

New Europe College Yearbook 2003-2004



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Editor: Irina Vainovski-Mihai

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ISSN 1584-0298

NEW EUROPE COLLEGE

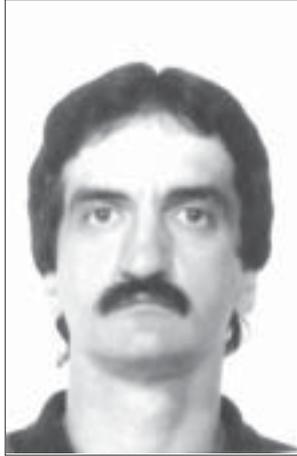
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ECOLOGY MEETS IDEOLOGY: THE CASE OF CREOLE LANGUAGES

1. Introduction

In this paper I examine various issues in the genesis of creole languages from the perspective of language ecology. The creole varieties considered are the Atlantic and Pacific English pidgins and creoles. For reasons of space, the analysis is restricted to the so-called world-wide features of these varieties of restructured English.

The paper is structured as follows: section 1 – introduction; section 2 provides a summary of the ecological or ecolinguistic framework; section 3 looks at ideological prejudices and stereotypes of creole languages; section 4 outlines the theory of creole genesis adopted in this paper; section 5 gives a brief description of the world-wide features found in English pidgins and creoles, sources and the methodology; section 6 presents the views of Baker and Huber (2001) on the emergence of world-wide features in English pidgins and creoles; section 7 contains an own account; and section 8 presents some conclusions.

2. Ecology of language

Language ecology or ecolinguistics was pioneered by Haugen (1972) and is seen increasingly as an insightful approach to issues such as language change (Mufwene 1998b, 2001a, b, and 2002a, b, Mühlhäusler 1996), language contact (Mufwene 1998b), linguistic diversity (Dixon 1997, Nettle and Romaine 2000), and language death (Crystal 2000, Dixon 1997, Hagège 2003, Harmon 1996 and 1998, Hazaël-Massieux 1999, Nettle and Romaine 2000). The particular framework adopted here is that which is outlined in a number of works by Mufwene (1996a, b,

1998a, b, 2001b, and 2002a). Mufwene's model is rooted in ecology and population genetics.

According to Mufwene, a language is a species with two essential characteristics. On the one hand, it is a Lamarckian species, whose genetic makeup can change several times in its lifetime. On the other hand, a language is a parasitic species, i.e., dependent on its hosts (i.e., speakers, society, culture).

A language is changed by the effects the environment directly exerts on individual members (i.e., speakers), rather than on the species itself (i.e., the language). Selections at the level of the individual (i.e. speaker) become selections at the level of the species (i.e., language) via multiple articulation of selection in a population, i.e. different selections applying at different levels within a population. The selections made by individuals (i.e., speakers) correspond to the genotype. The selections made by the community are conducive to changes in the language. Microevolutionary processes thus lead to macroevolutionary developments, hence speciation. In a competition-and-selection process, individuals (i.e., speakers) contribute features (analogized to genes) to a pool. Selection is similar to genetic recombination in the model blending inheritance. Selection is also polyploidic since there is no limit to the number of individuals that can pass on a feature.

Ecology is the decisive factor both in the competition among individuals within a species (i.e. speakers of a language) and among species (i.e., languages) sharing the same habitat (i.e., area). Ecology favors some individuals (i.e., speakers) or species (i.e., languages), by giving them a selective advantage over others. There are no individuals (i.e., speakers) or species (i.e., languages) in an environment that are more fit than others. Finally, in this view, a distinction is made between species, i.e., language-internal ecology and species, language-external ecology. The former is at the level of individuals (i.e., speakers) whereas the latter is at the level of species (i.e., languages)

3. Ideological prejudices and stereotypes of pidgins and creoles

The examples listed below (from Holm 2000, Mühlhäusler 1997, and Sebba 1997) illustrate some widely held beliefs and misconceptions about pidgins and creoles. As will be shown, the prejudices and stereotypes of

pidgins and creoles are more in number than those of other small languages, as discussed by Dorian (1998).

