creoles where "relexification is total," argues that "lack of evidence can prove nothing either way," and that we have to turn to other arguments. This entire statement goes against the scientific tradition.

Stewart (1962) speaks of mutual intelligibility among the French Creoles of the Caribbean, from Louisiana in the north to French Guiana in the south, stating that their like vocabularies are matched by grammatical structures that are very much alike, which leads him to conclude that they had a common origin before being implanted in the Caribbean. The explanation for such similarities, however, need not be sought outside the area. Apart from the fact that their substrata are West African, there is no reason why those Creoles could not have had their inception in the Caribbean, some perhaps developing together in groups, and with the possibility of mutual influences between the groups or individual Creoles where there was close contact, as happened between the groups of Portuguese Creoles in Asia. Conversely, lack of contact, even within a group, leads to such situations as are found in Réunion Creole (ReC) (Papan 1978:xxviii):

> Not only are the speakers of ReC … unable to understand, much less produce, other regional varieties of Indian Ocean Creole, they are often unable to produce other varieties of ReC itself. Thus, a speaker of ReC 0 might easily not even fully understand speakers of ReC 2 and is certainly unable to predict or produce forms of ReC 2 whenever these are different from those of his own dialect.

For the most part, the arguments for monogenesis and creole universals are conjectural, not testable, and hence not convincing. As for lists of features that have been constructed by various authors to prove a common source for all creoles, or the existence of linguistic or creole universals, the status of each such grammatical element has to be considered per se. Let us consider some instances in Taylor's list of features seemingly characteristic of creoles (1971) in the light of the data for the creoles discussed here. The numbers are those of Taylor's list, which contains 15 items. (See page 357 for key to abbreviations and symbols.)

Point 1. The third person plural pronoun serves as a nominal pluralizer. This is true of the GG Creoles, as exemplified by Ang ’ɛnɛ ?’mɛ ‘men, lit. they man’, a type of construction which is found in Bantu. It is not documented in any other Ptg Creoles.

Point 2. A combination of the markers of past and future expresses the conditional. This does not appear to hold true for the Ptg Creoles. In the GG Creoles the past is the unmarked verb. This is also the general rule in the UG Creoles “just as is found in many local languages” (Wilson 1962:21). In CV, the conditional has only one marker, for example, əm a’vi la’va ‘I would wash’ (Santo Antão), as also in Nor, for example, ’avi da ‘would give’ (Ptg havia). Hancock (1975) observes that tense and aspect markers cannot combine in PK.

Point 3. The word for ‘give’ also functions as dative preposition ‘to’ or ‘for’. The form da (Ptg dar) occurs with this function in the GG Creoles in a few contexts, as in ST e fa da nõ ‘he said to us’. It does not occur outside the GG area. ‘To’ and ‘for’ are par and per in Gui, per and par in SLP (Ptg para). See item 7 below (preposition + object) in the discussion of grammatical features of Ptg. Asian Creoles.

Point 7. The definite article is postposed to its referent (‘house the’). The definite article does not occur in any of the West African Ptg Creoles. In the Ptg Asian Creoles, either it does not occur, or it precedes the referent, as in SLP u ’kaza ‘the house’, Mang u ’papa ‘the father’. It does not occur in PK (Hancock 1975).

Point 6. The demonstrative pronoun is postposed to its referent (‘house this’).

Point 8. The pronominal determinant is postposed to its referent (‘house my’). For different evidence, see item 2 (word order) under the grammatical discussion below. Postposition of the demonstrative and the possessive occurs in the GG Creoles as a substrate influence (cf. Ivens Ferraz 1979:69, 73), as in Pr myɛ se ‘this woman, lit. woman this’, but not in UG or the Ptg Asian Creoles. In PK (Hancock 1975), demonstratives and possessives may precede or follow the referent.

The following data are a sample of the points that distinguish the GG from the UG Creoles:

PHONOLOGICAL

1. Palatalization and Depalatalization

These phonological features occur only in the GG nucleus. There, due to a partial complementation originating in Western Bantu, and with a few exceptions, the series of palatal consonants /c, j, š, ž/ tends to occur before the palatal series /i, ĩ, y/ (we need not here consider the context before consonants). The corresponding series with the [-palatal] specification, /t,d,s,z/, normally occurs before the other vowels and the glide /w/. Ang has interdental /Ɵ/ and /ð/ instead of /s/ and /z/. In Pr the dental stop /d/ has no corresponding affricate; synchronically, it is not clear why this should constitute an exception. The following examples illustrate Ptg consonants either acquiring or losing the feature specification [palatal] by application of these rules:

(a) Palatalization

ST fa'šiku 'Francis' (Ptg Francisco),
vi'žã 'neighbor' (Ptg vizinho)

Ang šĩ'tεli 'cemetery' (Ptg cemitério),
'b?ci 'boat' (Ptg bote)

Pr bu'lãša 'ambulance' (Ptg ambulância),
'mužika 'music' (Ptg música)

Pag šinku 'five' (Ptg cinco),
'xaži 'house' (Ptg casa)

(b) Depalatalization

ST sũmbu 'lead' (Ptg chumbo),
'zogo 'game' (Ptg jogo)

Ang fi'ɵa 'to close' (Ptg fechar),
ða'nεla 'window' (Ptg janela)

Pr u'tasu 'pot' (Ptg tacho),
'nozu 'loathing' (Ptg nojo)

Pag su'la 'to cry' (Ptg chorar),
'ãzu 'angel' (Ptg anjo)

2. Word-Structure Constraints

Words in the GG Creoles typically end in a vowel. When a Ptg word ends in a consonant, either this segment is deleted (type a) or a paragogic vowel is added (type b), as in the examples that follow:

ST na'ta 'Christmas' (Ptg Natal),
'paži 'peace' (Ptg paz)

Ang ku’yɛ ‘spoon’ (Ptg colher),
’ɵalu ‘salt’ (Ptg sal)
Pr lõ’swe ‘sheet’ (Ptg lençol),
pɛ’pɛlu ‘paper’ (Ptg papel)
Pag sabe’dolo ‘knowledgeable’(Ptg sabedor), ’ngeži English’ (Ptg inglês.)
(Pagalu does not have type a.)

In the UG area, there is, on the contrary, no constraint to words ending in a consonant. In some instances, indeed, Ptg words that end in vowels are given a consonant ending. Consider the following examples:

Sen peka’dor ‘person’ (Ptg pecador),
ku’yɛr ‘spoon’ (Ptg colher)
Gui ka’cuur ‘dog’ (Ptg cochorro),
karan’giis ‘crab’ (Ptg caranguejo),
ril ‘kidney’ (Ptg rim)
CV lə̃’s?l ‘sheet’ (Ptg lençol),
řə’paž ‘boy’ (Ptg rapaz)

3. Vowel Harmony

Unlike the UG Creoles, the GG Creoles display vowel harmony, where an unstressed vowel frequently copies the stressed vowel:

ST ’k?d? ‘rope’ (Ptg corda)
Ang ’mɛlɛ ‘honey’ (Ptg mel)
Pr s?’b?la ‘onion’ (Ptg cebola)
Pag se’be ‘to know’ (Ptg saber)

4. Sandhi Rules

No mention seems to be made of sandhi in the UG Creoles, nor does it seem to occur in the texts consulted. Neither was any mention found for Pag, in the GG area. However, sandhi rules, quite unlike those of Ptg, were recorded in all the other GG Creoles; these are discussed for ST in Ivens Ferraz (1979:28-9). They contribute to making the languages difficult to follow for outsiders. Without discussing the rules here, the following examples illustrate them:

ST ’k?pla i’ne > k?pli’ne ‘buy them’,
sa e > sɛ ‘roast it’
Ang palava ɛ > pala’vɛ ‘this word’,
da ɛ’ne > dɛ’nɛ ‘give them’

Pr u’pa u’dumu > upu’dumu ‘pestle’,
pwe u’s?lu > pu’s?lu ‘put on the ground’

GRAMMATICAL

1. Unmarked Personal Pronoun

The GG Creoles have a personal pronoun a, unmarked for person or number (UNM). It is likely to be derived from the Bini pronoun a, which has the same meaning. No similar pronominal form occurs in the UG area. The following sentences illustrate its use:

ST a na pe ku’me ’salu fa (UNM NEG$_1$ put food salt NEG$_2$) ‘No salt was put in the food.’
’nunka a ka se’be fa (never UMN KA know NEG$_2$) ‘One never knows.’

Ang a na ka ’bende ’kiki ngɛ wa (UNM NEG$_1$ KA sell fish here NEG$_2$) ‘Fish is not sold here.’
Pr e ’mese ’kanta, ’maži a di’sɛ fa (he want sing, but UNM Tet-him NEG) ‘He wanted to sing, but he was not allowed to.’
ku’se a sa fe’zeli a’ši fa (thing-DEM UNM he do-it thus NEG) ‘That is not done this way.’
Pag a xa fe xo’say (UNM XA do this) ‘This will be done.’

2. Word Order

In the UG Creoles, demonstratives and possessives precede the noun. This is contrary to the items in Taylor’s list, discussed above, which state that demonstratives and possessives are postposed to the referent in creoles. Consider the following examples:

Sen si ’pape (POS father) ‘his father’,
kel ’?ra (DEM hour) ‘that time’
Gui ɲa ’fiiyu (POS son) ‘my son’,
ɛs ra’paas (DEM boy) ‘this boy’
CV noš al’mos (POS lunch) ‘our lunch’,
kel ’kaša (DEM box) ‘that box’

The GG Creoles have the reverse word order, demonstratives and possessives following the noun:

ST ’mina mũ (child POS) ‘my son’,
ma’mõ sɛ (pawpaw DEM) ‘this pawpaw’

Ang	viš'tidu-o (dress POS) 'your dress',
	p? ɛ (stick DEM) 'this stick'
Pr	'livu mɛ (book POS) 'my book',
	nin'ge se (person DEM) 'that person'
Pag	'xaži no (house POS) 'our house',
	'bete say (hat DEM) 'that hat'

3. Diminutives

Apart from adaptations of Old Ptg manebinho 'young man', Ptg diminutives do not occur in the GG Creoles. Diminutives are, however, productively preserved in the UG Creoles, as shown by the following items:

Sen	fruta'siɲu 'little fruit'	Ptg	fruta + -zinho
Gui	?mi'siiɲu 'little man'	Ptg	homenzinho
CV	ku'zicə 'very little thing'	Ptg	coisa + -icha
	řapa'zĩ 'little boy'	Ptg	rapazinho

Of the diminutive suffixes in CV, -icə indicates the greatest degree of smallness.

4. Particle of Obligation

ST, Ang, and Pr have cognate particles of obligation ('must'): ST sɛ'la, Ang ɵɛ'la ~ 'ɵɛra, and Pr šya, as in the following examples:

ST	sɛ'la nõ fla kwe (must we speak to him) 'We must speak to him.'
Ang	ɵɛ'la mba 'tamba (must I-go fish) 'I must go and fish.'
Pr	šya pa ŋwe p?'sã (must for-me I go-town) 'I must go to town.'

Barrena and the other Annobonese sources do not mention the occurrence of this form in Pag, but it might exist in the language. It does not occur in the UG Creoles.

5. The Quantifier muito 'much, many, very'

There are many ways of rendering this quantifier in the Ptg West African Creoles, such as Gui fep and 'manga de, CV seu ~ ceu (Ptg cheio 'full') and 'monti di (Ptg monte de 'heap of') ST and Pr 'mõci (Ptg monte 'heap'), ST lu'ma. Under discussion here are the forms derived from Ptg muito. This, the Standard Ptg form, always precedes the noun or adjective form it qualifies. No examples were found for Sen. In Gui, the form derived from muito seems to precede the word it qualifies, as in 'muntu

'altu 'very high'; 'muntu is not attested as a noun qualifier. In CV, it precedes the referent, as in 'mutu 'jenti 'many people', 'mutu gu'lozu 'very greedy'.

In the GG area, it always follows the referent, as in the following examples:

ST kɛ de te 'kwatu 'muntu (house of-he have rooms many) 'His house has many rooms.'

Angolar has the form manga'ɵoa, of doubtful origin. It follows the referent, as in:

ka'i-m (sa) 'lõži manga'ɵoa (house-me [be] far much) 'My house is very far',
'ngošto manga'ɵoa (joy much) 'much joy'

Pr e 'gavi 'mutu (she pretty much) 'She is very pretty',
o'ryo 'tawa 'mutu (river has water much) 'There is a lot of water in the river.'

Pag fu'mozu 'muytu 'very beautiful',
xa 'mõci 'many things'

In the GG Creoles, apart from Ang, which has a different form, ST, Pr, and Pag can combine the words derived from monte and muito, as in

Pr 'dya-ũa a've to'mẽntu 'mõci 'mutu (day-one there-be noise heaps many) 'A few days ago there was a lot of noise',
di'eši 'tudi pɛ, nõ ka ši'vi 'mõci 'mutu (days all completely, we KA work heaps many) 'Every day we have worked very hard.'

Pag 'lãza 'mõci 'muytu (oranges heaps many) 'many oranges'

6. Syntactically Alternating Verbal Morphemes

The data for Pag have not been attested. However, it is a feature of the other GG Creoles that they tend to have syntactically conditioned allomorphs for the verbs come, go, and speak as in:

TO COME

Pr 'vika ∞ 'kɛka: ci 'mese 'vika kwa'mi-a? (you want come with-me-TAG?) 'Do you want to come with me?',
e sa 'kɛka vo'lo nõ (he SA come scold us) 'He is coming to scold us.'

TO GO

ST ba ∞ bɛ: ba ku 'mala sɛ kɛ (go with suitcase DEM home) 'Take this suitcase home',

’ãji bo ka bɛ? (where you KA go?) ‘Where are you going?’
Pr kɛ ∞ wɛ: e sa kɛ vo’loli (he SA go scold him) ‘He is going to scold him’,
wɛ ži’za (go quickly) ‘Go quickly’
Ang ba ∞ be: bo ba mi’ɲonga (you go sea) ‘You went to the sea’,
nga be ngɛ (I-KA go there) ‘I am going there.’

TO SPEAK
ST fla ∞ fa: me’se fla ku ’migu mũ (I-want speak with friend mine) ‘I want to speak to my friend’,
nga ba fa da bo e’le (I-KA go speak to you it) ‘I shall tell it to you.’
Ang ’fala ∞ fa: e ’fala e ɵe ka ba ’ðuda ’tata de (he say he θE KA go help father of-him) ‘He said he is going to help his father’,
ðõ fa kwe mað’o (John speak to-him yesterday) ‘John spoke to him yesterday.’
Pr fa’la ∞ fa: nõ sa fa’la (we SA talk) ‘We are talking’, e fa du’mwɛ (He speak of-sea) ‘He spoke about the sea.’

LEXICON

Apart from lexical items derived from Ptg and retained with their original meaning, there are many items, both of Ptg and African origin, characteristic of each area in form or through semantic shift. A few of these are considered below:

1. ‘abdomen’ (Ptg barriga)

A parallel origin is suggested by the way in which the Ptg word has been incorporated in the GG Creoles: ST ’bɛga, Ang ’bɛga, Pr ’bwɛga, Pag ’bɛga.

The UG forms are unreduced: CV bə’řigə, Gui ba’riga, Sen ba’riga.

2. ‘foot’ (Ptg pé)

Although GG words are typically consonant-initial, due to a predominantly CV structure, a few words begin with a vowel, particularly in PR, a morphophonemic process reflecting noun class prefixes in Bantu. The four GG Creoles have all incorporated Ptg pé as ?’pɛ, which is suggestive of a parallel origin for the word.

There is no initial vowel in the UG Creoles: CV has pe, Sen pɛ, and Gui pɛɛ.

3. ‘person, someone’ (Ptg pessoa, alguém)

The GG Creole forms are derived from Ptg ninguém 'nobody', which has yielded nge in Ang and Pag. Pr has nin'ge, and ST both nge and nin'ge.

The lexical items in the UG area are closer to Ptg. In CV, 'person' is psoə and 'someone' is ar'gẽ ~ al'gẽ. In Sen, pu'sua occurs as 'person', and al'gẽ as 'someone'. Barros cites pu'sua for 'person' in Gui, but Wilson gives al'giŋ as the word for 'person' as well as 'someone' in Gui.

4. 'to play, to enjoy oneself'

The Standard Ptg word brincar 'to play' has not been incorporated in the GG Creoles, though it is occasionally found in ST as 'brinka, with the extraneous alveolar flap indicating that it is a recent acquisition. Otherwise, the word used is derived from archaic Ptg folgar: ST 'fl?ga, Ang f?'ga, Pr 'f?ga, Pag fu'ga.

All the UG Creoles have 'brinka, from the Standard.

5. 'pretty' (Ptg bonito), 'beautiful' (Ptg lindo)

The Standard Ptg words have not been incorporated in the GG Creoles. ST has 'glavi, and Pag 'gavi. Although from their form the origin of these words would seem to be Ptg grave 'grave', no connection in meaning is apparent. Pag also has fu'mozu, from archaic Ptg formoso. Ang has ɲuka, possibly from Bantu.

In the UG area, Sen has bu'nitu; forms for lindo or formoso were not found. CV has 'bnite; it also has 'linde 'beautiful', but Lopes da Silva states that the latter form is seldom used. Gui has b?'niitu 'pretty' and for'mos 'beautiful'.

6. 'quickly' (Ptg depressa)

In UG, CV has derived 'tprɛsə and Gui du'prɛsa from the standard form. CV also has fas and 'fasə, from Ptg fácil 'easy', and these are the forms more commonly used. Sen has 'lestu from Nonstandard Ptg lesto. Wilson cites 'lɛɛstu in Gui with the adjectival meaning of 'swift'.

The following GG Creoles also have a reduplicated form: ST nja-nja, Ang 'ja-nja, Pr ži'za ~ žĩ-'za. Only 'danji, and not a reduplicated form, was found for Pag.

7. 'sky, heaven' (Ptg céu)

As with the word for 'foot', the GG Creoles have prefixed a vowel, all have ?'sɛ (?'θɛ in Ang).

There is no initial vowel in the UG Creoles, which all have sɛu.

8. ‘son, daugher’ (Ptg filho, fem. filha)

In the GG area, the Ptg words for these concepts have not been incorporated. From Ptg menino, fem. menina ‘child’, ST has ’mina, Pr ’ minu, and Pg ’mina. Ang has na, of doubtful origin: it could possibly be related to a diminutive particle which occurs in Pag, as in na ’xaži ‘small house’.

In the UG area, the words are used as in Ptg, in unreduced form: CV has ’fiye ‘son’, ’fiya ‘daughter’, m(e)’mine ‘boy’, m(e)’nina ‘girl’. Sen has ’fi ju for ‘son, daughter’ and mi’ninu for ‘child’. Gui has fiiju for ‘son’, mi’ninu for ‘child’.

9. ‘stone’ (Ptg pedra)

GG: The word ’budu occurs in ST, Ang, and Pag. Pr has u’budu.

UG: Ptg pedra has yielded ’pɛdra in Sen and ’pɛrda ~ pɛdra in Gui. CV has ’pɛdrə.

10. ‘thing’ (Ptg coisa)

The GG forms are possibly related to Kishikongo lekwa, which has the same meaning. It is kwa in St, Ang, and Pr, and xa in Pag. Less commonly, a variant ’kuza, from the Ptg, is found in Pag.

UG: Sen and Gui have ’kusa and CV ’koza ~ ’kuza, from Ptg.

Having established that the Ptg Creoles of West Africa fall into two distinct groups, which originated independently of each other, the question arises as to whether the Creoles within each area had a common origin. It is regrettable that the term “common origin” seems to immediately conjure up the monogenetic theory. The answer is that the similarities shown by Creoles within each of the areas point to what could best be described as a parallel development, in that the Creoles within each area developed together, on the one hand, and separately, on the other. To take the GG case, it would not be plausible to assume that the contact language which developed in the town of São Tomé and the surrounding areas was the same as that which gave rise to Ang, Pr, and Pag. There are enough differences between each of these languages to rule out such a possibility. It would be closer to the truth to say that the four contact languages show many resemblances because, to a large extent, they grew up together, with slaves and other

settlers introduced through the central administration in São Tomé. However, there may, for instance, have been a preponderance of Bantu-speaking slaves in the areas where Angolar developed, or Kwa-speaking slaves on Príncipe island; hence different languages developed in the archipelago, rather than dialects of one contact language. This applies to all creole areas both in West Africa and in Asia.

We now turn to the Ptg Creoles in the East. Enough evidence seems to exist to corroborate Schuchardt's statement that they fall into four groups, as discussed earlier. There is also enough evidence to show affinities which are neither derived from Portuguese, the lexicon-donor language, nor related to language developments in West Africa, but which had their origin in Asia, spreading there under the conditions already discussed. It was certainly not a pidgin or creole that spread. The points of affinity to which attention will be drawn here are a few grammatical features and the stock of lexemes with diverse origins. Some are found in only one or two areas; others are found in the four areas of the East. Dalgado saw the influences as occurring mostly in an easterly direction, Indo-Portuguese influencing Malayo-Portuguese, and the latter influencing Sino-Portuguese, at least in the lexical field. The "partial reciprocal transfusion" he speaks about was the result of historical factors referred to earlier. The identity of Malayo-Portuguese was noted as early as 1848 by Robert N. Cust (quoted in Coelho 1881:134), who wrote in A Sketch of the Modern Languages of the East Indies that in PK 'we find a Romance vocabulary adapted to a Malayan structure." The following are some of the points which became more or less pervasive in the area:

GRAMMATICAL

1. The Possessive

The Ptg possessive constructions of the type a casa de Pedro 'Peter's house', a casa dele, a sua casa 'his house', a minha casa 'my house' are replaced by constructions of the type Pedro sua casa 'Peter's house' (lit. Peter his house), eu sua casa 'my house' (lit. I his house). The genitive particle occurs in the East as 'su, su, or s. Dalgado (1900:37) remarks that the ə of 'suə is sometimes deleted in preconsonantal position in Indo-Portuguese.

According to Dalgado, this type of construction is attributable to a Prakrit substrate influence, meaning that of languages derived from those of North and Central India existing

alongside Sanskrit. A detailed discussion of this feature and its relationship to the substrate is to be found in Dalgado (1917), where he argues that Schuchardt was wrong in postulating an English origin for the construction. This feature is so pervasive that it must have been established in the formative stages of the Creoles, before the British or the Dutch appeared on the scene. And, as Dalgado points out, it is used in contexts that would not be permissible in English, as in the following examples from Mang, where the particle is -s: ’riu-s ’dentru ‘inside the river’ (Ptg dentro do rio), vu’se-s ’dyant ‘in front of you’ (Ptg diante de você), pa’pa-s p rt ‘near his father’ (Ptg perto do pai). The following examples illustrate the wide occurrence of this trait:

Mahé ’meza-s ’riva ‘the top of the table’ (Old Ptg riba da mesa)
SLP eu ’ su ’vida ‘my life’ (Ptg a minha vida)
Nag v?’se-s prẽ’zesya ‘your presence’ (Ptg a presença de você)
Tugu ki ’sua ka’balu ‘whose horse’

This type of construction is not found in the Ptg Creoles of West Africa.

2. Reversal of the Portuguese Order: Noun + Modifier

It is typical of the Asian Creoles that they reverse the Ptg word order when a noun is modified by an adjective or by a noun in a prepositional phrase. This is exemplified by:

Nor (Dalgado [1906] explains the deletion of final vowels in Nor as due to the influence of Marathi, the substrate language) est pat az ‘this duck wing’ (Ptg esta asa de pato), brank ban’der ‘white flag’ (Ptg bandeira branca)
Dam O šiš’t?z iš’tor ‘a funny story’ (Ptg uma historia chistosa)
SLP ’f?me sol’dadu ‘hungry soldier’ (Ptg soldado com fome)
PK ta’baku bu’seta ‘box of tobacco’ (Ptg boceta de tabaco)
Mac žun’tadu ’ř?guš ‘prayers together’ (Ptg rogos juntados). This was the only example found for Mac. The feature is rare in Sino-Portuguese. The West Africa Creoles follow the Ptg model.

3. Manner Adverbs

Ptg manner adverbs are formed by suffixing -mente to the feminine form of adjectives, for example, lindo ‘beautiful’, lindamente ‘beautifully’. It is not a productive suffix in the West African Creoles. In the GG Creoles, it does not occur at all. In the UG area, in CV, although it is not a productive suffix, it occurs in a few survivals, such as klara’mentə ‘clearly’.

In the following examples from Ptg Asian Creoles, unmarked Ptg adverbs and other words which are not adjectives are given the suffix -mente, being apparently reinterpreted as manner adverbs:

SLP tantu’mente ‘so much’ (Ptg tanto ‘so much’),
kerendu’mente ‘willingly’ (Ptg querendo ‘wanting’),
sempre’mente ‘eternally’ (Ptg sempre ‘always’),
sedu-mente ‘early’ (Ptg cedo ‘early’)
Mac logu’mente ‘immediately’ (Ptg logo ‘later, immediately’)

4. Future Marker l? ~ ’l?gu (Ptg logo ‘later’)

In considering the construction we are discussing here, we should bear in mind that a Ptg expression like vou logo ‘I am going later’ is very similar in meaning to other constructions used to signify future, and Ptg moreover avoids the synthetic future (e.g., escreverei ‘I shall write’), which is mostly restricted to the literary register.

Thompson (1961) and Voorhoeve (1973), in lists of creole parallels, cite a morpheme lo for CV and some Creoles of the New World, but neither lo nor ’l?gu seem to appear as a verbal marker in any of the descriptions of CV; ’ l?gə ~ ’logu are given only as a time adverb equivalent to Ptg logo. Whinnom (1965) also refers to the occurrence of this particle as a verbal marker in CV and refers the reader to Lopes da Silva, but no mention of it seems to be made there. Only the abbreviated form l? or lo seems to occur in Indo-Portuguese:

Mahé eu lo vai kõ v?s ‘I shall go with you.’
SLP eu l? a’ma ‘I shall love’
Nag l? man’da ‘I shall send’
Sing eu lo fa’ze ‘I shall do’
Mac ’ logo ko’me ‘I shall eat’

Dalgado (1906) observes that this form does not occur in Nor, which has ad or a (Ptg há-de, a form of rendering the future), as in ad da ‘will give’, a fi’ka ‘will stay’ (Ptg há-de dar, há-de ficar).

Since lo does not occur as a verbal marker in the Portuguese Creoles of West Africa, are we to surmise that Papiamentu lo originated in the Portuguese Creoles of Asia? That seems an unlikely possibility. The likelihood is that the origin of the Papiamentu morpheme will have to be sought elsewhere.

5. Perfective Marker ja (Ptg já /ža/ ‘already’)

The use of this particle as a perfective marker has been regarded as typically creole. It is, however, not surprising to find it employed as such, since it is used in Standard Ptg to distinguish some of the meanings conveyed in English by the preterite past and the present perfect, as in:

O comboio chegou às seis 'The train arrived at six.'
o comboio já chegou 'The train has arrived.'

Estiveste no Brasil? 'Were you in Brazil?'
Já estiveste no Brasil? 'Have you ever been to Brazil?'

According to Thompson (1960), in HKP the past is indicated with the unmarked verb or with ja, a situation which, from the available texts, also seems to obtain in Mac. The form ja is not the only morpheme used. In Nor (Dalgado 1906), the past may be marked with the third person singular suffix or with ja or ji. In Dam a [+ perfect] suffixally marked form occurs as a negative construction, though it may not be the only one. In the descriptions of these languages there is no mention of a semantic or stylistic difference between the simple and periphrastic constructions, but one wonders whether the choice is as aleatory as all that. For Nag, Dalgado states that the past may be the simple form or the periphrastic form with ja, but his examples suggest that more than one meaning may be involved:

' miɲa pai i ' mãĩ mu'reu (past tense of morrer)
my father and mother died
'My parents are dead.'

' miɲa pom'bina 'branka ja per'de mari'du (ja + infinitive of perder)
my dove white already lose husband
'My white dove has lost her husband.'

Again, as with lo/logo, ja is cited as the perfective marker in CV by both Thompson and Voorhoeve in the same lists, but it does not appear as such in either Lopes da Silva or Almada, apart from being listed as the time adverb 'already'.

In the GG Creoles, the perfective is signified, as a rule, by the unmarked verb, as in:

Ang	e ' paga 'fogo	vs.	e ɵe ka 'paga ' fogo
	he put-out fire		he ɵE KA put-out fire

'He put out the fire.' 'He is putting out the fire.'

A small number of verbs in the GG, however, behave as inchoative verbs, so that, with them, it is the present which is indicated by the unmarked verb. The following example from ST is an illustration:

ST e se'be
she know
'She knows.'

e ' tava se'be
she was know
'She knew.'

This is due to verbs being inchoative in the substrate, as exemplified by comparing the above example with Kongo n-zeye 'I know', which is the past tense of zaya 'to know'.

In the GG Creoles, za is used to a large extent as its cognate já in Ptg, as in the following examples from ST:

ST (sa) 'mwala mu pe ' salu ni ku'me
(lady) wife me put salt in food
'My wife put salt in the food.'

(sa) 'mwala mu pe ku'me ' salu za
(lady) wife me put food salt already
'My wife has (already) put salt in the food.'

6. Noun Reduplication

Reduplication, a feature which in pidgins and creoles constitutes a calque of similar constructions in the substrate (cf. Ivens Ferraz 1980), is pervasive, for instance, in the GG Creoles. However, neither the GG nor the UG Creoles utilize reduplication of nouns for the formation of the plural, as is found in the Portuguese Creoles of the East.

Although this feature occurs in Indo-Portuguese, and Dalgado posited a tendency for the spread of features to occur in an easterly direction, as we saw, it might not be irrelevant that reduplication of nouns is a common way to express plurality in Malay, as in sayur-sayur 'vegetables', from sayur 'vegetable'. This construction could have spread from Malayo-Portuguese, on the Malay model, to the other Portuguese Creoles of Asia.

Examples:
Diu and SLP ’fifes ~ ’fifyes ~ ’fefeis ~ fi’fi ‘sons and daughters’ (Portuguese filhos). Dalgado (1900:30), discussing this plural in SLP, observes that in the indigenous languages the equivalent form for children of both sexes is ‘daughter son’. This could assist in incorporation of other reduplicated forms.

Mang	kryãs-kryãs ‘children’ (Ptg crianças)
Nag	me’tadi-me’tadi ‘halves’ (Ptg metade)
Sing	’ meza-’meza ‘tables’ (Ptg mesa)
HKP	’pɛdra-’pɛdra ‘stones’ (Ptg pedra)

In Nor, an adjective may be reduplicated to convey variety of plural meaning in the noun, in the sense of several entities possessing the quality of the adjective, a feature that Dalgado (1906) attributes to the substrate. This type of reduplication likewise does not occur in Africa, nor apparently in the other Asian Creoles. Dalgado gives the Nor example grand grand ’ padres ‘various great priests’, literally ‘great great priests’.

7. Preposition + Object

A feature widespread in Indo-Portuguese, which is found neither in West Africa nor in the other areas in Asia, is the use of the preposition pur, par, or per (<Ptg per [Old Ptg] ~ por, and para) before a pronominal object. A similar construction occurs in some instances in Ptg, as in olhei para ele ‘I looked at him’. The following are Indo-Portuguese examples:

Diu	ža ro’go pur el ‘he asked him’
Nor	ma’ta prel ‘kill it’
Mahé	eu ’ kɛru pur v?s ‘I want you’
Mang	el ža ’ manda per el ‘he sent him’
Nag	par mi da ‘give me’

Dalgado wrote that the preposition per always precedes the indirect object and often precedes the direct object in SLP as well as in Coch and Mang. Two of his examples for SLP are eu lo dar per ti ‘I shall give you’, and ado’ra per mi ‘worship me’.

Hancock (1975) mentions that a similar morpheme occurs in Papiamentu after transitive verbs, as in mi mira pa e; this particular instance, however, is reminiscent of Portuguese eu olhei para ele, with the same meaning. For PK, Hancock (1975) observes that transitive verbs are linked to their objects nom-

inals by ku, as in yo mira ku eli ‘I looked at him’, da pang ku yo ‘give me some bread’. Ku in Malayo-Portuguese relates in function to per in Indo-Portuguese.

Schuchardt’s mention of a similar development in Sabir, the lingua franca of the Mediterranean, as in mi mirato per ti ‘I have seen you’ and mi ablar per ti ‘I say to you’ (1980:7l) need not be relevant to Portuguese, which is not a Mediterranean but an Atlantic language. It would be unrealistic to link the Mediterranean construction with <per> to those found in Indo-Portuguese, by assuming that the Portuguese took it to India from the Mediterranean after taking Sabir for their own and relexifying it with Ptg.

8. Copula to have

The Ptg verb ter appears in Indo-Portuguese and Malayo-Portuguese with the meaning of ‘to be’ (Ptg ser and estar), as in:

Diu os tə̃ĩ žunt de mĩ ‘You are near me.’
Dam kam’bel tiɲ zan’gad ‘The camel was angry.’
Mahé v?s tə̃ĩ fati’qadu? ‘Are you tired?’
SLP a’lis nõ tiɲa ’ muytu bu’nitu ‘Alice was not very pretty.’
Mang boz tə̃ĩ ku’migu ‘You are with me.’
Nag eu ’ teɲu ’muitu koi’tadu ‘I am very poor.’
Java si’ɲorez olan’dezeš nõ teŋ ’dodes ‘The Dutch gentlemen are not mad.’

9. Constructions with Derivatives from Old Ptg laia

Typical of the Oriental creoles, and not found in West Africa, are a variety of constructions derived from Archaic Ptg laia ‘way, manner’. The following are examples:

SLP ki’ləi u ’ ventu ‘like the wind’,
este’ləi ’ ?me ‘such a man’,
asi’ləi bur’dade ‘such ignorance’
Mahé ki’lai tə̃ĩ v?s? ‘How are you?’
Mang ki’lei tə̃ĩ sa’ude? ‘How is your health?’,
’laya-’laya ~ lai-lai ‘varied, so-and-so, not bad’
Java ki’lei ma’nire ‘in what way’ (Dutch manier)
Sing n?s lai sua ‘our way’
Mac asi’lai ’ kuza ‘such things’,
ki’lai di bu’nitu ‘How pretty’,
’laya-laya ’ ženti ‘people of various kinds’

Such constructions do not occur in the African Creoles.

LEXICON

The following is a sample of lexical items characteristic of some or all of the Ptg Asian Creole groups. In some instances, the phonological shape is different; thus, unlike the West African Creoles, Nor, SLP, PK, Java, Mac, and HKP have all incorporated Ptg chuva 'rain' without the /v/. Some lexemes are of Oriental origin, others are Ptg archaic or nonstandard words not found in West Africa. Although many of the Oriental words, called by the Ptg 'pilgrim words', were used by the Ptg in the East, it is not necessarily the case that the Ptg played a part in their dissemination from one Creole to the other. It is perhaps more likely that the Creole speakers themselves disseminated such lexical items in their Creoles.

A. Portuguese Words

1. 'afternoon' (Ptg tarde)
   SLP a'tarde; PK a'tadi
   From Ptg a tarde 'the afternoon' or à tarde 'in the afternoon'
   Also PK a'nuti; Java a'noiti (Tugu a'noti); Mac a'note 'night', from Ptg a noite 'the night' or à noite 'at night'.
2. 'coldness' (Ptg frio; nonstandard frialdade)
   SLP frui'dade; Mang frialdade; Bat friu'dadi
3. 'duck' (Standard Ptg pato)
   Nor 'ada' Dam ad; SLP 'ade' Bat 'adi; PK 'ardi ~ 'adi; Mac ' ade (Old Ptg adem 'duck'. The African Creoles have forms derived from pato).
4. 'only' (Ptg só)
   SLP na'mais ~ na'mas; Tugu na'mas; Mac na mas
   (Old Ptg no mais 'no more')
5. 'thirst' (Standard Ptg sede)
   Nor se'kur; SLP se'kura ~ se'kuru; Bat si'kura
   From Nonstandard Ptg secura 'dryness; thirst'. Dalgado (1906), presumably referring to the Ptg Asian Creoles in general, observed that the standard form sede is 'not used in the creoles'. Sede, not secura, is the form which was incorporated into the African Creoles.

B. Oriental Words

1. 'clay'
   Dam 'Mate; Goan 'mate; Mac 'mat i
   Dalgado (1921:42) gives the etymon as Konkani-Marathi mātī. Konkani is spoken in Goa.

2. ‘flower’ (Ptg flor)
   Nor ’fula; Mahé ’fula; SLP ’fu:la; Bat ’ fula; Mac ’ fula
   Dalgado (1919:409) gives the origin of this word as Neo-Aryan phūl ‘to bloom’.
3. ‘frog’
   SLP man’duku; PK man’duku; Bat man’duku; Mac man’duko
   Dalgado (1921:27) attributes the origin of the word for this edible frog to Konkani māṇḍūk.
4. ‘gift’ (particularly one given on festive occasions or in someone’s homage)
   Dam sa’gwat; SLP sago’ate ~ sago’vate; PK sa’gwati
   Many Ptg Indians settled in Mozambique, and the word is current in Mozambique Ptg as saguate, with the meaning of ‘tip, small present of money for service given’. Dalgado (1900:68) cites it as one of the Indian words that were generalized to all branches of Indo-Portuguese. It occurs in Goan Ptg; Dalgado (1900:175; 1921:271) gives the etymon as Hindustani-Persian saughāt ‘rarity,curiosity, gift’, occurring also in Goa, in Konkani, as sâguvât.
5. ‘jacket’
   Bat ’ baju ‘dress, jacket’, PK ’ baju; Mac ’baju
   From Malay ’baju ‘shirt, blouse, jacket’
6. ‘sad, sadness’
   SLP sa’yãũ ~ sa’yan; PK sa’yang ‘love’, Mac sa’yaŋ ~ sa’yãũ
   Batalha (1977:262) gives the etymon as Malay sayang ‘regret, pity, sorrow for, affectionate pining, love’.
7. ‘walking stick’
   Nor r?t; SLP ’r?ta; Mac ’ř?ta ~ ’r?ta; HKP ’r?ta
   From Malay rotan. A cognate of English rattan.
8. ‘washer man, laundry man’ (dhobi wallah)
   Nor mai’nat; SLP mai’nato; Bat mai’natu; Mac mai’nato
   In Mozambique Ptg, where washing is done by men rather than women, the term is current as mainato. Dalgado (1921:12) traced its origin to Malayalam (a Dravidian language of Malabar) maṇṇaṭṭan ~ maṇṇaṭṭi. This designation, he stated, was given by the Ptg to the washer caste in Ceylon, and ‘was still used by them with honour’.
9. ‘watermelon’
   Nor pa’tɛk; SLP pa’tɛka; Mac pa’tɛka; HKP pa’tɛka
   Dalgado (1900:169) remarked that the term is common

> to all the branches of Indo-Portuguese. He traces its origin to Arabic battikh, believing it to have probably been used by the Moors of Malabar (1921:191).

CONCLUSION

The evidence presented above suggests that there was no single common source for the Portuguese Creoles of Africa and Asia. Nor, by implication, was such a hypothetical language in existence to provide a model for creoles with such bases as English, French, or Spanish. In emergency contact situations pidgins and creoles can be formed ex nihilo by drawing on the languages in the particular context. However, in areas linked by such factors as a common administration, creoles will show a parallel development, as was shown, for instance, by the data for the Upper Guinea area. The same factors may cause creole features to travel far afield, as was shown for the Portuguese Creoles of Asia, in what Dalgado aptly called a partial reciprocal transfusion. It is clear that the substrate accounts for many affinities between certain creoles. This provides strong evidence against the hypothesis that resemblances are due to universals of creolization, to what Thompson called a Universal Creole Grammar, to what Moag has called lexification of a grammar innate to all of us, or to what Bickerton has described as an innate language bioprogram. It is to be hoped that the data presented here justify the approach which some, such as Bickerton, have dismissed as that of empirical plodders.

NOTE

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The data on São Tomense, Angolar (both spoken in São Tomé), and Principense (from Príncipe) were gathered by the author in the islands. Data on the other creoles to which reference is made were gleaned from the sources listed in the bibliography; this has frequently necessitated an attempt at standardization of the phonological notation.

ABBREVIATIONS

Ang	Angolar
Bat	Batavia and Tugu
Cann	Cannanore

Coch	Cochin
Dam	Daman
CV	Cape Verdian
GG	Gulf of Guinea
Gui	Guinea-Bissau
HKP	Hong Kong Portuguese
Mac	Macanese
Mang	Mangalore
Nag	Nagappattinam
Nor	Norteiro
Pag	Pagalu (Annobonese)
PK	Papia Kristang (Malacca Portuguese)
Pr	Principense
Ptg	Portuguese
Sen	Senegal (Casamance and other areas)
Sing	Singapore
SLP	Sri Lanka Portuguese
ST	São Tomense
UG	Upper Guinea

SYMBOLS

~	phonological variant
∞	syntactic variant
( )	optional morpheme
< >	graphemic notation

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THE PORTUGUESE ELEMENT IN THE AMERICAN CREOLES

Morris Goodman

This article takes issue with the view widely held among creolists that a large number of slaves brought to the New World arrived with a knowledge of Pidgin/Creole Portuguese acquired either in Africa or on shipboard, and that this language thereby exerted a major influence on the structure and, in some cases, even the vocabulary of the various creole languages which developed in the Americas. Alternative explanations are offered for the Portuguese element in Papiamento, Saramaccan, and other New World Creoles, and particular importance is attached to the exodus of Dutch and Jews (accompanied by slaves and other followers) from Brazil, when that country was recaptured by Portugal from Holland.

Since the earliest comparative study of creole languages (Van Name 1869-1870), their numerous and detailed structural resemblances have attracted the attention of many investigators. Various explanations of this phenomenon have been offered, such as equivalent processes of formation (e.g., deliberate simplification, imperfect learning, and the like) or common African substratal influences, but some have felt that the similarities were too specific to be accounted for simply on the basis of parallel development, and that all these languages, despite their diverse lexicons (English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch) had (in some sense) a common origin. Thus was born the so-called "monogenetic" or "relexification" theory, which has gained considerable, though by no means unanimous, support within the past twenty years. It can, in a sense, be traced to Thompson (1961), who in a brief but influential essay suggested that a "West African pidgin Portuguese slavers' jargon … much influenced, no doubt by the West African substratum, may have been the pattern for all the West Indian creoles just as in the

Eastern and Pacific worlds Portuguese creole dialects may have provided the models for the two great branches of pidgin English, China Coast pidgin and Neo-Melanesian" (p. 113).

Thompson's hypothesis was inspired, in part, by Whinnom's (1956) conclusion that the Spanish contact vernacular of Ternate (one of the Molucca Islands), out of which all varieties of Philippine Creole Spanish evolved, "was not the result of contact between Spanish and a Malay Dialect, but of Spanish and a Portuguese-Malay Pidgin [known to have been previously spoken on this island], which ... may not have been a 'pure' vernacular, but a kind of imitation of Sabir, the Lingua Franca of the Mediterranean" (pp. 9-10). It was indebted also to the views expressed by Lenz (1928), Navarro Tomas (1953), and Van Wijk (1958) that Papiamento, the creole of Curaçao, although its vocabulary is predominantly of Spanish origin, grew out of West African Pidgin Portuguese, which was imported into the island by the slaves and subsequently subjected to strong Spanish influence.