Consider first some general characterizations: “absurd”; “an amusing speech”; “baby talk”; “barbarous, mixed, imperfect phrase”; “broken”; “a crude macaronic lingo”; “debased mongrel jargon”; “demeaning”; “extremely clumsy”; “far from ideal”; “horrible jargon”; “a perversion [of English]”; “roundabout and wordy”; “a simplified corrupted version of our language” [“our language” being English]; “vile gibberish”. On occasion, quite elaborated condemnations are encountered: “The Sierra Leone patois is a kind of invertebrate omnium gatherum of all sorts, a veritable ola podrida collected from many different languages without regard to harmony or precision: it is largely defective and sadly wanting in many of the essentials and details that make up and dignify a language. It is a standing menace and a disgrace”. Ideologically loaded definitions are also found in dictionaries. For instance, in *The Chambers dictionary* (1993), pidgin is defined as “any combination and distortion of two languages as a means of communication”.

Not surprisingly, overt racism is well documented. Consider the following selection of relevant quotations (arranged in chronological order). According to one writer, “[i]t is clear that people used to expressing themselves with a rather simple language cannot easily elevate their intelligence to the genius of a European language” (1849). Phonological adjustments are explained away: “the Negroes [...] trying to adapt them [English words] to their speech organs” (1856). Speakers are allegedly of “limited intelligence” (1872). The preference for labial sounds “can be explained by the well developed lips of the Negroes” (1887). Blacks “can never give up their Negro way of thinking” (1913). Finally, consider the following entries in a glossary (1951) of Fanakalo (a Zulu-based pidgin spoken in South Africa): “**AS**, adv. ... **sa**. Unbelievable but true. Proves that the native mind works in the opposite direction to ours; **BEAT**, vb. ... **chaiya** [...] “I’ll beat you”; “Mena chaiya wena.” If you are going to get any effect do it first and talk later; **LIE**, vb. ... It is extraordinary that there are so few words to describe this national pastime of the native Africans”

Consider next instances of perpetuation of patent inventions, from one “source” to another. The following lengthy circumlocutions are the alleged Melanesian Pidgin English equivalent of E *piano*. Note that the last citation is quite recent: *big fellow box spouse whiteman fight him he cry too much* (1902); *big fellow bokkes, suppose missus he fight him, he*

cry too much (1911); *big fellow box, stop house, suppose you fight him, him cry* (1915); *bikpela bokis bilong kraikrai taim yu paitim na kikim em* (1969); *wan bigfella bokis inside he got plenty tiit all-same sark, an time missus he hitim an kikim he cry out too much* (1983).

Attempts by authorities or missionaries to use and promote such varieties are frequently pilloried. Authorities, “with the aid of certain missionaries, who should know better, committed a crime against all decent language by fixing it in writing”. The typical arguments adduced run as follows:

[i]t would approach blasphemy were one to put in print the form in which truths of religion appear in “Pidgin” English, as for instance the way in which the Almighty is spoken of, or the relation of our Blessed Lord to the Eternal Father, even though the close connection of the sublime and the ridiculous has elements of humor.

Finally, some consolation is apparently found in the sense of pride that the pidgin or creole in question is at least derived from a superior language (the European lexifier), since even in this “debased” form it remains superior to whatever “primitive” local languages it replaces. Thus, writing about Melanesian Pidgin English, one observer states that “[Pidgin] English is the ‘lingua franca’ of the place, filling up the gaps – and there are many – in the hideous snapping, barking dialect that passes for speech along the coast”. The latter are said to be “scarcely like human speech in sound, and were evidently very poor and restricted in expression”, consisting of “[n]oises like sneezes, snarls, and the preliminary stages of choking”.

4. The creativist account

Baker (1990, 1994 and 1995) states that the widely held beliefs and misconceptions about creoles, illustrated in section 3, as well as many theories about creole genesis, are rooted in a number of basic assumptions that can be summarized as follows. The emergence of creoles is essentially seen as a failure to acquire the lexifier. This presupposes: the existence of a target language, i.e., the lexifier; exposure to the target language, i.e., the lexifier; motivation to acquire the target language, i.e., the lexifier. In other words, creole genesis is seen as a form of imperfect language acquisition.

Baker (1990, 1994 and 1995) argues that pidgins and creoles are in fact successful solutions to the problem of interethnic communication. Given the sociohistorical circumstances in which these varieties emerge, the most immediate priority when faced with a multilingual contact situation is the achievement of intercommunication. Accordingly, pidgins and creoles are a means of interethnic communication. Importantly, creole languages do not consist exclusively of rules derived from pre-existing languages, i.e. the lexifier and the substrate languages.

5. World-wide features in English-based pidgins and creoles

The corpus consists of both unpublished and published sources. It includes diaries, letters, logbooks, travel accounts, memoirs, word lists, phrasebooks, textbooks, dictionaries and grammars. The records consulted meet the requirements of reliability specified by, among others, Avram (2000b), Baker and Huber (2001), Baker and Winer (1999), Hancock (1977), and Rickford (1986 and 1991).

The 99 world-wide features considered consist of the original 75 listed in Baker and Huber (2001: 201–203), 23 reclassified as such in Avram (2004), and 1 reclassified in light of Crowley (1989 and 1990).

Full attestations, in the sense of Baker and Huber (2001: 164), are available for all the 99 world-wide features identified at any time during the recorded history of the English pidgins and creoles considered.

Tables 1 and 2 list Baker's and Huber's (2001) 18 Atlantic and 6 Pacific features reclassified as world-wide features on the basis of the attestations in Avram (2004) and Crowley (1989). Approximate dates are indicated by means of hyphens: e.g., –1765– means 'around 1765', – 1980 reads 'in or before 1980', and 1842– 'in or after 1842'. Features are numbered and labeled as in Baker and Huber (2001: 197–204). The following abbreviations are used: Alu = Aluku (Boni); APE = Australian Pidgin English; AssCamPE = Assimilated Cameroon Pidgin English; Bis = Bislama; Bjn = Bajan; FPPE = Fernando Póo Pidgin English; GEC = Grenada English Creole; Gul = Gullah; Jam = Jamaican; Kri = Krio; Krl = Kriol; Kwi = Kwinti; Mat = Matawai; MPE = Melanesian Pidgin English; MSL = Jamaican Maroon Spirit Possession Language; Ndy = Ndyuka; Par = Paramaccn; PN = Pitcairn and/or Norfolk; QKE = Queensland Kanaka English; Sar = Saramaccan; SIP = Solomon Islands Pidgin; Srn = Sranan;

Sur = Surinam; TEC = Trinidadian English Creole; TP = Tok Pisin; TSC = Torres Straits Creole; WAPE = West African Pidgin English.

Table 1 Atlantic features reclassified as world-wide

Feature classified as Atlantic in Baker and Huber (2001)	Pacific varieties in which it is attested	1 st attestation in a Pacific variety
40. <i>dem</i> (article, demonstrative)	TSC	1979
49. <i>dohti</i> 'earth, dirt'	Bis, TP, TSC	1943
55. <i>eyewater</i> 'tear'	TP	1969
62. <i>fullup</i> 'fill, be full'	Bis, TP, SIP, Krl, TSC	-1929
71. <i>hungry</i> 'hunger, starvation'	TP, TSC	1943
96. <i>look</i> 'see, find'	Bis, TP, Krl, TSC	-1891
100. <i>married</i> 'marry'	TP, TSC	-1899
107. <i>mouth water</i> 'saliva'	TP	1978
110. <i>no more</i> 'merely'	Bis, QKE, SIP	1871
111. <i>nose hole</i> 'nostril'	TSC	1988
129. <i>(make) play</i> '(to have a) party, dance, amusement'	TP, TSC	1943
130. <i>plenty too much</i> 'a lot'	MPE, TP	1880s
137. <i>santapi</i> 'centipede'	TSC	1988
139. <i>say</i> (complementizer)	Bis	-1974
142. <i>small</i> 'little (adv.)'	Bis, TSC	1907
147. <i>sweet</i> 'tasty, nice; be agreeable, please (V)'	TP, TSC	1957
148. <i>sweetmouth</i> 'flattery'	Bislama	1974
167. WH <i>matter</i> 'why'	TP, TSC, APE	1943