Almost immediately, Thompson's theory was espoused by Taylor (1961, 1963), who had already called attention to structural resemblances among various Caribbean Creoles (1957), and by Stewart (1962), who coined the term "relexification," defining it as follows:

> It has ... been noted that the Caribbean creoles exhibit an impressive degree of correspondence in their respective basic grammars. This correspondence includes not only similarities in syntax but even cases where specific grammatical morphemes are shared in common. Furthermore, some investigators have shown that there is some kind of genetic relationship between the various Caribbean creoles, and even between them and other creole-type languages spoken outside the Caribbean. The nature of this relationship is suggested by evidence that at least some of the Caribbean creoles have undergone a kind of lexical shift, whereby the vocabulary derived from one source language has been largely replaced, through a process of widespread borrowing, by a more recent vocabulary derived from another language, while the original grammatical structure is preserved practically unchanged. This process of relexification seems to be the converse of restructuralization. For example, if a language A can be shown to derive its vocabulary from language B and its grammatical structure from language C, then language A can be both "restructured B" and "relexified C" at the same time. Thus, although the Caribbean creoles are usually considered (from the

> point of view of their vocabularies) to be restructured or pidginized forms of French, etc., it is just as possible to consider them all (from the point of view of their similar basic grammars) as relexified forms of some prior language. But then the question is, what prior language? It would have to be a language which had a historical connection with the settlement of the Caribbean, one with a basic grammatical structure like that of the Caribbean creoles, and one toward which other kinds of creole evidence, such as cases of a substratum vocabulary, would also point.
>
> The clearest cases of lexical substrata in the Caribbean creoles appear to be of Portuguese origin. Therefore a very likely source language for the Caribbean creoles would be the Portuguese trade pidgin which apparently originated as early as the middle of the fifteenth century and was once spread throughout areas of Portuguese contact and expansion in Africa and Asia. This was the language which was apparently used between the Portuguese and West Africans, and which became the earliest common language used in the slave trade.
>
> When the French, Spanish, English, and Dutch entered into the trade, it is probable that this pidgin served as their first language of wider communication, both with the Portuguese and with the West Africans. Subsequent relexification of the pidgin could have taken place both at the slave factories on the African Coast and, in some cases, later within the Caribbean itself. The latter cases are in all likelihood the ones which have furnished evidence of relexification. These new French, Spanish, English, and Dutch Pidgins were then used as the primary means of master-slave communication in the new plantation life in the Caribbean settlements, and were the immediate ancestors of the modern creoles.
>
> It is known that there was a deliberate policy in almost all of the early Caribbean settlements of mixing the slaves linguistically. This encouraged learning of the pidgins, which then became the only means of communication both between Europeans and Africans as well as between Africans with different linguistic backgrounds. By the time immigration to the Caribbean from Europe and Africa had begun to ebb, these contact languages had been well established as the mother tongues of those ensuing generations born and brought up in the new land.

Whinnom (1965) soon expressed his adherence to the theory he had helped to engender, and not long thereafter supporting arguments (discussed below) were drawn from the linguistic situation of Suriname by Voorhoeve (1966, 1967, 1970, 1973), according to whom (1967:103) “the slaves entered the new

world with a basic knowledge of … Portuguese Pidgin, and by a process of relexification replaced Portuguese words by new ones acquired from their new masters, speaking English, French, Dutch, or Spanish.”

Even some who did not adopt this view accepted uncritically the assumption that many African slaves arrived in the New World with some knowledge of Portuguese, as the following illustrates: “Since the Portuguese were the most important slave traders at the time of the formation of various creoles, and a great many slaves in the colonial areas of a number of European nations had passed through their hands, it is not unlikely that many slaves in the French colonies had previously acquired creole Portuguese and carried over some linguistic habits into their subsequently learned language” (Goodman 1964:85). In fact, the Portuguese were ousted from virtually all of the major slaving areas of West Africa by 1641, and except for slaves from Angola and a small number transshipped via the Cape Verde Islands and S. Tomé virtually none of those imported after that date into the colonies of the non-Iberian nations passed through their hands.

Long after their departure, however (in fact, well into the eighteenth century, at least), Portuguese Pidgin continued to be used widely in many West African coastal areas (Schuchardt 1888, Tonkin 1971, Dillard 1979). It was maintained, to a large extent, by communities of mixed-breeds (descended originally from Portuguese fathers and African mothers), who evidently spoke it natively (in this sense it can be considered a creole rather than a pidgin, and who often acted as intermediaries between Europeans and Africans (Rodney 1970, chap. VIII). Presumably, they learned the language of their African neighbors (and vice versa), to whom they apparently assimilated during the early nineteenth century (perhaps as a result of the abolition of the slave trade), abandoning their language in the process. Schuchardt (1888) reported Portuguese-speaking groups in Dahomey well into the second half of that century, but these had been regularly reinforced by traders and repatriated slaves from Brazil (Delafosse 1884:135-6).

Is it likely, however, that many slaves imported into the New World spoke this pidgin? It does not appear to have been widely or regularly used as an African interethnic lingua franca outside of certain coastal areas, and, therefore, was probably known to very few slaves prior to captivity, since these were largely drawn from the hinterland, away from where the Portuguese-

speaking communities were located, and where their language served as an important medium of contact between Africans and Europeans (Ivor Wilks, pers. comm.).

However, it has often been suggested that the slaves, speaking many diverse languages, learned Pidgin Portuguese in the various trade forts and slave barracks along the coast (where they were often held many months and even occasionally as long as a year or more prior to shipment) as a means of communicating not merely with their European captors, but even among themselves. Yet the slave populations of these locales were far more homogenous linguistically than those of the various colonies to which they were ultimately sent. The predominant local language, Kimbundu and Kikongo in the Bantu area, Ewe-Fon on the Slave Coast (modern Dahomey and Togo), Akan on the Gold Coast (modern Ghana), Wolof in Senegal, and so forth, would, in all likelihood, have served as the captives' lingua franca, to the extent that one was needed. Even those who did not speak it upon arrival at the coast were more likely to learn it in captivity than any European language, and in the interim they could surely have found people to interpret for them.

According to Wilks (pers. comm.), "a large majority of slaves shipped from the Gold Coast were Akan speakers. Speakers of Gur languages from more northerly areas were for the most part absorbed into the labor force of the forestlands. Those relatively few Gur speakers who were sold into the Atlantic trade, moreover, had come to the coast via the Akan-speaking countries and, presumably, acquired there some knowledge of their captor's language." There is no reason to doubt that the situation was essentially similar to most other parts of Africa. Nor was there much direct contact between the whites and the slaves in these coastal depots. There was always an ample supply of local Africans in the Europeans' employ, who normally took charge of the slaves and could communicate with them in an indigenous language and, when necessary, serve as interpreters between them and the Europeans. There was, thus, almost no opportunity or motivation for the great majority of slaves to learn Pidgin Portuguese (or any other European language) during their African confinement.

It has also been suggested that the slaves acquired Pidgin Portuguese on shipboard on their way to the New World. In fact, few, if any, slaves were transported in Portuguese ships to any colonies except those of Spain and Portugal, and the extent to which Pidgin Portuguese was used on the ships of

other nations (if at all) is far from clear. In any case, the slaves, for the most part, had very little opportunity to learn any European language while at sea. A voyage rarely lasted more than three months, during which they might (if the crew felt particularly threatened) be confined below deck except for brief daily intervals, though more commonly, once at sea, they were allowed on deck for most of the daylight period. Moreover, the rather limited need for communication between slaves and crew was further reduced on those ships which carried African interpreters (P. H. Wood 1974:174). How widespread this practice was and how early it was introduced remains to be determined, however. Nor were the slaves very likely to have used a European lingua franca among themselves. Those loaded at the same port probably had little need of one (see above), and those picked up at different ports, even if motivated to communicate with one another, would, in all likelihood, have known too little of any European language (beyond a smattering of isolated words) to use it for such a purpose.

To be sure, there were a small number of slaves who had more extensive contact than the others with Europeans during the African and shipboard phases of their captivity, and thus would have acquired an acquaintance with some form of a European language, though not necessary Pidgin Portuguese. Likewise, a very small number of slaves originated from the immediate vicinity of the European coastal trading centers, having been sold into slavery either to repay debts or as punishment for serious crimes. Also, in extremely rare cases, the Europeans' local slaves were shipped overseas because of repeated dereliction in their work (Ivor Wilks, pers. comm.). Both of these groups doubtless included speakers of the coastal Portuguese Pidgin and possibly of one or more derived from other European languages used in the slave trade. In addition, a very small percentage of slaves were sent to the New World by way of islands where Creole Portuguese was the local language, namely, S. Tomé and, much less often, Cape Verde. Even after a month or two there, they probably picked up a rudimentary knowledge of it. All these groups combined, however, formed only a minute percentage of the slaves shipped from Africa.

On the other hand, a report from South Carolina in 1739 (cited in P. H. Wood 1974:177) stated that among slaves from Angola (one of the principal sources of the Atlantic trade) many knew Portuguese. However, since this region supplied an extremely large proportion of the slaves in South Carolina (39.6 percent of those imported between 1733 and 1807; Curtin

1969:157), even a small minority of these might have seemed like a large number to the local whites. Moreover, since scarcely any of these knew the language, they could not distinguish very well between a functional command of it and a mere smattering of words. Furthermore, since the Angolan slaves had a common native language, Kimbundu, there was little reason for them to use Portuguese among themselves. In any event, Angola was clearly a special case, as Birmingham (1965:1) explained:

> The main exception to the general rule that Europeans [during the slave-trade period] did not penetrate into the interior and play a direct role in the rivalries of African kingdoms was the activity of the Portuguese in Angola. Although they started, like other European countries, by limiting themselves to buying slaves supplied from wars carried out by others, the Portuguese in Angola later took to conducting campaigns of their own. During the seventeenth century the Mbundu people of Angola became the first African nation to be subjected to European colonial rule. The wars of conquest began in 1575 and fifty years later the Portuguese had succeeded in imposing upon the Mbundu a form of indirect rule which was implemented by a puppet-king of their choice. Half a century later [actually in 1671, p. 39] they advanced to more direct domination by defeating the king and building a fort on the site of his capital.

The knowledge of Portuguese among Angolan slaves may have increased significantly after 1671, perhaps even considerably later. In any case, one cannot infer from a statement made in 1739 the extent of its use among slaves from the same area nearly one hundred years earlier (roughly the formative period of many of the Caribbean Creoles), much less, among those from other parts of the continent at any time.

Admittedly, it is possible, even likely, that in rare and isolated cases, even in non-Portuguese colonies, individual slaves who had recently arrived from Africa and lacked any other common language resorted to some form of Portuguese as a temporary expedient. There is not the slightest direct evidence, however, that this practice was general or even widespread. On the contrary, quite the reverse is suggested by numerous contemporary reports that the slaves were brought from various parts of Africa and thus could not communicate with one another (e.g., Leslie 1739, cited in Cassidy 1961:17). The assumption that a large number of slaves exported from Africa knew Pidgin Portuguese is based mainly on the presence of

a significant Portuguese element in a number of New World Creoles which derive the major part of their vocabulary from other European languages. In fact, this element virtually in its entirety, can far more plausibly be accounted for in other ways.

Papiamento, the creolized language of Curaçao and its neighboring Islands, Aruba and Bonaire, had traditionally been regarded as a "corrupt" form of Spanish (from which it draws the great bulk of its lexicon), and was, presumably, thought to be a relic of the Spanish occupation from 1527 to 1634, when the islands were seized by the Dutch. The small but quite basic Portuguese element in the language, if considered at all, was attributed to the influence of the important Portuguese-speaking Jewish community, which had begun to settle there in the 1650s. However, the first scholarly study of the language (Lenz 1928), calling attention to morphological similarities between Papiamento and varieties of West African Creole Portuguese (i.e., those of S. Tomé, Annobon, and Cape Verde), in particular the personal pronouns and tense/aspect markers, advanced a radically different opinion. It stated that Papiamento was originally derived from the imperfectly learned jargon ("chapurreo") which the Portuguese used in the ports and islands of Africa where the slaves were held prior to exportation, and which they also had to use on shipboard with those who spoke other languages, since rarely did all on the same ship belong to a single tribe. The grammar of Papiamento, which formed during this early period, is thus Negro-Portuguese, and its vocabulary was originally almost entirely Portuguese as well. However, after being imported into Curaçao from 1648 onward, it came into contact with Spanish as spoken on the island and the coast of nearby Venezuela, and the vocabulary consequently underwent such modification that today the language is essentially Negro-Spanish. Lenz could not decide whether the arrival of Jews from Brazil had increased the Portuguese vocabulary of Papiamento but claimed that it would be wrong to attribute this element in it to them alone (pp. 41, 194, 322-3, 326-7).

Lenz's views were echoed by Navarro Tomás (1953), who pointed out that after the Dutch conquest, the Spaniards and all but seventy-five of the indigenous Indians, who in addition to their native language also spoke Spanish, were deported to the mainland. By 1695 almost none remained. He claimed (p. 188) that Spanish did not begin to exercise significant influence on Papiamento until the early nineteenth century when important groups of Columbians and Venezuelans moved their homes and businesses to Curaçao, and Curaçoans found it easy to carry on

commerce in the nearby Spanish-speaking countries. Van Wijk (1958) elaborated on Navarro Tomás's arguments without significantly disagreeing with them. He suggested, however, that Spanish-speaking priests, who continued to function in Curaçao even after the Dutch conquest, might have contributed to the hispanization of the creole much earlier than the nineteenth century. He also expressed his agreement with Lenz's view that the Jews could not have been solely responsible for the Portuguese element in the language.

Recently, De Bose (1975) revived the opinion that Spanish, rather than Portuguese, was the basis of Papiamento. He suggested that, after the Dutch conquest, it served as the lingua franca between the conquerors and the remnant of the indigenous Indians. When slaves began to be imported into Curaçao, many of whom (so he assumed) spoke an Afro-Portuguese Pidgin, they adapted easily to Portuguese, given its close lexical similarities to Portuguese, creolizing it in the process. The Portuguese Jews, likewise, spoke, or at least understood, Spanish and had no difficulty accepting it as a lingua franca.

This theory might have some plausibility had all these groups converged on Curaçao at roughly the same time. However, there were evidently no slaves at all there at the time of the Dutch conquest, and very few were imported before the mid-1650s (see below). Furthermore, during this early period there were few people on the island who habitually spoke Spanish. When the Dutch captured it, they deported to the mainland not only the Spaniards but also, as mentioned above, all except seventy-five of the more than 400 indigenous Indians, of whom twenty-three, including six women, were kept as servants of the Dutch (who numbered over 400) in their camp near the site of modern Willemstad. These Indians must surely have picked up enough Dutch within a year or two to communicate with the dominant and far more numerous Europeans. The rest of the Indians were sent to the village of Ascencion, some distance away (De Bose 1975:113-4, 196, map, 135). These fifty or so (in addition to their native language) may have continued to use Spanish, but their isolation, as well as their inferior numbers and subordinate political and social status, would virtually have precluded it from functioning as a widespread lingua franca for any length of time.

Apparently, a few of the Indians who had been deported to the mainland returned to the island shortly thereafter (De Bose 1975:330), but it seems highly unlikely that they could have altered the situation to any significant extent. Nor, as

far as can be determined, were there many Europeans there at this time who spoke Spanish habitually. Apart from Samuel Cohen, a Spanish-speaking Portuguese Jew, who accompanied the conquering expedition and was later put in charge of the Indians (Emmanuel and Emmanuel 1970:37), no Jews, apparently, settled there until 1651, and their number was small, probably less than twenty, until 1659 (see below). Furthermore, there was scarcely any contact other than smuggling between the island and the nearby Spanish-speaking mainland before 1648, when peace was established between Holland and Spain.

Clearly, Spanish had ceased to be widely used in Curaçao after the Dutch conquest and thus could not have been the basis for a creole developing there. On the other hand, the process hypothesized by Lenz et al., that of Portuguese Pidgin or Creole being introduced by slaves directly from Africa and adopted by Dutch-speaking whites, is completely without parallel in any other slave colony. Otherwise, wherever a colonial creole was not derived from the predominant local European language, either of two situations existed: (1) It was a survival of a prior colonization (e.g., Creole English in Dutch-ruled Suriname or Creole French in English-ruled St. Lucia and Dominica), or (2) It was brought by European settlers accompanied by creole-speaking slaves from a colony where it had already become established to one where a different European language was then in use (e.g., Creole French in Spanish-ruled Trinidad, brought there from various French Caribbean islands).

As already shown, Papiamento could not be a survival of the Spanish occupation of Curaçao. What about the alternative? In fact, there is good reason to believe that it was imported there in the 1650s by Dutch and Jewish refugees from Brazil accompanied by Creole Portuguese-speaking servants and other followers. Van Wijk (1958:173) noted the presence in Curaçao of Portuguese-speaking non-Jews as well as Jews from Brazil, but did not apparently attribute decisive importance to their influence. On the other hand, Valkhoff (1960:81) specifically claimed that Papiamento "must have been originally a creole Portuguese dialect brought by Negro slaves from Brazil, but has been hispanized under the influence of neighboring Venezuela." While he offered no substantiating evidence, historical investigation does, in fact, support his view.

The origin of Papiamento cannot be understood without considering the Dutch conquest of Brazil. This largely forgotten episode has been well documented by Southey (1817-1819), Boxer (1957), and Wiznitzer (1960), among others. In 1630,

when Holland was at war with Spain and that nation and Portugal were united under one crown, the Dutch seized the coastal area of Brazil from Bahia northward and (within roughly a decade) most of the Portuguese trading stations on the African coast. Since about 1580, the year of the unification of Spain and Portugal, and perhaps even earlier, numerous Portuguese marranos (crypto-Jews) had settled in Brazil to escape the zealous watch of the Inquisition. With the Dutch conquest, many of these reverted openly to Judaism. They were joined by other Portuguese Jews who had earlier taken refuge in Holland.

The Dutch Brazilian empire did not last long; during the 1640s the Portuguese recaptured portions of it, and in 1654 its principal settlement and last stronghold, Recife (Pernambuco), surrendered. The Dutch and Jews nearly all left, and a large number resettled in the Caribbean area (Encyclopedie van de Nederlandse Antillen, p. 340). The Portuguese gave them three months in which to organize their departure and allowed them to take personal property with them. According to van Dantzig (1968:77), they took slaves along as well, and there is reason to believe that they were also accompanied by Brazilian mistresses and wives. These conclusions are supported by the report (discussed below) of a group of these refugees accompanied by 300 slaves and 200 women who landed in Martinique and Guadeloupe (Crouse 1940:211-3).

Even before this final exodus, however, there were many links between Curaçao and Dutch Brazil. The two leaders of the expedition which conquered the island, van Waalbeeck and le Grand (and doubtless some of their followers as well), had previously served in Brazil (Goslinga 1979:23), as had Peter Stuyvesant, who governed the island from 1642 to 1646. Until the end of his tenure, Curaçao was politically subordinate to New Holland, as the Dutch called their Brazilian empire (pp. 30-2). Ships from Brazil regularly stopped and traded in Curaçao en route back to Holland (p. 29). In 1644, a group of 400 to 500 refugees from Maranhão (northern Brazil), which the Portuguese had just recaptured, landed on their way home to the mother country (Hartog 1961:173), though it is not known whether any stayed there. After the fall of Recife (1654), the Brazilian presence in Curaçao increased considerably. The acting governor from 1657 to 1668, Mathias Beck, had, until 1654, commanded a fort in Brazil, where he had spent nineteen years (Hartog 1961:113). He was succeeded as governor by his brother Willem (Hartog 1961:113), and in the same year,

according to Emmanuel and Emmanuel (1970:84), another brother, Balthazar, became slave commissioner (i.e., supervisor of the slave camps; these are discussed below).

The first group of Jewish colonists, under De Illan, arrived in Curaçao in 1651, but they numbered only ten or twelve (Hartog 1961:335). They brought at least one slave with them (Emmanuel and Emmanuel 1970:41) and perhaps others. A few more Jews may have immigrated during the following years, and in 1659 a large group of over seventy people (twelve families) under the leadership of Isaac da Costa arrived from Holland; like their predecessors of 1651 they were all Brazilians (Hartog 1961:336-7). It is safe to assume that all these families brought some Brazilian servants with them. Notarial records in Amsterdam show that among those of this group settling their affairs prior to leaving for Curaçao were "Isaac Serano and family with their mulatto servant" (Emmanuel and Emmanuel 1970:39).

These Jews were the first private citizens in Curaçao permitted by the West India Company to buy slaves. This privilege may have been granted because Beck knew of da Costa in Brazil (pp. 45-50), though the Jews' previous agricultural experience may also have been a major consideration. According to Emmanuel and Emmanuel (1970:75), "The [Jewish] colonists of 1659 received a certain number of slaves to work on their plantations. This number was increased by natural reproduction and by purchase from the Company of macaroons, weak or sickly slaves. The inhabitants could not buy sound slaves for their private use until 1674. That year the Company also permitted them to buy slaves for the export trade."

The reason for this policy was that the West India Company preferred to sell as many as possible to the Spaniards in the hope of being awarded an asiento (an exclusive contract to supply slaves), as in fact happened in 1662, whereby the company agreed to provide 2,000 annually; the number was doubled in 1675 (Postma 1970:20-1). After the restriction was lifted, however, the number of slaves in private hands (3,631 in 1698, Emmanuel and Emmanuel 1970:1036) gradually overtook the number owned by the company (2,400 in 1700, Hartog 1961:343). In 1713 the Spanish asiento was withdrawn (Postma 1970:120), and Curaçao ceased to be a major slave export center.

It seems that very few slaves had been imported into the island before the mid-1650s. There were evidently none there at the time of the Dutch conquest and not more than eight or

nine in 1639, though a few more ("wat meer") were imported from West Africa in 1641 (Hartog 1961: 198-9). Lenz (1928:48) assumed that large-scale importation began in 1648 after the Spanish made peace with Holland, recognizing its claim to Curaçao and thus enabling its South American colonies to buy slaves there. However, Goslinga (1979:105) estimated that around 1650 the slaves on Curaçao "numbered no more than 100" and also claimed (109) that although "the first blacks might have reached the island as early as 1639, their number was small and their arrivals irregular until well into the fifties." This view is supported by Postma (1970:19-20), who explained why slaves were not imported in large numbers until after the loss of Brazil:

> In 1642, the [West India Company] director at Luanda [Angola], Arnoud van Liebergen, suggested to his superiors in Holland that the Antilles' island of Curaçao would serve as a convenient depot for the slave trade with the American mainland. Because Brazil was so much closer to Africa, and the planters there demanded slaves continually, the company directors at first ignored the suggestion. Correspondence from Curaçao confirms, however, that by 1657 [three years after the fall of Recife] the island was being used for purposes suggested by van Liebergen. In 1668 some 3,000 black slaves were counted on the island, and since the island itself did not need such a large slave population, it may be assumed that the majority were intended for reexportation to the mainland ... For the period 1660-1713 Curaçao functioned as one of the most important slave trade import depots for the new world.

Since the Dutch West India Company had a monopoly of the slave trade in all Dutch colonies during the seventeenth century (Postma 1970:57-60) and was shipping nearly all of its slaves to Brazil until 1654, only a handful had been imported into Curaçao before then.

In fact, the Dutch slave trade had declined in the mid-1640s, due to financial difficulties of the West India Company, and an agent was sent to West Africa in 1655 to revive it (Postma 1970:17). Therefore, it was most likely not until that year at the earliest, and perhaps not before 1657, that importation began. Additional evidence confirms the unavailability of slaves there during the early 1650s. For example, as late as 1653, De Illan, the leader of the first (1651) group of Jewish colonists, requested a few slaves from among the small number who were

being sent from Africa to New Netherland (New York), but he was refused (Hartog, 1961:334). It is very unlikely, therefore, that any creole language became established in Curaçao before the middle or latter part of that decade.

For the first two or three decades thereafter, the great majority of slaves on the island were housed in camps owned by the West India Company, most of them destined for export, but some apparently retained for company use. The language used in these camps has not been documented, but there is reason to believe that Dutch refugees from Brazil played an important role in administering the island and its slave camps. As noted above, a number of Curaçao's governors had previously served in Brazil, including Matthias Beck during the linguistically critical period 1657-1668. He was succeeded by his brother, and in the same year another brother was made slave commissioner. It seems quite plausible to assume that many of the subordinates of these officials had served with them in Brazil, and that these, in turn, were assisted by servants and other followers from there. It is thus quite likely that some form of Portuguese was being used by those taking charge of the company slaves. It should also be considered that some of the company personnel in Curaçao might have learned Portuguese as a result of having previously served in the African trade forts which Holland had recently seized from Portugal.

Adding all these considerations to the fact that until 1674 the only private citizens in Curaçao permitted to buy slaves were Jews from Brazil, and that many of the first non-Jews on the island to own slaves were in all probability Dutch émigrés from that country, it hardly seems surprising that Creole Portuguese became the general slave language of the island. The fact that a tiny percentage of the newly arriving slaves from Africa most likely already had a slight familiarity with Portuguese no doubt reinforced its use (even fewer presumably would have had a prior acquaintance with Dutch), particularly since these could have served as interpreters with the others. This factor, however, was surely of minor importance. Portuguese Creole would, in all probability, have been implanted in Curaçao even if not a single slave imported from Africa had spoken it, although there is reason to believe (as explained above) that a very small number of them, in fact, did.

A striking parallel to the formation of Papiamento was the development, in Dutch-ruled Djakarta (Batavia) during the seventeenth century, of a variety of Portuguese Creole, which

was spoken there until about 1800 and in the nearby village of Tugu for more than a hundred years longer (Reinecke 1975:77). According to Boxer (1961:57):

> The Portuguese never set foot there [Batavia] save as prisoners of war, or as occasional and fleeting visitors. Yet a creole form of their language was introduced by slaves and household servants from the region of the Bay of Bengal, and was spoken by the Dutch and half-caste women born and bred in Batavia, sometimes to the exclusion of their own mother tongue. Governor General Maetsuycker and his Council explained to their superiors in the Netherlands in 1659 that it was futile to try to take drastic measures against the use of Portuguese. They wrote: "The Portuguese language is an easy language to speak and to learn. That is the reason why we cannot prevent the slaves brought here by Arakan [Burma] who have never heard a word of Portuguese (and indeed even our own children) from taking to that language and making it their own.

Likewise, Huet (1909:161-3) maintained that this creole could not be traced to any prior Portuguese settlement in the vicinity of Djakarta, but that, rather, it was brought there by Dutch colonists who had previously lived in various Asian possessions of the East India Company where Creole Portuguese had been the dominant lingua franca for some time. The Dutch, therefore, became accustomed to using this language with their local servants and slaves, and when they immigrated with them to Djakarta, they continued to do so. Other slaves, who were brought there from various parts of Indonesia and elsewhere, and who previously knew no Portuguese, adopted the language from those already using it, finding it no more difficult to learn than the local Malay, which was not their native language either. It must have been precisely in the same way that Papiamento was brought (as a form of Creole Portuguese) from Brazil to Curaçao.

However, if Papiamento began as a creolized form of Portuguese, how did it become so extensively hispanized? The phenomenon is clearly not a recent one, as shown by the oldest surviving document in the language, a letter from a Curaçoan Jew in 1776, published and discussed by Richard Wood (1972). Even earlier, Alexius Schabel, an Austrian priest, who spoke fluent Spanish and lived in Curaçao from 1704 to 1713 (Hartog 1961:404), wrote that the slaves spoke "un español chapurreado" (Van Wijk 1958:169). Obviously, Papiamento must

have become hispanized extremely rapidly. Navarro Tomás's claim (cited above) that the process occurred in the nineteenth century is clearly untenable. Nor is it likely (as explained above) that the small, isolated, declining remnant of the indigenous Indians played a significant role.

Van Wijk's suggestion that Spanish-speaking priests were primarily responsible is scarcely more plausible. Until 1677, there were only occasional itinerant priests on the island. From then until 1707, there were visiting priests sent by the bishop of Caracas. A list of these, beginning in 1680, shows that they made only very brief and infrequent visits until 1686. Even afterwards, there were often periods of several months when no priests at all were on the island and only rarely were there more than one. The most at any single time were five from September 17 to October 20, 1697, and seven from January 24 to May 19, 1699. On a few occasions, there were two or three for a period of a month or so.

Only two priests remained longer than a few months, one from March 1686 to February 1687 and the last one from 1699 to 1707. During the latter's tenure Father Schabel arrived, staying from 1704 until 1713 when he was succeeded by Father Caysedo, joined two years later by seven Dutch Jesuits, who probably knew Spanish. Caysedo left in 1738 and the Jesuits in 1742; their numbers had fluctuated somewhat during the intervening years. Afterwards there were again only visiting priests until 1776. On the other hand, in addition to those resident on the island, there were a total of ten after 1685 who accompanied the Dutch slave ships from Africa at the insistence of the Spanish government as a condition for awarding the asiento (Hartog 1961:404, Felice Cardot 1973:394-7). This state of affairs would not have persisted after 1713, however, when the asiento was withdrawn, but during the interval some slaves must have been exposed to at least a minimum amount of Spanish even before reaching Curaçao.

Without dismissing entirely the role of the priests in hispanizing Papiamento, their small numbers and intermittent presence during much of the crucial period suggests that their contribution was quite limited, particularly in view of the fact that as early as 1668 the island already had over 3,000 slaves and by 1700 over 6,000 (see above).

As already noted, until 1713 Curaçao exported the great majority of slaves who arrived there, predominantly to South America. These were mostly picked up in small Spanish ships (Postma 1970:20). It seems likely that many of those employed

in the Curaçoan slave camps were regularly speaking Creole Portuguese with the slaves and makeshift Spanish with the crews of the slave ships, possibly even a pidginized or creolized form of it, which was known to have been spoken in Colombia at this time (Granda 1970). Given the extreme closeness of the two languages and the fact that many of the slave camp personnel spoke neither natively, the likelihood of considerable intermingling was extremely great. Furthermore, other Curaçoan Dutch, some of whom had never been to Brazil and spoke little or no Portuguese, were engaged in trade with the mainland (all of it illicit before 1648) and surely knew some Spanish, which, naturally, they would have found far more useful that Dutch in communicating with the Creole-Portuguese-speaking slaves. Thus, Papiamento had doubtless begun to be hispanized almost from the moment it arrived in Curaçao.

In addition, from the 1660s on, many Jews from Holland, who spoke Spanish as well as Portuguese, settled in Curaçao in such numbers that from 1726 to 1770 they formed the majority of its white population (Hartog 1961:339). The Dutch Sephardics surely were, to a large extent, bilingual in both Iberian idioms (Granda 1974) and switched from one to the other and even intermingled them, particularly in speaking. Even in writing, where puristic standards must have been much stronger, this tendency can be observed to some extent. For example, in the Portuguese text by an Amsterdam Jew of this period the Spanish forms sangre and ahora are used (van Praag 1940:101). In a purely spoken vernacular like Papiamento (at least, as it was then), such standards must have been virtually nonexistent.

Maduro (1966) has documented a number of Ibero-Romance words in Papiamento of archaic or dialectal Spanish origin, for example awe ‘today,’ pia ‘foot,’ and palomba ‘dove’ (which Lenz 1928:326, erroneously believed to be a blend of Spanish paloma and Portuguese pomba). Such forms must have entered the language during the seventeenth century from either the vernacular Spanish of coastal Venezuela and Colombia, or, more likely, Dutch Judeo-Spanish. A few might have been introduced from the Spanish of the local Indians, which surely was very close to the nearby South American variety, but may have preserved certain archaic or dialectal features. This topic requires much additional research, however. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with the spread of education and the expansion of contact with Latin America, Spanish influence on Papiamento has continued to grow.

Lenz showed great insight in recognizing that Papiamento began as a creolized form of Portuguese rather than of Spanish. However, he was misled into believing that this language was imported by slaves from Africa rather than by Dutch and Jewish émigrés from Brazil and their servants and other followers. This was, in part, because important relevant historical information was inaccessible to Lenz, but also because, although West African Creole Portuguese was extensively documented and its use there as a slave trade lingua franca well attested, the existence of Creole Portuguese in Brazil was completely unrecognized.

Recently, however, scholars have begun to unearth some evidence of Creole Portuguese in Brazil (Silveira Fereira 1969, which I have not seen, and Megenney 1978). Conditions for its development were clearly ideal there during the sixteenth century, when the cultivation of sugar and other tropical products was first introduced, along with the establishment of large plantations worked by African slaves. Furthermore, after 1574, and possibly even before, planters, presumably accompanied by some of their slaves, moved there from S. Tomé (Blake 1937:177), where Creole Portuguese has been spoken since the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Very similar varieties are also spoken on the nearby islands of Príncipe and Annobón. It is also likely that, at approximately the same time, slaves were also imported from the Cape Verde Islands, where a somewhat different form of Creole Portuguese has been spoken for at least as long.

Evidence from Papiamento suggests that both these dialects played a role in the formation of the Brazilian Creole. For example, the Papiamento third person plural pronoun <u>nan</u> is evidently derived from the creole of S. Tomé, Annobon, and Príncipe, where it is <u>ina</u>, <u>ine,</u> <u>inen</u>, and so forth, stemming, most likely, from the interaction of Portuguese <u>eles</u> and the synonymous and phonetically similar Bini and Kimbundu independent pronouns <u>iran</u> and <u>ene</u>, respectively. Bini and Kikongo were the most widely spoken African languages during the formation of S. Tomé Creole (Ivens Ferraz 1979:90), and Kimbundu was significantly represented among slaves from the Kingdom of Congo throughout most of the sixteenth century (Birmingham 1965:7). On the other hand, the Papiamento present/durative marker <u>ta</u> (found also in Saramaccan) occurs in Cape Verdean and many other varieties of Portuguese Creole, but not in S. Tomé, Annobon, or Príncipe. The Papiamento future marker <u>lo</u> from Portuguese <u>logo</u> is found in none of the Afro-Portuguese

Creoles, however, although some (e.g., Thompson 1961) have erroneously attributed it to Cape Verdean. On the other hand, it does occur in Indo-Portuguese Creole (Schuchardt 1889:477) and, untruncated, as logo in the Sino-Portuguese Creole of Macao (Thompson 1961:109). It might, therefore, at one time have been used in the Afro-Portuguese Creoles and subsequently been lost, but it almost certainly entered Papiamento via Brazil.

A question, tangential, but related to the origin of Papiamento, is why the overwhelming majority of the slave population of Curaçao has always been Roman Catholic, whereas the whites during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were predominantly Protestant or Jewish. The generally accepted explanation is the assiduous evangelization of the slaves by the priests, whose presence on the islands and the slave ships was grudgingly accepted by the Dutch at the insistence of Spain as a condition of the asiento (see above).

Another factor might have been just as important, however, if not more so, namely, those servants and other followers whom the Dutch and Jews brought with them from Brazil. These must have been Catholic virtually without exception; it was the religion they had been brought up with, and little, if any, effort had ever been made to convert them. Since they clearly formed the most acculturated segment of the servile population of Curaçao, it was to them that incoming slaves from Africa assimilated, no doubt in various ways, but most enduringly in religion and language.

Papiamento remains, to this day, an Ibero-Romance tongue, and if the Spanish element has, to a large extent, replaced the Portuguese, it is only because the two languages are so closely related. Though the process clearly occurred quite rapidly, it probably was scarcely noticed by the newly arriving slaves, who, at least during the learning period, were most likely barely aware that these were two separate languages.

The linguistic situation in Suriname has also been regarded as evidence that a large number of African slaves reached the New World with some knowledge of Pidgin Portuguese. The principal vernacular of the country, Sranan (also known as Taki-Taki), is clearly derived from English, though it contains words of Portuguese, Dutch, African, Amerindian, and even Hebrew origin. There are also groups of so-called "Bushnegroes," descendants of escaped slaves. Those living in eastern Suriname, the Djuka, Paramacca, and Aluku or Boni (these are also found in French Guiana), speak a language very close to Sranan.

Those of central Suriname, the Saramaccans and Matawari, who formed a single group until the mid-1700s (Price 1976:30), speak a highly mixed language, whose basic vocabulary contains a large proportion of both English and Portuguese words, and whose total vocabulary contains many of African origin as well. However, a nearby group, the Kwinti, who number only a few hundred and whose history is still obscure (van der Elst 1975), speak a language very much like those of the eastern region (Huttar 1982).

Since Suriname was originally colonized by the English from Barbados in 1651 (it was seized by the Dutch in 1667), the origin of Sranan is no mystery. There may have been a small number of Jews among the first English settlers, but their presence has never been conclusively demonstrated (Rens 1953:23-4). However, in 1664-1665, a group of approximately 200 (Voorhoeve 1970:56), accompanied by some slaves, arrived from Cayenne, after its capture by the French; they had settled there in 1659, when it was a Dutch colony. These, like their counterparts in Curaçao, who went there in the same year, were refugees from Brazil, who had left that country in 1654 (when the Dutch were ousted) and gone to Holland. Shortly after immigrating to Cayenne, they were joined by Spanish-speaking and Portuguese-speaking Jews from Leghorn (Livorno). After the Dutch conquest of Suriname their community was strengthened by additional predominantly Sephardic immigrants from Holland.

It was generally believed (e.g., Wullschlägel 1855, 1856) that the large Portuguese element in Saramaccan was attributable to the high percentage of runaway slaves among this group from Jewish plantations, where allegedly a strongly Portuguese-influenced Creole was then spoken. Although such scholars as Schuchardt (1914) and van Panhuys (1917) accepted this view, it was challenged by Herskovits (1931) on the basis of two arguments. First, a letter from a German missionary in Suriname, J. Kersten, cited by Schuchardt (p. xxxi) claimed that all the Bushnegroes, whether on the upper Saramacca (River), on the upper Suriname, on the Commewijne, or on the Cottica, spoke essentially the same Negro-Portuguese. Were this statement true, it would imply that a large majority of all runaways had escaped from Jewish-owned plantations, a conclusion which struck Herskovits as implausible, since these were a minority within the colony. In fact, however, Kersten's information was incorrect, and, furthermore, Herskovits knew as much, since he stated that, "it was my impression … that the

speech of the Auka [i.e., Djuka] tribe of Bush-Negroes is much more like Taki-Taki than that of the Saramacca people" (p. 548, fn. 3). Yet he did not seem to realize that he had, thereby, refuted one of his own arguments. Nor did he attempt to explain the differences between the two Bushnegro languages. (This question is discussed below.)

Second, two words, both obviously introduced by the Jews, trefu 'food taboo' and kaseri 'ritually clean', are used in Sranan but not in Saramaccan, even though it has the same concepts, which are expressed by words of African origin. If the majority of the original Saramaccans had fled from Jewish-owned plantations, asked Herskovits, why are these two words not used by them? He concluded, therefore, that this supposition was erroneous, and that the Portuguese words in their language must be explained differently. Apart from the risk of basing so far-reaching an inference on the absence of two rather specialized words, his argument contains the additional fallacy of ignoring when they actually entered Sranan. Clearly, they must first have been used in Suriname by the Jews with strictly their Judaic meaning. Only later were they applied to comparable (but not identical) practices within the Surinamese slaves' own culture. This lexical innovation could easily have occurred well after the formation of the Saramaccans, a conclusion supported by the fact that they evidently did not both simultaneously enter Sranan (where unlike their Hebrew etymons they are not antonyms), since kaseri (but not trefu) is absent from the two oldest published dictionaries of that language, those of Focke (1855) and Wullschlägel (1856), and thus, presumably, was adopted fairly late. On the other hand, trefu is attested much earlier, namely, in the writings of Stedman (Schuchardt 1914:110), an English mercenary who served in Suriname in the 1770s. However, this was at least eighty years after the formation of the Saramaccans, but several decades before that of the Djuka (see below), who, it should be noted, do use the word (Bonaparte 1884:132).

Thus, it can be seen that Herskovits failed to present a single valid argument against the traditional view. Furthermore, his alternative explanation is plainly preposterous, namely, that the Portuguese items in Saramaccan were actually introduced from various African languages, particularly Ewe-Fon, which previously had borrowed them from Portuguese. He sought to account for their presence in Saramaccan by assuming that the original runaways were nearly all African-born and fled shortly after their arrival in the colony, consequently retaining many

African words. Yet no African language has acquired from Portuguese the type of vocabulary that Saramaccan has (e.g., the words for 'man', 'woman', 'eye', 'mouth', 'here', 'there').[2]

Voorhoeve (1973:142) rightly rejected this explanation, pointing out that "There certainly are to be found Portuguese borrowings in many African languages, but their number has always been restricted. The high percentage of Portuguese items in [Saramaccan] certainly cannot be explained in this way." Nevertheless, he accepted Herskovits' feeble and confused arguments as a convincing refutation of the belief that Saramaccan originated on the Jewish plantations of Suriname. Like Herskovits, he saw no plausible reason for assuming that an abnormally high proportion of the original Saramaccans should have fled from Jewish plantations (see note 2). He even offered evidence (discussed below) that the language of the slaves on these plantations was not significantly different from that of the others in the colony and thus could not possibly account for the greater Portuguese content in Saramaccan than in the other Surinamese Creoles.

However, Voorhoeve offered a solution to these various questions quite different from that of Herskovits. He assumed (Voorhoeve 1966, 1967, 1970, 1973) that the first slaves imported into Suriname from Africa during the seventeenth century spoke Pidgin Portuguese, which was relexified under the influence of the English planters and their Barbadian slaves. Since the process was of short duration (nearly all the English had departed by 1680), more Portuguese words have survived in Sranan than in the English-based Creoles of areas where British influence persisted. He further claimed that Saramaccan was formed sometime during the late seventeenth century, primarily by slaves who fled shortly after their arrival in the colony and whose language, therefore, had undergone only partial relexification, accounting for its much higher Portuguese content. Since Djuka clearly originated several decades later, he sought to account for the difference between it and Saramaccan on the assumption that those slaves who arrived from Africa during the eighteenth century had, by contrast, acquired Pidgin English there, which, he suggested, had significantly supplanted Pidgin Portuguese as the principal slave-trade lingua franca during this period. Although this account has been widely accepted, none of the evidence offered in support of it stands up to scrutiny, and its most crucial assumptions can be shown to be mistaken.

On the other hand, it can be shown quite convincingly that a strongly Portuguese-influenced Creole was once spoken along the Suriname River, precisely the area where the Jews were concentrated and where they formed a substantial majority during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. This was also the area from which the original Saramaccans were largely drawn during that very period, whereas the Djuka, who formed during the first half of the eighteenth century, escaped mostly from the Creole English-speaking plantations of eastern Suriname. There is, furthermore, good reason to doubt that the slaves imported into Suriname during this period, who must have made up the bulk of the original Djuka, could have acquired Pidgin English in Africa.