Table 2 Pacific features reclassified as world-wide

Feature classified as Pacific in Baker and Huber (2001)	Atlantic varieties in which it is attested	1st attestation in an Atlantic variety
254. <i>bel(ly)</i> ‘seat of emotions’	CamPE, Jam, Kro, WAPE (NPE)	1978
268. <i>first time</i> ‘ahead, formerly’	Jam, Kro, Lib, Sur (Alu, Ndy, Sar, Srn)	–1885–
276. <i>look see</i> ‘inspect, take a look at’	Kro, Sur (Srn)	1783
287. <i>saltwater</i> ‘sea, coastal’	Jam, MSL, Sur (Srn)	–1765–
295. VERB-VN (transitive suffix)	Bjn, TEC, WAPE (AssCamPE, CamPE, FPPE, NPE)	1825
300. <i>yet</i> ‘still’	Sur (Alu, Kwi, Mat, Ndy, Par, Sar, Srn)	–1765–

6. Baker and Huber (2001) on the emergence of world-wide features

In their comprehensive paper, Baker and Huber (2001) make a number of claims, also made in previous works (e.g., Baker 1993 or Huber 1999), which I would like to address. They state that world-wide features are attested earlier than Atlantic or Pacific ones. World-wide features “were used in the early phases of contact situations” and “were ‘invented’ and *transmitted* by anglophones” [my emphasis], whereas Atlantic and Pacific features “were [...] contributed by non-anglophone speakers” (Baker and Huber 2001: 169). The class of world-wide features was “*spread* [my emphasis] by anglophone sailors, traders, missionaries, etc., rather than by non-Europeans” (Baker and Huber 2001: 168). In their view, “some of the anglophone participants in the creation of PPEs [Pacific Pidgin English] could fall back on their knowledge of established contact languages in

the Atlantic and actively used this in their contacts with non-anglophones in the Pacific” (Baker and Huber 2001: 167). With a few exceptions, these items “constitute both a framework and repertoire of features on which anglophones could and did draw in their efforts to communicate with non-anglophones”. The occurrence of these features both in the Atlantic and in the Pacific is taken as “evidence that anglophones did not address non-anglophones in [...] English” but rather in the “Foreigner Talk register” (Baker and Huber 2001: 180). This included “words and perhaps phrases they had heard used with or by non-Europeans in places they had previously visited where English pidgins and creoles were already established” (Baker 1993: 7). In time, “[t]his register [...] came to be the stereotypical mode of addressing indigenous people, whether they were Africans or people of the [...] Pacific” (Huber 1999: 130). Baker and Huber (2001: 192) “accept that some of the [world-wide] features identified may have arisen independently in the two regions”, i.e., the Atlantic and the Pacific. In conclusion, Baker and Huber (2001) posit an essentially diffusionist scenario to account for the occurrence of world-wide features in the English-based pidgins and creoles.

7. Analysis

In what follows, I will address Baker’s and Huber’s (2001) claims. The analysis below includes a number of mini case studies exemplifying the 11 types of sources and factors identified that are conducive to the occurrence of world-wide features in the English-based pidgins and creoles. On occasion, I suggest analyses different from the account in Baker and Huber (2001: 175–181).

One source of world-wide features consists of words of (Pidgin) Portuguese origin. Although part of English foreigner talk (see below), they are dealt with here separately.

195. *grande* ‘big’ (< Portuguese *grande*)

221. *piccaninny* ‘small; child’ (< Portuguese *pequenininho* ‘very small’)

225. *sabby* ‘know’ (< Portuguese *saber*)

Sabby, first attested in 1686, appears to have become part of the foreigner talk register of English quite early. It is one of the “words [anglophones] acquired from Africans” (Baker and Huber 2001: 193). Consequently, the homophony of *no* and *know* in English, which “would

surely make the sequence *no know* problematic in a contact situation" (Baker and Huber 2001: 176) is rather unlikely to have played a part in the selection of *sabby*.