Voorhoeve rejected the existence of a distinct Portuguese-influenced Creole on the Jewish plantations on the basis of two completely inconclusive pieces of evidence. The first was the statement of a traveler, Jan Reeps, whose unpublished diary (1693) was discussed and, in part, reproduced by Alphen (1963), "De Engelse hebben hier een colonie gemaeckt en wort die taal daer nog meest bij de slaven gesproken." On this basis, Voorhoeve (1973:140-1) concluded that the language used on the Jewish plantations at the time must have been English (or derived from it) like that of the rest of the slaves in the colony, and, thus, could not account for the Portuguese element in Saramaccan. However, this statement, even taken at face value, does not rule out the possibility that some slaves spoke languages other than English. Furthermore, Reeps, who spent approximately seven months in Suriname as a houseguest of the Dutch governor in Paramaribo, where few, if any, Jews were then living, may never have even visited their settlement on the upper Suriname River. He mentioned it in a single sentence, providing no details whatsoever, and not even stating that they were Portuguese, thus suggesting that he knew of it entirely from hearsay. By contrast, he described with considerable elaboration his trips along the Cottica River, where he had a small plantation, and where, likewise, few, if any, Jews were settled during this period. Thus, Reeps' failure to mention a Portuguese or Portuguese-influenced Creole used on the Jewish plantations, whether he knew of it or not, can scarcely be used as evidence that it did not exist.

Voorhoeve's second bit of purely negative evidence is equally inconclusive, namely, the absence of any mention of a Portuguese-influenced Creole spoken on Suriname's Jewish plantations in Herlein's (1718) detailed description of the

colony, which included the first text in early Sranan. Like Reeps, this writer also apparently lived in Paramaribo, where Jews were clearly a minority and Creole English was always the predominant slave language (see below). Furthermore, he described it (121) as "de Spraak der Swarten, zo ze van haar op de Zurinaamsche Kust gesproken werd" [the speech of the blacks as it is spoken by them on the Suriname coast], suggesting that a different form of speech might have been spoken further inland, precisely the area (along the upper Suriname River) where the Jewish plantations were largely concentrated (see below). He also claimed (Herlein 1718:121) that "om dat d'Engleschen deze Colonie lange tijd hebben bezetten ... zo hebben ze dier zelben Spraak meest geleerd" [since the English occupied this colony for a long time, they (the slaves) mostly learned this language], leaving open the possibility that some might have learned other forms of speech.

In fact, there is conclusive evidence that two distinct plantation creoles were spoken in Suriname even in the latter part of the eighteenth century. For instance, a German missionary wrote in 1767 that the language spoken along the Suriname River (where the great majority of the Jewish plantations were located; see below) was quite different from that of Paramaribo, in that it used many "broken" Portuguese words and could describe things "in three or four different ways" (Price 1976:37-8). Even today, Saramaccan has a fair number of synonyms derived respectively from Portuguese and English (Voorhoeve 1973:139). Schumann, who compiled the earliest dictionary of Saramaccan in 1778, was almost certainly describing the same situation when he defined the term fotto-tongo (fotto, from fort, is the vernacular form for Paramaribo) as follows: "die negerenglische Sprache, sowie sie in Paramaribo und auf den meisten Plantagen in hiesigem Lande gesprochen wird (auf einigen Plantagen haben die Neger ihre ganz eigene Sprache)" (Schuchardt 1914: 64-5).[3]

The development of a distinctive Portuguese-influenced Creole along the Suriname River is easily explained (Rens 1953, chap. III). When the Jews arrived in the colony from Cayenne (1664-1665), they settled in this area, where most of the English plantations were already established and Creole English was in use. About thirty miles upriver they constructed a village and synagogue, called the Joden Savanne, around which most of their plantations were grouped, and where they shortly became the predominant majority (see below). They evidently brought slaves with them from Cayenne who spoke Creole Portuguese

but almost immediately, in all likelihood, acquired some local Creole English-speaking slaves and purchased a much larger number after the Dutch conquest (1667) and the departure of the English colonists (1667-1680; Voorhoeve 1970:55-6), who were compelled to leave behind all slaves imported after 1667 (Rens, 1953:26-7).

The two languages influenced each other from the start. The constant influx of new slaves from Africa, who were simultaneously exposed to both, doubtless played a crucial role in intermingling them, resulting in the development on the Jewish plantations of a highly mixed language (in all probability very similar to Saramaccan, both in its grammar and in its European-derived vocabulary). It must have been spoken by the younger slaves towards the end of the seventeenth century, and by virtually all of them before the middle of the eighteenth, by which time the original "pure" Portuguese Creole was very likely extinct, or nearly so.

It apparently survived much longer, however, in certain formulaic utterances, such as proverbs, which are among the most conservative forms of discourse in any unwritten language. In a collection of these, which otherwise are entirely in Sranan and were gathered principally, if not exclusively, from speakers of this language, Wullschlägel (1856:328) recorded the following (no. 488), praga beroegoe no mata caballo 'the screeching of the owl does not kill the horse'. Apart from no, which could be from English or Portuguese, none of the words is found in either Saramaccan or Sranan, and all of the others except beroegoe 'owl' (of uncertain origin) are clearly from Portuguese.[4] Furthermore, in the subject noun phrase, the head precedes the adjunct in what may be regarded either as a possessive or a compound construction, whereas in Saramaccan and Sranan (and the English-based Creoles generally) the reverse order prevails (see also below). This proverb, which was noted by Schuchardt (1914:xxii fn. 1), is evidently the only attested example of the early Creole Portuguese of Suriname, but it provides strong evidence that this language was once spoken there among plantation slaves.

The mixed language which supplanted it on the Jewish plantations came to be known, for obvious reasons, as Dju-Tongo or "Jews' language" (Wullschlägel 1856:vi). The earliest recorded use of the term was in Schumann's (1783) unpublished dictionary of Sranan (cited in Voorhoeve 1973:140), namely, "Djutongo nennen die Neger hier die mit dem Portugiesischen vermengte Negersprache. Saramakka- Ningre

habi Djutongo (Saramaccans have Dju-Tongo)." Voorhoeve (1973:140) unconvincingly maintained that the term applied only to Saramaccan but not to any plantation creole, and that it was so named merely because its large Portuguese component reminded the slaves of the language which the Portuguese Jews spoke among themselves, not because it was spoken by the slaves on the Jewish plantations. If this interpretation were correct, Schumann would more likely have defined it simply as another name for the Saramaccan language, adding, perhaps, an explanation of why it was so designated.

It makes far more sense to accept Price's conclusion (1976:73) that it "referred to a Portuguese-influenced Creole spoken both by the Saramaccan maroons and by the slaves on the Jewish plantations." This interpretation is further supported by the statement of a local Surinamese, quoted by Schumann (Voorhoeve 1973:141 fn. 13), that a certain word was not much used in town (Paramaribo), but that many plantations had it—"it is Dju-Tongo"—clearly suggesting that this name applied not only to the language of the Saramaccans, but also to that of certain plantations. As already demonstrated, there is conclusive evidence that such a language was still in use in Schumann's time, but, evidently, by an ever diminishing number of slaves.

Interestingly, neither Schumann nor the other German missionary (see above) mentioned that the Portuguese-influenced Creole was used principally on Jewish plantations, probably because, as a result of financial difficulties in the colony beginning in the 1760s, an increasing number of all Surinamese plantations (77 percent by 1788) had become owned by absentees (Price 1976:17). Whereas in 1730 the Jews owned 115 out of a total of 401, by 1788 they owned only 46 out of a total of 591 (Essai historique, p. 142). Although the Dju-Tongo persisted even after these changes in ownership, its decline was surely accelerated by them and, probably even more so, by the gradual resettlement of most Jews in Paramaribo, culminating in 1832, when the Joden Savanne was abandoned entirely. In 1856 (p. vi), Wullschlägel reported that the Dju-Tongo had almost disappeared ("fast verschwunden"), but evidently not completely. There were probably a few elderly slaves who still remembered it.

It may seem somewhat arbitrary to classify this language either as Portuguese based or as English based. However, in Saramaccan, among the 200 basic words of the Swadesh list, seventy-two are from English and only fifty from Portuguese,

not including at least nine pairs of bilingual synonyms (Voorhoeve 1973:138-9). More significantly, virtually the entire grammatical apparatus (the definite and indefinite articles, the plural marker, the personal pronouns, and the tense/aspect markers) is akin to Sranan and the other English-based Creoles. The only clear-cut exception is the present/durative marker ta (from Portuguese está), which is also found in Papiamento and in most varieties of Creole Portuguese; it is phonetically quite close to its Sranan equivalent d e, however, and might have been retained precisely for that reason.

Furthermore, Saramaccan agrees with Sranan and other English-based Creoles in the one syntactic characteristic which distinguishes them most strikingly from those of Romance origin, namely, the placement of attributive adjectives and dependent nouns (i.e., in the compound and possessive constructions) before the head noun. (Though, admittedly, a small number of common adjectives, likewise, precede the noun in the Romance-based Creoles, as in the European languages from which they derive.) To be sure, there is an alternative possessive construction in the English-based Creoles with the reverse order and a particle connecting the two nouns, derived, apparently, from 'for' fu in Sranan and Saramaccan (Donicie and Voorhoeve 1963:63) and fi in Jamaican (Cassidy 1961:52). However, where possession is indicated by simple juxtaposition without any linking element, Saramaccan follows the Creole English pattern, whereas the Creole Portuguese of Suriname (in its single attestation, the above cited proverb) and that of the islands of S. Tomé and Príncipe in West Africa, follow the reverse order (Ivens Ferraz 1979:81, Günther 1973:16).

Thus, on the basis of lexicon, morphology, and syntax, Saramaccan (and presumably the Dju-Tongo of the Jewish plantations as well), is much more plausibly considered an English-based Creole with an exceptionally high infusion of Portuguese words, as Schuchardt (1914:xxvi-xxviii) advocated, rather than the converse (see also Gilbert's comments in Schuchardt 1980:10, 90). This language resulted from the use of the two competing creoles on the Jewish plantations, to which newly arriving slaves, most of whom having no prior acquaintance with any European language, were simultaneously exposed, but not in equal doses, since, evidently, Creole English had become predominant on these plantations not very long after the arrival of the Jews in the colony, though bilingualism must have been common. The fact that a few Surinamese slaves had probably

acquired some Pidgin Portuguese in Africa may have reinforced the Portuguese element in the Dju-Tongo, but this factor could have played only a very minor role in its development.

The belief that Saramaccan grew out of the language used on the Jewish plantations was not Wullschlägel's (1855, 1856) invention, as Voorhoeve (1973:140) erroneously claimed, but can be documented back to within one hundred years of the origin of the group. Schumann expressed precisely this view (Price 1976:38) as did Hartsinck (1770:755), who wrote in his compendious description of the colony that the Saramaccans were strengthened, "van tyd tot tyd, door nieuwe Wegloopers van onze Plantagien, vooral van de Jooden: waar door zy nog een gebrooke Portugeesch onder hun Neger Engelse Taal voegen."

It is noteworthy that the Jews of Suriname, who produced a history of their community entitled Essai historique sur la colonie de Suriname (1788), interpreted this statement (rightly or wrongly) as an accusation (see note 2). Therefore, they attempted to refute it by pointing out that a group of runaways had formed during the English period, before the Jews had arrived in Suriname, and that others had escaped from non-Jewish plantations or from areas where few, if any, Jews were settled (pp. 57-8). Yet they avoided all reference to language. Clearly, there must have been some Jews at this time whose memory extended back to the late seventeenth century, when the Saramaccans first formed (see below). Surely, if there had been any plausible alternative explanation of the origin of the Saramaccan language to that proposed by Hartsinck, the Jews would have known of it and offered it in refutation. Their failure to do so strongly suggests that there was none.

Furthermore, it is quite clear why most of the first Saramaccans must have fled from Jewish plantations. With the gradual departure of the English (1667-1680), who took with them nearly all the slaves they had acquired before 1667 (Voorhoeve 1970:56), the Jews and their slaves became the predominant majority along the Suriname River. A map of 1677 showed that along its banks, between its tributary, the Cassipoera Creek, and the former English capital, Toorarica, out of a total of thirty-two plantations, nineteen belonged to Jews, six to English, and seven to Dutch (Rens 1953:26). By 1684, when only thirty English inhabitants remained in the colony (Voorhoeve 1970:56), a census of those who paid head taxes (Bijlsma 1920:353-4) listed 232 Jews, virtually all of whom lived along the Suriname River (105 men, 58 women, and 69

children), owning 1,289 slaves. It also listed 579 non-Jews (along the eastern rivers 265 men and 85 women, in Paramaribo 52 men and 29 women, and along the Suriname River only 45 men and 13 women, plus a total of 90 children unspecified as to location), owning 2,983 slaves. According to Price (1976:17), "While most of the English plantations had been established well up the Suriname River on high ground, the Dutch, in rebuilding the colony after 1667, began developing the richer soils nearer the coast, using their special knowledge of polder agriculture." Consequently, they left the upper Suriname River mainly to the Jews.

The Saramaccans and the Matawari, who constituted a single entity until the mid-1700s (Price 1976:30), are clearly the oldest extant Bushnegro groups in Suriname. They must have formed in the late seventeenth century, since a missionary who worked with them in 1779-1780 claimed that they had existed for over 100 years, and Herlein wrote in 1718 that there were then among them married adults who had never seen a white person (Price 1976:30). Though today the Saramaccans live on the upper reaches of the Suriname River, their earliest habitat was along the river whose name they bear, the Saramacca, where their eighteenth century offshoot, the Matawari, still live. It is west of the Suriname River and much closer to it than to any other settled part of the country. It is obvious, therefore, why the overwhelming majority of the original Saramaccans must have fled from the Suriname River plantations at a time, moreover, when the preponderant majority of them were Jewish-owned and inhabited by Dju-Tongo-speaking slaves (i.e., during the late seventeenth century). Furthermore, it is likely that at the time this language was understood even on the small number of non-Jewish plantations in the region.

According to Hancock (1969:17), "the influence of the Jews in Suriname from a linguistic point of view has generally been overestimated. They did not arrive until after 1660, and despite their superior numbers they were far more localized than the Dutch, who by 1687 had five times as many plantations as the Jews." He did not specify the source of this figure (it is not in Rens 1953); even if correct, however, it clearly does not reflect the population ratio of the two groups or of their slaves during this period. The localization of the Jews along the Suriname River, in fact, was a crucial factor in the development and preservation of the Dju-Tongo. It also explains why Saramaccan, but not Djuka, grew out of this language.

The Djuka did not begin to form until the early eighteenth century. According to de Groot (1969:14), the first of them fled eastward, probably in 1712, from a plantation on the Suriname River which was owned by a non-Jew, John Witzen, brother of Otto Witzen, whence the names of their principal clans (lo's), the Oto or Otro and Missiedjan (from Mister John) (van derElst 1971:128-9). It was in that year that the French raided Suriname, causing great disruption and widespread flight of slaves, large numbers of whom also joined the Saramaccans. Bushnegro activity was first reported in eastern Suriname, several years after 1713, along the Tempaty Creek, a tributary of the Commewijne River, and along the Commewijne itself, in 1720 or 1721 (Essai historique, p. 58).

The Djuka and their language, therefore, in all probability, were fairly well established by 1740. To be sure, they received a large influx of new runaways during the 1740s and 1750s (Price 1976:31), but there is no reason to believe that their speech was much different from that of those who fled earlier. Even if it had been, however, unless they were considerably more numerous they would presumably have adopted the language of the group which they joined, at most introducing a few minor modifications.

In 1730 the Jews owned 115 of the 401 plantations in the whole colony and 93 out of the 224 along the Suriname River and its tributaries (Essai historique, pp. 56-7). Thus, they and their Dju-Tongo-speaking slaves were already losing their numerical preponderance in this region during the formative period of the Djuka (ca. 1712-1740). Because of their location, the Djuka drew a much larger percentage of their recruits than the Saramaccans from eastern Suriname (i.e., the plantations along the Cottica and Commewijne Rivers; Price 1976:38). Creole English rather than Dju-Tongo was spoken there, most likely even on the Jewish plantations, since Jews began to settle in this region after the Dutch, and as late as 1730 owned only 22 of the 177 located there (Essai historique, pp. 56-7).

To be sure, there is a Dju-lo (clan) among the Djuka (van der Elst 1971:129), descended from slaves who fled from Jewish plantations, but they are a distinct minority; otherwise they would not have been singled out like this. Even some of these, doubtless, had fled from the Jewish plantations of eastern Suriname, where presumably Creole English was spoken (see above). The name "Djuka," incidentally, has nothing to do with the word "Jew," but is derived from the name of a tributary of the Marowijne River, along which the group was at one time

settled. The two other eastern Bushnegro groups, the Paramacca and Aluku (Boni), evidently drew their recruits from predominantly the same region as the Djuka and originated even later (Price 1976:31). Not surprisingly, therefore, the language of all three of these groups is essentially the same.

Although all three did undoubtedly form during the eighteenth century, the fact that their language contains much more English and much less Portuguese vocabulary than Saramaccan cannot legitimately be explained by claiming (as Voorhoeve did; see above) that most slaves reaching Suriname during that century arrived with a knowledge of Pidgin English rather than Pidgin Portuguese. Price (1976:12, table 3) had carefully determined the provenance of the Dutch slaves in the New World during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (based largely on Postma). Prior to 1735, nearly all had come from one of three regions, Loango (Congo)/Angola, the Slave Coast (modern Togo and Dahomey), and the Gold Coast (modern Ghana), though the proportions changed considerably over the years. Clearly, Pidgin English was never used in the Loango/Angola area. In Whydah (also called Ouidah and Ajuda), the principal port of the Slave Coast, Pidgin Portuguese was the dominant European lingua franca when Barbot visited it about 1680 (cited in Hull 1979:207-8). According to Delafosse (1894:135-6), it never lost its preeminence there, even during the nineteenth century. At the time he wrote, Portuguese was still referred to in Dahomey as Ajudagbe, 'the language of Whydah'.

Portuguese retained much the same role on the Gold Coast, at least during the first half of the eighteenth century. A merchant, L. F. Römer, who lived there from 1735-1743, wrote that "when one wanted to arrange something with the Blacks, then that necessarily took place in Portuguese, or, more often, in Black Portuguese which the Danes, just as the Dutch, first had to learn before they could engage in trade. The English, on the other hand, generally took the trouble to learn the African language or had an assistant along who knew the language and who served as an interpreter" (Schuchardt 1979:61-2).

Even somewhat later, Protten in his 1764 grammar of Twi (Akan) claimed that this language "besides Portuguese … is spoken as a 'general language'" (Schuchardt 1979:61-62). Although the Dutch slave trade moved westward after 1735, the shift was a gradual one (Price 1976:13); it is unlikely, therefore, to have drastically modified the provenience of the newly arriving slaves prior to 1740, by which time the Djuka almost certainly had already formed (see above). While this evidence

scarcely proves that many Surinamese slaves had acquired Pidgin Portuguese in Africa prior to 1740 (indeed, I very much doubt they had), it shows that they were even less likely to have acquired Pidgin English. Nor is there the slightest evidence that this language was the dominant coastal lingua franca in any areas from which Suriname drew its slaves after 1740; but, even if it had been, it would be difficult to account for the difference between Saramaccan and Djuka on this basis.

In addition, there is clear lexical evidence that Djuka developed in Suriname out of early Sranan and not independently from eighteenth century West African Pidgin English, as Voorhoeve suggested (1973:143). Comparing items of non-English origin on the Swadesh 200 basic word list compiled by Huttar (1972) for Djuka, Sranan, and Saramaccan, and analyzed quantitatively by Voorhoeve (1973:138-9), it can be seen that the first two agree to a large extent. Sranan has four items of supposed African origin, all of which are found in Djuka, which has five (Voorhoeve inadvertently omitted no. 198). Djuka has five items of Portuguese origin, four of which are also found in Sranan, which has seven. Saramaccan has only six words of Dutch origin, whereas Djuka has twenty, all but one of which are also found in Sranan, which has twenty-six. The one exception (no. 179), waan ‘warm’ (corrected in ink from wan by Huttar) could just as easily be from English. Furthermore, the Sranan equivalent in Wullschlägel (1856:272) is waram, though it may now be obsolete.

The Dutch words could have been acquired only in Suriname, and the significantly larger number of them in Djuka than in Saramaccan shows that a much higher proportion of its original speakers escaped from Dutch plantations, which after the departure of the English formed the majority of those not owned by Jews. Clearly, then, Djuka and Saramaccan must each have developed out of a different plantation creole spoken in a different part of the colony during the formative period of the Bushnegro languages, namely, the Portuguese-influenced Dju-Tongo of the upper Suriname River and the English-based Creole of the eastern rivers and perhaps some other areas. As demonstrated above, there is ample documentary evidence to support this view.

Modern Sranan, apparently, is a continuation of the slave creole of Paramaribo (i.e., Fotto-Tongo, as defined above). It was very similar to (but probably not quite identical with) the plantation creole of eastern Suriname, from which Djuka and the other eastern Bushnegro languages were derived. For ex-

ample, Dutch words probably continued to infiltrate the urban creole after the formation of the Bushnegro languages, but very likely it contained a greater number of them than the plantation creoles even before then. Furthermore, when Jews started settling in Paramaribo in the eighteenth century and in much larger numbers about 1832, when the Joden Savanne was entirely abandoned, Portuguese words and even a few from Hebrew began to be introduced there, among them, in all probability, kaseri (see above), maso 'unleavened cake', boda 'wedding feast', dosi, empada 'types of pastry', and so forth (Rens 1953:29). On the other hand, barba 'beard' (compare Djuka baiba vs. Saramaccan bia from English; Huttar 1972) may have entered the language of Paramaribo and the eastern plantations after the formation of the Saramaccans. In contrast, kai 'fall down' (from Port. cair), found both in Djuka and Saramaccan, vs. Sranan fadon (Huttar 1972) either was borrowed into Djuka as a result of direct contact with Saramaccan or else was introduced from the Dju-Tongo into the plantation creole of eastern Suriname (the principal source of Djuka) during the eighteenth century (when Jews began to settle in that region), whereas in Paramaribo the English word was retained.

In response to Voorhoeve's arguments, two other scholars posited alternative factors which might have played a role in the formation and differentiation of the Surinamese Creoles. Le Page (1977:250-1) suggested that slaves imported into Suriname might have been shipped via Curaçao and learned some Papiamento there, which thus might be the source (at least in part) of the Portuguese content in the Surinamese Creoles. Implicit in this argument (and consistent with the decline of Curaçao as a slave exporter after 1713) is the assumption that substantially more slaves entered Suriname by this route in the seventeenth century than in the eighteenth, and that the higher Portuguese content in Saramaccan (the oldest of the Bushnegro languages) than in Djuka might be accounted for in this way.

However, there is no documentary evidence that any slaves were shipped to Suriname via Curaçao, and even if a few had been, these would surely have formed a small proportion of Suriname's total imports. The majority of Curaçoan exports apparently went to the nearby Spanish colonies, and the remainder, by and large, to various Caribbean islands. Furthermore, since Curaçao is so much farther than Suriname from Africa, it would have made no sense to ship slaves by so circuitous a route, and it is extremely doubtful that it was a regular

practice to do so. In addition, since Papiamento had become significantly hispanized by 1700 (see above), yet scarcely a single word of any Surinamese Creole is unmistakably of Spanish as opposed to Portuguese origin (but see note 4), the influence of Papiamento was surely of negligible importance in the formation of any of the Surinamese Creoles.

Price (1976:38), on the other hand, attempted to account in part for the differences between the two Bushnegro languages on the assumption that the Saramaccans, because they formed earlier than the Djuka, contained, at the time of their origin, a significantly higher percentage of slaves who were born in Africa and who had spent a shorter time in Suriname prior to their escape. His own statistics, however, are somewhat more equivocal (1976:12, table 2). In 1690, 95 percent of the slaves in the colony were African born, 62 percent had left there within the previous ten years, and 35 percent within the previous five years. In 1740 (by which time the Djuka had already formed), these percentages were 90, 50, and 28, respectively, only slightly lower. Nearly all African-born slaves, presumably, acquired a working knowledge of the local creole (its grammatical apparatus and basic vocabulary) within two or three years after their arrival. Thus, the changes in these percentages would have differentiated the two languages (if at all) principally in the less frequent and more specialized portion of the vocabulary, which, naturally, is learned over a longer period of time. However, they cannot account for the Portuguese words which distinguish Saramaccan from Djuka since these tend to be among the most basic in the language.

Price also suggested a compromise between Voorhoeve's view and the traditional one as expressed by Wullschlägel:

> My findings reject an exclusivistic argument of either persuasion, both the view that the Portuguese [element] in Saramaccan must be African (which Herskovits … argued and Voorhoeve, on the basis of new evidence, has supported) and that which saw it simply as a product of the Jewish plantations (e.g. Wullschlägel 1856). The data, as presented here, do not support an either/or formulation and demonstrate, I believe, that adherents of both theories were, in part at least, historically correct (Price 1976:39, fn. 21).

This statement comes as something of a surprise considering that Price brought to light important evidence contradicting some of Voorhoeve's central claims and presented all the essential arguments against his theory, summing them up as follows:

> first ... there were significant differences in speech patterns that distinguished the slaves of Jewish plantations from those on other plantations. Second ... this difference disappeared through time, with the period before 1715—when the Portuguese planters were within a half century of their Brazilian experience [actually they left Brazil in 1654 but reached Suriname from Cayenne only in 1665-1665; see above]—witnessing a stronger degree of Portuguese influence than there was later ... Third, the proportion of eventual Saramaccan speakers who escaped from Jewish plantations was higher than that of Ndjuka speakers (since a greater proportion of the Djuka-Aluku-Paramaka ancestors fled from the eastern region, and these Tempati and Commewijne plantations had a much smaller number of Jewish owners [than those along the Suriname River] (Price 1976:38).

The apparent reason that Price did not reject Voorhoeve's position outright was that he accepted two of its unfounded assumptions, namely, that a substantial proportion of Surinamese slaves arrived from Africa with a knowledge of Pidgin Portuguese during the seventeenth century but of Pidgin English during the eighteenth. Since there is no evidence for the first and strong evidence against the second (see above), there is no reason whatsoever to question the traditional explanation of the origin and differentiation of the Surinamese Creoles. It is amply supported by documentary evidence, and not a single objection to it has been substantiated; nor does any alternative stand up to scrutiny.

Thus, it is clear that those Portuguese words found in Suriname but not elsewhere in any varieties of Creole English can most plausibly be attributed to the influence of the Jews and their slaves. There are a small number of Portuguese words, however, which have a wider distribution within Creole English. How are these to be accounted for? In one study, Cassidy (1964:274) juxtaposed nearly 150 Sranan and Jamaican Creole synonyms which he claimed were of certain or possible Portuguese origin, thus implying a substantial Portuguese element in both languages. The Sranan list contains a significant number which are unmistakably Portuguese and which undoubtedly can

be traced almost entirely to the Surinamese Jews and their slaves (e.g., fesa 'feast', kamisa 'shirt', karta 'card', pobri 'poor', tripa 'tripe', etc.). However, the Jamaican list consists overwhelmingly of standard or obsolete English words of Romance origin, principally from French (e.g., fiis 'feast', kyaad 'card', paas 'pass', and obs. pien 'cloth, garment', from pagne), but occasionally from Spanish (e.g., malata 'mulatto', maskita 'mosquito', and obs. mosti/mesti 'mustee', from mestizo).

The ten exceptions can be categorized as follows: bru-bru 'confused' more likely from Twi than from Port. embrulho (Cassidy and Le Page 1967:73); kaba 'finish'—mistakenly attributed to Jamaican but not found in Cassidy and Le Page; kaka 'excrement'; maaga 'thin, meager'; pupa 'father'—various possible etymologies; perhaps dialectal or nursery words (Cassidy and Le Page 1967:87, 272, 367); bakalo 'codfish'; bula 'cake, dumpling'—derived from Spanish by Cassidy and Le Page (1967:17, 77), but perhaps from Portuguese introduced by immigrants from Suriname (see below).

Only the remaining three appear to be unmistakably of Portuguese origin (mafiina/mofiina 'miserable', pikini 'child', sani 'know'), and there is no need to assume that any of them was introduced by Portuguese-speaking slaves from Africa. One of these, sabi, is the only item of Portuguese origin common to Sranan, Jamaican, and Gullah which Cassidy (1980) found in a lexical comparison of these three creoles based on Hancock's (1969) study. Like a small number of equally widespread African words in the English-based Creoles (e.g., nyam 'eat'), it very probably entered some sort of English-based slave-trade pidgin in West Africa during the first half of the seventeenth century, which was in contact with the local Pidgin/Creole Portuguese and with various African languages, and which was carried to the New World British colonies, either directly from Africa (according to Hancock 1980) or via Barbados (according to Cassidy 1980).

Cassidy also found fifty-nine words (among them six of Portuguese and thirteen of African origin) shared by Jamaican and Sranan but absent in Gullah, some of which, likewise, might have been part of the same pidgin and were subsequently replaced by English words in Gullah but not in the other two. One such, very likely, given its wide distribution, is the above-cited pikini (and variants) 'child' (Hancock 1969, no. 395).

However, certain words, Portuguese as well as African in origin, may have entered Jamaican directly from Suriname (Cassidy 1971:207). After the Dutch conquest, nearly all the

English left, taking with them most of their slaves acquired before 1667. According to Cassidy (1961:12), “between 1671 and 1675 at least three shiploads of settlers were transplanted from Suriname to Jamaica … This colony totalled 1,231 of whom there were, in the words of the early account, ‘250 Christians, 31 Indians, and 950 Negroes’.”

Actually, some of the “Christians” must really have been Portuguese Jews, as the names *Silva*, *de Solis*, and *Solvadore* (Cassidy 1961:12) indicate, particularly since Jews were known to have immigrated to Jamaica from Suriname in 1673 (*Encyclopaedia Judaica* 1971, v. IX, p. 1272). These must have brought with them some Portuguese-Creole-speaking slaves. Furthermore, since lexical borrowing between the English and Portuguese Creoles of Suriname might have begun as early as the arrival of the Jews in that colony (1664-1665), then the process could have been going on for as long as six years prior to the principal English emigration from there to Jamaica. Thus, even the Creole-English-speaking slaves had probably incorporated into their vocabulary a number of Creole Portuguese words, some of which might well have been ultimately of African origin.

The Surinamese formed a fairly significant proportion of the population of Jamaica at the time, which in 1673 numbered 8,564 whites and 9,504 blacks (Cassidy 1961:16), and it seems quite likely that they would have introduced at least a few words into the speech of that island. Among these may be *mafiina* and possibly *bakalo* and *bula* (all cited above), as well as *jongkuto* ‘stoop’, which Cassidy and Le Page (1967:252) derive fom Twi. This may, indeed, be its ultimate source, but there is reason to believe that it entered Jamaica from Suriname, where it is *jokoto* ‘squat, crouch’ in both Sranan and Saramaccan (Hancock 1969, no. 116); it has an alternant in the former *jokodon*, showing contamination from *sidon* ‘sit down’. This form was probably also in use in Jamaica at one time, since Gambian Krio has the form *jonkon* (Hancock 1969), which, like a large number of Krio words, is, very likely, of Jamaican origin (see below). The word probably entered Suriname not directly from Africa, but through Brazilian Creole Portuguese. It is found in the Creole Portuguese of Senegambia as *jongoto* and that of Cape Verde as *žongoto* or *žongutu*. From these dialects it apparently spread to Brazil and from there both to Curaçao (where it is *yongota*, the final vowel having been analogically altered, since most Papiamento verbs end in *a*) and to Suriname via Cayenne. There it subsequently also entered the local French

Creole and became jokoti, the final vowel, likewise, having been analogically altered, since most Creole French verbs, particularly those of more than one syllable, end in e or i. (The influence of Brazilian Creole Portuguese on Cayenne Creole French is discussed below. The above forms have been orthographically simplified and regularized; unless otherwise noted they are from Schuchardt 1914:vi-vii.) Although this account is admittedly conjectural, it does explain quite well the geographic distribution of the word.

In addition, as already noted, certain Jamaicanisms sometimes attributed to Portuguese (e.g., bakalo and bula cited above) could, with equal plausibility, be derived form Spanish, which was the dominant language of the island until the English conquest (1655) and, being widely spoken in the Caribbean area, has remained in contact with Jamaican Creole until today (see also Mittelsdorf 1978:17).

Finally, a few Portuguese words might have been brought to Jamaica (and to other colonies also) as loanwords in the native languages of the African slaves. A possible example, according to Cassidy (1971:210) and Mittelsdorf (1978:18) is sampata 'sandal, old shoe' (and by extension 'anything old and broken down') which occurs in a number of African languages, for example, Kikongo, where it is nsampatu and Timne, where it is a-sampatha. It is found in Sranan, however, as pata and in Saramaccan as saapatu (Hancock 1969, no. 387), and, thus, might, on the other hand, have been a Surinamese import into Jamaica. Furthermore, it might have entered Jamaican Creole from Spanish. On phonological grounds, however, Cassidy's explanation seems the most credible.

Specific historical factors linking Jamaican Creole to Guyanese Creole English and to Sierra Leone Krio (and, thus, indirectly to Cameroonian Pidgin English, as well; see below) can easily account for lexical resemblances among these languages including the few Portuguese items which they share. Guyana, though ruled by Holland until 1803, when it became British, was settled to a significant extent by English planters during the middle of the eighteenth century, who brought with them slaves, predominantly from Barbados and Antigua, but also from Jamaica. It is likely, too, that some Sranan-speaking slaves from Suriname were then living there as well (Bickerton 1975:209-10). In fact, only one incontrovertibly Portuguese word in Guyana—pikni 'child' (no. 395)—is found in Hancock's (1969) list, and it almost certainly entered from other varieties of New World Creole English.

Jamaican Maroons, descendants of escaped slaves, played an important role in the formation of Sierra Leone Krio at the beginning of the nineteenth century, which significantly influenced the development of Cameroonian Pidgin English several decades later (Todd 1979). Therefore, it is hardly surprising that Jamaican and the other two share certain words of non-English origin. Cassidy also found a small number of words shared by Sranan and Krio but not Jamaican, including one of possible Portuguese origin, ‘gullet’ (Hancock, no. 443), Krio gongongon, Sranan gorogoro, Saramaccan gangaa (also granganda), from garganta. The Maroons, presumably, spoke a very conservative dialect, less subject to English influence than the speech of other Jamaicans. So this word may simply be an archaic Jamaicanism of Portuguese origin, still in use around 1800, but not any longer, which either was introduced from Suriname or was part of the common Creole English vocabulary of the seventeenth century. It might, on the other hand, have been an early Spanish borrowing. In addition, a few Krio words of Portuguese origin (e.g., blai ‘basket’, from balaio) evidently were introduced not directly, but via local African languages, such as Timne, which had borrowed heavily from Portuguese during the slave trade period (Bradshaw, 1965:15 no. 3).

Among Creole French dialects only that of Cayenne (French Guiana) shows significant unmistakable Portuguese influence. It is quantitatively small, but quite basic, for example, fika, from ficar, which functions much like the sentence-final copula ye of other New World varieties (thus, kumã u fika ‘how are you?’ in Cayenne is equivalent to kumã u ye, elsewhere); briga ‘fight, from brigar; fala ‘flirt’, from falar; ga(r)gan ‘gullet’, from garganta; suku ‘darkness’, from escuro (compare Saramaccan sukru, Schuchardt 1914:104, but note also Kimbundu usuku ‘night’); nov ‘new’, from novo; kaba ‘already’, from acabar; so, from só in the expression (r)un so ‘alone, by one’s self’; and, perhaps, mi ‘maize’, from milho (though more likely from French mil).

There are other words which, although derivable from French, differ from other Creole French forms and resemble Portuguese or adaptations from it in Saramaccan, for example, wom ‘man’ (compare Sranan womi, Schuchardt 1914:93) vs. nom, from (u)n homme, elsewhere; wey ‘eye’ (perhaps a blend of French oeil and a Creole Portuguese form; compare Saramaccan woyo, Schuchardt 1914:93) vs. zye or že, from (le)s yeux, elsewhere; and, possibly, (r)un ‘a(n), one’ and di, the optional possessive connective, which also occurs in the Creole

Portuguese of Guiné (Wilson 1962:31) and Príncipe (Günther 1973:16), whereas French de has not survived elsewhere in Creole French as an independent element (Goodman 1964:53-4).

In addition, there are some Cayenne Creole words of African origin not found elsewhere in Creole French, but which do occur in Suriname, such as gogo 'buttocks' (from Ewe), jokoti 'squat, crouch' (discussed above; compare Sranan and Saramaccan jokoto), and, perhaps, the copula a (of uncertain origin), which is probably related to the Sranan and Saramaccan third person singular subject pronoun. Even though their meaning is not identical, their functions overlap. Compare, for example, Sranan and Saramaccan a mi (h)oso 'it's my house', a bun 'it's good' with their Cayenne counterparts a mo kaz and a bõ.

These resemblances suggest a close link with the variety of Creole Portuguese imported into Suriname by the Brazilian Jews and their slaves. In fact, these were the same Jews who had previously settled in Cayenne, when it was under Dutch rule, and who left when that colony was seized by the French. Valkhoff (1960:232) observed that "French was imported into French Guiana (Cayenne), where the Portuguese influence exercised by Jewish planters and creole-speaking slaves was still great." According to Lohier (1969:20-1, 137), a group of Dutch led by G. Spranger left Brazil in 1653 and reached Cayenne during the following year. The Essai historique (p. 25) dated their arrival as 1656-1657. In 1659 they were joined by the Brazilian Jews coming from Holland and the following year by a group of Jews from Livorno, who were all of Spanish or Portuguese descent, and among whom these were the only two official communal languages (Encyclopaedia Judaica v. X, p. 15). During this period, the first slaves from Africa were introduced, and two sugar mills and a number of different types of plantations were established (Lohier 1969).

Although after the French conquest most of the population departed, white and, probably, black, as well (the Jews headed for Suriname), some, apparently, remained. In 1666 La Barre counted among the 630 whites in the colony 60 Jews, who owned 80 of the 220 slaves there. A decade later, a French traveler wrote in his diary (Debien 1965:99) during his first visit (1675-1676) that there was a town ('bourg') at the Remire sugar mill (not far from Cayenne) which once had many Jews and where some were still living. Furthermore, a detailed census of the slaves of the same mill in 1690 (Debien and Houdaille 1964) listed one called Jean "le Juif" previously owned by a Jew named

Gras. Another slave, François, had previously belonged to the "flaman Spran," erstwhile "capitaine" of Cayenne, clearly none other than Spranger.

Thus, some slaves of the Dutch must also have stayed behind, and their number was evidently substantial. According to Marchand-Thébaut (1960:12), when the French took Cayenne in 1664, they found many slaves abandoned by the Dutch, and these must have been fairly numerous since 420 of both sexes were counted in 1665. Since the Dutch had come to Cayenne from Brazil, it is highly likely that their slaves, as well as those of the Jews, spoke Creole Portuguese, which evidently continued to be used during the earliest years of French colonization, leaving a clear imprint on the French Creole which soon supplanted it. Saint-Quentin (1872:lvii-lviii) attributed the Portuguese words in Cayenne Creole to Indians who fled from Brazil to French Guiana. The type of vocabulary, however, and the African words shared by this creole and those of Suriname make this explanation seem rather less plausible than the one presented here.

Cayenne, however, was not the only French colony where refugees from Brazil were found. In 1654 about 900 landed in Guadeloupe and 300 in Martinique, among them 300 soldiers, 300 slaves, and 200 women (many of whom were probably native Brazilians), as well as Dutch and Jewish colonists (Crouse 1940:211-3, based on Du Tertre's contemporaneous account 1667-1671). Most of these apparently soon departed the French islands (Crouse 1940), and the only censuses of Martinican Jews showed just 81 in 1680 and 94 (owning 132 slaves) in 1683, the year of their expulsion (Cahen 1881:102, 114-6). A majority of them, doubtless, were from Brazil, but a few had come from Bordeaux, where a Sephardic community had been established for some time. It is doubtful that any of the few remaining Dutch Calvinists stayed much longer than the Jews, since in 1685 France revoked the Edict of Nantes, and even French Huguenots had to leave the colonies of their native land.

The immigrants from Brazil introduced improvements in sugar production to the French Caribbean and perhaps along with them certain related vocabulary, such as *mélasse*, from Port. *melaço*, and *bagasse*, from Port. *bagaço*. Otherwise, however, their influence on Antillean Creole was insignificant, although they may have contributed a few words, such as those cited by Taylor (1977:166-8). He believed that they were imported by Portuguese-speaking slaves from Africa, for example, *mi* 'maize', from *milho*, which is also used in Cayenne Creole

(but which is much more likely from French mil), and kõbos 'sexual rival', from comborço, comborça, which also occurs in Saramaccan as kambosa and Sranan as kabosa meaning 'co-wife'.

Two other words, though apparently of African origin, might have entered via Brazilian Creole Portuguese, namely, čololo 'weak, watery (of beverages or liquid food)', which is found with the same meaning in Cayenne Creole as čalolo and in Saramaccan as tjololoo (apparently from Fon; Hancock 1969:69 fn. 215), and čoke (with evident analogical final vowel change) 'stab, poke', which is found with the same meaning as tjoko in Saramaccan and djuku in Sranan. Its occurrence in Jamaican and Gullah as juk, however, suggests that it might, on the other hand, have been a widespread Creole English word which entered Antillean Creole French as a result of contact with nearby English-speaking islands.

Apart from these few problematical examples, there is virtually no evidence of Portuguese influence in modern Antillean Creole.[5] However, an early text purporting to represent the Pidgin French used by African slaves in Martinique and Guadeloupe during the mid-seventeenth century (Chevillard 1659, reproduced and discussed in Goodman 1964:104-6) contains a few Ibero-Romance items,[6] which some (Goodman 1964:104-6, Taylor 1963:802, Hull 1979:209) assumed to be of Portuguese origin. If true, this would imply that a number of these slaves had acquired some Pidgin Portuguese in Africa. One of the words, however, mouche 'much, very', as Hall (1965:122) and Galdi (1966:413) pointed out, is clearly from Spanish mucho. Furthermore, this text, as a whole, bears a much closer resemblance to a contemporaneous Pidgin French of the same area used by the local Island Caribs (exemplified in Bouton 1640 and Rochefort 1667) than to modern creole. Both pidgins, for example, contain two Amerindian words not found in creole, maboya 'devil, evil spirit', evidently of local origin (Rochefort 1667:583) and manigat 'strong, powerful', which Breton, the author of the earliest dictionary of Island Carib, denied was from this language (Taylor 1961:281, fn. 6).[7]

However, Taino, the related Arawakan language of the Greater Antilles, had a word, manicato, which early Spanish sources translated 'esforzada e fuerte e de grande animo'. This extinct language, of which only about 200 words have been preserved in fifteenth-and sixteenth-century Spanish and Italian texts, was a major source of Spanish loanwords, some of which have passed into other European languages, for example,

canoa, cayo, iguana, guaná bana, guayaba, papaya, maní (Taylor 1977:18-22). It is likely, therefore, that this word entered Island Carib Pidgin French via Caribbean Spanish of some sort, since this pidgin also contains a number of items clearly of Spanish origin, for instance, mouche (also found in Chevillard's text), magnane 'tomorrow', bourache 'drunk', and matté 'kill'. These have been gallicized in pronunciation, and, in the last example, in morphology as well (all are from Bouton 1640:108, 111). It is clear that the Indians had had contact with Spanish earlier than French, and there is some evidence that the French Pidgin was calqued upon an earlier Spanish one, namely, the use of mouche as an equivalent of Spanish muy as well as mucho.

Chevillard's pidgin, although evidently somewhat improvised, is essentially the same as the Amerindian one. It shares with it not only the above-mentioned lexical items (mouche, manigat, maboya), but also the predicate negator non (rather than creole pa), derivable from French, but very likely influenced by Spanish no. Thus, its other Ibero-Romance words, like those of its Amerindian counterpart, were almost certainly from Spanish. For example, pequins is obviously related to pikenine in the Amerindian Pidgin (i.e., "en langage bâtard"), translated 'chétif' by Rochefort (1667:575). Only capitou 'chief' appears on phonological grounds to be more likely from Portuguese than Spanish, but since it occurs only once in the Chevillard text and is otherwise unattested, it must be evaluated with caution. It might even be a typesetter's misreading of handwritten "capitan." On the other hand, in addition to the local Island Caribs, there were also Amerindian slaves from the South American mainland in the French Antilles at this time, referred to by Bouton (1640:104), Pelleprat (1655:58), and Dutertre (1667-1671), according to whom they had been brought by Dutch traders and included some from Brazil. These might have introduced a few Portuguese words.

Little of this seventeenth-century pidgin has survived in modern Antillean Creole. One exception, no doubt, is mate (attested as matte in Bouton; see above), which has come to mean 'upset, overturn' (Taylor 1977:177). Another, most likely, though not found in any early source, is (y)is 'child', from Spanish hijo, hija, preserving the older palatal sibilant sound of Spanish jota, which had changed to its modern pronunciation by about 1600. The word, therefore, could not have entered creole directly from Spanish, since the French did not settle Martinique and Guadeloupe until 1635, and subsequent direct contact with Spanish was extremely limited in any case.

However, Spanish loanwords in Island Carib, which must have entered during the sixteenth century, preserve the older pronunciation, for example, (i)chibouchi, from espejo; chirachi, from tijeras; acoucha, from aguja (from Breton's seventeenth-century dictionary of Island Carib, cited by Taylor 1977:78-9). Thus, the Spanish loanwords in the early Amerindian French Pidgin surely did, likewise. Two other possible retentions in Lesser Antillean Creole are mi, equivalent to French voici, voilà, from Spanish mira (though French mirer may also have played a role), and tini 'have', which, though derivable from French tenir, shows the semantic influence of Spanish tener. Furthermore, this word (like the others) is restricted to Lesser Antillean, suggesting a specifically local influence. Other Creole French varieties have words derived from French gagner or (il y) en a.

No doubt, in the early years of colonization, the French used essentially the same pidgin with both Africans and Amerindians. There is evidence, however, that by the 1650s, a distinctive Afro-French Slave Pidgin was beginning to emerge. Pelleprat (1655:64) quoted a short utterance of an African slave, containing the phrase "r oy nègre luy patron à nous." Brief as it is, it is very reminiscent of modern Guadeloupean Creole. His longer text (cited in Goodman 1964:105) is much less reliably authentic, since (like Chevillard's) it was his own improvised version of a pidgin. Phrases like toi te confesser and toi le voulé faire mourir or Chevillard's son paradis ou se trouve tout contentment, using preposed object and reflexive pronouns were, surely, unlike anything ever uttered in any genuine pidgin. However, Pelleprat's text contains the forms voule and save, which are closer to creole than Chevillard's vouloir and sçavoir, and it lacks the Spanish and Amerindian loanwords of the latter, though given the brevity of the sample, this difference may have little significance.

There are apparently no Portuguese words in any other varieties of American Creole French. On the other hand, Haitian Creole has a number of Spanish loanwords, not very surprisingly, since the two languages have been spoken contiguously for roughly three centuries. Naturally, on purely linguistic grounds, some of these, but by no means all, could also be derived from Portuguese. For example, ata 'as far as, even to' (Hall 1953:224) is clearly from Spanish hasta, not Portuguese até (the loss or weakening of syllable final s is general in Caribbean Spanish).

On historical grounds, however, a Spanish origin is far more plausible, particularly since virtually none of these occur in any other variety of Creole French. The only exceptions are kaba (from acabar) and ga(r)gan (from garganta) meaning respectively 'to finish' and 'throat' in Haitian and 'already' and 'gullet' in Cayenne. They might have been borrowed from Spanish in the one case and Portuguese in the other, a view no less plausible than that they are independent survivals in both creoles from a Portuguese Pidgin spoken by incoming African slaves. These is a remote possibility, on the other hand, that they might have been introduced into each of these locales via an Afro-French Slave Trade Pidgin which had borrowed them from the African Coastal Portuguese Pidgin.

Haitian sinta (and variants) 'sit', is almost certainly from Spanish sentar(se)/sienta(se), but Taylor (1977:167) suggested that it might be from Portuguese and linked it to the synonymous Antillean form asid (apparently confined to Dominica) and Louisiana Creole asit. However, the former, by his own admission, is traceable to regional dialectal French, and the latter very likely is also (Goodman 1964:74-5). Even the Haitian form may be as well (Goodman 1964), but a Spanish origin seems much more probable.

The only instance (and it is a very dubious one) of a Haitian item traceable to Portuguese but not to Spanish is kin, used in the northern Haitian possessive absolute construction kin-a-m 'mine', kin-a-u 'yours', and so forth, which Taylor (1977:166) derived from Portuguese quinhão. However, this form must be related to earlier Haitian tyẽ(n) or kyẽ(n) (Ducoeur-Joly 1802:352, cited in Goodman 1964:55) and to Louisiana Creole ke/ken/cen (Goodman 1964) with identical function, and it is much more difficult to link these phonologically with the supposed Portuguese etymon. In fact, far more plausible alternative derivations have been suggested (Goodman 1964:55-6, Galdo 1966:412).

Not a single word in Louisiana Creole (apart from the highly questionable examples cited above) has ever been traced to Portuguese, but a number have been in Indian Ocean Creole French, for which variouis explanations have been offered. Chaudenson (1974:536-82), however, has shown quite convincingly that most, if not all, of this vocabulary can be traced to Indo-Portuguese, which was imported into Réunion quite early by the slaves and wives of a number of the seventeenth century colonists there. However, other factors cannot be discounted entirely, such as the importation of slaves from Mozam-

bique (very few before 1700, however) and the wreck of a Portuguese ship near Réunion in 1687, approximately 100 survivors of which stayed there for about two years.

Not enough is known about the recently discovered varieties of Guyana Creole Dutch (those of Berbice and Essequibo) or their history even to attempt to account for their Portuguese component, which appears, in any case, to be minimal if not nonexistent. In a list of 423 words, Robertson (1976) included only two of possible (but by no means certain) Portuguese origin, *atsri* 'back (adv.)', from *atras*?; and *yerma* 'woman, from *irmã*? (both from Berbice). The former more likely is derived from the synonymous Akan word *akyiri* (Ivor Wilks, pers. comm.) and the latter from Ijo, which has contributed significantly to the Berbice lexicon (Robertson, pers. comm.).

By contrast, the Dutch Creole of the Virgin Islands, which is much more extensively documented, contains a significant Ibero-Romance element, most (although not all) of which, where decidable, appears to be of Spanish rather than Portuguese origin. An exception is *faria*/*fania* 'maize meal' from Portuguese *farinha* most likely via Papiamento (Van Name, 1867-1870:159). (Hesseling 1905, Josselin de Jong 1926, and Graves 1977 contain word lists with etymological information.) Though a few of these words might be the result of contact with Caribbean Spanish, particularly that of nearby Puerto Rico (St. Thomas has always been a polyglot island), Hesseling (1905:68) was undoubtedly correct in tracing nearly all of them to Papiamento, which was widely spoken in St. Thomas during the early and middle nineteenth century (Bosch 1829-1836, Van Name 1869-70).

According to Emmanuel and Emmanuel (1970:301-2), many wealthy Jews and non-Jews (no doubt, accompanied by slaves) emigrated to St. Thomas from Curaçao, as a result of the British occupation of their island in 1801 and of epidemics and other natural disasters between 1803 and 1812. "Curaçoan colonies in St. Thomas and Puerto Cabello [Venezuela] in the first quarter of the 19th century became so large that the street or suburb inhabited by the settlers was called 'Curaçao Street' or 'Little Curaçao'."

However, there is good reason to believe that many of the Creole Dutch words traceable to Papiamento were introduced long before this nineteenth century influx. Some of them are found in the oldest eighteenth-century documentation of the language, such as Magens' (1770) grammar: for example, *pover* 'poor', *kabay* 'horse', *makut(u)* 'basket', *kabae* 'finish, already'

(perhaps the source of the completive particle kā), keer 'like, want', and others. Many of them are so basic that it is hard to believe that they did not enter Creole Dutch during its formative stage, for example, names for common domestic animals, such as kabrita 'goat', and burika 'donkey', essential verbs such as mata 'kill' and para 'prepare', and even function words such as the negator no and the prepositions te 'until' and na 'after, in, to, towards'. (These three, however, might have been introduced from Creole English—see below, and the last from Dutch na and/or naar.) Finally, a number of these words differ from their modern Papiamento counterparts phonetically and/or semantically (e.g., Creole Dutch susu 'chaff' vs. Papiamento sushi 'dirt(y)'), indicating that changes have taken place either in the one language or the other (or both) since the time of borrowing.

The extent to which Papiamento was spoken in St. Thomas during the formative period of Creole Dutch (the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries) is difficult to determine. It is quite likely that some of the first slaves imported there had been shipped via Curaçao, which was then a major slave exporter (van Diggelen 1978:95, fn. 7). In addition, in 1688, out of the 148 European planters in St. Thomas, one was Portuguese and another Brazilian (Westergaard 1917:121). There is a distinct possibility (but no evidence) that both were actually Jews from Curaçao. Westergaard (p. 38) mentioned that Jews were among the early settlers, and these two seem the most likely possibilities, since most Jews in the Caribbean during this priod were of Brazilian or Portuguese origin, and the largest concentration of them was in Curaçao, whereas it seems improbable that Portuguese or Brazilian Catholics at that time would have settled in a Danish colony.

The earliest record of a Curaçoan Jew in St. Thomas, however, is not until 1722; by the 1740s there already was a small community of them (Emmanuel and Emmanuel 1970(II):837). Even if (as seems likely) these Jews had brought some Papiamento-speaking slaves with them, they were surely too few by themselves to have had a very significant impact on the local creole, but their presence suggests that other Curaçoans might also have been among St. Thomas' early immigrants. Not only was there considerable trade and comunication between the two islands from the start, but in 1696, when an invasion of the Danish colony was feared, "the planters took measures for their own protection by sending their families and movable property to Curaçao and some of the Leeward Is-

lands" (Westergaard 1917:69, 110-1), thus indicating that some had ties to the Dutch colony and may even have migrated from there.

Although early Papiamento is clearly the likeliest source of the Ibero-Romance vocabulary in Creole Dutch, certain other possibilities should be considered. As early as 1688 the largest European group in St. Thomas, after the Dutch, were English speaking (Westergaard 1917:121). According to Larsen (1950:109), "the English colonists on St. Thomas and later St. Croix seldom learned Creole Dutch but insisted upon using their own language. Oldendorp [a Moravian missionary] states that when he visited the islands (1767) 'the English mostly learned no creole [Dutch] and in this the slaves had to adjust themselves accordingly' ... Many of the English planters and their slaves who came to St. Croix [and doubtless to St. Thomas as well] from the British islands spoke not correct English but a sort of creole English."

Three of the forms noted above, which are often traced to Papiamento no, te, and na, are all widespread in Creole English as well (Hancock 1969, nos. 520, 558): the last two are probably conflations respectively of English (un)til and Portuguese (a)té, and of English in a/in the and Portuguese na. They undoubtedly were incorporated into the West African slave trade Pidgin English (discussed above) and thereby introduced into various English-speaking possessions.

Thus, it is clear that the Portuguese element in the creoles which developed in the Dutch, English, French, and Danish colonies in the New World can in large part be traced, either directly or indirectly, to the exodus of Dutch and Jewish refugees from Brazil. The very small number of Portuguese words in these creoles introduced directly from Africa most likely were loans in either the native languages of the African slaves or in pidginized forms of other European languages (in particular English, but perhaps French and Dutch as well), which evolved in Africa as a result of the slave trade. While it is quite likely that a small number of Africans reached the New World with some knowledge of Portuguese, there is no historical evidence that they were at all numerous, and no lexical evidence that they had any impact whatsoever on the creoles spoken there, though the possibility that they reinforced the use of Portuguese items which had been introduced in other ways cannot be completely discounted.

Nevertheless, the Afro-Portuguese Coastal Pidgin might have had an indirect influence upon the creole languages in question without ever being spoken by a significant number of slaves. Clearly, it was the first European-derived language introduced into sub-Saharan Africa. There is some evidence, however, that by the early seventeenth century other European pidgins (based on English, French, and Dutch) began to be used there (Barbot 1732, Spencer 1971). The Europeans' collaborators were predominantly Afro-Portuguese mulattoes or Africans who spoke their language (Rodney 1970, chap. VIII). Thus, there is good reason to believe that these "secondary" pidgins were in contact with and, to some extent, influenced by and even calqued upon their Portuguese predecessor. The presence of certain common Portuguese words throughout the English-based Creoles, for example, supports such a conclusion, and so does Moore's oft-quoted report (1738:294) that the English then spoken in Gambia was "much corrupted … by words and literal translations from the Portuguese or Mundingoes" (cited in Bradshaw 1965:37, fn. 25). The entire question, however, merits a much more detailed investigation.

But how could these pidgins have been transmitted to the various overseas colonies, if, as already argued, very few slaves shipped from Africa spoke any European language, pidginized or otherwise? It should not be overlooked, however, that in all probability a small proportion did. According to Alleyne (1971:179):

> The evidence … is strong that the majority of slaves in the English and French factories, on ships, and on plantations early in their existence, were speakers of African languages only. [p. 185, fn. 12: "The evidence is in the weight of references in the literature to the need for interpreters … on the coast of Africa, on ships, and in the New World, and to the variety of Africa languages spoken."] Other factors are, however, equally important, especially the fact that persons, however relatively few, who were involved in the initial contact and who were the first to acquire skills in the European language, were either used formally as interpreters or became informal interpreters aboard ship and on plantations in the New World.

Thus, a quite small number of slaves speaking a European-derived Pidgin acquired in Africa or on shipboard might have played a significant role in the evolution of a colonial creole far out of proportion to their numbers, but only under two condi-

tions. First, they must have arrived during the formative stage of the creole; once a local language developed among a sizeable colonial slave population, the influence of any language spoken by a small number of new arrivals would have been extremely limited. Second, the pidgin must have been at least partially intelligible to the local whites, since those few slaves who spoke it would have been the only ones who could have communicated with them at all, and thus would have served as interpreters between the whites and the other Africans. Consequently, their pidginized version of the European language would have been imitated by each of these groups when speaking to the other, as well as among slaves lacking a common tongue.

On the other hand, the handful of slaves who arrived with some knowledge of Pidgin Portuguese would have had virtually no impact on the incipient creoles of non-Portuguese-speaking colonies, except, perhaps, the Spanish ones. There, given the closeness of the two Iberian languages (approaching mutual intelligibility), the pidgin might have served as a lingua franca between the two races, particularly in view of the fact that the Spanish acquired nearly all of their slaves from the Portuguese until 1640. It is possible that Palenquero, a creole form of Spanish spoken in Colombia, might, at least in part, have originated in this way (see Granda 1970). This question requires additional investigation, however.

Thus, there is something to be said for Thompson's insight (cited above) that the "West African pidgin Portuguese slavers' jargon ... much influenced, no doubt, by the West African substratum, may have been the pattern for all the West Indian creoles." As already demonstrated, however, this view in no way entails the widely accepted but completely unsubstantiated supposition (based entirely upon the misinterpretation of historical and linguistic evidence) that a substantial number of slaves exported from Africa had acquired Pidgin/Creole Portuguese either prior to or during their transshipment. It would be a serious error to use this misguided assumption to explain either the Portuguese lexical content in any of the American Creoles or the widespread structural resemblances which they share.

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CREOLE INFLUENCE ON POPULAR BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

John Holm

Popular Brazilian Portuguese (PBP) is the language usually spoken by lower-class Brazilians with little education; it varies considerably from Standard Brazilian Portuguese (SBP), the literary language usually spoken by educated middle-and upper-class Brazilians. Divergences are found on all linguistic levels, but the most striking are those in PBP morphology: inflections indicating number agreement within noun phrases and between subjects and verbs are greatly reduced. Coelho (1880-1886 [1967:43]) pointed out this similarity of PBP to the Portuguese-based Creoles, opening a century of lively debate as to whether the Portuguese language had ever undergone creolization in Brazil and, if so, to what extent. Unfortunately, those participating in this debate have usually fallen into one of two camps, scholars of Portuguese and scholars of creole languages, and the two groups have seldom communicated with one another.

This paper will briefly survey that debate and then outline the complex sociolinguistic history of Brazil as it relates to this issue. Then, I will analyze new data that I collected in Rio de Janeiro and Bahia in 1983. Through a comparison of features in phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexico-semantics common to PBP and a variety of creole languages, I conclude that there is unambiguous evidence that PBP was influenced by earlier creolized varieties of Portuguese.

First, however, it should be noted that PBP is not a variety spoken only by black Brazilians. The most divergent varieties of PBP and SBP are at the extremities of a continuum of lects that correlate more to social class than race. Although blacks are certainly overrepresented in the lower class and underrepresented in the upper class, the structure of Brazilian society is such that all sociolects have speakers of all races, just as other aspects of Brazilian culture are shared by all ethnic groups. However, all Brazilians consulted in this study were black,

ranging in education from a woman from Rio de Janeiro in graduate school (who assisted in the analysis of the tapes and provided idioms) to working-class men in Bahia with secondary educations (who provided the samples of speech which I recorded). All examples of PBP cited here are from these tapes unless otherwise attributed. Following the tradition for discussion of this issue, these are given in Portuguese orthography unless the IPA is more convenient to illustrate phonological features. I have translated into English all passages quoted from works in Portuguese.

The history of the debate on the role of creolization in the development of PBP is complicated by a frequent lack of agreement concerning the nature of the process itself. Divergences between PBP and SBP or Standard European Portuguese (P) have been variously attributed to such factors as the general tendency toward morphological simplification throughout the history of Portuguese (and other Indo-European languages), a process thought to have been accelerated during the colonial period, when most Brazilians had little contact with formal education and the conservative influence of the literary language. To judge from Coelho (1967:159 ff.), a half century after Brazil's independence from Portugal, philologists realized that there were considerable differences between the popular speech of each country, but they were unsure as to which particular features differed and how. This led Coelho to support Schuchardt's call for a thorough study of PBP, a task still not completed (Câmara 1968:246). However, Coelho studied the work of Vasconcelos (1883) and the texts of popular Brazilian songs; he concluded that PBP "shows a tendency toward creolization" (p. 170). He noted particularly its lack of number agreement (PBP "os frances o tomou" as opposed to SBP "os franceses o tomaram" 'The Frenchmen took it'), the use of ter 'to have' for estar 'to be' or haver 'to exist', as in Indo-Portuguese (p. 171), and the use of the third person subject pronoun as an object (PBP "eu vou ver ele" as opposed to SBP "eu vou vê-lo" 'I am going to see him', p. 173).

The contribution of Brazilian linguists to this discussion began with Amaral (1920), the first book-length study of rural PBP. This was followed by works on the PBP lexicon derived from the Amerindian language Tupi (e.g., Sampaio 1928) and African languages (Raimundo 1933, Mendonça 1933 [1973]). Both of the latter also dealt with the African influence on PBP phonology, and Raimundo went on to point out morphological and syntactic similarities between PBP and certain African lan-

guages (p. 71 ff.). Mendonça asserted that "There must have been creole dialects in various parts of colonial Brazil; however, their existence was not stable and they soon disappeared" (1973:60). Marroquim (1934) dealt with the PBP of northeastern Brazil; he made clear the extent to which PBP verbal inflections had been reduced and suggested that some pronunciations were due to Tupi influence. Melo (1946) cautioned against exaggerating the importance of Tupi and African influence on PBP, especially when parallels could be found in archaic or regional usages in Portugal. However, he considered the temporary existence of creoles likely among Indians as well as Africans (1946 [1975:77]). "It would be natural for them, in adopting Portuguese as their second language, to leave on it the imprint of their former linguistic habits, speaking it not only with their peculiar, deforming accent, but also simplifying its morphology" (1975:76).

Silva Neto (1950) took the apparently inconsistent position that in Brazilian Portuguese there is positively no influence of African or Amerindian languages; rather there are scars that show how crudely Africans and Indians learned Portuguese due to their miserable social conditions" (p. 129). Later Elia (1979:221 ff.) reasoned that Silva Neto could take this position because he believed creole dialects to be European languages altered in colonial situations by nonnative speakers, rather than the result of the basic restructuring of these languages via the interpenetration of two linguistic systems. Silva Neto asserted that creole and what he called "semi-creole" (<u>semi-crioulo</u>) varieties of Portuguese had existed in Brazil, defining the latter as closer to the European variety (1950:131). He cites the example of the speech of a city black in the following passage from an 1831 newspaper: "Si, sió; êre tá no quintá. Entre, mê sió, e vai ver a êre." (SBP "Sim, senhor; ele está no quintal. Entre, meu senhor, e vai vê-lo." 'Yes, sir; he is in the back yard. Come in sir, and you will see him.'—quoted by Silva Neto 1950:132). Of course, it is unclear whether the speaker had been born in Africa or Brazil, but the similarity of the passage to modern PBP is striking. However, it is uncertain from this brief passage whether the variety was, in fact, a creole or postcreole. There seems to be a certain amount of morphology uncharacteristic of a creole (agreement of gender or number in <u>no</u>, <u>mê</u>, and <u>vai</u>, not to mention the subjunctive inflection of imperative <u>entre</u>), but such forms may have been fossilized. At any rate, Silva Neto

hypothesized that the descendant of an earlier creole survived in the isolated regions of the interior among rural peasants, but that it had gradually decreolized into PBP (p. 174 ff.).

Silveira Bueno (1963) dealt with the indigenous languages of Brazil and their influence on PBP, attributing many of the same individual features of the latter's phonology, morphology, and syntax to Tupi influence which others had attributed to African influence. Révah (1963) discounted substratal influence on PBP in favor of a general tendency toward simplification of morphology in Indo-European languages. Valkhoff (1966) accepted Silva Neto's hypothesis that a Portuguese Creole had been spoken in Brazil: "It very much looks as if in the 17th and 18th centuries the Portuguese lingua franca was equally popular both on the west coast of Africa and the north-east coast of South America, as well as in the Antilles. It was the language of slavers and slaves" (p. 68). From Vasconcelos' 1901 study of the Portuguese-based Creoles, Valkhoff was "struck by the quantity of common features that occur from Macao in Asia to Brazil in America ... The more we go back in time, the more the Creole dialects resemble each other" (p. 62). He went on to list twelve such features, although not all are current in PBP and some are found in Portugal. Valkhoff's assertions were not all documented (e.g., "in Brazil the White settlers at an initial state actually spoke ... the Portuguese Creole of the Negroes," p. 67), and must thus be considered with caution, but in general his perspective seems reasonable (e.g., that as contact with uncreolized Portuguese increased in Brazil, "in the end the linguistic creolization was almost entirely undone," p. 67).

Castro (1967) dealt with the survival of African languages in Brazil and their influence on Bahian PBP. Her work culminated in an etymological study of nearly 2,000 African terms used in Brazil (1976). Megenney (1970, 1978) further analyzed the impact of African languages on Bahian PBP, correlating socioeconomic status (itself closely correlated to race) with comprehension of African-derived lexicon in various semantic fields. He found that upper-class informants (largely white) understood fewer such terms than lower-class informants (largely black), with middle-class informants (large of mixed ancestry) falling in between (1978:184 ff.). It was because of these findings that I restricted my own study to the speech of black Brazilians.

Rodrigues (1974) wrote a book-length generative grammar of the PBP spoken in a rural district of the state of São Paulo, accompanied by texts and photographs. Jeroslow (1974, later McKinney) did a detailed syntactic study of the rural PBP of

Ceará in northeastern Brazil. Certain features, particularly serial verb constructions, led her to suspect prior creolization (McKinney 1982). Carvalho (1977) provided a detailed account of sociohistorical factors relevant to the existence and survival of an early creole.

Naro and Lemle (1976), following the line of thought suggested earlier by Révah (1963), operated on the assumption that PBP was in the process of losing number agreement and certain other morphological features. Their reasoning, as summarized by Guy (1981:297), was that phonological rules such as final /s/ deletion and denasalization had obscured number agreement rules, resulting in a reanalysis of these rules as variable rather than categorical. Guy, on the other hand, believed number marking in PBP to be spreading as a final stage in decreolization, comparable to that of vernacular Black English in the United States. Although Guy's quantitative study of these variable rules does not actually prove his position, he would seem to have Occam's razor pointing in the right direction: the morphological constraints necessary to make Naro and Lemle's newly variable agreement rules apply more frequently in the most salient categories would add a bewildering number of complications, whereas acquisition rather than loss of these agreement rules explains the data much more simply (e.g., salient categories receive inflections first because their uninflected form is more noticeably divergent from the standard). Finally, Cunha (1981) called for historical studies of PBP from the perspective of modern creole studies.

The sociolinguistic history of Brazil, Guy reasoned, should lead us to ask not whether Portuguese was creolized in Brazil, but rather how it could possibly have avoided creolization there (1981:309). Tentative but carefully reasoned answers to both questions were offered by Reinecke (1937:546 ff.), whose interpretation of the impact of Brazil's social history on its linguistic development has greatly influenced the line of inquiry of the present paper.

Because African slaves were brought to Brazil in such great numbers that they and their descendants came to comprise the majority of the population in certain parts of the country, it would be reasonable to expect creolized varieties of Portuguese to have developed there, much as creoles developed under apparently similar sociolinguistic conditions in the West Indies and North America (e.g., Gullah). However, there is a paucity of evidence that a stable creole ever became firmly established in Brazil; this may have been due to the way in which differing

sociolinguistic conditions there affected language transmission. Yet certain features of PBP indicate the influence of Amerindian, African, and creole languages.

Brazil eventually became the world's greatest importer of slaves, receiving 38 percent of all Africans brought to the New World as compared to the 4.5 percent who went to British North America (Curtin 1975:41). However, the point at which these Africans arrived and the portion of the population which they comprised as opposed to other inhabitants are factors of crucial importance regarding the possible emergence of a creole, as is clear from the examples of Suriname (Rens 1953) and Mauritius (Baker and Corne 1982).

Brazil was unlike the previously uninhabited islands off the coast of Africa (i.e., the Cape Verde Islands and the Gulf of Guinea islands of São Tomé, Príncipe, and Annobón) where Portuguese-based Creoles arose within a generation after the Portuguese began bringing slaves from the African mainland (Holm forthcoming). Brazil, by contrast, was already inhabited; when the Portuguese began after 1500 to explore the vast coast from Uruguay to the mouth of the Amazon River, they found it to be inhabited by Amerindians speaking closely related varieties of Tupi. As the Portuguese began establishing settlements in Brazil from the 1530s onwards, contact among the various Indian subgroups increased and there evolved a common Tupi vocabulary fitting into a shared syntactic framework which was relatively free of complicated morphology. This language, which the Portuguese also learned for contact with the Indians, came to be called the Língua Geral or general language of communication throughout the colony. It prevailed until the eighteenth century, when it was gradually replaced by Portuguese, although it is still spoken in parts of the Amazon region today (C. Emmerich, pers. comm.). Sampaio (1928:3) claimed that during the first two centuries of colonization Língua Geral was the principal language of three-fourths of Brazil's population, albeit with growing bilingualism in Portuguese. Even the Brazilian-born Portuguese settlers, often raised by Tupi-speaking nurses, used the language with ease and seemed to have a strong emotional attachment to it (Reinecke 1937:692). There was a greater deal of intermarriage between the Portuguese and Tupis, and in some parts of Brazil, people of such mixed ancestry came to predominate; their mother tongue was Língua Geral. One such group was the <u>bandeirantes</u> of São Paulo, who carried the flag of Portugal farther and farther inland in their search for slaves and gold, taking their language

with them. As Portuguese gradually came to predominate, it is likely that successive generations of bilinguals had decreasing competence in Língua Geral and increasing competence in Portuguese.

It would be surprising indeed if there had not been considerable interpenetration of the two languages on all linguistic levels under such conditions. Describing the linguistic situation in the Amazon region in the nineteenth century as this language shift moved deeper inland, Hartt (1872:72) noted that "many Portuguese idioms have crept into the Tupí; but on the other hand, the Portuguese, as spoken in the Amazonas, besides containing a large admixture of Tupí words, is corrupted by many Tupí idioms." It would seem probable, therefore, that the Língua Geral variety of Tupi left as stong a mark on the PBP of rural peasants as Silveira Bueno (1963) claimed it had, although the process involved was simply language shift with no need for a stage of creolization (quite apart from the process whereby Tupi had become Língua Geral, which may have been mere koineization and Portuguese influence). The attribution of PBP features to the influence of both Tupi and West African languages leaves no real dilemma: such totally unrelated languages may well coincidentally share structural similarities (e.g., syllabic structure rules, regressive nasalization, a lack of many kinds of inflections) which simply converged to reinforce one another in shaping PBP.

Thus, it is not clear what language(s) African slaves encountered on arriving in Brazil during the colony's first 200 years. They may well have had to learn Língua Geral more often than Portuguese, as suggested by Reinecke (1937:549), so that during the linguistically crucial first generations of the colony there was little opportunity for a true creole based on Portuguese to become established among African slaves unless they had brought such a pidgin—or possibly creole—with them from Africa. If Africans first learned Língua Geral as a second language and their descendants then spoke it as their mother tongue, their later shift to a Tupi-influenced but uncreolized variety of Portuguese along with the rest of the population during the eighteenth century would have established such Portuguese as a second language to be learned by slaves newly arrived from Africa and there would have been no need for the establishment of a creole. In any case the first generations of Africans arriving in Brazil did not encounter the same kind of linguistic vacuum—or rather free-for-all—that those first arriving on the

offshore islands of Africa did, or indeed as did those arriving on Caribbean islands whose native populations had all but disappeared.

Brazil also differed from most of the areas where creole languages developed in that Africans and their descendants made up only a quarter of the population from 1600 to 1650; it wasn't until the 1770s that they constituted over 50 percent of the population (Marques 1976:359, 435), reaching 65 percent in 1818 (Reinecke 1937:556). Yet national population figures for large countries can obscure the local conditions of a particular speech community. Although whites soon outnumbered all other groups by far in what became the United States, blacks still predominated in certain areas such as South Carolina, where a creolized variety of English has survived.

The same may well have been the case in the sugar-growing areas of Brazil, where labor-intensive production required plantations with a majority of African slaves, since Indians proved unsuitable for this work. Marques (1976:362) points out that each sugar mill in Brazil required a minimum of 80 slaves, besides the hundreds needed to work the fields. The number of such mills increased rapidly, from one in 1533, to 60 in 1570, 130 in 1585, and 346 in 1629. The 14,000 Africans in Brazil in 1600 (Marques 1976:359) seem likely to have been concentrated in the areas of sugar production, that is, Pernambuco, Bahia, and Rio de Janeiro. There is also evidence that Portuguese or a creolized variety of it was the language of such plantations rather than Língua Geral. While the latter clearly predominated in São Paulo and those areas where Indians and mestiços worked on fazendas raising cattle, there is indirect evidence that Língua Geral did not predominate on the sugar plantations. The shift from Língua Geral to Portuguese in the interior seems to have been triggered by the gold rush in Minas Gerais during the first half of the eighteenth century. Although the gold had been discovered by Língua-Geral-speaking bandeirantes, Portuguese soon became the common language of communication in the mining region (Carvalho 1977:27). This was due not only to the great influx of men from Portugal, but also to the great influx of African slaves (to do the actual mining) from the coastal sugar-growing areas where such slaves were plentiful and "the inhabitants were proficient in Portuguese; we believe that they had never actually abandoned the language since their commercial activity kept them in constant contact with Portugal" (Carvalho 1977:27). As the mines became exhausted after 1750, there was a general movement of

population away from Minas Gerais, and this probably played a key role in spreading a newly leveled variety of Portuguese—the ancestor of PBP—throughout the settled parts of Brazil, at the expense of Língua Geral.

Further evidence confirming the use of Creole Portuguese on Brazilian sugar plantations comes from New Holland, the empire that the Dutch tried to carve out of northeastern Brazil from Sergipe to Maranhão from 1630 to 1654. After seizing this area from Portugal (united with Spain under a single monarch from 1580 to 1640), the Dutch found allies in many of the marranos (crypto-Jews) who had settled in Brazil to avoid the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal. The more tolerant Dutch allowed them to revert openly to Judaism, and they were joined by other Sephardic Jews whose families had earlier fled the Iberian Peninsula to take refuge in Holland (Goodman, this volume). The Dutch (who had recently won their independence from Spain and were, in fact, fighting to maintain it) and the Sephardic Jews seem likely to have communicated in Spanish or Portuguese (or simplified varieties of these) with their Brazilian slaves, mistresses, and wives. Few Dutch women came to Brazil, which is why the Netherlanders were unable to establish their language or culture there during the period they held this colony—a full generation (Boxer 1965:227). When the Portuguese regained the area in 1654, the Dutch and most of their Jewish collaborators were forced to leave Brazil along with their families and slaves. Many resettled in the Caribbean region, particularly in Dutch holdings in the Guianas and on islands such as Curaçao.

Modern Papiamentu, the creole language of the Netherlands Leeward Antilles (Curaçao, Aruba, and Bonaire), reveals unmistakable Portuguese influence in its most basic vocabulary; in fact Hancock (1969:26) identifies Papiamentu as an offshoot of a Brazilian variety of Portuguese Pidgin or Creole. It has clearly been profoundly influenced by Spanish, probably first through relexification and then through decreolization toward Spanish over three centuries of close contact with the Spanish-speaking inhabitants of nearby Venezuela. There is also a strong Portuguese element in the lexicon of Saramaccan, an English-based Creole spoken in the interior of Suriname (formerly Dutch Guiana). This has traditionally been attributed to the influence of the Portuguese-speaking Jewish plantation owners who had fled from Brazil, constituting 75 percent of the entire European population of Suriname at the end of the seventeenth century (Rens 1953:22).

However, there has been considerable debate as to how Portuguese actually came to influence these languages. It has been suggested (e.g., Lenz 1928, Voorhoeve 1973) that this influence was via a pidginized variety of their language that the Portuguese and their descendants used in the slave trade between Africa and the New World, which was partly learned by slaves and carried over into the languages which evolved in the Caribbean area. However, Goodman (this volume) has gathered considerable evidence supporting the view that the Portuguese element in Papiamentu, Saramaccan, and certain other Caribbean-area Creoles (e.g., the French-based Creole of Guyane) was introduced by refugees from Dutch Brazil and their slaves. If this is indeed the case, then Portuguese must have been the language of Brazil's coastal sugar plantations since at least the early 1600s. Under these conditions, Língua Geral could not have acted as a buffer to prevent the creolization of Portuguese in Brazil.

There is also linguistic evidence that the Portuguese taken to the Caribbean area arrived from Brazil rather than Africa. For example, Reinecke (1937:467) noted that the Saramaccan word plakkeh (now spelled pulakë) 'a kind of eel', comes from the north Brazilian form poraquê (elsewhere in Brazil piraquê) 'electric eel', ultimately from Tupi pura'ke 'electric eel' (da Cunha et al. 1982). Moreover, there is linguistic evidence that the Portuguese brought to the Caribbean area had already undergone creolization. Papiamentu contains many syntactic features that are paralleled in the Portuguese-based Creoles of Africa, such as its preverbal tense and aspect markers: anterior taba, progressive/habitual ta, and the anterior progressive taba ta are also found in the Portuguese-based Creole of the Cape Verde Islands (Morais-Barbosa 1975:138). Of course, these could have evolved in both Papiamentu and Cape Verdean through a common African substratum—or they could have been brought to Curaçao via diffusion, either via Brazil or directly from Africa.

What is more intriguing (and perhaps ultimately more instructive in solving the riddle of Brazil) is the fact that Papiamentu also contains syntactic features found in the Portuguese-based Creoles of Asia—but not Africa. These include the future preverbal marker lo (not attested as such in Cape Verdean, pace Thompson 1961:110) and the Indo-Portuguese possessive marker su. Lexically, the latter comes from P seu (masculine) or sua (feminine), cognates of Spanish su, all 'his/her/its/their'. Syntactically, however, it is used in a very un-Iberian way, as in

Indo-Portuguese “Salvador-su cruz” (cf. P “a cruz do Salvador” ‘the cross of the Savior’, Dalgado 1900:37). In Papiamentu this occurs as “mi tatá su buki” ‘my father’s book’ (Alleyne 1980:13). The Indian origin of this feature in Indo-Portuguese is clear from a comparison of the following Indic and Dravidian languages (Meena and S. N. Sridhar, pers. comm.):

	my	father	POSS.	book
Hindi	mere	pitaji	kī	kitab
Marathi	majha	bapa	cha	pustak
Kannada	namma	tande-	(y)a	pustaka

The significance of Asian syntactic features in this Caribbean language is the corroboration of the basic validity of the observations of Valkhoff (1966:62) regarding the global dimensions of the Creole Portuguese “speech community” in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Portuguese—as well as many of their African, Asian, and American allies and slaves—and the Dutch, who captured Portuguese colonies from Brazil to Indonesia, all needed this creole. As mariners, traders, and settlers who often moved from one side of the planet to the other, they were also agents of the Creole’s diffusion, and Brazil was clearly part of this global empire and speech community.

Finally, evidence that Creole Portuguese had been the language of coastal Brazilian sugar plantations rather than Língua Geral can be deduced from the fact that many of the earliest Portuguese sugar planters and their slaves came to Brazil by way of São Tomé (Ivens Ferraz 1979:19). This previously uninhabited island in the Gulf of Guinea off the West African mainland had been discovered by the Portuguese in the 1470s and settled in the following decades by slaves brought from the mainland, with whom the Portuguese intermarried. A creolized variety of Portuguese evolved along with the cultivation of sugar on large plantations. The prosperity that this brought to São Tomé during the first half of the sixteenth century waned during the second half as slave rebellions and maroon attacks eventually destroyed the island’s economy. The Portuguese began abandoning São Tomé in large numbers, many going to Brazil (Ivens Ferraz 1979:19). It seems very unlikely that they would have left behind the greatest financial asset needed to establish sugar plantations in Brazil, namely their creole-speaking slaves from São Tomé.

The importance of São Tomense (ST) and other Gulf of Guinea Creoles in shaping the language of the sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century sugar plantations in Brazil should be evident from the features common to those creoles and modern PBP on all linguistic levels. In phonology, for example, the Gulf of Guinea Creoles palatalize Portuguese /d/ to /ǰ/ and /t/ to /č/ before /i/, as do most varieties of modern PBP. Such palatalization does not occur in European Portuguese, but it could be argued that this shift arose independently in both the Gulf of Guinea Creoles and PBP due to universal phonological tendencies. In morphology, the creoles lost all inflections, which PBP appears to be recovering through decreolization. In syntax, both lack subject-verb inversion in questions: compare PBP "onde *você* *mora*?" (literally 'Where you live?'), which is paralleled in the creoles but not found in the Portuguese of Europe, where subject-verb inversion requires "onde *mora* *você*?" or "Onde é que você mora?" (Ivens Ferraz, pers. comm.). Moreover, PBP often has double negation, for example: "*não* quero *não*" 'I don't want to' (Marroquim 1934:196), as opposed to P "não quero". Such double negation is also found in ST, as for example, "*na* kãtá-*fa*" 'do not sing' (Valkhoff 1966:100), as well as in the other Gulf of Guinea Creoles, but it is otherwise rare in creole languages.

On the lexical level, the Gulf of Guinea Creoles and PBP share African-derived items such as *fubá* 'cornmeal' (Günther 1973:195; cf. ki-Mbundu *fubá* 'flour', Mendonça 1933:138). They also share African-influenced semantic ranges imposed on Portuguese-derived words, for example, ST *longo* or PBP *comprido*, both 'long' (and only 'long' in Portugal) but also 'tall' in reference to persons; compare the parallel semantic range of Kishikongo -*alambuka* (Ivens Ferraz 1979:101) or Yoruba *gùn* (Abraham 1962:259). Of course, a common substratum of typologically similar African languages could have produced similar features in the speech of both São Tomé and Brazil without a direct historical connection, but that connection is documented.

Besides Língua Geral, another factor complicates the reconstruction of language transmission in Brazil as this might relate to a Portuguese-based Creole. This factor was the retention of African languages over many generations and among large numbers of people. Such retention was largely absent from other New World societies in which Creoles developed, where slaves were often mixed by language groups to make revolts more difficult. However, in Brazil linguistic homogeneity seems to have been valued since it enabled older generations of slaves

to teach newcomers more easily (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985:33). Until 1600, most slaves came from West Africa; from then until about 1660, Bantu-speaking Angolan and Congolese slaves predominated, and afterwards they came from both parts of Africa (Marques 1976:361). Influence from both sources is confirmed in the etymological study of African words surviving in Bahian PBP by Castro and Castro (1980:46): Of 1,955 words, 967 (49.5 percent) were of Bantu origin, while 988 (50.5 percent) were of West African origin. Mendonça (1933:28) claimed that the West African or Sudanic people predominated in Bahia, while Bantu speakers predominated to the north and south, but this may be an oversimplification.

In the northeastern part of Brazil, African languages seem likely to have been used in lingua francas in the maroon settlements established by escaped slaves (Reinecke 1937:557). In 1579, a Jesuit priest wrote that the "foremost enemies of the colonizer are revolted Negroes from Guiné in some mountain areas, from where they raid and give much trouble, and the time may come when they will dare to attack and destroy farms as their relatives do on the island of São Thomé" (quoted by Kent 1979:174). That time came when the Portuguese were distracted by the attacking Dutch in 1630 and the great "Negro Republic" of Palmares was established in Pernambuco. Its fortified villages had thousands of inhabitants with well-organized governments, and Palmares endured until the end of the seventeenth century (Kent 1979:174).