Non-standard English (including dialectal English) is represented by items such as the following:

181. *bruck* 'break'

201. *lick* 'flog'

The exact contribution of non-standard English to the pool of world-wide features in the English pidgins and creoles is yet to be determined. As noted by Hancock (1980: 75), one also has to determine "to what extent [...] non-standard extended English forms have supplied the creole interpretations".

The so-called Ship English (Bailey and Ross 1988) is illustrated by just one lexical item:

183. *capsize* 'spill, pour (out)'

This accords well with Baker's and Huber's (2001: 192) discarding of an alleged Nautical Pidgin English. Notice that the samples of Ship English in Appendix 2 are not exclusively typical of this register.

An important source of world-wide features is the foreigner talk register (Ferguson 1971, 1975 and 1981, Ferguson and DeBose 1977, Thomason 2001: 187, Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 171–198, Winford 2003b: 271 and 290–295). World-wide features are traced back to foreigner talk on the basis of four types of evidence: actual observation of today's foreigner talk; experimental elicitation (Ferguson 1977, Mühlhäusler 1997: 97–98); literary foreigner talk (Ferguson 1977, Mühlhäusler 1997: 98–100); and items that cannot be accounted for in terms of any other plausible source or factor. The first two types of evidence may be seen as instances of what Rickford (1986 and 1991) calls "feedback from current usage". The last type of evidence is based on the assumption that foreigner talk changes diachronically (Ferguson 1981: 11, Baker and Huber 2001: 180), and that "not everything that is characteristic of FT [= foreigner talk] today was necessarily so some centuries ago" (Baker and Huber 2001: 180). A certain unavoidable circularity is therefore involved. On the one hand, world-wide features that cannot be otherwise accounted for are assigned to earlier foreigner talk, and, on the other hand, these items are traced back to earlier foreigner talk precisely because they are world-wide features. World-wide features originating in the foreigner talk register of English include the following items:

208. *me* (1 SG)

The use of the oblique forms of personal pronouns is well-documented, both in actual and in experimental foreigner talk (see Appendixes 3 and 4).

215. *no* (negator)

This feature is widely believed to come from English *no* (see e.g., Clark 1979: 9). However, Baker and Huber (2001: 175) suggest a different explanation. First, they claim that “Philip Baker’s informal experiments with students suggest that *not* rather than *no* would be the natural choice for negator of English speakers in a contact situation”. Second, they suggest that *no* “could actually be [...] from Portuguese” since “Portuguese *não* is not far removed from some British pronunciations of *no*”. However, in Ferguson’s (1977) experiment “the tendency to replace all negative constructions by a ‘no’ [...] is very strong”. The occurrences of *no* significantly outnumber those of *not*: 46 to 7. Similarly, the negator *no* occurs more frequently than *not* in Mühlhäusler’s experiments (see Appendix 4, examples 1–4, 6–9, 11). Finally, *no* is more frequent in literary foreigner talk as well: in C. S. Lewis *Out of the silent planet*, for instance, there are 18 occurrences of *no* vs. only 5 of *not* (Ferguson 1975: 6). I therefore conclude that *no* originates in the foreigner talk register of English.

247. ZERO (equative copula)

248. ZERO (predicative copula)

Both these features are believed to be universals of foreigner talk (Ferguson 1971, 1975, Ferguson and DeBose 1977; for the latter see also Appendix 3).

175. *all same* ‘as, like’

182. *byandby* (adv.) ‘soon’

These are most likely examples of world-wide features characteristic of earlier foreigner talk (Baker and Huber 2001: 181).

295. VERB-VM (transitive suffix)

This transitive suffix is derived etymologically from the English *him*. As shown in Avram (2000a and 2004: 97–98), it is found in a number of Atlantic pidgins and creoles as well (see Table 2), both in earlier stages and in their contemporary varieties. Consequently, it is a world-wide feature, *contra* Baker and Huber (2001: 204) who classify it as a Pacific feature. Baker (1993: 41–42) doubts that this feature was used in earlier foreigner talk. Huber (1999: 131, n. 79) writes that “it seems implausible

that marking transitivity should be a regular strategy in today's foreigner talk English", but that "it may well have been used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries". He concludes that the transitive suffix may have been "optionally used in English overseas jargon and was indeed diffused by sailors from West Africa to the Pacific". In fact, this feature is occasionally attested even in current foreigner talk (see Appendix 3, examples 3 and 6). As shown in Avram (2000a), it may plausibly originate in "right dislocation" / "afterthought" constructions of the type *John, I see him > I see **him** John*. One argument in favor of this analysis is the occurrence of similar constructions occurring in French-based varieties as well. Consider the following Petit Nègre example: *Je l'allume le feu* (Mühlhäusler 1997: 144, n. 14). The difference between the optional or variable use of this suffix in the Atlantic varieties and its obligatory occurrence in the Pacific ones points to the possibility of substrate reinforcement in the latter. Indeed, Melanesian languages have transitive suffixes. This may explain why the use of the transitive has the status of a categorical rule in the Pacific varieties, but only that of a variable rule in Atlantic ones (Avram 2000a: 129–130).

Consider the next substrate influence.

220. paragogic vowels

Baker and Huber (2001: 179) write that "[t]he addition of a vowel to English verb stems ending in a plosive or fricative might be expected from speakers of languages with a predominantly CVCV structure". They state that "one might [...] expect the paragogic vowel to be a copy of the vowel preceding the final consonant" and not "overwhelmingly [i]". They conclude that the paragogic [i] "was adopted by speakers of English addressing non-English speakers rather than a feature of the latter's pronunciation of English verbs".

I would like to suggest an alternative account. First, note that the paragogic [i] occurs only sporadically in English foreigner talk (Ferguson 1975: 4). Second, the widespread occurrence of [i] is not surprising since it is one of the universally favored default paragogic vowels (Avram submitted). Third, [i] is also the default paragogic vowel in a number of substrate languages of the Atlantic English creoles, such as Akan/Twi, Ewe and Yoruba (Avram submitted). Fourth, the generalized use of a default paragogic vowel is attested in earlier stages of various Atlantic English creoles and is therefore less unexpected (Plag and Uffmann 2000, Avram submitted). Fifth, paragoge *cum* vowel copying is just one possible strategy for the resolution of illicit codas in the English-based pidgins and

creoles (Avram submitted). Finally, it is not necessarily the case that the paragogic vowel should be a copy of the vowel preceding the plosive or fricative in the coda of the etymon. Bilabial plosives or fricatives in coda position frequently trigger labial attraction both in several English-based pidgins and creoles (Avram submitted) and in their substrate languages. It appears then that the paragogic vowels illustrate substrate influence.

139. *say* (complementizer)

The complementizer-like use of *se*, etymologically derived from English *say*, in Bislama (Crowley 1989) means that this item qualifies for the status of world-wide feature, *contra* Baker and Huber (2001: 200) who list it among Atlantic features.

As for the origin of this feature, four main competing hypotheses are found in the literature on Atlantic English pidgins and creoles (see Avram 2000c: 184–198): substrate influence; convergence of substrate and lexifier: Akan/Twi *sɛ* + E *say*; convergence of the West African (Kwa) substrate and of the partial model in nonstandard English: quotative use of *say*; (ordinary) grammaticalization: *verbum dicendi* > ‘that’. A number of arguments can be brought against the last three hypotheses. Thus, the English creoles of Surinam use as complementizers forms etymologically derived from E *talk*. This runs counter to the account in terms of the convergence of Akan/Twi *sɛ* and E *say*. Consider next the issue of a partial model in the lexifier. One of Mufwene’s (1996c: 15) arguments for underscoring the relevance of partial models in the lexifier is that French creoles do not have complementizer-like uses of *dire* or *parler* given the rarity of quotative uses of these verbs in nonstandard French. However, French creoles did in fact have complementizer-like uses of *dire* in earlier stages (see Avram 2000d, and Parkvall 2000: 66). Arabic pidgins/creoles also have complementizers derived from a *verbum dicendi*, although not attested in any form of Arabic (Avram 2003b: 30). It follows that a partial model in the lexifier is not a necessary condition (Avram 2003b: 30). Finally, the grammaticalization account should also be discarded. The existence of a substrate model means that the complementizer *say* is an instance of “apparent grammaticalization”, in the sense of Bruyn (1996 and 2003).