During this period in Bahia, it was estimated that "the proportion of blacks to whites [was] twenty to one ... in the city of São Salvador alone twenty-five thousand Negroes were catechized and instructed in the Angolan tongue" (Nash 1926:127). During the gold rush in Minas Gerais in the following century, an African-based lingua franca came to be used, apparently among newly arrived slaves from Africa. Based on a detailed description of this Lingoa Minna written in 1731 and published two centuries later (Peixoto 1945), Hazel Carter (pers. comm.) has determined that the language was based on Fon, an eastern variety of Ewe. Moreover, during the eighteenth century, Yoruba became established as a lingua franca in the state of Bahia. As late as 1900, an observer noted that "The Nagô [i.e., Yoruba] language is in fact much spoken at Bahia by almost all the old Africans of different nationalities and by a large number of [black] creoles and mulattoes. When in this state it is said that a person speaks the Língua da Costa, invariably the Nagô is meant" (Nina Rodrigues, quoted by Reinecke 1937:553). Al-

though it is no longer spoken natively, Yoruba is still used as a liturgical language in Bahia. I heard it spoken there in 1983 during a ceremony and its identity was later confirmed by a native speaker from Nigeria listening to tapes. Remnants of Bantu languages have also been identified recently (Fry, Vogt, and Gnerre 1981). Such long-term survival of African languages as lingua francas among different African ethnolinguistic groups and their descendants seems likely to have worked against the retention of an early Portuguese Creole for such communication since it was often not needed for this purpose.

A final sociolinguistic factor relevant to the survival of an early creole was race relations. Although observers from societies with more rigid racial caste systems sometimes believe Brazil to be a country without racism, black Brazilians are usually quick to disabuse one of this notion. Although Brazilians of all races have been equal before the law since the abolition of slavery in 1888, without any form of officially sanctioned segregation, blacks still tend to be poor and powerless while the rich and powerful still tend to be white or light skinned. An important historical factor determining the present racial structure of Brazilian society was the official sixteenth-century colonial policy of encouraging Portuguese men to marry native women in their colonies in order to establish a local part-Portuguese community with cultural and political loyalty to Portugal. In Portuguese India, the founding governor, Afonso de Albuquerque, carried out this policy by granting such couples a state-subsidized dowry (Marques 1976:249). As a country with a small population—just over a million at this period (Boxer 1969:49)—it was the only way Portugal could maintain her far-flung trading empire, extending from Brazil to what is today Indonesia. Portuguese women simply remained at home in Portugal during this early period.

Moreover, "on the whole the [early] social patterns of Brazil copied that of the Atlantic islands, particularly Cape Verde and São Tomé" (Marques 1976:255). In Brazil, "cross-breeding derived from the needs of nature, not from race equality. The whites were always considered superior to the others and held most offices of leadership, although tolerance and respect toward both mulattoes and mamelucos [Portuguese-Tupi mestiços] reached a higher level in Brazil than probably anywhere else" (Marques 1976:360). The greater frequency with which Portuguese men fathered children by their slave women probably led to the far higher rate of manumission in Brazil

than in the Caribbean. Racial mixing worked against the maintenance of the rigid caste system that helped preserve creolized language varieties elsewhere. Later, as Afro-Brazilians had fewer barriers to face in rising socially, they also had more incentive to learn Standard Brazilian Portuguese as a mark of their standing; such circumstances are likely to accelerate decreolization. In 1921, Sousa da Silveira explicitly observed that "the Negroes themselves speak better today than they used to" (reprinted in Pimentel Pinto 1981:27).

Linguistic features of PBP relevant to the question of the existence of an earlier variety of African-influenced Portuguese Creole can be found on all linguistic levels. Beyond those discussed above regarding the relation of PBP to the Gulf of Guinea Creoles, I would like to discuss the following features that occurred in the corpus that I collected, augmenting this with the examples and comments of others who have dealt with the issue. In doing this, I will use as my points of reference not only Standard Brazilian Portuguese but also the Gulf of Guinea Creoles; this approach is justified on the basis of the historical and linguistic evidence discussed above. All data on São Tomense Creole Portuguese (ST) is from Ivens Ferraz (1979) unless otherwise noted.

In phonology, there is evidence in PBP that the syllabic structure of an early Brazilian Creole Portuguese (BCP) was based on a canonic form of CV, a consonant and vowel. This is similar to the phonotactic rules of many of the substrate African languages (e.g., Yoruba), and not far from that of Standard Portuguese. When the BCP rules conflicted with those of SBP, it seems likely that the consonants were simply dropped. Thus, today in PBP, I found forms such as nego (SBP negro 'black person'), voano (SBP voando 'flying'), alegue (SBP alegre 'happy'), fasidade (SBP falsidade 'falseness'), and dizê (SBP dizer 'say'). Regarding the last example with the loss of final /r/, it should be noted that this has become acceptable pronunciation even in SBP.

In more archaic or rustic varieties of PBP, vowels could also be added to achieve the CV form: PBP fulô (SBP flor 'flower'), lapassi (SBP rapaz 'boy) (Mendonça 1933:65). Such vowels were also added in ST to break up P consonant clusters (e.g., ST aluku from P arco 'bow'), and consonants were also dropped (e.g., ST kalu from P caldo 'stew'). Moreover, in ST, vowels could also be added at the end of a word to keep the CV pattern (e.g., ST mɛlɛ from P mel 'honey').

Furthermore, as in PBP lapassi, ST replaced P /r/ with /l/ (e.g., ST latu from P rato ‘rat’). In many of the African substrate languages [l] and [r] were allophones of the same phoneme, as in Ewe (Cassidy and Le Page 1967:lxi). This alternation has been retained by some speakers of PBP, at least in certain lexical items; one speaker alternated between Sultão and Surtão in two adjoining sentences (from P sultão ‘sultan’ in the proper name Sultão da Mata ‘Lord of the Forest’, a legendary Tupi figure who has joined the pantheon of Yoruba deities in Bahia). The same speaker also used the form frecha (SBP flecha ‘arrow’). The latter might be seen as converging with the historical tendency of /l/ to be replaced by /r/ in European Portuguese, especially after a consonant, as in branco ‘white’ (cf. Spanish blanco) or escravo ‘slave’ (cf. Spanish esclavo).

The morphology of PBP has also been affected by the above phonotactic preference for an open (CV) syllable, which works against the realization of the final -s [s ~ š] indicating the plural forms of nouns, adjectives, and determiners: for example, PBP “nas selva” (SBP “nas selvas” ‘in-the forests’). However, it seems clear that this morphological tendency is not due to phonology alone. Historically, the loss of such inflections seems likely to have been total in any early BCP, as it was in ST and other creoles, except for fossilized remnants of inflections in the lexical-source language (e.g., Haitian Creole French zanmi ‘friend’ from French les amis or Bahamian Creole English ants ‘ant’ or ‘ants’).

We can form a hypothesis from what we know about creole continua such as that of Jamaica, where a nearly uninflected creole is found at one extremity coexisting with fully inflected Standard English at the other (with many intermediate varieties). The synchronic situation in Jamaica suggests a diachronic model for the evolution of BCP into PBP under pressure from SBP. That is to say that it seems likely that creolized Portuguese began to borrow inflections from Standard Brazilian Portuguese, and that this has resulted in PBP, which is only partly (or variably) inflected. Today PBP often indicates plurality by adding -s to only the first element (usually a determiner), leaving the plural -s inflection optional on following nouns and adjectives. For example, PBP “um dos mais velho orixás” (SBP “um dos mais velhos orixás” ‘one of-the most ancient deities’) (cf. Yoruba òrìṣà ‘deity’, Abraham 1962:483). However, it is not always the first element that is marked, for

example, PBP “o meus irmão” (SBP “os meus irmãos” ‘[the] my siblings’), “todo os mais velho” (SBP “todos os mais velhos” ‘all the most ancient [ones]’).

However, Guy (1981) found in his study of PBP noun-phrase plural marking that over 95 percent had NP-initial marking. He suggested that this pattern may represent a survival of the system of marking plurality at the beginning of noun phrases in many Niger-Congo languages. It seems conceivable that an early BCP may have had an optional system of marking plurality comparable to that of ST, in which nẽ, the word for ‘they’, is used before nouns: for example, nẽ mwala ‘the women’. This is comparable to a parallel use of the word for ‘they’ in various African and creole languages such as Yoruba (awọn), the Bantu language Tsonga (ßona), Jamaican (dem), Haitian (yo), and so forth. Just as Jamaican Creole dem bwai or de bwai-dem has evolved toward (those) boy(s) for some speakers under the influence of Standard English, it is possible that an early BCP plural marker before a noun phrase equivalent to ‘they’ may have been replaced by the plural form of the definite article, os. This is suggested by the attestation of PBP forms such as osêle ‘they’, a combination of pluralizer os plus ele ‘he’, instead of SBP eles (Mendonça 1933:67). The transition may have been facilitated by the fact that os can also function as the object pronoun ‘them’ in SBP.

It is clear from both my data and Guy’s that the variable rule for /s/ is both phonological and syntactic. As a phonological rule it operates on (synchronically) single morphemes, for example, PBP “somo” for SBP “somos” ‘(we) are’. Guy found more clearly monomorphemic instances such as PBP “onibu” for SBP “onibus” (pers. comm.). He goes on to point out that “at the same time a variable syntactic rule of NP plural marking is required to account for phrases such as as vez, os espanhol, as nação, because if they resulted from simple S-deletion, they should be as veze, os espanhoi, as naçõe” due to certain irregularities in the formation of some SBP plurals. The significance of this “conspiracy” of phonological and syntactic variable rules will be discussed below after a brief examination of two related features.

First, from the perspective of SBP, PBP often lacks number agreement not only within noun phrases as discussed above, but also between subject and verb, for example, PBP “os africano que ficou na Bahia” (SBP “os africanos que ficaram na Bahil” ‘the Africans who remained in Bahia’). Second, PBP often does not mark such agreement with the nasalization of vowels re-

quired for the third person plural ending in SBP, for example, PBP "os alunos ... que nao conhece" 'the students ... who don't know' (cf. SBP conhecem /konyesẽ/ '[they] know'). However, like the variable S-marking rule discussed above, PBP denasalization can also operate on single morphemes as a phonological rather than syntactic rule, for example, PBP Nelso as opposed to SBP Nelson with a final nasalized vowel.

This conspiracy of phonological and syntactic rules makes sense historically only if PBP has evolved from an uninflected creole which began borrowing inflections from SBP at a stage when the latter's system of number agreement within noun phrases and between subjects and verbs was still opaque to speakers of PBP. The inflections were probably first applied randomly (cf. decreolizing English "the boy go/the boys goes/the boy goes/the boys go") in free variation. The syntactic rule of the more frequent inflections (/s/ and nasalization) alternating with Ø in turn led to purely phonological rules for the same alternation.

Beyond these agreement rules, PBP speakers used several other syntactic features which unambiguously link their speech with other Portuguese-based Creoles and the general process of decreolization. First, they interchanged the verbs ter and estar. As Coelho had noted (1880-1886:171), the popular Brazilian songs he examined regularly used tem, literally '(it) has', where European Portuguese would require está '(it) is' or há 'there is', for example, "Lá no céu tem uma estrela" 'There in the sky is a star'. This usage has, in fact, become part of Standard Brazilian Portuguese. It is clearly related to the merger of the forms equivalent to ter and estar in creoles such as Indo-Portuguese, for example, "Quilai tem vos? (P "Como está você?" 'How are you?', Schuchardt 1889:516). This feature is found throughout the Portuguese-based Creoles of Asia as well as in the Portuguese of less educated Africans in Mozambique (Ivens Ferraz, this volume); the word for 'to have' is used in the sense of 'there is' in the Gulf of Guinea Creoles (Bickerton 1981:66). Apparently through calquing, both meanings are found in Papiamentu tin (Bickerton:1981:66), Dominican Spanish tiene (A. Estévez, pers. comm.), Lesser Antillian Creole French tini and Haitian gẽ (Goodman 1964:67), and Bahamian Creole English it have, with a decreolized form it is in the sense of 'there is' ("Holm with Shilling 1982).

However, the Brazilian speakers I recorded interchanged ter and estar in ways not noted by Coelho, using a form of ter where SBP requires estar as an auxiliary: "Desejo boa feli-

cidade p'a todo que tenham me escutando" 'I wish much happiness to all those who might be listening to me'. Here SBP would require estejam, the present subjunctive (for an indefinite actor) form of estar 'be', which is used with the present participle ("escutando") to indicate action in progress, as in English. In SBP, ter 'have' can be used as an auxiliary only with the past participle to form a perfect tense, for example, "tinha escutado" 'he had listened'. Such forms suggest that an early BCP, like Portuguese Creoles elsewhere, used tem (derived from the third-person singular present form of P ter 'to have') in the sense of 'to be'. This feature, which is salient and likely to be stigmatized, is probably disappearing through decreolization, but it does still occur (as in the example above), leading to hypercorrection. The same speaker also said "Quero que ele teja a mesma felicidade" 'I hope that he has the same happiness'. SBP would have required tenha, the present subjunctive form of ter, whereas this speaker used a dialectal pronunciation of esteja, the present subjective form of estar 'to be', which would not fit SBP semantically: *'I hope that he is the same happiness'.

Another feature indicative of decreolization is the use of PBP ni for SBP em 'in', for example, "ni minha casa" 'in my house'. As William Stewart points out (pers. comm.), this may be a back-formation by analogy with the following paradigm for combining the prepositions de [ǰi] 'of' (note raised vowel) and em 'in' with the definite articles o (masculine) and a (feminine) and their plural forms:

SBP, PBP de: do (de + o), da (de + a); dos (de + os), das (de + as)
SBP em: no (em + o), na (em + a); nos (em + os), nas (em + as)
PBP ni: no (ni + o), na (ni + a); nos (ni + os), nas (ni + as)

In other words, ni has been formed by analogy with de, possibly reinforced by the Yoruba preposition ní 'in, at' (Abraham 1962:439). Semantics suggest that PBP ni may also have been reinforced by the preposition na 'in, at, to, etc.' found in many creoles. This appears to be derived from P na (i.e., em + a) converging with a preposition of the same form (but with the greater semantic range of the creole preposition) found in Ibo (Taylor 1971:295) and Mandinka (Fyle and Jones 1980). As Taylor points out, the occurrence of na with this semantic range not only throughout the Portuguese-based Creoles but also Papiamentu, Negerhollands, Haitian nan, and even English Creole ina supports relexification. Evidence that this creole form was once used in Brazil is found in the semantic range of the PBP

preposition, which exceeds that of SBP em, which cannot be used in the sense of a 'to'; compare PBP "Nós levava ele no médico" 'We took him to the doctor' (Rodrigues 1974:199).

Yet further evidence of earlier creolization is the particular form chosen for the base of the verb. PBP may use only one distinguishing inflection for the first person singular of the present tense:

	PBP	Standard Portuguese
I depart	eu parto	eu parto
you depart	tu parte	tu partes/você parte
he departs	ele parte	ele parte
we depart	nos parte	nós partimos
you depart	vós parte	vós parti s/vocês partem
they depart	eles parte	eles partem

(Marroquim 1934:115-6; tu partes occurs only in southern Brazil or in Protestant prayers; vós partis occurs only in Portugal or in Catholic prayers in Brazil.)

The base form of the verb is also derived from the third person singular present tense form in Portuguese in the Creole of Guiné (Wilson 1962:19), even for those verbs that are irregular: for example, Creole bay 'go' from P vai '(he) goes' rather than P ir 'to go'. It is significant that this is also the form found in PBP: "Nós vai la" (SBP "Nós vamos lá" 'We go there'; Rodrigues 1974:208). It is also interesting to note that PBP is much closer to SBP in the preterit and other tenses (Marroquim 1934:116 ff.). The same speaker who said 'nós vai" also said "nós fizemo" (SBP "nós fizemos" 'we did'; cf. SBP 'ele f ez" 'he did'; Rodrigues 1974:207). I think that this can be explained as morphology acquired more recently through decreolization, in which the two tenses have followed different paths. It seems likely that a BCP or early PBP used preverbal markers to indicate tenses other than the present, just as other Portuguese-based Creoles did; for example, the latter use markers derived from P já 'already' before the uninflected verb to indicate completed or anterior action. There is evidence that BCP may have used a marker similar to foi, from the Portuguese word for '(he) was'. Remnants of it can be found in the PBP of Ceará in constructions such as "eli foi dis" 'he said' or "eli foi kõntó" 'he told' (McKinney 1982:6). Since the preterit forms of ser 'to be' coincide with those of ir 'to go', McKinney interpreted these as

serial verb constructions (e.g., ‘he went said’). However, I believe that comparison with other creoles indicates that a more likely interpretation is that foi is a preverbal tense marker followed by a verb, at least in origin. A parallel marker is found in Haitian Creole French “li te di,” lexically from French “lui était dire” (literally ‘he was said’) but syntactically and semantically much closer to African constructions such as Yoruba “ó ti wí” (literally ‘he ANTERIOR say’) or Bahamian Creole English constructions such as “he been say” or “it was belong to me” (Holm with Shilling 1982).

Such verbal constructions are found in PBP throughout Brazil (A. Caskey, pers. comm.); it is interesting that while Ceará PBP conjugates both verbs (evidently as a result of decreolization and hypercorrection), in the PBP of rural São Paulo State only the first element is conjugated and then followed by an infinitive: “Eu fui ficar doente” ‘I was sick’ (Rodrigues 1974:200). Although the latter construction is not part of SBP, it at least has syntactic parallels in SBP such as “Eu vou ficar doente” ‘I’m going to be sick’. This all suggests that the base form of the verb (parte, vai, etc.) was once used for the present tense, while the same form preceded by foi indicated past action. The latter construction seems to have been largely replaced by the SBP preterit with most of its inflections intact, while the nearly uninflected present tense conjugation lives on as variant forms which are, for the most part, less strikingly divergent from SBP. In the terminology of Guy (1981), the difference between PBP “eles parte” and SBP “eles partem” ‘they leave’ is simply one of denasalization (although it would, in fact, be more accurate to speak of PBP’s acquisition of nasalization).

The remnant of another preverbal marker seems to be Ceara PBP “/viví/ ‘live’ followed by another finite verb used to describe situations that are relatively permanent, for example, vivia trabayava … ‘he lived worked’” (McKinney 1982:7). SBP and Caribbean Spanish have the idiom vivo cantando ‘I’m always singing’, but this structure is not found in European Portuguese (M. Leite, pers. comm.). Although its origin is obscure, live can also have the meaning of habitual action in the creolized English of the Bahamas, for example, “We live hearing this saying” (Holm with Shilling 1982). A clue to its origin may lie in the Sierra Leonean Krio preverbal marker de, which can indicate either progressive or habitual action or location (Hancock 1978). Krio lib ‘live’ can, like de, also be used as a locative copula (Fyle and Jones 1980:223) and may have acquired other meanings of de as well. In neighboring Liberia, many indigenous languages do not

have a contrast between /d/ and /l/, so that in the Creole English of that country the preverbal marker de has the alternate form le. However, the relationship between le, lib, live, and viví (if any) remains puzzling.

The final syntactic feature of PBP which supports the influence of a prior creole is the use of para (or p'ra or p'a) 'for' in the sense of a 'to' after verbs like falar 'to speak', for example, PBP "Falou pra minha tia" "He told my aunt' (Rodrigues 1974:201). Schuchardt (1909:445) noted that in the old Lingua Franca of the Mediterranean, there was an etymologically related preposition with a parallel syntactic function: "mi ablar per ti" 'I tell you'. Apparently via relexification, this is found not only in Indo-Portuguese ("eu té fallá per vos") but also Afrikaans ("ek sè fer jou"—fer now being spelled vir), all literally 'I say for you' in the sense of 'I tell you'. There is no parallel in European Dutch or Portuguese, although historically both P para (or the older pera) and a had come to be substituted for the Latin dative case (Silva Dias 1959:108). After verbs of motion, para and a can both be used in Standard Portuguese to indicate destintion (Ali 1966:216), but para cannot be used in Europe after falar except in the sense of speaking towards, for example, "Não fales para mim, fala para a audiência" 'Don't talk to me; talk to the audience' (Ivens Ferraz, pers. comm.).

The final evidence to be presented to support the existence of an early Portuguese Creole in Brazil is in the lexicon, particularly the semantic range of certain words and idioms. Like PBP comprido 'long, tall' discussed above, many PBP words have a semantic range unknown in Europe but common in creoles based on Portuguese and even other languages because of the influence of their common African substratum. Moreover, as indicated in the following table, many Brazilian idioms unknown in European Portuguese have word-for-word equivalents with the same meaning in English-based and French-based Creole languages, again unknown in the European lexical-source languages. Many appear to be calques of idioms from African languages (last column).

TABLE OF IDIOMS

	BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE		MEANING IN STANDARD EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE (P)	ENGLISH CREOLE	OTHER	AFRICAN LANGUAGES
1	cabeça ruim	-	{ forgetful, stupid,	bad head	H tèt pa bon	Y ori kò dara
2	cabeça fraca	-	mentally unbalanced	weak head	H tèt fèb	I isi adinama
3	cabeça dura	-	stubborn, stupid	hard head	H tèt di	I isi ke
4	esquentar a cab.	-	worry, fret	worry your head	H chaje tèt	
5	cabelo duro	-	{ ery curly hair,	hard hair	H chèvè red	Y irun le
6	cabelo ruim	-	appy hair	bad hair	H move chèvè	
7	cabelo baixinho	-	short hair	low hair	H chèvè ba	Y irun kúkúrú
8	irmãozinhos	-	tight neck curls	cousins		
9	comprido	+	tall (of persons)	long	R lõg; ST longo	Y gigun
10	seco	+	thin (of persons)	dry	H chèch	Y gbe
11	azul	-	very dark skinned	navy-blue black	LAF ble	Z uluhlaza
12	ôlho grande	*	greed (for food)	big eye	H gwo je	I ana uku
13	ôlho comprido	-	covetous	long eye		I ana suso
14	ter boca de azar	-	curse, blight	put mouth on	H mete bouch nan	Y enu rẹ
15	botar a voca	-	take sides	put mouth in	H mete bouch nan	Y sẹ yọ’nu si
16	mão boa	-	green thumb	good hand	H bonn main	I aka dinma
17	mãos rápidas	-	thieving	fast hand		
18	ta de barriga	+	be pregnant	get belly	H gen gwo vent	T bà k-ór
19	mulher de barriga	-	pregnant woman	belly woman		Z umfazi onesisu

	BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE		**MEANING IN STANDARD EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE (P)**	**ENGLISH CREOLE**	**OTHER**	**AFRICAN LANGUAGES**
20	passarinho	-	boy’s penis	bud, birdie	H zozo; CS pájaro	CB *-bódò
21	pau	+	stick, tree	stick	H bwa; CS palo	Y igi; I osisi
22	pau	-	wood, penis	wood	H bwa	Z induku
23	abrir caminho	+	set an example	cut road	H trase chemin	Y la ònà
24	lixo das encruzilhadas	-	magic ingredient in charms	cross-road dirt	R sacrifice du carrefour	Y ẹbọ ní orita mẹta
25	o dia ta limpo	-	dawn; daybreak	day clean	LAF ju netyé	Y ojú mọ́
26	filho home	-	son	boy child	PA mucha homber	Y ọmọ okùnrin
27	filha mulher	-	daughter	girl child	PA mucha muhe	Y ọmọ obìrin
28	dias de criança	-	childhood	boy days	H lè ti moun	Z ensukwini zobuntwana
29	brincadeira de roda	-	children’s dance game in circle	ring play	H fè wonn	Y eré agbo
30	gente grande	*	adults	big people	H gran mounn	B abakulu
31	espíritos se dão	-	take to a person	spirit take to		Y emi mi fa mọ-ọ
32	adoçar a boca	+	flatter, coax	sweet mouth	H bouch dous	Y ẹnu rè dun
33	home doce	-	a kind man	sweet man	H nom dou	
34	negro, nego	-	any person	nigger	H nèg	
35	meu nego	-	my boyfriend	my nigger	R mon noir	
36	tio, tia	+	terms of address	uncle, aunty	H tonton, tantin	Y ẹ̀gbọ́n
37	vivo fazendo	-	always be doing	live doing		

	BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE		MEANING IN STANDARD EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE (P)	ENGLISH CREOLE	OTHER	AFRICAN LANGUAGES
38	virar um home	-	become a man	turn a man	H tounen yon nom	Y yípadà si okùnrin

LANGUAGES: B = Bemba; CB = Common Bantu; CS = Caribbean Spanish; H = Haitian Creole French; I = Ibo; LAF = Lesser Antillean Creole French; PA = Papiamentu; R = Réunion French; ST = São Tomense; T = Temne; Y = Yoruba; Z = Zulu.

NOTES ON TABLE OF IDIOMS

Particular thanks are due for help with idioms from Vânia Penha Lopes (PBP), Hedley Gaujean (H), Abraham Obadare (Y), and Ray Phetha (Z). Other sources can be found in Holm with Shilling (1982). The column marked “P” indicates whether the particular idiom is (+) or is not (-) known to three speakers of European Portuguese—Maria Teresa Leite, Maria Paula de Oliveira, and Luiz Ivens Ferraz—to whom thanks are also due.

1 The Y idiom is literally ‘head not good’.

3 The Z idiom for ‘stubborn’ is ikhanda elilikhuni, literally ‘head hard’. Although Zulu is a South-Eastern Bantu language whose speakers were not taken to Brazil, it is relevant here in that it is related to the North-Western Bantu languages spoken by a great number of the Africans who were taken there.

4 In “esquentar a cabeça” and its parallels, the word for ‘head’ is used as a quasi reflexive pronoun; cf. Bahamian head, Cape Verdean kabɛ́sa, H tèt, Wolof bob, all ‘head, self’.

5 Cf. Z inusele ezilukhuni, idem.

6 The contrary refers to wavy European hair: PBP cabelo bom, Bahamian good hair, H bon chèvè, CS pelo bueno.

7 Cf. Kishikongo -ankufi, idem.

8 The form irmãozinhos (irmão ‘brother’ + -zinho ‘diminutive suffix’) may be related to Bahamian cousins via the phrase primo irmão ‘first cousin’ although no common etymon is known. Both expressions refer to the tightly curled hair that black people may have on the nape of the neck or the sides of the temples.

9 Cf. Kishikongo -alambuka, idem.
10 Cf. Z womelele, idem.
12 In Portugal, ôlhos grandes.
13 Cf. Z unehlo elide, idem.
14 Refers to a prediction of failure that comes true; each idiom refers to the mouth of the one who so predicted, implying blame for speaking ill.
15 Refers to taking sides in an argument, adding one's own opinion.
18 Cf. Z unesisu, idem.
20 The form passarinho is the diminutive of pássaro 'bird'. Other terms are also derived form a word meaning 'bird' except CB *-bódò, whose formal similarity to English Creole bod 'bird' may have led to a semantic connection.
22 Jamaican wood; see Cassidy and Le Page (1967).
23 Refers to the first people to do something (e.g., elders) making it easier for those who follow; cf. Z hlala indlela, idem. The PBP idiom is also used in reference to magical herbal baths taken to obtain a goal (e.g., money, power, love).
24 The phrase lixo das encruzilhadas 'refuse of the cross-roads': see Câmara Cascudo (1972:371). Brazilians sometimes offer cigarette butts to the deities of the crossroads such as Exu (cf. Y Èṣu). Haitians occasionally take herbal baths to bring good luck and then pour some of the water on a crossroad to ensure success ("jete wanga lan kafou-a"). Y Èṣu, a deity, is given "ẹbọ ní orita mẹta," literally 'sacrifice at road three' (i.e., where three roads come together).
29 Refers to a game in which children stand in a ring and sing or clap while one or more of their number dances or performs in the center.
30 In Portugal used only to or by children, cf. Z abantu abakhulu, idem.
31 The Y idiom means 'my spirit is drawn to him'.
35 Refers to a male friend with the possible additional connotation of intimacy; cf. H "Men nèg mwen" 'That's my man'
36 Refer to older, respected persons (also unrelated); Y ẹ̀gbọ́n simply means any elder (brother, sister, uncle, aunt, etc.) and is used similarly.
38 In Europe, Portuguese virar and French tourner usually mean 'turn' in the sense of 'revolve' rather than 'become'; cf. Y yípadà 'to turn around; to be converted'.

It is possible that European Portuguese usages have been affected by the use of Portuguese overseas (e.g., *seco* 'dry' with the additional meaning of 'skinny'). This is supported by the fact that one finds in Portugal such clearly African words as *bunda* 'buttocks' (vulgar), from ki-Mbundu *mbunda* idem (Mendonça 1933).

In conclusion, the above parallel idioms seem most likely to be manifestations of a shared substratum; the possibility that they are parallel by chance or because of linguistic universals seems very remote indeed. The particular features of phonology, morphology, and syntax discussed above seem less likely to have resulted from substratal influences except in an indirect way. The linguistic history of Brazil is extraordinarily complex; leaving aside the question of Tupi influence, Sarah Grey Thomason (pers. comm.) has suggested three possible historical explanations for the present state of PBP:

(1) PBP arose historically from a Portuguese-based Creole which has decreolized significantly in many respects.
(2) PBP was never itself a creole, but it was influenced by one or more Portuguese-based Creoles spoken in relevant places during its history.
(3) PBP was never itself a creole, but it was influenced directly by the African languages, including African lingua francas, that were spoken in Brazil during its history.

The three possibilities are by no means mutually exclusive in that PBP may have arisen from the merger of several kinds of Portuguese; such a combination of influences does, in fact, seem the most plausible explanation. However, from the above data I believe that we can exclude (3) as the *only* source of PBP in that it could not account for specifically creole as opposed to African features (e.g., *ter* for *estar*, *para* for *a*, etc.). Moreover, I believe that accounting for the latter facts requires us to include either (1) or (2) in PBP's history. Therefore, while we cannot conclude with certainty that PBP was ever itself a creole, we must conclude that there was indeed creole *influence* on it. If we are to account for all the relevant data, this is, in fact, the most cautious interpretation possible.

NOTE

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Amerindian

METACOMMUNICATIVE FUNCTIONS OF MOBILIAN JARGON, AN AMERICAN INDIAN PIDGIN OF THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI RIVER REGION

Emanuel J. Drechsel

PREFACE

It is not by chance that John Reinecke succeeded so well as senior editor in compiling a recent comprehensive bibliography of pidgin and creole studies (Reinecke et al. 1975) or in producing The Carrier Pidgin, the newsletter on these and related linguistic phenomena, from 1976 through 1981. He had the necessary broad perspective on the study of contact and creole languages—in terms of both their linguistic and extralinguistic aspects as well as their geographic and cross-lingual[1] range.

We can find evidence therefor in several of Reinecke's publications. Concerned with pidgins and creoles beyond purely linguistic matters, he wrote an exemplary sociolinguistic history of Hawaiian Pidgin and Creole, his Master of Arts thesis, in 1935 (Reinecke 1969). Interested in the great variety of marginal languages, Reinecke also studied non-European ones, as is evident for example from his doctoral dissertation (Reinecke 1937). Yet he did not exhibit only a comprehensive approach and a wide-ranging interest, but also demonstrated initiative and engagement in the study of pidgins and creoles at a time when it was far from being a popular or even acceptable scholarly endeavor.

Indeed a modern-day Hugo Schuchardt, Reinecke has stimulated most, if not all, of today's students of pidgins and creoles. With his most generous encouragement, John has also inspired me in more than one respect, especially in my research on

American Indian contact languages and their sociocultural aspects. Such extralinguistic features of a non-European pidgin, namely Mobilian Jargon, are the topic of my contribution in John Reinecke's memory.

1. INTRODUCTION

Linguists have long been aware of speech behaviors whose primary purpose is not that of exchanging information, conveying meaning, or serving communication in any narrow sense. For example, in proposing the concept of phatic communion, Bronislaw Malinowski (1936:315) recognized the importance of social bonding as it occurs in chit-chat and gossip; in these and similar forms of conversation, its participants may speak for the sole purpose of keeping their channels of communication open and being sociable.

We call these and similar usages of language its metacommuni cative functions. If recognized at all, such extralinguistic aspects have not received much attention in the study of contact languages or pidgins in particular. There is a simple explanation for such an apparent neglect. Contact languages, as their name indicates, are assumed to serve practical purposes—those of media between speakers of two or more mutually unintelligible languages; their primary function thus is thought to be that of communication.

However, one wonders whether—with different first languages—speakers of a pidgin really understood each other in conversing in it, especially in its initial and highly variable stage. Or could such a linguistic compromise reveal nonutilitarian purposes such as those of a linguistic game?

In the following, we shall explore metacommunicative functions in the case of Mobilian Jargon (henceforth abbreviated as MJ).

1. THE CASE UNDER STUDY: MOBILIAN JARGON

By all linguistic, historical, and sociocultural indications, Mobilian Jargon—or the Chickasaw-Choctaw trade language—was a genuine pidgin, based largely on Muskogean languages, but incorporating elements from other American Indian languages of southeastern North American and a few from European tongues. During historic periods, the estimated cumulative ge-

ographic spread of MJ covered the modern tristate area of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama. This American Indian pidgin also reached into eastern Texas, along the Mississippi River to southern—perhaps central—Illinois, and possibly up the Missouri as far as 500 miles from its junction with the Mississippi.[2] It would moreover have extended into Georgia and Florida if we can confirm the lingua franca Creek to have merely been an eastern variety of MJ.

Included in this extensive contact speech community were speakers of numerous mutually unintelligible, often unrelated, and structurally diverse languages: (1) Gulf languages (including most, if not all, Muskogean ones and the isolates Atakapa, Chitimacha, Natchez, and Tunica); (2) southern Caddoan languages; (3) Siouan languages (the two southern ones, Ofo and Biloxi, as well as possibly Osage); (4) probably Algonquian languages (such as those of southern Illinois and perhaps Shawnee); (5) likely Lipan Apache, an Athapaskan language; (6) perhaps Yuchi, a language isolate; (7) several other, unidentified American Indian languages; and (8) many European tongues, European-influenced creoles, and possibly African languages.

Speaking these diverse languages as their mother tongues, Indians, Europeans, Africans, and—later—Americans used MJ as a major medium of communication and language of interpretation, and did so in all kinds of bilingual and multilingual situations. Among specific circumstances, there were: intertribal gatherings including dances, games, and political meetings; European explorations and settlements; the hide and fur trade; Indian and African slavery as practiced by Europeans as well as Indians; missionizing of Indians by Europeans; and various situations in which Europeans or—later—Americans employed Indians (e.g., as scouts, trappers, sharecroppers, farm laborers, homesteaders, or workers in the timber or oil industry). However, rarely did non-Indians speak MJ among themselves other than in extraordinary situations when one party shared only MJ as a common medium with another, as may occasionally have happened among French and English traders in the 18th century.[3]

In view of the great linguistic diversity and the variety of contact situations in the lower Mississippi river valley and adjacent areas, it is indeed not surprising to find a pidgin serving as the major lingua franca of the region during the colonial periods.

3. THE LONGEVITY OF MOBILIAN JARGON

That an American Indian contact language rather than a European-based one should serve as the principal medium between Indians and Europeans in greater Louisiana during colonial times is an intriguing issue, which I have attempted to solve elsewhere, in part by proposing a pre-European origin for MJ (Drechsel 1984). However, why this pidgin should survive well into the 20th century is another question, perhaps related and still puzzling. Already in the middle of the 18th century, Antoine Simon Le Page du Pratz (1758:II.323) suggested that French would shortly replace MJ to become the new language of the colony, that by implication MJ would not live on as the major lingua franca of the area.[4]

This otherwise singularly perceptive observer of early colonial life in Louisiana, the first to give us any detailed information on MJ (cf. Drechsel 1983b), knew little about its longevity. Two centuries later, MJ survived in several rural communities of southwestern and central Louisiana, where American Indians and their Black and White neighbors continued using this contact medium in many bilingual and multilingual situations well into the 1940s, perhaps even in the early 1950s. Prominent among them were the Coushatta and their neighbors, who have spoken two or three mutually unintelligible American Indian languages (Koasati, closely related Alabama, and Choctaw, all Muskogean languages), French (an Acadian or Cajun dialect and perhaps creolized varieties), and English (Black and Southern White dialects). Until recently, a number of individuals—Indians and a few non-Indians—remembered words, sometimes phrases and songs, in MJ, and could even hold or recreate some conversations in the pidgin. Thus, James Crawford of the University of Georgia and I were still able to record some MJ a few years ago.

When doing this linguistic and ethnographic research, I made the interesting observation that all of the last MJ speakers were bilinguals, and many of them true multilinguals. The Indians spoke at least one European language, usually French or English, or frequently both in addition to their native language(s). Non-Indians, too, were not usually restricted to their mother tongue and MJ, but often spoke another European language. Moreover, there are incidental references in support of the notion that multilingualism has not been limited to modern periods, but occurred also in early historic, if not pre-European, times (cf., for example, Sherzer 1976:253).

If so, then the question arises as to why the Indians and non-Indians in Louisiana continued using MJ as their mutual contact medium until recently. Since apparently most Indians also mastered at least one other lingua franca, namely French, Spanish, or English, what were the reasons for MJ not to have simply withered away earlier if we assume it to have served exclusively practical communicative purposes?

The continued use of MJ into the 20th century in part reflects the fact that the Indians were economically and sociopolitically more important through much of Louisiana's history than her historians have recognized hitherto, because Whites and Blacks who had substantial dealings with Indians took pains to acquire "their language." Indeed, we can find evidence, supporting this proposition, in the Indians' role in the hide and fur trade, in the local fishing and farming economy, and later in the state's timber and oil industry (cf. Drechsel and Makuakāne-Drechsel 1982:80-106). But they clearly have not dominated Louisiana's economic and sociopolitical life since the early 18th century.

An American Indian contact language such as MJ must also have served as an ideal intertribal medium when increasing numbers of eastern Indian groups crossed the Mississippi into Louisiana in advance of the expanding European colonizers and settlers in eastern North America. However, many of these groups migrated farther west. Those remaining behind became absorbed among the local Louisiana Indians, and presumably adopted their languages, as the original ones of these eastern groups did not usually survive (cf. Drechsel and Makuakāne-Drechsel 1982:4-74).

There also is no doubt that the survival of French, itself the language of a minority today, has helped to maintain some of the sociolinguistic complexity of colonial Louisiana, which in turn favored the continued use of a contact language such as MJ (cf. Drechsel 1979:155-67). Yet, since the early 19th century, French and—eventually—English could have replaced MJ entirely to become the new lingue franche among the various American Indian communities, and between them and their non-Indian neighbors.

Thus, the Indians' economic and sociopolitical role in the history of Louisiana, the linguistic complexity as a result of the immigration of eastern Indians, and the survival of French do not constitute the entire answer to the question about the longevity of MJ. Rather, we must look at other, complementary

extralinguistic aspects of MJ—the speakers' values and attitudes towards it and its functions beyond those of communication.

4. VALUES AND ATTITUDES ASSOCIATED WITH MOBILIAN JARGON

Le Page du Pratz (1758:II.218, 242) variously referred to MJ as 'corrupted Chickasaw' or "la Langue vulgaire" (perhaps best translated here as 'the common language'), among other terms. And a few years ago, some older Choctaw speakers similarly called MJ "broken or short-way Choctaw." So one, too, might be tempted to espouse such a seductively simple description and to consider MJ structurally as a broken, telegraphic, or simplified form of Chickasaw, Choctaw, or some other Muskogean language. But, on closer inspection, MJ was quite different grammatically from these or any other American Indian languages of southeastern North America, and was even distinct from actual "broken" forms of Choctaw. Unless speakers of these languages had heard MJ spoken extensively, deducing its unique structure eventually, or had learned the pidgin like any other second language, they could at best understand single words from a conversation in MJ; they would misinterpret the rest and miss its gist. The grammatical differences between MJ and its lexifier languages made the pidgin unintelligible to speakers of Southeastern Indian languages. This prevents us from considering it as a "stripped" variety of these.[5]

If speakers of Muskogean languages or—for that matter—anybody hearing MJ were naive about its true structural nature, we would expect them to have looked down on the pidgin as the strangers' poor and unsuccessful attempt at speaking some Muskogean language or to have reacted negatively towards MJ in some other way. Indeed, I came across one such response when I played a tape recording of MJ to some middle-aged Chickasaw and Choctaw in Oklahoma and Mississippi, who heard MJ spoken for the first time in their lives. Their reaction consisted of misinterpretations, confusion, and expressions of utter disbelief in the possibility of such a radically "broken" form of their language, leading some of them to suggest that I was the victim of a carefully staged hoax. Yet these individuals lived outside the area where MJ had survived until recently and simply were too young to have ever learned of it or heard it before. Similarly, MJ speakers might have dis-

played negative attitudes towards their contact medium in the past at one time or another, and these would most likely have been the result of its association with Indian slavery, as one of the names for the pidgin, yoka anompa 'slave language', would suggest.

However, I have not been able to find any such indications in historical or ethnographic documents relating to MJ; nor could I observe any such negative disposition towards MJ among any of its last speakers or their communities. The best clue in support of these findings comes from the Chickasaw and Choctaw themselves, whose language we think to have been the major linguistic base for MJ. When encountering speakers of other languages, native Choctaw and Chickasaw made use of MJ just like the other groups of the region; they did not respond in their own language, as we might have expected them to do if they had had nothing but contempt for the pidgin based on their language. That Louisiana Choctaw also used MJ in its recent history is evident from the fact that almost all of the last and most competent speakers had grown up with Choctaw as one of their mother tongues. Moreover, they called MJ anompa ȩla, meaning 'other/different/strange language', among its various names. The consultants thus did not only express awareness of the differences between their native languages and MJ, but apparently recognized it also as an acceptable and legitimate medium for communication with outsiders.

The use of MJ then did not convey any obvious negative connotations. In the minds of its last speakers, the pidgin was a neutral, impartial medium, being nobody's language. Joke songs, performed on such occasions as intertribal games and dances, when chanted in MJ lost some of their sarcasm; they resulted in much laughter, and everybody apparently thought them to be harmless and comical.

Beyond such an attitude of indifference, the non-Indian speakers, who had been led to believe that they spoke "the Indian language," expressed pride for once having learned MJ. Similarly, several older Indians remembered the pidgin quite fondly as a most practical medium, and described it as a "handy language." Claude Medford (pers. comm.) has suggested, on the basis of his extensive experience as a traditional basket maker among Louisiana Indians, that speaking MJ required a positive disposition and was prestigious, that it was even the privilege of an elite in past Southeastern Indian societies. Medford has supported his proposition with his interpretation of yet another name for MJ, namely, yamma. Meaning 'yes,

indeed, right', this term presumably reflected the positive attitudes that members of the MJ-speaking elite were expected to display in their dealings with outsiders and strangers. There is indeed some historical evidence to support Medford's suggestion: Many of the eminent political and religious leaders among Southeastern Indians were competent in MJ, and also made use of it. Likewise, most of the last Indian speakers of the contact language had distinguished themselves socially as tribal leaders, religious and medicine people, and so forth.

These neutral, and possibly positive, attitudes and values that speakers of MJ and their communities exhibited towards this medium render it rather unique among the globe's many pidgins, most of which have been considered "adulterated" versions of their lexifier languages and have hardly ever enjoyed any prestige. The absence of negative dispositions towards MH by its speakers and their communities clearly relates to its longevity. Yet there remains the question of why they valued this seemingly useless medium sufficiently to maintain it until recently.

5. METACOMMUNICATIVE FUNCTIONS OF MOBILIAN JARGON

The remarkable longevity of MJ as well as the unusual attitudes and values associated with it point to—and help to explain—yet other noteworthy aspects of this contact language, namely, functions beyond purely communicative uses.

Some of these so-called metacommunicative functions were hardly special to MJ, but have characterized other pidgins. Reflecting influences from many diverse languages and being more or less a linguistic compromise in terms of its structure, MJ made a socially suitable intertribal, interethnic, and even international lingua franca. The use of MJ as nobody's language and as a relatively impartial medium helped to avoid any obvious linguistic and social preference of one group over another in bilingual and multilingual situations, and explains—at least in part—the neutral disposition of its speakers. MJ thus served as an equalizing element in sociolinguistically complex environments, and could even have balanced some of the many social inequalities that existed among the Indians of greater Louisiana and environs, as likewise existed among the Europeans, and the Africans. It is perhaps for this reason that joke songs in MH

were not as offensive as they could have been in another language, while, too, possibly serving as a linguistic game or for some other expressive functions.

In apparent contradiction to its usefulness as an interlingual contact medium, MH also seemed to function as a latent, but convenient, linguistic and social buffer, or even barrier. Its advantages were probably exploited exclusively by Indians in their dealings with non-Indians, because using MH not only enabled speakers of two or more mutually unintelligible languages to find some common linguistic ground for communication; but, by focusing on a third medium, especially a so-called "nobody's language," its speakers also limited their exposure to each other's native languages. Without access to learning these, MJ speakers of different cultural traditions could hardly learn much about each other's lifestyles, unless one party already had somehow acquired the language of another, as most Indians speaking MJ had apparently done in mastering at least one European tongue. By insisting on the use of MJ in contact situations and by leading non-Indian outsiders to believe that they spoke <u>the</u> Indian language of the area, the native population could keep strangers at a certain social distance, and could keep undesirable external influences in their lives to a minimum. With the continued use of MJ, Louisiana Indians in particular could also maintain much secrecy about themselves, their privacy, and their cultural integrity without losing their identity as Indians in the eyes of the outside world. There exists recent ethnographic as well as some ethnohistorical evidence for this proposition.

When continuing Crawford's study on MJ in the field, I encountered little difficulty in learning (about) this pidgin, and found all of its last speakers (with the exception of perhaps one or two believed to have once been competent in MJ) freely willing to cooperate in my research efforts. Actually, these individuals took pleasure in remembering about the pidgin, instructing me in it, or informing me about it to the extent still possible, and thus confirmed my observations about their dispositions towards MJ. With all our inquisitiveness regarding MJ, Crawford and I did not by any indication invade the personal or private spheres of our Indian consultants. Not only had MJ once been the appropriate language between Louisiana Indians and outsiders such as us, but it was also the proper, even advantageous, medium in my effort to learn more about it. Yet at

the same time, when I inquired about these individuals' native languages, they usually exhibited reluctance in answering my questions (cf. Drechsel 1979:22-30).

It was not surprising for me to find that many of their Black and White neighbors, among them also MJ speakers, lacked any understanding of the structural-functional relationship of MJ to the ethnic Indian languages or even an awareness of their existence, while these same people might claim to know everything there was for them to learn about the Indians. Upon learning about the true sociolinguistic situation surrounding MJ, some of these Black and White neighbors—like the middle-aged Chickasaw and Choctaw in Oklahoma and Mississippi—rejected such facts as a product of my imagination.

My experience was not peculiar to the time or the situation of the field research. Early in the century, a missionary family by the last name of Chambers made a similar surprising observation among the Alabama and Coushatta Indians of eastern Texas:

> The true tribal language is spoken only in the privacy of the Indians' homes. Where white people can hear them speak, they use a "trade" dialect, a common language used by a number of tribes for purposes of trade and communication [i.e., MJ—EJD]. The Reverend and Mrs. Chambers did not know there were two dialects used until their daughter Dorothy was six years old. She had learned to speak the language of the Indians [i.e., Alabama or closely related Koasati—EJD], and one day in Livingston, the Chambers family met a man who had been closely associated with the Alabama and Coushatta for several years and was said to speak their language. The man and Dorothy tried to talk to each other in the Indians' native tongue, but they could not understand each other. Dorothy's parents were disappointed, for they had been under the impression that she could speak the Indians' language. But they soon discovered that their daughter, who had been received into the Indians' homes, could speak their real language, whereas the man with whom she had tried to converse knew only their "trade" dialect. Dorothy (now Mrs. Dorothy Shill of Livingston) always held first place in the hearts of the Indians. (Rothe 1968:96)

Obviously, a child was no threat to the Alabama and Coushatta, who, as a result, did not feel any need to withhold their native language(s) from her.

Similarly, Martin Duralde, Commander of the Atakapa Post near present-day Opelousas (Louisiana), reported earlier in 1802 as one of his reasons for not collecting vocabularies from the Opelousa or Conchati (probably the Coushatta) the fact that both groups spoke only MJ to Whites:

> ces nations ne se communiquant avec les blancs qu'au moyen de la langue mobilienne commune, personne ne prend intérêt à en connaître l'originaire (Duralde 1802:2).

It appears then that the Indians of the lower Mississippi region rarely afforded an opportunity to their non-Indian neighbors to learn any of their ethnic languages; the only exceptions were sympathetic and harmless individuals such as Dorothy Chambers. The rationale that some of the last Indian speakers of MJ gave for their reticence about their native languages was that these were too difficult for Blacks and Whites to acquire. We can, however, explain this attitude of linguistic reserve in terms of the recent history of Indians in Louisiana and adjacent areas.

After the first European intrusions, but especially with the increasing encroachments of American settlers onto Indian lands since the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, and with the imminence of removal to the Indian Territory (now Oklahoma), most Louisiana Indian communities experienced a growing threat to their independence and identity. Maintaining their own communities was important to them not only because of the expanding American settlements, but also as a result of the official American policy of lumping all non-White people irrespective of their ethnic origins together with the growing Black population into one and the same category, namely that of "colored people." Louisiana as well as Texas Indians could survive on their own only by withdrawing into environments that were relatively inaccessible or of limited interest to the American settlers, such as dense forests, the bayou country, or swamp lands (Drechsel and Makuakāne-Drechsel 1982).

The Indians' geographic and social withdrawal thus appears to be reflected in their linguistic behavior, in particular in their insistence on MJ as the proper medium with the outside world in place of one of their own languages or a European tongue. In speaking MJ, these Indian communities could maintain contact with their non-Indian neighbors without giving up their identity as Indians in the outsiders' eyes. At the same time, the contact medium served as a linguistic buffer that provided some pro-

tection against excessive external intrusions into their private lives, helping them to retain their independence as well as their linguistic and cultural integrity to the extent possible in increasingly encroaching surroundings. It is not surprising therefore to find that those Louisiana Indian communities using MJ in their communications with the outside world until recently have remained among the linguistically and culturally most conservative Indian groups in the southeastern United States. The use of MJ as a linguistic guard likewise offers part of the explanation of why this pidgin never creolized (Drechsel 1979:192-3).

The buffer function of MJ may not have been exclusive to the recent past or to the colonial period in the history of the Indians of the lower Mississippi region. If we can demonstrate MJ to have existed before the Europeans' arrival, we ought to consider the possibility that it served as a linguistic barrier among various Indian groups of diverse linguistic backgrounds during prehistoric times as well.

Students of Southeastern Indian languages have repeatedly expressed surprise at the meager number of common loanwords and areal features, considering the great linguistic diversity of the aboriginal Southeast, and in view of the undisputed evidence for extensive prehistoric culture contact across eastern North America and the river valleys of the Middle West. Indeed, we have found remarkably few shared features due to linguistic diffusion and only a limited number of lexical borrowings so far (Ballard 1983; Rankin 1978, 1979; Sherzer 1976:202-18; cf. Drechsel 1979:168-75). Could MJ in one variety or another have been the "national" language of the multilingual, complex chiefdom or even statelike society of the late prehistoric and protohistoric periods that we know as the Mississippian Complex (Drechsel 1984)? And did this American Indian Pidgin also permit the linguistically diverse member groups to maintain their own linguistic identities while still providing sufficient communicative means to make their statelike society operate as long as it did?

The latter question is even more speculative than the first, and must remain unanswered here with the limited comparative data currently available for the Indian languages of southeastern North America. However, the absence of many shared linguistic features provides additional, if weak, evidence in support of the hypothesis of MJ's buffer function, and suggests a considerable time depth for it.

6. A CROSS-LINGUAL AND CROSS-CULTURAL NOTE

Apparently, MJ was not the only pidgin to exhibit such metacommunicative functions.

Algonquian and Iroquoian Indians in northeastern North America used an American Indian Pidgin, namely Delaware Jargon, for communication with each other as well as with Europeans in early colonial times. Yet, like the Louisiana and Texas Indians using MJ as a linguistic guard, the Delaware also used "their" pidgin to conceal their own native language from outsiders, Indians and Europeans alike, and thus kept undesirable intruders at a distance (Thomason 1980:182-6).

On the Northwest Coast, Chinook Jargon, another American Indian Pidgin, was not restricted to instrumental use in contact situations either; even if the original functions of this medium were communicative, it survived widespread bilingualism and multilingualism as well as the presence of a new lingua franca, namely, English. This pidgin also served expressive functions, as was evident with a father and son who shared English, Wasco Chinook, and probably Sahaptin (the latter two being two languages of native northwestern North America), but continued using Chinook Jargon on all kinds of occasions (Hymes 1980:416).

These two examples, in addition to that of MJ, clearly indicate a need for comparative research on the question of metacommunicative functions in contact languages which, however, should not remain limited to American Indian cases.

7. CONCLUSIONS

MJ functioned as a widespread intertribal, interethnic, and international contact language in the lower Mississippi region, and served true communicative purposes in multilingual environments well into the 20th century. Concurrently, MJ also fulfilled needs beyond obviously practical or purely communicative ones. I am proposing here that, in addition to its expressive functions and its uses as an equalizing element in sociolinguistically complex situations, MJ served as a latent linguistic and social buffer for American Indian communities of Louisiana and adjacent areas. In speaking MJ, these Indians could maintain contact with the outside world without jeopardizing their traditions, as MJ kept outsiders, especially encroaching settlers, at

a linguistic and social distance. MJ thus appeared to have protective and conservative functions for its Indian speakers, permitting them to maintain their independence, their linguistic and cultural integrity, as well as their identity.

These metacommunicative functions clearly set limits for interlingual communications, but did not render them impossible. In actuality, the function of MJ as a contact medium and as a linguistic barrier were quite compatible, and suggest an explanation for the speakers' neutral, if not positive, attitudes towards this contact language and its longevity. Had MJ served for purely communicative functions, its use would probably not have been as geographically widespread or as functionally pervasive, nor would it have survived for as long into the mid-20th century.

In limiting interlingual communications, MJ ultimately had the effect of restricting language contact. This conclusion may appear to be ironic, but does not reduce the importance of studying either contact languages or language contact; our findings rather point to the necessity for a broadly defined sociolinguistic approach in the research on pidgins, Creoles, and related linguistic phenomena, as John Reinecke always encouraged it.

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NARRATIVE STRUCTURE IN CHINOOK JARGON

Dell Hymes and Henry Zenk

1. INTRODUCTION

The origin and character of Chinook Jargon continue to be problematic. Opinion in the last decade has been much influenced by Silverstein's construction of a model which postulates that users of the Jargon had in common only a vocabulary, and that each occasion of use involved ad hoc simplification of phonology and grammar in terms of general principles of markedness (Silverstein 1972; cf. Bickerton 1981:38 regarding Hawaiian Pidgin English). Such a view of the use of the Jargon would seem to favor a view of its origin as subsequent to European contact.

Recently, inferences and evidence as to a different view have been put forward. D. Hymes (1980a) has sketched a reconstruction of the communicative situation in the Pacific Northwest before white contact, attending particularly to circumstances which favored an auxiliary mode of intertribal communication. He contrasts the Plateau region, east of the Cascades, where some form of sign language appears to have been in use, with the coastal region, west of the Cascades, where the Chinook Jargon originated, and argues that sign language and the Jargon were each responses to similar needs. He argues further that a jargon grew up in the one region, and not the other, because of the practice in its region of domestic slavery. The presence in a household of slaves of different first languages would favor the development of a reduced form of the owner's language. Such a reconstruction of the aboriginal communicative situation makes a precontact origin of the Jargon far more likely.

Thomason (1981) has examined Chinook Jargon materials from Indians of a variety of languages (Twana, Upper Chehalis, Tsimshian, Nootka, Upper Coquille Athapaskan, Snoqualmie, Saanich, and Santiam Kalapuya) and has concluded from a comparison with structural features of their native languages that the Jargon possessed a grammatical norm of its own in both phonology and syntax. Such a finding, particularly in regard to phonological features that are quite consistent among Indian speakers and quite rare in English and French, indicates that the Jargon must have been learned by Indians from other Indians. This, in turn, also increases the likelihood of a precontact origin.

Both studies reinforce the view of Jacobs (1936:vii):

> It is revealing that Mrs. Howard [his Clackamas source] makes specific mention of having heard and learned some myths and narratives in Jargon rather than in the Molale and Clackamas languages of her family. Other information we have of the Indian life of the western Oregon-Washington region, especially as it was lived since about 1850, suggests that no small portion of native culture and knowledge was handed on of late years through the medium of Chinook Jargon.

This view has been given striking confirmation by the recent work of Zenk (1982). Zenk has recorded a number of texts in Jargon from persons of Indian descent in the western Oregon area, persons who know no Indian language as such. What is particularly striking in the texts is that they display the kind of "verse" patterning found in the Indian languages.

In these languages, narratives have been found to be organized in terms of lines and groups of lines or "verses." The specific features associated with the marking of the lines and groups of lines may vary. In the Wishram Chinook texts of Louis Simpson (D. Hymes 1981, chaps. 6, 9, 10; 1982c), single initial particles are sometimes markers, but recognition of the units depends upon recognition of a variety of features, such as initial words indicating time, changes in scene and actors, placement of quoted speech, and various forms of parallelism and repetition. In Sahaptin texts (V. Hymes 1981, 1982), a variety of features, including tense-aspect, intonation, and certain particles, are relevant. The fundamental feature of design is that verses occur in sets of three, and sometimes five, in keeping with the use of five as the pattern number in the culture. Moreover, there is a certain semantic "logic" to the sets. In a sequence of three,

the first unit is an onset, the second ongoing, the third outcome. In a sequence of five, the third member is pivotal, serving as outcome of an initial series of three, and onset of a second.

All the languages whose cultures use five as a pattern number in the Columbia River region have such three-part and five-part patterning in narrative. Such patterning is found in all the Chinookan groups (see examples in D. Hymes 1981a, 1981b, in prep.), in Sahaptin (V. Hymes 1981, 1982) and Nez Perce (D. Hymes in prep.), in Kalapuya (an example is given in D. Hymes 1981c), and in the Salishan languages of the area (Kinkade 1982).

Such patterning is not restricted to this region. Where the pattern number of a culture is four, the corresponding units of narrative texts are organized in sets of two and four. This patterning has been found in texts of several quite separate languages: Tonkawa (D. Hymes 1981b), Zuni (D. Hymes 1981b, 1982b), Takelma (D. Hymes ms.), Bella Coola (D. Hymes 1983), and others. The principles of patterning and repetition involved appear not to be limited to American Indian languages, but to be present in English narratives from Ireland, Appalachia, Philadelphia, and elsewhere (cf. V. Hymes 1982; D. Hymes 1982b, 1982d). The full extent of the occurrence of such patterning is not yet known.

The presence in Zenk's texts of the kind of patterning specific to the Columbia River region is striking because it can in no way be taken to be the result of convergence toward an unmarked core shared with English. Indeed, since Zenk's consultants know no Indian language, their knowledge of the narrative patterning must be through their knowledge of Chinook Jargon. In this respect, the Jargon texts demonstrate in themselves the transmission in Jargon of a fundamental aspect of traditional cultural life.

Zenk's texts stimulated Hymes to examine the Chinook Jargon texts published by Jacobs (1936). These texts were recorded from speakers of a variety of Indian languages. In each case the type of narrative patterning in question was found to be present, and in each case the form of patterning fitted the form associated with the Indian language of the speaker: sets of three and five for speakers of Clackamas, Kalapuya, and Coquille Athapaskan, sets of two and four for speakers of Sanich Coast Salish and Snoqualmie Coast Salish.

The presence of the patterning in Jacobs' texts is not quite conclusive as to the role of Jargon, to be sure, since there is reason to think that the patterning was so basic to narrative

that a speaker might make use of it quite ad hoc. Thus, the only Clackamas Chinook text we have (apart from Jacobs' work in 1929 and 1930 with Victoria Howard), a very short text recorded in 1890 by Boas, is quite a mixed bag when it comes to pronunciation, lexicon, and grammar, but clear-cut in following the three-part and five-part narrative norm. Again, when Sapir sought a text in Chasta Costa Athapaskan from Wolverton Orton, the man with whom he stayed while he worked on Takelma, Mr. Orton professed to know none, but undertook to turn an English joke from a magazine lying about into Chasta Costa. The result is a story organized around turns of direct speech, in two sequences of three, the first establishing a bet between two men about a dog, the second dramatizing the outcome.

In principle, then, the patterning in Jacobs' Jargon texts might be spontaneous transfer of patterning from a speaker's Indian language. That would still be distinctive discourse patterning, of course, not convergence. The pervasiveness of such patterning in the Jacobs texts makes it seem likely that it was part of the transmission and use of the Jargon itself, in keeping with Jacobs' general inference. The presence of such patterning in the texts obtained by Zenk from persons who know no Indian language would seem to be very strong evidence indeed that, at least in some communities, the Jargon functioned as Jacobs suggests, that is, as a medium for the expression and transmission of cultural tradition. Our conception of the Jargon must allow for the presence in it of discourse relations serving cultural logics and aesthetic satisfactions (cf. D. Hymes 1982b, 1982d).

2. BACKGROUND TO ZENK'S TEXT

The following Chinook Jargon text was tape recorded by Zenk from the late Mrs. Clara Riggs, age 90 at the time of the recording, on July 14, 1981, at her home in Grand Ronde, Oregon. Mrs. Riggs and Mrs. Eula Hudson Petite, Zenk's principal Chinook Jargon collaborator, both assisted Zenk in the translation.[1] The verse analysis of the text is primarily by Hymes.

Mrs. Riggs, who was of predominately Takelman, Kalapuyan, and French Canadian heritage, was born at Grand Ronde, the site of the (once terminated) reservation at which most of the surviving Native population of interior western Oregon was consolidated during the mid-1850s. Owing pri-

marily to the earlier drastic reduction of this population, as a result of epidemic diseases and, in some cases, warfare against the invading Whites, the total population of the Grand Ronde Indian Community proper never exceeded 1000. (This figure excludes some coastal Indians formerly also under the control of Grand Ronde Agency and also a large contingent of southern Oregon Natives transferred from Grand Ronde to the nearby Siletz Agency in 1857.) The little reservation community was, at the same time, closely knit and remarkable for its linguistic diversity. Nine distinct languages counted substantial populations of speakers on the reservation: Clackamas Upper Chinookan, Tualatin or Northern Kalapuyan, Santiam or Central Kalapuyan, Yonkalla or Southern Kalapuyan, Molala, Umpqua Athapaskan, Takelma, Shasta Shastan, and Canadian French, the native language of a number of families descended from French-speaking Hudson Bay Company employees who had married local Indians. Of these, only the three Kalapuyan languages were even partially mutually intelligible. Also represented were several indigenous languages counting some few speakers each.

The ethnographic and historical documentation assembled by Zenk (1984) adds a tenth principal original community language to the foregoing list of nine: Chinook Jargon (or "Jargon," as it is usually referred to by recent Grand Ronde speakers). This was the only original community language that belonged to the entire Grand Ronde community, rather than exclusively or in the first place to one or another of its many minority segments. During the early reservation period, it was the community's lingua franca, resorted to by community members in their dealings with Whites (Agency personnel and local settlers), but even more importantly, with each other. Eventually, a new lingua franca, English, would assume all functions of daily general communication in this community, but only after a surprisingly long transitional period, during which both languages were in use. As late as the first decade of the twentieth century, both Jargon and English were in daily use in this community (while the old tribal languages were by then falling increasingly into disuse). Most younger reservation Natives knew both languages, and Jargon was the dominant language of many elderly community members. Furthermore, there is good evidence (Zenk 1984:192-227, 265-87) that Jargon was a language of daily primary use in many late-nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century Grand Ronde Reservation households, and that many Grand Ronde children consequently grew up

speaking it. At the same time, it is evident that practically no one grew fully to maturity in this community speaking only Jargon.

It is of further note that Grand Ronde was not the only early historical community of the area in which Jargon assumed such a degree of importance. For some 30 or more years before the formation of the reservation, Jargon had already been a language of daily general use in a number of ethnically mixed communities of northwestern Oregon. These communities, originally established by trading company employees (mostly French Canadian) and their local Indian wives, have received some previous attention (see Reinecke 1938: 112), thanks to Hale's (1890:19-20) observations concerning one of them—the sociolinguistically complex community that existed at Fort Vancouver, the Hudson Bay Company's regional base of operations near the confluence of the Willamette and Columbia Rivers.

Other sources (some reviewed by Zenk 1984:34-8) document that both Jargon and Canadian French were in use in the related ethnically mixed communities of the lower Willamette Valley, where many former Hudson Bay Company employees took their families after leaving the company. A number of these families later found their way to Grand Ronde Reservation. Especially to the point here, two of Mrs. Riggs' direct ancestors, her French-Paiute mother's father, and her Iroquois-Kalapuyan mother's mother's father, were among their number. Both of these men were descended from former Hudson Bay Company employees who had married local Indian women; both came to Grand Ronde directly from the early ethnically mixed settlements of the lower Willamette Valley; and both are known to have spoken Jargon. Furthermore, we know that Jargon was in primary daily use in the households established at Grand Ronde by some of the immediate offspring of these men.

Mrs. Riggs herself, with a number of the other surviving Grand Ronde speakers, claims Jargon as her "first language" (cf. Hymes and Hymes 1972). She has never had any degree of competence, passive or active, in any indigenous language other than Jargon; neither have most of the other 15 speakers and former speakers interviewed by Zenk (1980-1984), or, earlier, by Hajda (1976-1980). Also in common with some other recent speakers, she habitually refers to Jargon as "the Indian language." This deserves special note, as one expression of the strong symbolic association linking Jargon with Native ethnic identity in this community. This association also seems evident in the distinctly emphatic character of Mrs. Riggs' following

statement, offered in response to the question: "Who did you learn to talk Jargon from?" (slashes indicating speech pauses in the tape-recorded original).

> My mother / I never spoke a word of English / till I went to the Catholic school here [the old government boarding school at Grand Ronde, partially staffed by Catholic nuns] / I was six when they put me there and I couldn't speak a word of English / and I learned it from the Catholic school English / I never spoke a word of English / and English is the hardest language to learn / I had an awful awful awful time / I never spoke a word of English / my mother spoke Jargon all the time / I was six when she put me here I was seven when she died / I was there a year / before she died / at the sisters' school

The emphatic character of this statement becomes apparent from other information, some of it offered in a straightforward manner by Mrs. Riggs herself. Not only was the use of English quite pervasive on the reservation during the period of Mrs. Riggs' early childhood, but Mrs. Riggs herself has elsewhere commented that at least one significant person in her earlier life, her stepfather,[2] did not speak Jargon with her, only English. It must also be noted here that Mrs. Riggs spent much of her young adulthood away from Grand Ronde, during which period she used only English. Her present Jargon competency evidently depends, in important part, on her more recent 20-year (or so) residence at Grand Ronde with her mother-in-law (deceased now about 40 years), with whom she had used Jargon on a daily basis. The mother-in-law's dominant and preferred language was Jargon, the only other language that anyone today can remember her ever speaking being "broken English."

Mrs. Riggs' best narratives, in English as well as in Jargon, all draw upon her own personal experience. Her acquaintance with local traditional mythological and legendary lore is very slight, she herself noting that she never paid much attention to such traditional stories as she did hear. The only folktale she was able to recall on request (one of her mother-in-law's, originally heard by Mrs. Riggs in Jargon) is apparently of Canadian French provenience, but her Jargon renderings of it fall far below the vividness and drama of her anecdotal narratives.

Shortly after he originally transcribed this particular narrative, Zenk reviewed the transcript with Mrs. Riggs. His concern at the time was to reconstruct a clearer and more

consistent Jargon text, reflecting what he assumed would have been Mrs. Riggs' Jargon competence at an earlier time. (She had used the language hardly at all for the past 40 years or so.) Mrs. Riggs thereupon added some lines, recast others into clearer or less English-affected Jargon, and retold some more-or-less garbled segments of the original text. Zenk was not motivated at the time by any intention of investigating Mrs. Riggs' sense of narrative patterning. Indeed, he was as yet barely acquainted with the literature on this topic. Before Hymes examined an earlier draft of the same text presented here, he had no inkling whatsoever that his Chinook Jargon material, gathered at such a recent date, might exhibit stylistic traits of such "traditional" character.

For this presentation, we have dispensed with all of Zenk's labors to "clean up" the English from the text: English words are underlined and given in normal English spelling; the perceptions as to which are English words, which are "real Jargon" words of obvious English origin, are Mrs. Petite's and Mrs. Riggs', not Zenk's. We have kept most of Mrs. Riggs' additions and rephrasing (bracketed and keyed by line number in the notes to the corresponding portions of the text). Except for some obvious false starts and unfinished sentences, simply omitted, the original form of the text is completely recoverable. It is worth noting that the additions and rephrasings often show a very clear sense of narrative-unit segmentation and sequencing (one striking example: the addition of line 13, which serves to neatly iterate a distinctive type of three-step pattern).

Since dictating this text, Mrs. Riggs has supplied additional samples of Chinook Jargon narrative, some of which are characterized by greater ease and fluidity of Jargon delivery at first telling.

The orthography is conditioned by the standard typewriter keyboard, especially with regard to vowels: I as in 'bit', U as in 'put', E as in 'bet', A as in 'but', O as in 'caught'. ╘ is the voiceless lateral affricate, M a voiceless labial nasal, and n a syllabic dental nasal. When the causative verb muŋk 'make, do', is preceded by one of the short clitic forms (na, corresponding to náiga '1 p. s.', ma for máiga '2 p. s.', ya for yága or yáxka '3 p. s.', and so on), stress usually falls on the clitic. The result is transcribed as one word, as in námunk 'I make, do'.

3. TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND NOTES

3.1 TEXT

When I went down the creek to that old lady's

[I] [First visit]

		Text	Line
[i]		Well, kwá:nsəm náigA papá ya wáwA,	1
		“wekqA⟋nči máigA q‘O’ k^{h}abá.	2
		“háyáš t’amánəwAs.	3
		“wekqA⟋nči.”	4
	Well,	náigA tə́mdəm,	5
		náigA áłqi łáwdo nánIč	6
		náigA self!	7
	Well,	áłqi náigA take off uk náigA k^{h}anuI⟋ktA,	8
		náigA šuš náigA hang,	9
		náigA qwáł kO⟋bA creek.	10
[ii]	[A]	áldA na kíkwAli čə́q^{w} náigA łáwdo,	11
		áldA náigA čə́q^{w} łáwdo.	12
		[áldA nai q’O’ k^{h}Obá.]	13
	[B]	námuŋk k^{h}ágo that quilt k^{h}ábUk door.	14
		wek yágA ná:nč q^{h}ádA.	15
		áldA yágA č^{h}ágo ya lImá—	16
		‘č^{h}ágo!”	17
		náigA łáwdo.	18
	[C]	áldA náigA mI⟋łət, k^{h}ágwa.	19
		And yáx̣kA muŋk lIplá sáblɛ.	20
		áldA yámuŋk lIplá.	21
		náigA túmdəm,	22
		“áłqi náigA mA⟋kmAk úguk.	23
		“áłqi kanuqádA náigA labúš č^{h}ágo!”	24
	[D]	Well, yámuŋk łúkłukłúk.	25
		ya wáwA,	26
		“yak^{h}wá máigA mA⟋kmAk úguk.”	27
		[o:: drɛt kA⟋ldAs wek I⟋ktA náigA təm!”]	28
		[áldA na I⟋skAm uk sáblɛ,	29
		námuŋk mI⟋łət k^{h}ábA náigA labúš.	30

áldA náigA mA⁄kmAk.	31
áldA náigA muŋk mI⁄ɬət náigA lImá k^hábA náigA labúš.]	32
wekqádA náigA labúš.	33
[E] [áldA náigA mI⁄ɬət k^hágo yáx̣kA.]	34
áldA náigA mákmak.	35
náigA mak muŋk áɬqi hílu.	36
wekqA⁄nči I⁄ktA q^hádA.	37
na mámuk tə́mdəm,	38
“o:, kA⁄ldAs ɬáskA ╘’əmínxwət.”	39
[iii] áldA náigA k’E⁄lApA.	40
náigA wáwA,	41
“áɬqi náigA $č^h$águ k’E⁄lApA.”	42
[ya paɬš náigA k’up beans.]	43
“o:,”	44
nai tə́mdəm,	45
“wekqA⁄nči áɬqi na lúlu k’E⁄lApA.”	46
áldA námuŋk tə́mdəm,	47
“áɬqi námuŋk xwá:p yakwá”—	48
na tə́mdəm,	49
“hwáp.”	50
áɬqi na t’Ik,	51
t’Ik,	52
t’Ik.	53
[uk beans ɬáskA ╘’ú:x╘’ux k^hábA čə́q^w.]	54
áɬqi nai, nai k’E⁄lApA.	55
wikI⁄ktA náigA wáwA.	56
[II] [Second visit]	
[A] Then áɬqi again náigA ɬáwdo down čə́q^w.	57
[áldA nai q‘O’ k^hObá.]	58
She,	59
“$č^h$ágo,	60
“Siddown.”	61
áldA nai mA⁄kmAk bread,	62
mA⁄kmAk bread,	63
náigA mAk.	64
[B] And then she told me,	65

“‘sáxli táyí’, 66
“sáigA, sáigA ‘sáxli táyí’.” 67
“kwánsAm náigA nánIč ‘sáxli táyí’,” 68
náigA wáwA, 69
“‘sáxli táyí’.” 70
“o: wek, 71
“wek:^{h}ágo nai wáwA.” 72
“náigA, náigA nánIč ‘sáxli táyí’, 73
“sáigA łáwdo Sunday, 74
“sai łáwdo nanč ‘sáxli táyí’,” 75
nai wáwA. 76
“o:we:k:A⟋ltəs máigA p^{h}έltən wáwA ‘sáxli táyí’, 77
“wekqA⟋nči ma nánIč ‘sáxli táyí’,” 78
She said. 79
“áłqi nəsáigA lúlu máigA.” 80

[C] But áldA na k’was. 81
[pus kA⟋ldAs náigA ╘’əmínxwət k^{h}ábA yáx̣kA.] 82
“ahá.” 83
“náigA č^{h}ágo I⟋skAm máigA, 84
“náigA lúlu, 85
“áłqi nai k’E⟋lApA.” 86
And she gave me rice. 87
áłqi námuŋk xwáp, 88
go ‘long, 89
t’Ik, 90
t’Ik, 91
t’Ik, 92
t’Ik, 93
t’Ik, uk rice. 94

[III] [Seeing the ‘high chief’]

[i] [A] Then one morning náigA pApá wáwA, 95
“wekqA⟋nči máigA ╘’əmínxwət kábA náigA.” 96
“No, wekqA⟋nči.” 97
“náigA wáwA, 98
‘wekqA⟋nči máigA łáwdo uk Indian doctor’.” 99
[Interruption]

[B] Then náigA k’E⟋lApA. 100
náigA p^{h}Apá yagA wáwA, 101

“My n ow, qʰa ma I⸍skAm uk rice.” 102
náigA wáwA, 103
“Indian doctor.” 104
“[kʰObá] nai mA⸍kmAk k’wə́šən sáblE 105
“wekqA⸍nči I’ktA kʰágo.” 106

[C] Now náigA, náigA wáwA, 107
“yágA wáwA, 108
‘mə sáxli táyí tsai God’. 109
“náigA wáwA, 110
‘wek’. 111
“náigA wáwA, 112
‘Sunday tsáigA I⸍skAm, 113
‘sáigA lúlu, 114
‘sáigA show sáigA táyí’.” 115
‘o.” 116
“well, nai wek tI⸍gi ˪’əmínxwət kʰábA yáx̣kA.” 117

[ii] [A] [áldA básdən man yámuŋk ɬáwdo kyúdn̩. 118
kʰOba’ ya mI⸍txwət. 119
náigA wáwA, 120
“áldA náigA muŋk sáxli máigA.” 121
nai muŋk sáxli yáx̣kA kʰObá.] 122
And n̩sáigA ɬáwdo kʰO⸍pA church 123

[B] [áldA n̩sái q‘o’. 124
áldA námuŋk kíkwAli yáx̣kA, 125
na I’skAm yágA lImá, 126
náigA lúlu yáx̣kA. 127
tI⸍lIxAm paɬ, 128
ɬáskA ná:nIč, 129
ná:nIč, 130
ná:nIč.] 131
n̩sái now lúlu yáx̣kA kA⸍buk way front. 132

[C] ‘mI⸍ɬət yAkwá,” 133
nai wáwA, 134
“sáigA táyí úguk.” 135
wáwA wáwA 136
ya, 137
“m̩::::, 138

"ṃ::::." 139
"ṃ::::." 140
náigA mI ⸝ txwət, 141
náigA mI ⸝ łət, 142
náigA mI ⸝ txwət, 143
náigA mI'łət, 144
yáx̣kA just mI ⸝ łət. 145

[iii] [A] sai č^{h}águ k'E ⸝ lApA, 146
sáigA unload, 147
náigA lúlu yáx̣kA kábA yágA haus. 148
And yágA wáwA, 149
"drEt máigA p^{h}I ⸝ ltn t^{h}ənás! 150
"wek úguk sáxli táyí! 151
"wekqA ⸝ nči máigA nánIč sáxli táyí! 152
máigA! 153
"máigA p^{h}I ⸝ ltən!" 154
o::. 155

[B] Then náigA p^{h}apá wáwA, 156
"ma ná:nč uk road?" 157
"mMḿ." 158
"k^{h}ágo máigA łáwdo!, 159
"wékqA ⸝ nči máigA łáwdo down čə́q^{w}!, 160
"máigA łáwdo!" 161

[C] náigA łáwdo kwánsAm. 162

3.2 TRANSLATION

When I went down the creek to that old lady's

[I] [First visit]

[i] Well, my father always said, 1

"Never are you to go there. 2
"Great supernatural power. 3
"Never." 4
Well, I think, 5
I will go see 6

my self 7
Well, later I take off all my things, 8
my shoes I hang, 9
I hang them by the creek. 10

[ii] [A] Now I go down to the creek, 11
Now I go in the water, 12
Now I arrive there. 13

[B] I do like so [gesture of pulling aside] to the quilt
over that door; 14
Not does she see what happens; 15
now she beckons with her hand: 16
"Come". 17
I go (in). 18

[C] Now I sit, like so [turned away from her]. 19
And she makes fire-toasted bread. 20
Now she makes fire-toasted. 21
I think, 22
"If I should eat this, 23
"Then my mouth will turn every which
way [it will turn crooked]" 24

[D] Well, she breaks it into several pieces. 25
She says, 26
"Here you eat this." 27
Ohh indeed I could think of just nothing (to do). 28
Now I take that bread, 29
I put it into my mouth. 30
Now I eat. 31
Now I put my hand to my mouth: 32
(In) no way (is anything wrong with) my mouth. 33

[E] Now I sit the same as she [turned to be with her]. 34
Now I eat, 35
I eat until it's gone: 36
never (did a) thing happen. 37
I do some thinking: 38
"Oh, they just lied." 39
[iii] Now I return. 40
I say, 41
"I shall come back." 42
She gives me white beans. 43

"Oh", 44
I think, 45
"Never shall I carry (these) back." 46
Now I do some thinking: 47
"I shall make a hole here" [in the packet of beans]— 48
I think, 49
"A hole". 50
Later I (go along_) drip, 51
drip, 52
drip. 53
Those beans, they fall one after the other in the creek. 54
Later I, I return. 55
Not a thing did I say. 56

[II] [Second visit]

[A] Then later again I go down the creek. 57

Now I arrive there. 58
She, 59
"Come (in), 60
"Sit down." 61
Now I eat bread, 62
eat bread, 63
I eat. 64

[B] And then she told me, 65
"The 'high chief' (God), 66
"Our, our 'high chief' (God)." 67
"Always I'm seeing the 'high chief', 68
I say, 69
"the 'high chief'". 70
Oh no, 71
"not like that (do) I speak." 72
"I, I see the 'high chief', 73
"we go Sunday, 74
"we go see the 'high chief," 75
I say. 76
"Oh don't you just talk crazy (about) the 'high chief', 77
"Never do you see the 'high chief," 78
she says. 79
"Later we'll bring you (to see him)". 80
[C] But now I'm frightened 81

for I am just lying to her. 82
"OK" (she says). 83
"I'll come get you, 84
"I'll bring (you), 85
"Later I'll return (to get you)." 86
And she gave me rice. 87
Later I make a hole [in the packet], 88
go along, 89
drip, 90
drip, 91
drip, 92
drip, 93
drip that rice. 94

[III] [Seeing the 'high chief']

[i] [A] Then one morning my father says, 95
"Never are you to lie to me." 96
"No, never" [I say]. 97
"I said, 98
"Never are you to go to that Indian doctor'." 99
[Interruption]

[B] Then I return. 100
My father says, 101
"My now, where did you get that rice?" 102
I say, 103
"The Indian doctor. 104
"Over there I ate toasted bread. 105
"Never did a thing happen." 106

[C] Now I, I say, 107
"She said, 108
"Your 'high chief' is our God.' 109
"I said, 110
"No'. 111
"I said, 112
'Sunday we'll get (her? you?), 113
'We'll bring (her? you?), 114
'We'll show (her? you?) our 'chief'.'" 115
"Oh" (he says). 116
"Well" (I say), "I don't want to lie to her." 117

[ii] [A] Now the whiteman drives the horses. 118

Over there she stands. 119
I say, 120
"Now I'll help you up." 121
I help her up there. 122
And we go to church. 123

[B] Now we arrive. 124
Now I help her down, 125
I take her hand, 126
I bring her. 127
Full of people, 128
they're looking, 129
looking, 130
looking. 131
We now take her way front. 132

[C] "Sit here", 133
I say, 134
"Our 'chief is that one." 135
Talks and talks. 136
He (goes), 137
'mmmmm, 138
'mmmmm, 139
'mmmmm'. 140
I stand, 141
I sit (kneel), 142
I stand, 143
I sit (kneel), 144
She just sits. 145

[iii] [A] We come back, 146
we unload, 147
I bring her to her house. 148
And she says, 149
'Really you are a crazy child 150
'Not is that the 'high chief' 151
'Never do you see the 'high chief' 152
'You 153
'You are crazy' 154
Ohhh. 155

[B] Then my father says, 156
"You see that road?" 157
"Yes." 158

"That is the way you go, 159
"Never do you go down the creek, 160
"You go (that way)." 161

[C] I go (that way) always. 162

3.3 NOTES TO THE TEXT

This text, as mentioned, was one of the first obtained from Mrs. Riggs, and later texts show a more fluent narrative command of the Jargon. In the course of reviewing and translating the texts with Mrs. Riggs and Eula Hudson Petite, Zenk obtained some additions and substitutions, both in the direction of a more strictly Jargon text (see the note to lines 6–7), and in the direction of a clearer text, as to the intelligibility of some forms and of the narrative itself. These points are taken up in the following notes, together with some points as to certain forms and portions of the content.

3 The old woman living there was reputedly an "Indian doctor" (shaman).

6–7 Mrs. Petite suggested, as a more purely Jargon rendering of the sense, pus náigA nánIč nawI⸍tkA '(that) might I see for sure'.

14a The form muŋk (causative verb), corresponding to mámuk in other varieties of Jargon, is the form normally used by Grand Ronde speakers. The longer form is also used, but usually with specialization of meaning to one of the following senses: 'do, make'; 'work' (verb, noun); 'sexual intercourse'.

14b k^{h}ábUk: contraction of k^{h}ába uk.

28 Line partially unclear in the original, and restored by Mrs. Petite. Tum: for túmdum 'think, feel'.

32 In the original:

k^{h}ánu náigA muŋk k'[Ix],
naigA muŋk k'[Ix] náigA self.
k^{h}águ naígA ná:nIč IA⸍pəlA bread.
áldA náigA put náigA labúš,
[And now (unintel.)] na touch it.
wekq'adA náigA labúš.

The word k'Ix was restored by Mrs. Petite, Mrs. Riggs' memory having failed her on this point. (The word is unclear on the tape, and she could not remember what she had said.) Mrs. Petite translates: 'to get too full, then turn against'. The translation of the entire set of lines would be something like:

All [of that bread] I make over-stuffed [into my mouth],

I make over-stuffed my self.
In such manner (gesturing: anxiously) I look at that toasted bread.
Now I put (gesturing: my hand to) my mouth,
And now I touch it.
No-how (nothing wrong with) my mouth.

Notice that the original lines comprise two triplets of the Chinookan pattern, the third point in each being an object of perception. The stanza as a whole also has three initial particles (well, alda, and now), although the second and third are awkwardly placed in relation to the triplets of action. (This is taking into account the status of [28], [29–32] as additions to the original text, and so disregarding them in this respect.)

36a mak: for mákmak, mA⸍kmAk 'eat'.

36b Several words follow this line which are unintelligible in the original.

43 Retelling for badly garbled original.

54 Retelling for garbled original.

70 The story turns here on a misunderstanding. The old woman, who, Mrs. Riggs says, did not speak English, understands sáxli táyí ('high chief') in its generally accepted meaning of 'God'. Mrs. Riggs says that as a little girl she had always thought that it meant the Catholic priest.

82 Retelling for unintelligible original.

99 Mrs. Riggs was interrupted for a few minutes at this point. In Zenk's view she restarts the section begun at line 95 in line 100. In Hymes' view the content of lines 100 ff. is distinct from what precedes. There is no real change of scene, to judge by later longer versions of the story; but 95–99 seems a reprise of the interdiction being violated.

102 Mrs. Riggs' father went swimming every morning in the creek, and so found the dribbled rice that indicated his daughter's disobedience.

105a The first word is a restoration of an unintelligible original.

105b Mrs. Petite understands k'wE⸍šən (translated 'toasted' here) to refer to baking in coals or ashes, as opposed to toasting over an open fire (laplá or lapəlá (lines 20, 21)). The old woman of this narrative lived in a dirt-floored hut without stove, and cooked at an open fire.

117 The dictation of the foregoing scene was rather unclear at some points, making for some difficulty in sorting out actors and turns at speaking. Zenk arrived at the interpretation indicated in close consultation with Mrs. Riggs. We repeat that Zenk at the time was entirely uninfluenced by considerations of narrative patterning.

118 Mrs. Riggs' father was an Indian policeman at Grand Ronde. The whiteman in question was evidently an employee of the Indian Agency.