Let me now turn to *say* (complementizer) in the Pacific. It is attested in at least one Pacific variety, Bislama (Crowley 1989 and 1990). Since it occurs rather late, in the second half of the twentieth century (Crowley 1989 and 1990), it cannot have been diffused from the Atlantic to the

Pacific. Grammaticalization is also ruled out since Crowley (1989 and 1990) traces it back to local substrate languages.

In conclusion, *say* (complementizer) is a world-wide feature that must have arisen independently. It is an illustration of the fact that different substrate languages may yield identical outcomes in the English-based pidgins and creoles. Moreover, the account outlined above appears to confirm the hypothesis (see Avram 2003c: 140) that a complementizer derived from a *verbum dicendi* emerges if and only if there is a substrate model.

254. *belly* 'seat of emotions'

This feature is classified as Pacific by Baker and Huber (2001: 203). In fact, it has also been recorded in several Atlantic English pidgins and creoles (Avram 2004: 94–95, and in press a) and should consequently be reclassified as a world-wide feature. This is another world-wide feature that must have arisen independently and which again shows that different substrates may lead to identical outcomes.

Reanalysis is yet another source of world-wide features. Examples of reanalysis include:

110. *no more* 'merely'

185. *comeout* 'go out, detach'

189. *falldown* 'fall'

227. *sitdown* 'sit, reside'

229. *standup* 'stand'

234. *throwaway* 'throw'

Originally polymorphemic items have been reanalyzed as monomorphemic. The absence of reflexes of, for example, the English *fall*, *sit*, *stand*, *throw*, on their own proves that reanalysis has occurred. Further, the adverbial particle in some etyma can also be shown to have been reanalyzed. Consider the following collocations in Torres Strait Creole: *poldaun daun* 'to fall down', *Kam sidaun ya daun!* 'Come and sit down here!' (Avram in press d). Note that *no more* 'merely', listed as an Atlantic feature in Baker and Huber (2001: 199) is shown to occur in the Pacific as well and reclassified as a world-wide feature by Avram (2004: 89–90). Finally, *no more* shows that reanalysis is not restricted to etymologically phrasal verbs, *contra* Baker and Huber (2004: 180).

The following examples illustrate outcomes of grammaticalization:

178. *been* (past/anterior)

As shown by Bybee and Pagliuca (1994: 57), stative auxiliaries are one of the sources for anteriors. This feature illustrates the effect of what Arends and Bruyn (1995: 119) call “shortcuts”, i.e., a grammatical morpheme is derived from elements which never functioned as a lexical item. In other words, a grammatical item from the lexifier is assigned a new grammatical function. The development of a grammatical item into a more grammatical one is one of the possible grammaticalization routes (see Heine, Claudi and Hünemeyer 1991, Traugott and Heine 1991, Hopper and Traugott 1993). Since this process appears to have taken place rather quickly, it is a case of instantaneous grammaticalization, in the sense of Bruyn (1996 and 2003).

231. *suppose* ‘if’

Baker and Huber (2001: 176) suggest that “*suppose* may have been preferred to *if* because it is less abstract than the latter in that it has more lexical content”. In Avram (1999) I argue that this world-wide feature is best viewed as an outcome of instantaneous grammaticalization. First, it is recorded quite early both in the Atlantic and in the Pacific. Second, words expressing epistemic modality are frequent sources of conditional connectors. Third, ordinary grammaticalization is ruled out since the prior use of *suppose* as a lexical verb is not attested. Finally, note that a partial model in the lexifier, in the sense of Mufwene (1996c), may have contributed to the selection of *suppose*. Sentence-initial *suppose* is used in colloquial British English, although to a limited extent only.