122 This portion of the narrative was not very well dictated, so Zenk requested a rephrasing. The original, corresponding to lines 118–131:

tsáigA had básdṇ [unintel.] help.
básdṇ help.
łáskA [unintel.], ṇsáigA łáwdo nánIč
see náigA, náigA sáxli táyí’.
náigA help yáx̣kA in the cart y’know.
nai push push push yáx̣kA,
And ṇsáigA łáwdo k^{h}O ⸝ pA church [continue to 132]

Further analyzed in translation:

We had a Whiteman … help	118*
Whiteman help.	119*
They …, we went to see,	120*
see my ‘high chief’.	121*
I help her in the cart, y’know.	122*
I push	123*
push	124*
push her (in).	125*
And we go to church.	126*
We now bring her to way in front.	132*

The original sequence has all of its distinctive lines corresponding to III ii (A). When joined with the one line of the original text now found in III ii (B) (132), the passage appears to have two sets of five lines each, and thus to exhibit the stanza patterning found in the revised text. The first two lines (118*, 119*) make a pair, linked by ‘Whiteman help’; the next two lines (120*, 121*) make a pair, linked by ‘see’; and the set of five lines seems to be completed by ‘I help her in the cart, y’know’ (122*). The threefold repetition of ‘push (123*, 124*, 125*) seems to initiate a new sequence, completed by ‘And …’ (126*) and line 132. This second stanza could be construed as containing three verses, the first consisting of the threefold petition of ‘push’, and the second and third marked by initial ‘and’, and second position ‘now’.

132 k^{h}ábuk: contracted form k^{h}ábA ‘uk (cf. line 14b).

133-135 Vibrating hum, apparently meant to suggest the priest’s chanting.

141-145 The old woman’s sitting may reflect her superior patience, as would befit an elder, or, more likely, her disdain for all the kneeling and standing of an old-fashioned Catholic service.

4. PROFILE

A profile of the relationships will help make clear the narrative structure, and provide useful context within which to indicate the features that enter into it.

Acts	Scenes	Stanzas	Verses	Lines
I	i		abc	1-4, 5-7, 8-10
	ii	A	abc	11, 12, 13
		B	a	14-18
		C	abcde	19, 20, 21, 22, 23
		D	abcde	25-7, 28, 29-30, 31, 32-3
		E	abc	34, 35-7, 38-9
	iii		abcde	40-3, 44-6, 47-50, 51-4, 55-6
II	i	A	abc	57, 58-61, 62-4
		B	ab	65-7, 68-70
			cd	71-2, 73-6
			ef	77-9, 80
		C	abcde	81-2, 83, 84-6, 87, 88-94
III	i	A	abc	95-6, 97, 98-9
		B	abc	100, 101-2, 103-6
		C	abc	107-15, 116, 117
	ii	A	a	118-23
		B	abc	124, 125-7, 128-32
		C	abc	133-5, 136-40, 141-5
	iii	A	abc	146-8, 149-54, 155
		B	abc	156-7, 158, 159-61
		C	a	162

5. DISCUSSION

The three “acts” of the narrative are clear in terms of content itself: a first visit, a second visit, church. Notice that they comprise relationships at each lower level that pattern without remainder. The changes of scene all have changes in what Kenneth Burke has called “scene-agent ratio.” Act I Scene i has father and daughter, ii daughter and old woman, iii daughter alone returning. Act III subordinates the return in a final verse of its third stanza. Here structural markers show the changed status of a common element of content: the three stanzas are marked by initial sequences of particles. Act III Scene i has father and daughter; ii has all parties at church; iii has the return from church.

Initial particles are markers, indeed, throughout. Pairs of initial particles signal stanza units, and triplets perhaps scenes or stanzas: "Then ałqi again" (57), "And then" (65), "But aldA" (81). The initial particle "then" plus a time word may be parallel (95). "Then" seems always to occur at stanza level or higher: 57, 65, 95, 100, 156.

Single particles signal verses. "Well" occurs three times to mark the initial three verses of the story (1-10), and again at the outset of IiiD (25). The word aldA marks verses throughout: the three verses of the first stanza in IiiA (11-13); as a marker perhaps within a five-line verse in IiiB (16); as markers of two verses (19, 21) among five in IiiC (alongside "and" and parallel occurrences of ałqi within quoted speech (20, 23, 24)); as marker of three verses in IiiD (29, 31, 32); and of two verses in IiiE (34, 35). In Iiii it marks the first and third verses (40). In IIA it marks the second and third verses (58, 62). In IIIiC its English equivalent "now" marks the first verses (58, 62). In IIIiC its English equivalent "now" marks the first verse. It marks the first verse in IIIiiA, and the first two verses in IIIiiB (118, 124, 125).

"And" appears to function as a marker: 20, 65, 87, 123, 149, as does "But" (81). The word ałqi, translated as 'later' or as future tense, appears to function as a marker, especially when paired: 23, 24; 51, 55; in 57; 80; 88. Structural parallels suggest that the expressive particle o initiates verses: 28, 44, 77, 116, 155.

Not all verses are marked by initial particles (as is also the case in Clackamas and Lower Chinook). Turns at talk are patterned in terms of the pattern number (as also in the Chinookan languages), noticeably beginning with II. There, (A) has the narrator, quoted speech from the old woman, the narrator; (B) has three pairs of alternative turns (old woman, narrator). Two turns (old woman, narrator) are part of an alternation between the two in IIC (I, she, I, she, I). In IIIiA there are three turns: father, daughter, father. In (B) two turns at talk are part of a three-way alternation: I, father, I; and (C) consists of three turns at talk (I, father, I). Turns of talk figure in the five-part patterning of iiA and C, and iii A. Scene iiiB again has three alternating turns (father, narrator, father).

Within the units and sets of units indicated by initial particles and turns at talk, grouped in terms of the pattern numbers three and five, other parallelisms and repetitions appear. Thus IiB has three lines each containing naigA 'I'. Onomatopoetic particle? occur in runs of three and five: 'drip' (51-3); 'drip'

(90-4); ‘mmmmm’ (138-40), as does the sequence of ‘eat’ (62-4). The alternative positions of IIIiiC (141-5) are five in number. The promises of (84-6) are three in number, the lines the old woman addresses in reproach are five in number (150-4), the father’s final lines of reproach three in number (159-61), as were his initial instructions (2-4), and the narrator’s responses in IIIiB (104-6) and IIIiC (three reported turns at talk, the last having three lines (113-5)).

The semantic logic of the Chinookan pattern appears throughout. Ii can be taken as interdiction as onset, reflection as continuation, violation as outcome. IiiA is a very common kind of Chinookan triplet: go to, go in, arrive. IiiD has the sequence of offering, reflection as continuation, taking, with the last initiating a second triplet of taking, eating, perceiving no change. IiiE contains a common kind of Chinookan triplet (35-7): eat, eat till gone, perceiving no change; embedded within a triplet at the next level: sit same as she, eat, think (with thinking equivalent to quoted speech). Iiii begins by announcing the theme of the scene (return), which is unusual in Chinookan; there is a triplet of being given beans, reflection as continuation, thought decision as outcome, the outcome initiating a second triplet of decision, going, returning. IIA has going, arriving with invitation, eating. The three paired turns of talk in IIB initiate the argument, continue it, and propose an outcome. IIC can fit the interlocking trio pattern with the promise of (84-6) as pivot. IIIiiiA has a common kind of triplet (146-8), come back, unload, bring her to her house.

The culminations of units often are significant points toward which expectations are directed. In the second triplet of the interlocking five stanzas of Iii, the first ends with the thought that her mouth will be misshapen, the next with the discovery that it is not, the third with the conclusion that the warning was untrue (24, 33, 39). The act as a whole ends in each scene with the decision to go, the discovery that the warning was not borne out, the return without saying anything (10, 39, 56). That last no doubt expresses concealment because of the father’s interdiction, but may also reflect the traditional Chinookan belief that experience of supernatural power should not be disclosed (in which case it is perhaps ironic). The three stanzas of IIIii end successively with ‘we go to church’, ‘we now take her way front’, ‘she just sits’, a nice instance.

The structure that emerges in the text is the result of an interaction between content and linguistic form. The coherence of units of content is a constraint on the repetitions and paral-

lelisms that can be recognized as forming units; no mechanical counting can be allowed to distort obvious narrative coherence. The patterned occurrence of markers shows how some sequences are organized as units, and the patterns of arousal, and satisfaction of formal expectation that inform the narrative art. The salient fact is that the principles of narrative patterning known from the aboriginal languages of the area are active throughout the text.

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Africa

IS SONGAY A CREOLE LANGUAGE?

Robert Nicolaï

INTRODUCTION

Research on creoles stresses that linguistic evolution does not take place exclusively by means of a continuous evolution. Therefore, confronted with the "uniformitarian principle of linguistic change: the importance of the principle of catastrophic change is no longer neglected" (Mühlhäusler 1982:221). However, when this principle is linked to the "catastrophic break in linguistic tradition promoted by the plantation system" which "forced adults to reinvent languages in a situation of nontargeted second language learning," one finds it possible to recognize a subtle application of the uniformitarian principle itself, because only one given type of catastrophic change is in question: the one which is based on the situation introduced by trade and plantation society, and perhaps also on a preconceived idea of linguistic evolution in this situation. For one knows that for certain authors such as Chaudenson, Manessy, or Valdman, the formation of French Creoles is not the result of a process of creolization beginning with pidgins, but rather from a precreole continuum.

Besides, from a linguistic point of view, what seems to us the most useful in characterizing the "catastrophic principle" is not its particular actualization in a historical contingency but the referential change that it implies: disappearance, reorganization, and reinstitution of the normative level, that is, a change in the functional sociolinguistic status of the language. This changing of the functional status seems, in actual fact, to be correlated to an upheaval, or, at least, to important variations at the social, economic, political, or cultural levels. However, in itself it suffices to be recognized as catastrophic in the sense of "unpredictable" and possibly also in the sense of R. Thom. A

typology of historically identifiable catastrophic changes would be useful, and the results acquired and regularities recognized should allow introduction of a question regarding languages without written tradition for which one could ask whether "catastrophic" evolutions are not more widespread than in the few cases that we have been able to discern. Thus, research on African Creoles can now begin.

The primary question is the following: Is it possible to recognize the result of evolution from ancient creoles in languages presently possessing a vernacular function and having rather reduced vehicular function? And if so, how is that possible? The subsidiary question is: What exactly is to be understood by "creole" in situations not having any evident connections with those which justified the introduction of the term?

1. THE EXAMPLE OF SONGAY

Songay is a language which lends itself well to these questions, taking account of what is known about its vehicular function in the Middle Niger. Its being placed in the Nilo-Saharan family is not entirely satisfying, and it has strong resemblances to the Mande languages (Nicolaï 1977, 1983). Geographically it is spoken in an extensive territory including the valley of the Niger River, but it is attested in other areas from Parakou in Benin to Tabelbala in southern Algeria (Nicolaï 1980b, 1981). From an ethnic point of view, the populations that use it are not homogeneous. It is spoken by the Songay and the Zerma, who constitute differentiated socioethnic groups, which is seen in their customs and oral traditions, and also by sedentary and nonsedentary groupings of Tuareg or Fula origin (Lavergne de Tressan 1953:212). The Maures from the Araouan community always use it as a contact language with the people of Timbuktu. Its use as a vehicular language at Jenne is also known. It is spoken by the sedentary populations of the oases of In Gall and Tabelbala; the Kel Alkaseybaten (of Arab origin? Barral 1977) of Oudalan use it. It is spoken by the tribes of Sanhaja origin (Igdalen, Idaksahak), and also, towards the south, by the numerous other assimilated groups like the Tienga of Dendi and some Hausa and Gurmance groups.

The study of the vehicularization of the language may be understood through an analysis of its dialectal differentiation. A stratification can be discovered if we compare certain traits of peripheral dialects (Dendi (D), Western Songay (WS), and

Northern Songay (NS)) with those of Songay-Zerma (SZ) represented by the three following dialects: Eastern Songay, Zerma, and Kaado. These three dialects are very little differentiated from each other (after excluding evolutions in Zerma (Nicolaï 1980b), which we attribute to a relatively recent influence from Hausa). We will list these traits before dealing with them in more detail: The D, WS, and NS dialects show the disappearance of the "specific" marker. Other characteristics, although less generalized, still distinguish these peripheral dialects from SZ: They show SVO order instead of SOV, and the existence of a resumptive pronoun in certain verbal constructions in WS and NS, as well as a fusion of the pronoun and the predicative particle in WS and in D.

On the basis of these criteria, it is possible to envision the division of the Songay group into two distinct blocs:

1. The bloc constituted by SZ, within which there is complete mutual comprehension, and which is strongly endocentric; that is to say that it presents very few features susceptible of being analyzed as the result of contamination by a neighboring language.
2. The bloc formed by the three other dialects, which are, at the same time, characterized by elements of reduction (loss of the specific) and by very numerous features which can be interpreted as the result of a contamination by contact languages (Nicolaï 1980a, 1980b).

Relying on both the linguistic and sociohistorical indicators, it seems that it would not be too bold to suppose that the latter bloc, which must have been characterized by a vehicular function, would correspond to a lightly pidginized variety of SZ. We interpret the facts of reduction as an internal pidginization and the contamination of an external pidginization. From a geographical point of view, the areas where the three vehicular dialects are spoken are not adjacent to each other: WS is situated northwest of AZ, NS to the north, and Dendi to the south. At present there are no direct and obvious contacts among the populations speaking these three dialects. The question is whether the three vehicularized varieties are independent evolutions from SZ, or indeed whether they represent subsequent evolutions of the same vehicular, already distinct from AZ. A priori, four configurations are possible.

The two extremes are as follows:

1. The three present dialects are the result of pidginizations from SZ, and these processes have operated independently in three different situations, giving rise to the three dialects (NS, WS, D).
2. The three present dialects are the result of the use in three different contexts of the same vehicular and pidginized form of Songay (NS/WS/D), while the intermediate configurations have the forms (NS/WS-D) or NS-WS/D). P. F. Lacroix (1981) has suggested the existence of a relationship between WS and NS.

2. SOCIOHISTORICAL PRESENTATION

Independent of creole considerations, the choice of a hypothesis on the relationships among the vehicular forms of Songay is, of course, determined by what we can apprehend of the sociohistorical reality of the era.

2.1 Western Songay

The development of this dialect seems to be connected with the development of Timbuktu and the caravan route passing through Araouan. The city must have been founded in the twelfth century by tribes of Sanhaja origin. Its development was linked to three factors:

1. Change of orientation of the western trans-Saharan routes,
2. Upheaval in the Sudanese Sahel starting with the Almoravide movement,
3. The development of the Nigerian axis with the states of Mali and Gao.

The city, originally a trade depot and crossroads, began to grow in the thirteenth century with the development of the caravan route from Araouan. In the fourteenth century, it was known in the Mediterranean countries (Catalan Atlas de Charles V, 1375), and it was already an important market and a Mandinge political capital, although probably not being the equal of Oualata and Gao. The trade of Timbuktu was oriented towards the north (salt mines of Teghazza), towards Tuat, and beyond towards Sijilmassa and Tlemcen. The population of Timbuktu at that time seems to have been composed of a Berber-Sanhaja base, of

Malinke (Wangara), Soninke (Wakore), and of Songay, probably dominant among the black ethnic groups of the city. In the fifteenth century, Timbuktu was the great outlet of most of the trans-Saharan routes, and its triple function as commercial, religious, and intellectual metropolis is asserted (Cissoko 1975). Some of the many indices which permit one to suppose that Western Songay must have had a preponderant importance in the commercial traffic of this part of the Sudan follow: In addition to its role as the language of Timbuktu and its use in the Niger delta, it had an independent existence as the vehicular language of Araouan and probably also of Boudjebeha. Moreover, in Tuat, as described at the beginning of the century by Dupuis-Yacouba (1917), there were Berberophone speakers of servile status who were still capable of utilizing several Songay forms. (Some relations and important exchanges existed between Tuat and Timbuktu, where an important Tuatian community resided.)

2.2 Northern Songay

The problem posed by these dialects is inseparable from the ethnic and cultural particularism of their speakers. These dialects are spoken by black populations, but also by Caucasian populations, nomadic or sedentary, with a Tuareg culture or strongly "Tuaregized" in cultural background, having a maraboutic function. One has every reason to suppose that these populations were connected to trans-Saharan commerce. Historical documents are lacking. The oral tradition most often has them coming from the West (Fez, Oualata, etc.), and there are some verifications concerning the Sanhaja or the Godala in the Tarikh. Aside from these, the only suggestive indication is the quasi-"archeological" investigation (as exhaustive as possible) of the vestiges that form the Songayphone groups which appear in our day like isolated linguistic communities that are most likely in a state of near disappearance.

The white Igdalen tribes and their Iberogan dependents live as nomads in the Agadez-Abalak-Tanout triangle. They are thought to represent one of the most ancient strata of population of the region of Air and Agadez. In the same region the Oasis of In Gall and the neighboring salt marshes of Teggida-n-Tesemt are populated by a Songayphone population who maintain relations with these nomadic populations, while a Songay dialect, Emghedeshie, was still spoken at Agadez at the beginning of the century (Barth 1851). More to the west,

the white and black nomadic Idaksahak tribes in the Ouallam-Asongo-Menaka triangle are also Songayphone, and very far to the northwest the population of the oasis of Tabelbala still uses a Songay variety. Thus, one finds, in the vicinity of important caravan stops, sedentary or nomadic groups who speak forms of Songay.

The importance of this region of Air and the neighboring countries for the commerce of the High Middle Ages is to be stressed. The Arabic writings of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries already mentioned the city of Maranda, which archeological research situates at Marandet on the bluff of Tiguidit, south of Agadez. It is a relatively urbanized area (Assode, Takedda/Azelik) where a copper industry has been recognized, and through which in the fourteenth century important caravan lines passed, leading from Mali to Fezzan and Egypt, and from the Hausa country towards the southern Algerian and Tripolitanian Oases (Ibn Battuta).

This region of Air would have been under Malian suzerainty in the fourteenth century (Adamou 1980). In fact, the situation which appeared to prevail in this area at the time does not seem different from the one which existed in the region of the River Niger. Like Timbuktu, the cities of the area and Agadez must have been important caravan nodes, trading centers which must have been especially cosmopolitan. The same relations of these centers towards the sedentary or nomadic populations of the neighborhood seem to have prevailed, and political organizations like those which gave birth to the sultanate of Agadez were developed. Relations of dependence existed among these cities and those of the Songay country. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Leo Africanus emphasized the tribute that the sultan of Agadez paid to the “king of Timbuktu.”

Such political and economic conditions linked to the life of urban centers and caravan traffic allowed a better explanation of the existence of Songay in this area. We can assume that vehicular Songay was used in urban centers. In fact, if the population of Teguidda really stems from that of Azelik, it was Songay that was spoken there. The language users need not necessarily have been Songays. One must expect that the vehicular language functioned as lingua franca (including also its diplomatic use). This would, at the same time, explain the extension of its functions. (It must have had functions other than that of trade language, because the population gave up their mother tongue for its use.) In addition, this would account for the fact that its extension did not correlate with the extension of

the Songay population itself. This would also explain its disappearance, since under conditions of normal use we would have expected it to disappear as soon as the elementary conditions for its use were destroyed.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to assume that it was used over centuries with a field of variable functions which leads us not to assimilate this particular vehicular language with what is commonly called a pidgin. The term "lingua franca" could thus be preserved for this type and function of language. One would explain the persistence of the language among the groups we have inventoried by supposing that, for reasons unknown to us, they must have been led to develop more closely their relationships with the urban population. (A quarter named "Kel Amdit"—Tagdalt tribe—exists in Agadez.) This was probably a relation of complementarity and interdependence more developed than those which still exist among Igdalen groups and the populations of In Gall and Abalak, thus explaining their adoption of the vehicular language and their subsequent abandoning of their own mother tongue. We can probably next suppose that, political and economic conditions having changed, these groups were again found isolated from the urban society, or, at least, separated from the conduct of affairs of this world. As a consequence, they would naturally have rejoined the nomadic sphere that they had never completely abandoned, while maintaining a particularism of their language, that of their function as marabouts.

At present, the Igdalen form very closed tribes, "peacefuls," which distinguishes them from the Tuareg groups of the region. Lacrois (1969, 1981), studying the differences between Emghedeshie and the variety of In Gall, realized that several terms of Songay base which existed at the time of Barth are today replaced by Tuareg terms. We see there an indication of a process of Tuareg "relexification" of Northern Songay after a decline of regional economic centers and of the vehicular. This relexification is probably correlated with its revernacularization in the populations that preserved it.

2.3. Dendi

Although referring to a later era, the research done by Lovejoy (1978) on the role of the Wangara merchants in the transformation of the Central Sudan in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries allows establishing interesting connections

which emphasize the importance of the function of Songay, its connections with the people of Mande, and its implantation in southern regions. He presents them thus:

> These eastern Wangara were initially immigrants from the commercial centres of Mali who provided brokerage services and accommodation to itinerant merchants in Songhay. Most were Soninke (Sarakolle) in origin and had historic connections with the economy straddling the southern edge of the Sahara between the upper Senegal and middle Niger bend. From opportunities gained in this desert-side sector, they branched out in every direction. Immigrants from the Ghana heartland settled in towns on the Niger, for the river reduced transport cost considerably. Timbuktu, Jenne, and Gao developed as major centres in this diaspora. By the late fifteenth century, nonetheless, most were Songhay citizens, and, as muslims, were actively involved in local politics. Their participation in affairs of state and the continued expansion of the empire altered their role as agents for Mali merchants so that they became the financiers and brokers of Songhay's imperial economy. The language of the system was Songhay. It was spoken throughout Borgu where most scholars have mistakenly referred to merchants as "Dendi" from their dialect. Related to Songhay economic growth, Wangara settlers expanded their operaitons from Timbuktu and Gao to found commercial outposts in the emerging Bariba and Hausa towns. By the fifteenth century, and in some cases earlier still, Wangara communites existed at Nikki, Bussa, Katsina, Kano and in Gobir, Air and Kebbi.

One may emphasize that at present the Dendi quarter of Parakou is called the Wangara quarter (Lavergne de Tressan 1953), that the Songay-speaking populations of Central Songay, spoken in Upper Volta, call themselves "Marense," "Marase" being the name by which the Mossi designate the Soninke. By the same token, there is a "Wangaracounda" quarter in Timbuktu, whose antiquity goes back to the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Its populations would have been composed of Soninke coming from Wagadu in the thirteenth century and of Malinke, merchants or literates, arriving during the Mandingo period. From the linguistic point of view, the evolution of Dendi can well be explained if it is considered to be the result of a learning process of Songay as a second language by a population with Bariba as a mother tongue (especially for the Kandi variety). Everything indicates that the language norm was that

which would have been imposed by Bariba speakers who had learned Songay, an example of what we have called “referential change.” This phenomenon is also recognizable in Northern Songay (Nicolaï 1981). It shows a discontinuity in explanation of linguistic changes tinted by the bias of an internal analysis of the evolution of the language. If, following Lovejoy, one assumes the existence of trade communities using Songay in their transactions in Dendi country, it is conceivable that their original language was no longer of any use to them in the Bariba country. Furthermore, if Songay-speaking populations had emigrated into that area, the development of a form of Songay there is not incomprehensible. In any event, considering the penury of information on all these points, we shall not fail to emphasize the speculative character of these hypotheses, which remain useful to us in organizing the facts that, if necessary, disprove them. We attribute their precarious character neither to arbitrariness nor underdocumentation, but simply to an objective recognition of our limits.

3. LINGUISTIC PRESENTATION

3.1. Introduction

First of all, it is necessary to emphasize that we are far from having detailed studies on the morphosyntax bearing on the NS, WS, and D dialects. We are thus aware of the relative and informal value of the standard that we have secured. It is certain that they must be completed and remodeled when we possess better documentation of these languages. Nonetheless, from a strictly comparative point of view, and in situating ourselves relative to the better-known dialects of SZ, the information that we present will, even though fragmentary, probably be sufficient to outline the facts. As we have already proposed, we will distinguish Songay-Zerma (SZ), an endocentric dialect group, from vehicular Songay (WS, NS, D), an exocentric dialect, both by traits accounting for the reduction induced by its vehicular nature and by traits which attest this exocentric relationship. In this perspective, SZ is characterized by “negative” traits such as its nonexocentricity. In fact, it also has limits, and also had contact with neighboring populations (Fula, Tuareg, Gurmance, etc.) without, however, having been as marked in its evolutions by the contact with these languages, contrasting with vehicular Songay.

3.2 Determination of the Nominal Syntagmeme

The operative reduction that we interpret as a trait of pidginization is common to all three dialects. It consists of the loss of the morpheme o/a 'specific singular' and the morpheme ay 'specific plural'. The notion of specific or definite is thus rendered by a 'demonstrative' di(n) in WS and in D, but the sequential order is different in the two dialects:

D	fuyõmdi	'the houses there'
WS	baridiyo	'the horses'

In NS the demonstrative element is o or aɣo according to the dialect:

Tasawaq	hugguɣo	'the house there'

However, except in WS where the element di seems to come close to functioning as a specific marker, the usage values of the demonstrative do not seem to be those of the lost marker. The plural is formed by the adjunction of the morpheme used for the generic: yo in WS; yõm in D; y o, yu and en in NS (the form en does not appear to be a borrowing but a convergent evolution of *yoNgV in contact with the Tuareg plural). There is in these evolutions a reduction of the internal form (loss of a categorial dimension). Everything seems to indicate that the reduction occurred everywhere, but the means employed to replace the lost distinction are not exactly the same, and do not represent the same evolutionary stage.

3.3 Resumptive Pronouns

A second characteristic is interpretable as a fact of pidginization in WS and in NS: the insertion of a resumptive pronoun in certain verbal constructions:

WS — wey di a koy isa
'woman there—she has gone—to the river'

NS (Tadaksahak) — abiji a taw aɣazar
'(the) jackel—he has come—(to the) pond'

3.4 Coalescence of Pronouns and Verbal Particles

Finally, we have found a last trait which characterizes WS and D, which in turn could be interpreted as a characteristic of creolization, since, if our hypothesis holds true, it leads to the creation of synthetic forms through the coalescence of personal pronouns with the verbal particles which immediately follow them, after an initial weakening. In WS, it is a case of optional reductions in speech not bearing on the third person, in the imperfective or the future/ present. WS: ay go > yo/ye/ayo; ni go > no; iri go > yero; waraN go > woro; but a go and ni go do not contract. In D we find the two following paradigms used respectively in the perfective and in the present/future:

D (a,ũ,a,i,wo,u); (o:,ũ:,o:,i:,wo:,ũ:) + radical

ű ham	'you drank'	űũ ham	'you drink/will drink'
à ham	'he drank'	oò ham	'he drinks/will drink'

We have in WS the weakening of the consonantal element of the verbal particle go, and the vocalic posteriority in the vowel of the preceding syllable is reported. In D the same phenomenon seems to take place amplified, generalized, and regularized, to which are adjoined the phonetic reductions peculiar to this dialect: the gradual disappearance of liquids and nasals in intervocalic positions (Nicolaï 1978). The Dendi variation between a perfective and oo present/future is the index which we hold to suggest the evolution:

*àgáy	go	>	ay go	>	a wo	>	oó	first person
*à	go		>		a wo	>	oò	third person

At the level of the TMA (time-mode-aspect) system, the three dialects seem to have evolved along different lines, although on certain points, comparisons can be made. The feature which could perhaps allow the "global" distinguishing of these vehicular dialects of the endocentric form of Songay-Zerma is that the particle go (which must have become ga in Zerma and in Eastern Songay in the same way as the particle yoŋ became yaŋ in the same dialects) tends to lose its initial consonant element in the vehicular dialects. At the same time it is stable and persists in the endocentric dialects such as Kaado, where, conversely, it is the vocalized elements which disappear. These types of evolutions, which do not seem to be determined by

the influence of neighboring languages, and which (with the exception of the latter) lead to a reduction or to a greater analyzability of the language, are endocentric evolutions in accord with the facts of internal pidginization.

3.5 Exocentric Evolutions

We have already dealt with this matter from the phonological point of view, and we refer the reader to the existing documentation. From the morphosyntactic point of view the generalization of the SVO order in WS and its development in NS can be recognized as a fact of contamination by neighboring languages, but it might be mentioned that it leads to a simplification with respect to SZ, which has this structure in certain instances. Parallel to this, a question on the "universal" value of this type of structure could be raised. Another element, in the present state of knowledge, can be considered only as a fact of borrowing: The existence of connective -n- between the two terms of the syntagmemes of determination in NS. This connective exists in Hausa as well as in Tuareg. Finally, in NS, one has signalled the existence of a veritable process of relexification of the language from Tuareg. We have not ourselves done the statistics, but Lacroix (1969), basing himself on Tadaksahak, established the following percentages from a lexicon of 950 entries:

	SZ	Tuareg	uncertain
verbal	30.0	53.6	16.4
nominal	25.9	65.25	8.75

Furthermore, this lexicon does not bear only on the cultural lexicon or on that exclusively attached to Tuareg realities

These exocentric evolutions are those which we have introduced under the title of external pidginization.

4. VEHICULAR SONGAY (EXOGENOUS)

Taking into account the preceding sociohistorical and linguistic remarks, it seems to us nearly certain that a vehicular form of Songay, distinct from SZ, developed along the shores of the Niger and spread along the caravan routes, serving as lingua franca and probably also as language of political organization in certain eras (the period of the Songay empire being the

most obvious one of these). It is highly probable that this vehicular form developed very early; perhaps it already existed at the time of the foundation of Timbuktu, for, considering its economic function, there is no reason to believe that its development is directly linked to the expansion of the Songay empire. The fact that it could have been borrowed by numerous communities that had preserved it as first language leads us to believe that its function went far beyond the market relationship. The preponderant role of Gao (metropolis speaking SZ) in the trans-Saharan commerce is not described until the fourteenth century. The fact, emphasized by independent studies, that the Songayphone Igdalen had been found in the region of Air since the tenth or eleventh century, leads us to think that the use of Songay as a vehicular language must have been extended over several centuries, and that the contact with the AZ group had not been cut off. Therefore, the vehicularized form could have had a tendency not to diverge too far from the endogeneous Songay (SZ), but to approach it as long as the functional relationships that maintained the vehicular form were active. Thus, if one sets up the hypothesis that the exocentric forms of the language which involved simplification, contamination, and the fact of not being spoken by communities in the majority of the Songay ethnicity are evolutions of this vehicular form, one realizes that it must not have been very distinct from SZ.

However, a comparative study allows us to decide. Thus:

1. The vehicular form had the tonal system of SZ, for the existence of tones in Dendi and in Tasawaq, and the form of the accented reflexes in all the rest of Northern Songay, imply it;
2. The vehicular form had the SOV order of SZ, for the strict existence of this same order in Dendi and its loose existence in NS lead us to infer it;
3. Likewise, the phonemic system of the language still included labiovelars, and the palatalization of the velars had not yet been produced (Nicolaï 1981).

The differences thus seem to us to have consisted of morphosyntactic characteristics, the variations in the treatments, which do not reveal facts of contamination, are certainly the trace of independent restructurings, which allows us to induce that it is especially in these points that the difference between the vehicular form and SZ must consist. The vehicular language must have possessed an “approximate,” and probably not stabilized,

form of the system of determiners of the noun and of the TMA system, while being relatively stabilized in the majority of the other points.

5. VERNACULAR SONGAY (ENDOGENOUS)

5.1 General

This reflection on the diversification of Songay and on the evidence for the existence of a vehicular variety does not conclude the inquiry, and certain remarks on SZ can still be made. First of all, in its endogeneous form, Songay has a typological structure which, by several traits, allows classifying it with languages of the "economic" type (Houis 1980). This has already been emphasized elsewhere (Nicolaï 1983). It is a matter of a language without morphological variations, having practically no amalgamated forms, in which the process of composition is very much developed. It is not the only one to possess this type of structure, and one could obviously not use this as an argument to introduce a hypothesis aiming at recognizing in this vernacular and endogenous Songay a former vehicular and pidginized form of another Songay of which we do not have any trace. Thus, this time it will be through an interlingual and no longer interdialectal comparison that we will be able to develop our argument.

From a genetic point of view, the position of Songay is difficult to determine. Integrated by Greenberg in Nilo-Saharan, it shares no fewer characteristics peculiar to the Mande group of the Niger-Congo family (Nicolai 1977, 1983; Creissels 1980). These connections bear on several points and on several levels, since the populations of the two groups have been in intimate and constant contact for very long periods of time. They are more evident in WS than in SZ: In WS we find lexical borrowings (saaney 'star', etc.) which come directly from Soninke, and the principal phonetic characteristic which distinguishes this dialect from all the other dialects of Songay (the confusion of j/z) can be attributed to Bozo or to Soninke (Nicolaï 1980a). However, it is not these traits which interest us, but those which characterize all dialects of Songay and which there is good reason to assume in the initial form of SZ. These characteristics are of three kinds.

5.2 Typological

We refer here to Nicolaï (1977), where we made a comparison at this level with Azer and Soninke, and stated that Songay shares with them an important number of structural traits which also turn up in the morphosyntactic organization of Mande.

5.3 Lexical

Such an important series of lexical resemblances appears in even the section of fundamental vocabulary that it is difficult to attribute these facts to borrowings such as are normally produced between two populations in contact, and which therefore merit being studied. The eventuality of a distant genetic relationship between the two languages not being excluded, the collated data cannot be utilized without a preliminary analysis.

5.3.1 We start with systematic comparison between the two linguistic groups, but distinguishing between languages spoken by populations that were and still are in contact and languages spoken by populations that, taking account of their present geographical locations, are no longer in contact with Songay, if they ever were.

5.3.2 We introduce a lexical comparison between Songay and the Saharan languages, which seem not to have been in contact with Mande populations. The data reported in Nicolaï (1983) consists of approximately 330 entries showing resemblances between Songay and Mande, which can be broken down as follows:

1. 128 comparable items between SZ, neighboring Mande languages (Bozo, Soninke, Azer), remote Mande languages (Kpelle, Susu, Dyula), and Saharan languages (Teda, Daza, Kanembu, Kanuri) taken as Nilo-Saharan references with respect to Songay.
2. 122 items common to SZ (and a fortiori to WS) and to Bozo.
3. 96 items common to SZ and to Mande (and a fortiori to Bozo).
4. 44 items common to SZ, WS, and Saharan.
5. 38 items common only to WS and Bozo.

These data will certainly be thoroughly revised (for it is not on a single "impressionistic" approach, done manually and limited by the competence of a single researcher, that one may assume definitive developments). If the connections outlined there are confirmed, the following remarks could be introduced:

1. The high rate of lexemes common to Mande, Songay, and Saharan outside of the contact zone allows posing the problem of the origin of this common stock. Over half of the obtained forms are also found in a very large number of other African languages, including the Afro-Asiatic languages. They seem to belong to forms very widely spread around, for example, notions of 'largeness, augmentation': BO,BA,PA,BER, etc.; 'roundness, curvature': KOR,GUR,KUR, etc.; 'reversing, back and forth': BER,BI, etc.; of 'separation, opening': FER,FEY,PET,POT, etc.; of 'blow, violence': KAR,GAR, etc. (Nicolaï in press).
2. A number of units of practically equal importance seems to be common to SZ and Bozo, without being found either in Saharan or in the Mande dialects far from the contact zone. If this continues to be confirmed, it will be necessary to attribute this lexical stock to a primary contact between the two languages, probably connected to the proposed hypothesis, the hypothesis of a substratum of a language of the river not being rejected a priori.
3. The items that seem to be found in SZ, Bozo, and Saharan, but not in the other remote Mande dialects, could be those that Bozo tended to borrow from SZ, if the genetic affiliation of the latter is indeed with Nilo-Saharan.
4. Conversely, the items found in Songay and Mande and, a fortiori, in Bozo, could form the stock of units that Songay borrowed from Bozo or from one of the other of the neighboring Mande dialects.
5. Finally, the items that occur only in Bozo and in WS without appearing either in SZ or in Mande would be an indication of a more recent secondary contact to the extent that it is considered only with respect to the vehicular form of the language.

We can thus affirm that the contact between Mande and Songay is both profound and differentiated.

5.4 Morphological

Morphemes are infrequently borrowed; but they are borrowed. Several elements of Songay, derivatives, morphemes of relation, and so forth, appear as similar forms in Bozo and in other Mande languages (Soninke and Azer in particular). This allows us to suppose that they could have been borrowed from these languages to the extent that they are not found to be reflexes in Nilo-Saharan languages. This, in turn, gives an indication of the existence of one of the "catastrophic" contacts that we are trying to discern. We thus recognize forms in Northern Mande (Bozo, Soninke, Azer) which can be compared to the following Songay items:

-andi factitive

-ante derivative expressing the performed action

ante forming ordinals

Other derivatives may be compared in a less evident way:

-ma, -mey; -ri, -i, -mi nominalizing suffixes

-yu -yo diminutive suffix

The pronouns a and i of the third persons may also be compared with Mande. The demonstrative wo finds its correlate in Bozo; so do the postposition ra and some other particles such as kala 'if not, unless', without taking into account forms like wala 'or', or even hala 'until' which are widely spread beyond the sphere of contact.

5.5 Other Sociohistorical Remarks

We have now reached a level where it is no longer possible not to make an affirmation, and which is situated at the limit of the likelihood of our hypotheses to the extent that they bear on proto-historical data. We present here the synthesis of the relatively accepted or acceptable facts.

The populations of SZ are not homogeneous. At the level of legend the Songay population was formed by a caste of fishermen, the Sorko, in relation with agriculturalists, the Gabibi, and the Gow hunters. It is assumed that the Sorko lived be-

tween Tillaberi and Gao from the seventh century on. Parallel to this, one can recognize a caste analogous to that of the Sorko among the Bozo in the Mande group, and the relation that the latter held with the Soninke is probably not unrelated to that which the Sorko held with the Gabibi. It would seem that caste relations, independently of inevitable conflicts, must have strongly contributed to weld close ties among the River peoples. Delafosse (1972), speaking of the Bozo and of their difference from the Soninke, stresses that unions between primitive Bozo and families belonging to fisher castes of other nationalities such as the Sorko caste, the Bammana caste of the Somono, and the Fula caste of the Souballe have been formed for centuries, and notes that these unions had, as a result, slightly altered the original character of the Bozo and, undoubtedly, considerably modified their primitive speech. As for us, we could state that it is in fact with the Bozo that Songay has the greatest affinity, not only on the lexical level, but also, more importantly, on the morphological level. On the linguistic level we thus have the trace of a contact which, according to all possibilities, is anterior to that which we have recognized in Soninke.

Does history repeat itself? Does history stutter? Compare:

1. The typological structure of SZ which joins that of Mande;
2. The internal structure of the language which remains one of those to which the process of linguistic simplification occurring in the formation of pidgins can lead;
3. The obvious common lexical stock (especially with Bozo) resulting from an effective, intensive, and prolonged contact;
4. The probable existence of some morpheme borrowings (derivatives in particular);
5. The agreement with oral traditions;
6. The difficulty in classifying Songay genetically;
7. The geographical situation of the Songay country.

None of these indices is sufficient to affirm that SZ was itself a postcreole which issued from the contact between the populations of the River and those of trans-Saharan commerce, but the assemblages thus formed appear to us to constitute a sum of presumptions sufficiently important so that the hypothesis of the creole origin of SZ Songay itself is not unacceptable. It combines the characteristics of this type of situation: contact zone, structural simplicity, difficulty of genetic classification, exocentric character with respect to Mande. It makes it possible

to account precisely for the difficulty of classification inherent to this language, for the composite origin of its lexicon, as well as for the typological affinities interpreted as the result of an external pidginization. Finally, we would have here an interesting example where, at one time, the uniformitarist principle and the catastrophic principle are joined. A stable collection of geographic and sociological constraints has succeeded in introducing the pidginization of a form of Songay (Songay A) which was finally creolized in the form B, the origin of present-day SZ. Causes of the same order inducing comparable effects in historic or quasi-historic times, have promoted a new pidginization of Songay which led to the vehicular forms WS, D, and NS, that were in their turn creolized.

Catastrophy is the rule, uniformitarianism is the law.

NOTE

This English translation from the French original was prepared by M. Lionel Bender, Elke Geisler, and Glenn Gilbert.

This study is based on the hypotheses that were developed in the conclusion in Nicolaï (1983).

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Notes

JOHN E. REINECKE: HIS LIFE AND WORK

We would like to express our gratitude to John Witeck and Ah Quon McElrath for their extensive help in the preparation of this paper and to Michael Long for his editorial suggestions.

1. This remark and all others by John quoted hereafter are taken from an autobiographical series of 29 articles he wrote for the Honolulu Record from August 7, 1952, until May 21, 1953. Needless to say, John's writings have proved invaluable in the preparation of this paper.
2. W. K. Bassett later served as administrative assistant to Honolulu Mayor John Wilson during the anti-Communist era in Hawaii. His politics were clearly left of center.
3. Haole: Hawaiian for "foreigner." It has come to refer to Caucasians specifically.
4. "Pidgin" here is intended in its nontechnical sense, that is, as a cover term for all local varieties of English.
5. Malihini: Hawaiian for "newcomer."
6. The Star-Bulletin was the less conservative of the two daily newspapers in Honolulu.
7. This was the title of John's autobiographical series of articles for the Honolulu Record in 1952-1953.

8. The Big Five firms were Alexander and Baldwin, American Factors, C. Brewer, Castle and Cook, and Theo H. Davies.
9. It became obvious during the Reinecke hearing that others had “ghosted” the pamphlet in Izuka’s name.
10. The other six defendants were: Koji Ariyoshi, editor of the Honolulu Record; Charles Fujimoto, former University of Hawaii chemist and chairman of the Communist Party in Hawaii; Eileen Fujimoto, secretary to Jack Hall at the ILWU; Jack Hall, ILWU Regional Director; Jack Kimoto, journalist employed at the Honolulu Record; and James Freeman, unemployed union organizer.
11. John began this major project upon his “retirement” in January 1970.
12. John donated this collection—the Tsuzaki-Reinecke Pidgin-Creole Collection—to the university of Hawaii’s Hamilton Library.
13. We are grateful to Mr. Iraset Paez Urdaneta for allowing us to use this excerpt from his letter.

WILLIAM GREENFIELD, A NEGLECTED PIONEER CREOLIST

NOTES

[This paper is reprinted by permission of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics at whose Third Biennial Conference, Aruba, September 17-20, 1980, it was presented by John E. Reinecke. The paper first appeared in Studies in Caribbean language published by the Society for Caribbean Linguistics in 1983. Aside from his active correspondence with creolists worldwide, the paper on Greenfield represents the last (formal) statement of Reinecke’s views on creole languages and on the history of creole scholarship. Although the style of references and footnotes is not the same as the rest of the book, we found it inadvisable to change it.—ed.]

1. Greenfield prepared and published the Defence at his own expense (BFBS Twenty-seventh Report (1831), p. lxxiii).
2. William A. Stewart, "Acculturative processes and the language of the American Negro," in William W. Gage (ed.), Language in its social setting (Washington, the Anthropological Society of Washington, 1974), p. 1-46, footnote 30.
3. Mostly drawn from a sketch of Greenfield's life in The diction ary of national biography, Vol. VIII (1890) by Gordon Goodwin. I have also seen "Mr. William Greenfield, M.R.A.S.," Gentle man's Magazine, Jan. 1832, p. 89-90; "The late Mr. William Greenfield," Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, Feb. 1832, p. 152; seventh Report (1831), p. lxxii-lxxiii. For his writings see BFBS Monthly Magazine, Dec. 31, 1831, p. 547-549; BFBS Twenty- The national union catalog pre-1956 imprints.
4. BFBS Monthly Magazine, Dec. 31, 1831, p. 548. The criticisms appeared in the Asiatic Journal for Sept. 1829.
5. Goodwin, op. cit.
6. From the title of a book by Greenfield, 1832. The obituary in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine summed up his character: "Considering his years, his attainments as a linguist were of the most extraordinary kind; his talents were diligently applied to the cause of sacred literature; and his piety was deep and sincere."
7. The circumstances are set forth in the Defence, p. 3-6 (cited thus: D:3-6), and under items 151-177 of J. Voorhoeve and Anton Donicie, Bibliographie du négro-anglais du Surinam (1963).
8. "Negro-English New Testament," Edinburgh Christian Instructor 28:851-852 (Dec. 1829). The writer was bitterly sarcastic regarding the Society, against which he appears to have had some odium theologicum, especially because it did not join him in denying the Apocrypha scriptural status: "Good souls: They are ready for any thing that will add to their worldly eclat, and got to do with a great deal too much

of the public money" (ECI 29:359). Concerning the author, occasion, and motive of the attack, William A. Stewart has done a brilliant bit of detective work set forth in a letter to me written April 2, 1980, the relevant section of which follows these footnotes as an appendix. See also the sketch by James Ramsay Macdonald, "Andrew Mitchell Thomson," in The dictionary of national biography 19:714-715. This was not the only criticism of the translation. Kathleen Conn, Archivist of the Society, wrote to me, Oct. 10, 1979: "The Minutes etc. record the correspondence leading up to the publication of the Negro-English New Testament and there are references to the criticisms it received. For instance Professor Samuel Lee in Cambridge reported that a copy was circulating round the University for the purpose of ridiculing it: he himself seemed to agree with the criticisms until he was sent copies of letters from Surinam and a copy of C. Latrobe's letter ..."

9. The letter is on p. 353-354 of "Review of the Negro-English New Testament; with Mr. La Trobe's letter on the subject," ECI 29:352-465 (May 1830). The anonymous writer calls the letter angry. I see no anger in it, though it is plainspoken and includes a couple of thrusts ad hominem. Its crisp, direct style is a welcome contrast to the critic's heavy sarcasm and Greenfield's heavy, Latinate style. [In the draft of his paper to be published by the Society for Caribbean Linguistics, the date of the letter is given as May 1831. In place of the last three sentences in the footnote, Reinecke writes: "All I know about La Trobe is that he had been a missionary in Surinam and that he wrote more trenchant English than either Thomson or Greenfield."—ed.]
10. D:iii.
11. ECI 29:354. He recognizes, p. 361, that many English and Dutch words are close cognates.
12. Parallel texts, ECI 29:354-359; challenge, p. 359.
13. ECI 29:359.

14. ECI 29:360.
15. ECI 29:362.
16. ECI 29:363.
17. ECI 29:261.
18. Fife Herald, June 24, 1830 (not seen) cited in D:iii, 50-51, 74. ECI 29:362 mentions the Christian Observer as lauding the translation. The Rev. H. Beamish defended the translation in a sermon printed in the Pulpit, July 1 and 29, 1830 (D:71).
19. D:10-16.
20. D:17.
21. D:47.
22. D:18-19, 24-25, drawing on J. G. Stedman, Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam..., 2d ed., London, 1806-1813.
23. D.19.
24. D:19-21.
25. D:21-24.
26. D:24.
27. D.42.
28. D:25-26.
29. D:26-32.
30. D:32.
31. D:32-33. He points out, D:71-72, that "Simple though it be in its grammatical inflections, it is more so than the Chinese and Malay, which are totally indeclinable; while its efficiency for the expression of thought is fully equal to these languages ..."
32. D:33.
33. D:36-41.
34. Addison Van Name, "Contributions to Creole grammar," Transactions of the American Philological Association 1:123-167 (1869-1870).

35. D:43-46. Spanish and French are included because Greenfield, without investigating, accepted Stedman's statement that Negro-English was a mixed language including those elements. He points out, D:48: "If the Spanish, Portuguese, French, and native Negro and Amerindian words shall appear but few," one chapter is only a small sample; and he gives a number of words from these languages found elsewhere in the Testament.
36. D:47. "Swadesh's 200-items list in 3 Creole languages of Surinam," appended to Jan Voorhoeve, "Historical and linguistic evidence in favour of the relexification theory in the formation of creoles" (stenciled lecture delivered at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, Feb. 17, 1972) shows that in the basic vocabulary of Sranan, words of English derivation outnumber those of Dutch by more than three to one. This, however, proves little regarding the total vocabulary. The same list shows Saramaccan to be overwhelmingly Anglo-Portuguese in its basic vocabulary, yet Richard Price ("kiKóongo and Saramaccan: a reappraisal," Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 131:461-478 (1975)) argues that perhaps half of the total vocabulary, if secret jargons are included, is of African derivation.
37. D:47-48.
38. D:48-49.
39. D:50-51.
40. D:51.
41. D:56.
42. D:52-56.
43. D:57.
44. D:63.
45. D:56-57, 62-65; ECI 29:360, 363.
46. D.57-58; parallel versions D:58-62.
47. D:65.
48. D:66-75.
49. D:67-71.

50. D:72-73.
51. Jan Voorhoeve, “Varieties of Creole in Suriname; church Creole and pagan cult languages,” p. 303-315 of Dell Hymes, ed., Pidginization and creolization of languages (1971). Stewart, however, in the letter cited, doubts that the gap between spoken Negro-English and that of scriptural translation was anywhere near so wide as between contemporary church Creole and popular Sranan Tongo.
52. Note the title of Louis Ducrocq’s article, “Idiome enfantin d’une race enfantine. Le créole de l’île de France,” Revue de Lille 20:439-458 (1902).

PIDGIN HAWAIIAN

NOTES

1. In Bickerton and Odo (1976), the term ’ōlelo pa’i ’ai was used in referring to Pidgin Hawaiian. In Pukui and Elbert (1957:261), the term is defined as “Pidgin English.” In actual usage there is no true Hawaiian term distinguishing Pidgin Hawaiian from Pidgin English. Similarly, in local English, the term “Pidgin” includes any “broken language” whether it uses English or Hawaiian words.
2. Reinecke (1969:26) notes reports of nearly 3,000 Hawaiians working outside the country in 1846, primarily aboard whalers. Hawaiians must have represented a major component in the multi-ethnic whaling crews. Drechsel and Makuakāne (1982:464) note a report of Hawaiians even serving as captains of some whaling vessels. The Hawaiian influence on whalers in the North Pacific was undoubtedly increased by the wintering of the whaling crews in Hawaiian ports and the fact that the only “Western” individuals on several islands in the Marquesas, the Gilberts, and parts of eastern Micronesia were Christian Hawaiian missionaries.

3. The use of the term hapa-Haole for the English of Hawaiians appears to be an invention of Reinecke's; we have not been able to find any previous authority for it. The term Haole, originally meaning 'foreigner', came to be limited to persons of Caucasian, especially American, origin. It is rather ironic that the term hapa-Haole has been used in linguistic circles to refer to broken English, in light of the fact that many upper-class hapa-Haole persons at the turn of the century regarded their British-accented English as superior to American English. There were, of course, at the same time, many well-known hapa-Haole families of more humble means (e.g., the Lindseys and the Purdys) who were monolingual Hawaiian speakers.
4. In this and subsequent examples, the following abbreviations are used: TM, tense marker; CM, case marker; DIR, directional particle; pl., plural.
5. Since the lack of a representative body of recorded data from non-Hawaiian speakers of Pidgin Hawaiian precludes any adequate phonological analysis, phonological features of Pidgin Hawaiian will not be discussed in this article. The orthography of the source will be used for written citations. Elsewhere, standard Hawaiian orthography will be used for Hawaiian citations and the same orthography, minus macrons, glottals, and so forth, for Pidgin Hawaiian. However, although (as these omissions suggest), glottals, length distinctions, and other phonological features of Hawaiian are often lost in Pidgin Hawaiian, it must not be assumed that they are always lost. Pidgin English citations will be given in the orthography developed for Pidgin English by Carol Odo (Bickerton and Odo 1976).
6. The term pau is used in an identical manner—to mark off earlier from later events—in Pidgin English (see Bickerton and Odo 1976:147 ff).

7. We are grateful to Larry Kimura for interviewing and recording Mr. Quihano, and for his many helpful comments on the interview.
8. Copies of the original correspondence are preserved in the Hawaiian collection of the Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii. Dates of individual letters cited are given in parentheses after each citation.
9. Larry Kimura and Joseph Maka'ai, personal communication, 1983.
10. Americanization was still a potent force when Reinecke began teaching in Hawai'i in the 1930s. He was surrounded by the first generation of immigrants' children who had primary proficiency in (some form of) English rather than in their ancestral language (or Hawaiian)—a generation he termed the "new Americans" (1969:174, 179). This climate must have influenced Reinecke's interest in the origins and direction of English in Hawaii, just as the current Hawaiian cultural revival has benefited the present study through its reexamination of the history and direction of the Hawaiian language.
11. Wilson's experience in interviewing Hawaiians in conjunction with Larry Kimura and the Hawaiian language radio talk show, "Ka Leo Hawai'i," shows that the last generation of Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians (outside Ni'ihau) to have some speaking ability in Hawaiian was born between 1905 and 1920. These individuals were often caught in a crossfire between family (especially grandparents) who scolded them for using English with them and teachers (often Hawaiians themselves) who punished the children for using Hawaiian. Both the Hawaiian and the English of this generation suffered. It is natural, of course, that earlier generations should have spoken more fluent Hawaiian, but the fact that some members of them spoke more fluent English may seem paradoxical at first. However, it must be recalled that at the time when Hawaiians born before 1900 learned

English, there was no Pidgin or Creole English around—the model might be difficult to access, but it was clear and unambiguous. Moreover, an individual whose sense of identity is linked to the Hawaiian language will feel that identity much less threatened by Standard English than one whose identity is rooted in Creole English.

THE SUBSTANCE OF CREOLE STUDIES: A REAPPRAISAL

NOTES

1. Sankoff and Laberge 1973 was not available to me. I have assumed that it is similar in content to Sankoff and Laberge 1974.
2. Mühlhäusler (1980:32) disagrees with this proposition as well.
3. The other areas discussed were elaboration of derivational morphology, development of number marking, cliticization of subject pronouns, establishment of an irrealis marker, and development of morphological causatives.
4. The fact of the matter is that it is difficult to find a corner of the earth in which European colonial expansion has not been present since the 16th century A.D.!
5. According to Bickerton (1981:83), the First Law of Creole Studies states: “Every creolist’s analysis can be directly contradicted by that creolist’s own texts and citations.”
6. As late as 1866, a full 32 years after the Emancipation Act, Gamble (1866:30) wrote:

In Trinidad we have Africans, but of many different tribes, speaking different dialects, and with very marked differences in character.

7. If Africans, Japanese, or Hawaiians had been the pioneers of creole studies, they probably would have lamented the break in transmission of their several languages and similar remarks would have been possible.

8. The same argument would not hold for an adult introduced to the pidgin setting.
9. I am grateful to Ms. Kazuko Tsunoda-Rankine for discussion of my interpretation of these sentences.

VERB FRONTING IN CREOLE: TRANSMISSION OR BIOPROGRAM?

NOTES

1. This paper is based on work supported by the Research Committee of the University of Auckland. Language data were provided by the following: Richard Barz (Hindi, Bhojpuri), John Inniss (Swahili), Mateus Katupha (Makuwa), Abdu M. Khamisi (Haya, Swahili), Atsuko Kikuchi (Japanese), Frantisek Lichtenberk (Czech), Guy and Marie-Thérèse Savy (Seychelles Creole), Hans-Peter Stoffel (Russian), Loreto Todd (Cameroonian), Vadivel Vencatachellum (Mauritian Creole), and a young man in Los Angeles whose name I have unfortunately mislaid (Yiddish). I am grateful to Philip Baker and Ian Hancock for assistance rendered at various times, and to Derek Bickerton for his extensive comments on an earlier draft of this paper, which is a revised and greatly extended version of part of Sémantaxe bantoue dans le créole de l'Isle de France, a paper prepared for the Fourth International Colloquium of Creole Studies, Lafayette, Louisiana, May 1983.

The term "Isle de France Creole" embraces Mauritian Creole (MC) and its two "daughter languages, Seychelles Creole (SC) and Rodrigues Creole (RoC), see Baker and Corne (1982). The following abbreviations are used in the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses: ANT - anterior, past; CLP - noun class prefix; CNP - concordial prefix; COMP - completive; DEF - definite, demonstrative; EMP - emphasis; FUT - future, irrealis; IMP - imperative; INF - infinitive prefix; NEG - negator, negative; NOM - nominalizing particle; PAS -

past, anterior; PL - plural; PROG - progressive, nonpunctual; REL - relativizer, complementizer. The precise values of these items are not important for this discussion.

2. IdeFC appears to be unique among creole languages in adopting this strategy. The form se is also attested (for discussion, see Corne 1982:41). Note that sa/se occurs only in the affirmative present:

(i) (SC) pa ti ê katiolo ki n disparent, ti ê kanot lapes
NEG PAS a dinghy REL COMP disappear PAS a boat fishing
"it wasn't a dinghy that had disappeared, it was a fishing boat"

3. The context is a conversation between a dog and a king, in a folktale (see Baker 1972:195).
4. This statement is based on data provided by a single SC speaker resident in New Zealand; I do not have data collected in situ in support.
5. Note that in Jamaican, a no contrasts with no alone, as in:

(ii) no tiif Kofi tiif di manggo !
NEG steal Kofi stole the mango !
'Kofi did steal the mango'

This use of no in Jamaican is similar to the NEG-initial sentences in IdeFC (12) and (14), and to the "rhetorical" (negative emphatic) questions and statements with pa i in SC (Corne 1977:177-8), both semantically and structurally. It is possible that the IdeFC structure napa V ki NP VP (sentences 12 and 14) is connected in some way with the pa i structure.
6. Note that the action verb mú, with no particle of tense-mode-aspect preceding, corresponds to the Past. Zero-marking of action verbs for Past is the "classic" creole pattern, see Bickerton (1981:58-9).

7. The use of NEG for emphasis is not a Bantu exclusivity, of course. Compare the Texan T-shirt slogan *If you ain't from Texas, you ain't shit*, where the *ain't* of the main clause is equivalent to *are truly* or *are even less than*.
8. There is another Bantu structure, involving relative clauses where the same verb appears twice. For example, in Swahili:

(iii) ku- -cheza ni- -li- -ko- -cheza
INF play I PAS REL play
'the game that I played'

Such sentences are unmarked (as opposed to verb fronting, which is marked for emphasis) and are perhaps roughly equivalent to such English sentences as *the wish that I wished (for)*, where *wish* is both noun and verb. This occurs also in IdeFC, as in the following SC example:

(iv) sa mâze ki nu n mâze
DEF eat REL we COMP eat
'the food we have eaten'

French sources, such as *le manger que nous avons mangé* 'id.' are often perfectly appropriate ones for the creole examples, but it would be a useful exercise to establish to what extent, if at all, IdeFC uses as nouns verbal items not so used in French. For example, the "verb" *bate* 'beat' may occur as the head of NPs in such examples as:

(v) (SC) sa bate ki i n gaŷe ek larul
DEF beating REL he COMP get with swell
'that beating he got from the (ocean) swell'

Of course, both (iv) and (v), with different intonation pattern, are also examples of topicalization. As they stand, they are not complete sentences, any more than (iii) is. But none of this seems relevant to the matter under consideration here.

9. Ian Hancock drew Ottley's example to my attention. For an example of a reflex of Spanish VERB - QU - VERB in Philippine Creole Spanish (Zamboangueño), see Forman (1972:222).
10. I have suggested elsewhere (Corne 1982:100-1) that the "i-reprise" (predicate-initial i) characteristic of SC might reflect the predicate-initial concord prefixes of Bantu languages. There are however so many other explanations, ranging from the highly speculative to the highly probable, for this phenomenon, that I am by no means wedded to the idea. The resemblance is of function, not of form:

(vi) (Makuwa)	e-	-khoropa	e-	-na-	-lya
	CLP	giant African land snail	CNP	PROG	eat

(vii) (SC)	-kurpa	i ape	mâze
	snail	i PROG	eat
	'the snail is eating'		

11. Most of the African-born people in Mauritius from 1721-1810 had verb fronting in their home language, which was, in the vast majority of cases, a Bantu language. As already mentioned, West Africans were an important element of the Mauritian population in the earliest years of settlement (Baker 1982a:176-86). Baker identifies three (groups of) languages which may well have been fairly widely used in Mauritius at that time: Fon and other "Kwa" languages, Wolof and possibly other languages of Senegambia, and the Mande group including Bambara (1982a:254). Of these, at least the "Kwa" languages exhibit verb fronting.

THE NEED FOR A MULTIDIMENSIONAL MODEL

NOTE

The Rastafarian movement originated in Jamaica, taking its inspiration from the leadership of the Emperor of Ethiopia, Ras Tafari Haile Selassie, against the 1936 colonizing war of Italy. It inherited earlier "back to Africa" and African renaissance philosophies, providing the concept of an alternative society within which the full dignity of Black identity could be achieved. The argot associated with this movement, which has now spread throughout the Caribbean and to Britain, was very much an act of identity by its members. (See Cassidy and Le Page, Dictionary of Jamaican English, dread talk.)

DECREOLIZATION PATHS FOR GUYANESE SINGULAR PRONOUNS

NOTES

1. This condition has been challenged by Robertson (1982), based on data from Dutch Creole in Guyana and French Creole in Trinidad, both of which seem to have been decreolizing in the face of pressure from Standard English.
2. The point is that it is only Reefer's 1 (instead of 12) pattern in the third feminine object subcategory which forces us to order column VI before column VII. Of course I still do not think we can disregard Reefer's invariance here, and this is why I have retained the ordering of column VI before VII even though it causes a reversal of Bickerton's original ordering.
3. Note, however, that the ordering of the last three columns in Table 2 is not strictly determined by the data, since all of them begin with 12 indices. These columns were ordered as they were, given the existence of a choice here, so as to increase the comparability of Tables 1 and 2.

4. The total number of pronoun tokens for the twenty-four Cane Walk speakers I recorded was 11,424 over all nine subcategories, or approximately 476 per individual. Bickerton (1973:662) notes that the data total for the fifty-nine speakers in his scale (Table 1) is "well over two thousand pronoun tokens." Assuming this to be around 2,360 tokens, this works out to an average of 40 per individual, or 11.9 times less than for the Cane Walk individuals (476 ÷ 40).
5. Sociolinguists have, in general, not succeeded in "plumbing" the linguistic competence of their consultants or informants as fully as they might, particularly in studies of creole continua. One aspect of our failure in this respect is our neglect of native-speaker intuitions, a point emphasized in Rickford (1981).

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UTTERANCE STRUCTURE IN BASILANG SPEECH

NOTES

1. This and similar figures in the examples refer to the page and line (here page 1, line 5) of the transcript from which the example is taken.
2. It might be argued that, because of Ah Chun's initial and indeed extended contact with English in Hong Kong, her interlanguage may actually be Chinese Pidgin English (CPE). However, a comparison of her speech with the description of CPE provided by Hall (1944) indicates this is not the case. CPE has a passive-transitive suffix [əm], auxiliary + verb constructions (have come = came; have toki = said, told), aspects of word formation, and many other features which are not found in Ah Chun's speech; CPE seems to be more developed than this subject's interlanguage. We would not expect basilang Chinese-English, which is a secondary hybrid (Whinnom 1971), to be identical to CPE, because the latter has existed since the eighteenth century and is a highly developed tertiary hybrid. However, if it were shown that Ah Chun was speaking CPE, then because of the similarity between her speech and that of Klein's (1981) and Dittmar's (1982) subjects, we would have additional support for the equation of early second language acquisition and pidginization.
3. Contrary to the basic pattern for the development of VP morphology in the basilang, Tamiko, for some reason, uses am (copula) with greater accuracy than is copula.
4. Readers who would like to see portions of the original transcripts from which the data in this paper were taken may write to me at the Department of English (TESL), UCLA, 405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90024, USA.

EARLY PIDGINIZATION IN HAWAII

NOTE

1. As evidence of the pidginized speech of the sailors in those times, we read in Chamisso (1952), Reise um die Welt: “In our isolated, wandering world, from all the languages spoken aboard or ashore, from all the anecdotes and social occasions, a cant language had been built up, which would be barely intelligible to a stay-at-home.” Chamisso was a German who traveled around the world in the early 1800s.

THE HISTORY OF RESEARCH INTO TOK PISIN 1900-1975

NOTES

1. Beach-la-Mar is the cover name for varieties of Pidgin English spoken in the southwestern Pacific in the second half of the last century. Only some of Churchill’s data relate directly to the New Guinea area. Note that present-day Bislama (Pidgin English of Vanuatu) should not be confused with earlier Pacific Pidgins, as the similarity of name is accidental.
2. This kind of prescription (i.e., quasi-Melanesian syntax combined with near-English vocabulary) reflects the widespread folk view that pidgin languages combine European vocabulary with non-European syntax. There are good linguistic reasons for rejecting such a simplistic account of these languages.
3. The need for revision relates to the fact that the original volume was written in the days of Australian colonial administration and, therefore, fails to cater to some of the communicative needs of an independent Papua New Guinea.

4. This grammar is of particular interest as it is based on Tok Pisin as spoken by the non-Austronesian Bainings of the New Britain interior, that is, it shows that, at this point, Tok Pisin had already acquired its linguistic independence from its original principal substratum language, Tolai.
5. Gunther's article reflects the more general problem of imposing expatriate criteria on the linguistic valuation of Tok Pisin. The difference between local and expatriate attitudes on these matters is highlighted in an article by Mühlhäusler (1982a).
6. Some of the structural consequences of the use of Tok Pisin in writing are discussed in an article by Siegel (1981).
7. A particularly annoying version of this argument appears in a recent article by Siebeck (1982), which was brought to my attention by Ulrike Mosel of Cologne University, who intends to write a reply to it.
8. A summary of the theoretical considerations of this study is given in Mühlhäusler (1983).
9. A more detailed study by Mühlhäusler will appear in the Handbook of Tok Pisin (Wurm, Mühlhäusler, and Laycock forthcoming).
10. General problems of etymologizing for Tok Pisin are discussed in Mühlhäusler (1982b).

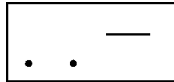
SUPRASEGMENTALS IN GUYANESE: SOME AFRICAN COMPARISONS

NOTES

1. As noted by, for example, Cassidy (1957) and Craig (1982).
2. My thanks are due to many people, but especially to David Dwyer, Glenn Gilbert, Maurice Holder, John Holm, and David Lawton, who read the original draft of this paper, made comments and corrections, and volunteered further information and references. The first version included sections on Jamaican Creole and West African (non-Pidgin) English,

which have been excised for reasons of space. One well-taken criticism is the absence of Krio; this was not included since, as an originally reimported creole, spoken by "repatriated" people, it is rather in the position of Guyanese itself. Nonetheless, as Hancock (1970) points out, Krio may have had considerable influence on the development of Pidgin, and this aspect I hope to take up in later work.

3. The situation is actually far more complex than this, but the connotations hold good for the examples cited.
4. Some speakers would have Mid-Level Nucleus here: twenty-"one



5. See also Wells (1982:574) on the similarity of the Stepping Head to the downdrift patterns of African languages. The Stepping Head, however, has connotations of emphasis, which African downdrift does not.
6. This line is usually given the emphatic pattern by actresses playing the part of Lady Bracknell in Oscar Wilde's The Impor tance of Being Ernest.
7. The (.) under monosyllabic can't represents the moment of silence during the latter part of the stress foot, when the tongue is in position for [t], but does not complete plosion.
8. Holder (pers. comm.) rightly observes that this feature would make Guyanese a pitch accent language; compare also Wells (1981:572–83).
9. In Carter (1983) I cast doubt on the existence of such pairs, of which Allsopp has provided several examples; I hereby retract and apologize for my doubts. Compare also Alleyne (1980:69–74), who discusses the whole question of tone in Caribbean Creoles, and furnishes similar pairs.
10. See Alleyne (1980:106) for examples of similar structures in Jamaican Creole.

11. I have dispensed with the downstep mark for Stewart's "automatic downstep," which applies to all Hs immediately following L. In the present analysis, this is regarded as the manifestation of downdrift, which is predictable and consequently needs no marking.
12. This is counter to the prevailing trend as stated by Hyman (1975:227–8) that "Virtually all languages exhibiting automatic downdrift have only two tones" and citing "most dialects of Yoruba" as examples of systems with three tones and no downdrift. Carnochan's evidence for the existence of downdrift in Yoruba is, however, convincing.
13. The example *potogí* 'a Portuguese' given by Salami is more probably from the semijocular back-formation *Portuguee*, recorded by the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1971) as "having arisen in vulgar use, esp. among sailors." Similarly, *kpóo* 'pot' is better attributed to French *pot* than to English *pot* with loss of final consonant. The word *shíle* itself may be from Pidgin.
14. Salami also records *sukúru*.
15. Compare Daeleman (1966) for statement of the case system in the Ntandu dialect of Kongo.
16. On the other side of the continent, in Mozambique, Makua shows a similar treatment of Portuguese loans, for example, *e-siínku* 'half-escudo coin' from *cinco* 'five', *oóro* 'gold' from *ouro*, and *kurucáato* 'coin of low value', compare Brazilian *cruzeiro* (?). (Data from Mateus Katupha, pers. comm.) Languages with penultimate lengthening do not display this feature. Both Shona and Nyanja are languages of the latter kind, and have single (but lengthened) vowels for the following: Shona *bházi* 'bus', *bhóra* 'ball', *góridhi* 'gold', *chikóro* 'school', all from English; Nyanja loans from Portuguese, *nsapáto* 'boot' (*sapato*), *kaláta* 'letter' (*carta*), and *chipéwa* 'hat' (*chapeu*).

17. Dwyer (n.d.:8) states that this anaptyctic vowel is always L, but his examples all show the absence of marking which in his notation symbolizes WH.
18. Fyle (1969:325) proposes an interesting hypothesis of development from English of the very similar patterns in Krio (a tritonemic language in his description), such as watá, via a rising tone on the first syllable. See Hancock (1970:17) and Berry (1971:512–8) for possible influence of Krio on Pidgin.
19. Dwyer (pers. comm.).
20. Yoruba ɔ̀lidɛ́ 'holiday' probably derives from this, rather than the English holiday.
21. See Alleyne (1980:106) for examples of the man formations in Jamaican Creole, Saramaccan, Sranan, and Krio.

THE PORTUGUESE ELEMENT IN THE AMERICAN CREOLES

NOTES

1. A summary of this article entitled "The Portuguese element in the New World Creoles" appeared in the Proceedings of the Chicago Linguistic Society (1982). Prior versions were presented orally in Ann Arbor, Michigan; in Carbondale, Illinois; and in Paramaribo, Suriname, at the Fourth Biennial Conference of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics (Sept. 1-4, 1982). A number of scholars have seen earlier drafts, some of whom have given valuable advice, in particular, Frederic G. Cassidy, Eric Hamp, John Holm, William Stewart, Jan Voorhoeve, Ivor Wilks, and the honoree of this volume, John Reinecke. Major editoral assistance was provided by Glenn Gilbert and Craig Sirles.

Reinecke's response (February 9, 1982) included the following comment: "At the SCL conference in Aruba, Bob Le Page said he was going to undertake a detailed study of population movements in the Caribbean, as being necessary to

an understanding of the linguistic developments in the area. Within the scope of this study, you have beat him to it, with (I think) valuable results and sound conclusions."

2. Apart from his tendency to emphasize (some might say exaggerate) the African contribution to New World Negro culture, Herskovits' main motive in advancing this view in opposition to the traditional one may have been that the latter had become associated in the popular mind with the ridiculous canard (going back to the eighteenth century most likely, if not earlier) that the Jews were harsher than other owners in the treatment of their slaves, who therefore had a greater tendency to escape (Donicie and Voorhoeve 1963:i). In fact, as will be shown below, the large proportion of runaways from Jewish plantations among the early Saramaccans can easily be explained without assuming that these plantations suffered an abnormally high rate of escape.
3. Only after completing this article did I have the opportunity to read Ziegler's (1982) discussion of the origin of the Surinamese Creoles. In it (p. 83), he cited the following personal communication from Voorhoeve responding to Price's (1976:37-8) recently uncovered information: "I am ready to acknowledge that there may have been a more Portuguese-based Creole on the plantations." This statement shows that Voorhoeve had developed serious second thoughts about his earlier position on the question.
4. The Spanish spelling caballo (compare Portuguese cavalo) is problematical. The substitution of b for v is universal in Saramaccan words of Portuguese origin, and, thus, has little significance. On the other hand, the use of 11 may indicate a Spanish pronunciation. Except, perhaps, for Saramaccan tereya 'star' (more likely from Spanish estrella than Portuguese estrela; Schuchardt 1914:109), not a single word in any Surinamese Creole must be traced to Spanish rather than to Portuguese. Nevertheless, among the Surinamese

Jews there were, doubtless, Spanish speakers, including, probably, some of those from Livorno (see above) and some from Holland, and their language might have had a slight impact on the local vernaculars. Hilfman, who served as rabbi in Suriname at the beginning of this century, wrote of the early documents of the Jewish community there, that, "The language used in nearly all … are the Spanish and the Portuguese, very often confusedly in one and the same document" (Rens 1953:28). Thus, it is quite likely that a few hispanisms entered the Dju-Tongo.

5. The claim that the preverbal markers ka 'present' and ke 'future' entered Antillean and Cayenne Creole from some form of Creole Portuguese (Taylor 1965, Hull 1979) will be dealt with in a forthcoming article. There are a number of difficulties in accepting it.
6. These are capitou 'chief, mire 'look(like)', mouche 'much, very', patates 'food, bread', and pequins 'small, weak, insignificant'.
7. Two completely separate utterances cited by Bouton (1640:117- 8), mouche manigat, mon compère, and moy non faché à toy are misleadingly run together in Goodman (1164:104). The first was said by some Indians who had unsuccessfully attempted to push down a newly built brick house. They were obviously describing its solidity. The word manigat even entered Bouton's written French; referring to some Indians from the mainland, he wrote, "ceux ce sont merveilleusement manigats, ou adroits à la pesche, et à la chasse du lézard" (1640:104).

METACOMMUNICATIVE FUNCTIONS OF MOBILIAN JARGON, AN AMERICAN INDIAN PIDGIN OF THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI RIVER REGION

NOTES

This contribution grew out of my doctoral dissertation (Drechsel 1979: especially section 5.3), where the reader can find more detailed bibliographic references to the descriptive and historical literature relating to Mobilian Jargon. The following passages incorporate additional evidence and new arguments, which I first presented in their present form at the 21st Conference on American Indian Languages at the 81st Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Washington, D.C., on December 6, 1982.

My research on Mobilian Jargon was made possible by financial support from the Newberry Library, Chicago, and from the National Institute of Mental Health (with the National Research Service Award 5F31 MH05926-01/02). In studying this American Indian Pidgin during the past years, I have also drawn on the assistance of numerous individuals, and among them especially James M. Crawford, William W. Elmendorf, Hiram F. ("Pete") Gregory, my wife T. Haunani Makuakāne-Drechsel, Claude Medford, Ernest Sickey, the late Lessie Simon, and Louisa R. Stark. I express my gratitude to all of these people as well as to John and Aiko Reinecke for their generous moral support and encouragement in my studies.

1. The term cross-lingual is coined here in analogy to that of cross-cultural as used in ethnology, and refers to a broadly conceived comparative approach in the study of language and its diverse manifestations. Such a concept is quite opportune here in view of the fact that the study of pidgins and creoles has inadvertently been concentrated on European-based cases.

2. That MJ may have spread even as far north as the present-day city of Omaha in the 1780s is evident from some recent research by David Sherwood, who has presented some limited evidence in support of his hypothesis in a book review (Sherwood 1983:441).
3. For recent descriptions of MJ, see Crawford (1978), Drechsel (1979, 1983b, 1984), and Haas (1975). See also Drechsel (1983a).
4. His precise words were:

> d'ailleurs cette Langue n'est plus si nécessaire que dans le temps que je demeurois dans cette Province, parce l'on n'est plus si voisins ni en si grande relation avec les Naturels (Le Page du Pratz 1758:II.323).

5. For a description of MJ grammar in some detail and its preliminary comparison with Western Muskogean, see Drechsel (1979:52-111, 175-86); also cf. Crawford (1978:76-97), Drechsel (1984:143-55), and Haas (1975).

NARRATIVE STRUCTURE IN CHINOOK JARGON

NOTES

We are glad to be able to join in honoring the memory of John Reinecke. Twenty years ago his work was the major piece available to represent the now flourishing field of pidginization in Hymes (1964).

1. Zenk wishes to express his gratitude to Mrs. Riggs and Mrs. Petite, and to all the other Grand Ronde people who have helped him. He also gratefully acknowledges the Melville and Elizabeth Jacobs Research Fund for supporting his work with Mrs. Riggs and other surviving Chinook Jargon speakers from the Grand Ronde Indian community. The only other scholar to interview Mrs. Riggs in recent years, so far

as we know, was Susan Philips. A result of that was a joint review, in which Mrs. Riggs is quoted at some length (see Philips and Riggs 1973).

2. Not the person featured in the following narrative—the latter was Mrs. Riggs' natural father, who adopted her after the death of her mother.

CONTRIBUTORS

M. Lionel Bender (Ph.D., University of Texas at Austin) is professor and former chair of anthropology at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale. His primary research interest is the description and classification of northeast African languages, one aspect of which is how they relate to creolization and related phenomena such as language origins. Many of his publications result from his extensive research and fieldwork in Ethiopia and Sudan.

Derek Bickerton (Ph.D., Cambridge University) is professor of linguistics at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. He has taught in England, Ghana, Guyana, Brazil, Hawaii, and Holland, and has conducted fieldwork on Guyanese Creole and Hawaiian Creole. His principal publications include *Dynamics of a Creole System* and *Roots of Language.* His proposal that a language "bioprogram" (activated during creolization) acts to provide a key to language universals, language acquisition by the individual, and language acquisition by the human race in prehistory has caused him to become one of the best-known and most controversial creolists of recent times.

Lawrence D. Carrington (Ph.D., University of the West Indies) is senior research fellow with the Faculty of Education, University of the West Indies, Trinidad. His main research interests have been the structure of St. Lucian Creole, the instrumentalization of creoles in the Caribbean, the issues in education related to the coexistence of creoles and standard European languages in that region, as well as the nature of children's speech in Trinidad and Tobago. He has lectured extensively on

creole linguistics both at his university and at several North American institutions. He is a former president of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics.

Hazel Carter (M.A. Oxon., University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies) is professor in the Department of African Languages and Literature at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Her publications include grammatical and phonological studies, with particular emphasis on tonology, language-teaching materials, semantics and literature, and, more recently, the phonology of the Anglophone Caribbean creoles, and the survival of African-language influences—notably in Jamaican and Guyanese. She has done fieldwork in Africa and the Caribbean.

Chris Corne (Ph.D., University of Auckland) is associate professor of French at the University of Auckland. He has published numerous journal articles, largely on topics in Creole French, and is the author of *Seychelles Creole Grammar* and coauthor of *Isle de France Creole: Affinities and Origins.*

Richard R. Day (Ph.D., University of Hawaii at Manoa) is professor in the Department of English As a Second Language and assistant vice president for Academic Affairs at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. His main area of research is on Hawaiian Creole English. He has published articles on issues related to educational implications for creole speakers and is the volume editor of *Issues in English Creoles.*

Emanuel J. Drechsel (Ph.D., University of Wisconsin-Madison) is assistant professor of anthropology and linguistics at the University of Oklahoma. His special interest is in American Indians and the sociocultural dimensions of language change and contact, with emphasis on the application of theoretical concepts derived from pidgin and creole studies to American Indian linguistics. His major work has been on a sociolinguistic and ethnohistorical case study of Mobilian Jargon, a Native American pidgin of Louisiana.

Luiz Ivens Ferraz (M.A., University of the Witwatersrand) is best known for his insightful studies of Portuguese Creoles in Africa. He has taught at the University of the Witwatersrand, the Federal Rural University of Rio de Janeiro, the University

of Zimbabwe, and the Academy for Tertiary Education in Windhoek, Namibia. Since 1984 he has been a language researcher at the Chamber of Mines in Johannesburg. He has done fieldwork on Ronga (an African language of southern Mozambique), the creoles São Tomense, Angolar, and Principense in the Gulf of Guinea, and the pidgin Fanagalo in the Transvaal, Natal, Zimbabwe, and Namibia. From this work he has compiled a book, *The Creole of São Tomé,* and has published numerous articles. He was a student of Marius Valkhoff and has long been associated with the legacy of Valkhoff's ideas in South Africa.

Glenn G. Gilbert (Ph.D., Harvard University), the editor of this volume, is professor of linguistics at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale. He has taught German linguistics, general linguistics, sociolinguistics, and creolistics at the University of Texas at Austin and at Southern Illinois University. He is the author of *Linguistic Atlas of Texas German* and has edited books on bilingualism among the descendents of European ethnics in Texas, the German language in America, applied educational sociolinguistics, and Schuchardt and the history of creolistics. His research has dealt with the non-British and non-European influences that have helped shape American English and draw it in a new direction not shared by English elsewhere. He is editor of the *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages.*

Morris Goodman (Ph.D., Columbia University) is associate professor in the Department of Linguistics at Northwestern University. He has taught African languages and linguistics at the Hebrew University, the University of California at Los Angeles, Northwestern, the University of Wisconsin, and the International Linguistic Summer Course in Kiel, Germany, and has taught courses on pidgins and creoles both at Northwestern and at Kiel. He has published articles on a variety of topics, as well as a book on the comparative study of Creole French dialects.

Ian Hancock (Ph.D., University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies) is professor of linguistics and English at the University of Texas at Austin. His major work has been with Malaccan Creole Portuguese, Liberian English, and Angloromani —none of which had been previously described linguistically. He also discovered the existence of Gullah-speaking communities in Texas, Mexico, and Oklahoma, and was the first

to document this variety of what he calls Sea Islands Creole. In creole studies he has recently proposed "the domestic hypothesis." He is writing a book exploring the hypothesis as it relates to the social and linguistic consequences of early English contact with the peoples of the Upper Guinea Coast.

John Holm (Ph.D., University of London) is associate professor of English and linguistics at Hunter College and the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. For the past several years he has been working on a survey of pidgin and creole languages for Cambridge University Press. His study of Portuguese and Yoruba for this project led to the fieldwork in Brazil on which his contribution to this volume is based. He compiled the *Dictionary of Bahamian English* (with Alison Shilling), edited *Central American English,* and coedited *Focus on the Caribbean* (with Manfred Görlach).

Dell Hymes (Ph.D., Indiana University), formerly dean of the Graduate School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania, is professor of anthropology at the Center for Advanced Study of the University of Virginia. He has held teaching positions at Harvard University and at the University of California at Berkeley, and was president of the Linguistic Society of America. He has worked for many years with the Chinookan languages of Oregon and Washington. His major publications include *Pidgini zation and Creolization of Languages, Foundations in Sociolinguistics,* and *In Vain I Tried to Tell You.*

Robert B. Le Page (Ph.D., University of Birmingham) is professor of language and linguistic science at the University of York. He started the Linguistic Survey of the British Caribbean in 1951 and organized the first international conference on creole studies in Jamaica in 1959. Since 1967 he has directed a joint research program in creole languages and multilingualism with Andrée Tabouret-Keller of the Université Louis Pasteur in Strasbourg. His publications have been chiefly on topics in Old English prosody, creole studies, and sociolinguistics.

Peter Mühlhäusler (M.A. Oxon., Ph.D. Australian National University) is a Fellow of Linacre College, Oxford, and the University Lecturer in General Linguistics in the University of Oxford. He is the author of *Pidginization and Creolization of Language, Growth and Structure of the Lexicon of New Guinea*

Pidgin, and *Pidgin and Creole Linguistics.* He coedited and coauthored the *Handbook of Tok Pisin* (with Professor S. A. Wurm) and is at present codirecting a major international project, the "Atlas of Languages for Inter-Cultural Communication in the Pacific Area." He has published numerous articles in general linguistics, Pacific Linguistics, and pidgin and creole studies.

Robert Nicolaï (Doctorat des Lettres, Université de Nice) is director of the Institut d'Etudes et de Recherches Interethniques et Interculturelles at the Université de Nice. He spent many years in Niger and taught at the University of Niamey, where he directed the linguistics department. He is the author of numerous publications on African languages, most notably *Les dialectes du songhay* (a people of Mali and Niger) and *Pré liminaires à une étude sur l'origine du songhay.*

Aiko T. Reinecke (B.Ed., University of Hawaii at Manoa) taught in the Hawaii public school system from 1926 through 1947. In 1948, in a political cause célèbre, she and her husband were dismissed from their teaching positions. In 1978 they were exonerated by the State Board of Education and were compensated by the State of Hawaii for violation of their constitutional rights.

John R. Rickford (Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania) is assistant professor of linguistics at Stanford University. He is a former editor of *The Carrier Pidgin* newsletter and is the author of numerous publications (including *Dimensions of a Creole Continuum*) in the areas of sociolinguistics, variation theory, and creolistics. His research to date has focused on the sociolinguistic analysis, origin, and diffusion of various features of Guyanese Creole, Gullah, and United States Black English, and their implications for sociolinguistic theory and methodology. He is also studying the relations between black and white vernacular speech in East Palo Alto, California.

Charlene J. Sato (Ph.D., University of California at Los Angeles) is assistant professor in the Department of English As a Second Language at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. Her research has focused on language variation and change in Hawaii, interlanguage development, and second language classroom

discourse, and she has published extensively on these topics. She is working on a volume entitled “Hawaiian Creole English: A Handbook for Teachers.”

John H. Schumann (Ed.D., Harvard University) is professor in the Department of English at the University of California at Los Angeles, where he chairs the program in TESL/Applied Linguistics. He is the author of *The Pidginization Process: A Model for Second Language Acquisition.* At present, he is conducting research on the experimental creation of pidgin languages.

William H. Wilson (Ph.D., University of Hawaii at Manoa) is associate professor of Hawaiian studies, languages, and linguistics at the University of Hawaii-Hilo. He has published articles and monographs on the Hawaiian language and Oceanic possessive marking. He is involved in Hawaiian language revival and maintenance through immersion education.

Henry Zenk (Ph.D., University of Oregon) is an independent researcher in Portland, Oregon. He studied philosophy, biological sciences, and anthropology prior to the completion of his degree in anthropology in 1984. His major area of interest is in the native peoples and cultures of western Oregon, and he is doing research on Chinook Jargon as it is spoken among elders of the Grand Ronde Indian Community.