240. *we* (relativizer)

The etymological source of the relativizer *we* is undoubtedly the English *where*. According to Mühlhäusler (1997: 174) it is one of “a very small number of sources” for “[t]he development of relativizers”. Two developmental routes have been suggested in the literature: place > time > subject > direct object (Mühlhäusler 1997: 174); location > [-animate] > [+animate, -human] > [+human] (Smith 2003: 153–154). It is first attested, both in the Atlantic and in the Pacific, only at the end of the nineteenth century. Therefore, this world-wide feature is probably the result of ordinary grammaticalization in the sense of Bruyn (1996 and 2003).

245. VERB *finish* (completive)

The verb ‘to finish’ is the most common lexical source for completive aspect markers (Bybee and Pagliuca 1994: 56). Since it is first recorded in the twentieth century in the Atlantic, and at the end of the nineteenth

century in the Pacific, this feature is another example of ordinary grammaticalization.

Semantic transparency accounts for the occurrence of a number of world-wide features. Consider first bimorphemic interrogatives:

- 167. WH *matter* 'why'
- 241. WH *for* 'why'
- 242. WH *fashion* 'how'
- 243. WH *place* 'where'
- 244. WH *side* 'where'
- 245. WH *thing* 'what'
- 246. WH *time* 'when'

As noted by Baker and Huber (2001: 176), these “bimorphemic interrogatives provide alternatives to all the English monomorphemic WH-words”. They further write that “[i]t seems likely that these structures found favor because they are semantically transparent”. However, except for instances of reanalysis, Baker and Huber (2001: 180) attribute all other world-wide features to English foreigner talk. This means that, in their view, bimorphemic interrogatives are also typical of this register. Indeed, Ferguson (1975: 10) writes that “[t]he decomposition of a word into a phrase in which semantic features of the word are separated out in an analytic phrase is very common and characteristic of foreigner talk”. Moreover, one of his examples is *which place* ‘where’. However, I believe that semantic transparency is the decisive factor. First, it is not clear whether bimorphemic interrogatives are a sufficiently established characteristic of current English foreigner talk to warrant feedback from current usage. Second, “[a] number of these bimorphemic constructions may have been taken over from the related superstrate languages”: for example, E “‘what time = ‘when’” (Romaine 1988: 52). Third, as shown by, for example, Muysken and Smith (1990) and Muysken and Veenstra (1995: 124), bimorphemic question words are quite frequent in pidgins and creoles, regardless of their lexifier. Fourth, bimorphemic interrogatives also emerge in experimentally created pidgins (Romaine 1988: 52).

- 55. *eyewater* ‘tear’

It is certainly true that this feature is “extremely common both in Atlantic Creoles and in West African languages”, as noted by Parkval (2000: 113). Holm (1992: 191), for instance, mentions among others Igbo *aKɛ̀a-mmiri*, Twi *ani-suo*, and Yoruba *omi oju*, all literally ‘eye water’. It is equally true that “[t]here are many lexemes in Afro-American dialects

which reveal a labeling pattern whereby objects are named in terms of an association between two primary named objects" (Alleyne 1980: 114). Therefore, *eyewater* may be one of the "readily convenient calques from a number of African languages" (Allsopp 1980: 91). However, a number of arguments can be brought against tracing it back to an African substrate language. First, according to Allsopp (1980: 91), "each of those African bases was likely to have its own synonymous form which did not lend itself so readily to calquing". He goes on to say that "Yoruba, in common with many West African languages, has the relevant compound *omi ojú* (< "water" + "eye") ~ *omijé* (= "a tear") but it is rarer than *ǰkún* (= "sorrowful weeping")" (Allsopp 1980: 91). Second, a structurally identical compound occurs in contact languages with a different substratal input. Consider the Arabic-based pidgin Juba Arabic *móya-ena* (Avram 2003: 35) and the Arabic-based creole Nubi *moy-ééna*, both 'tears', lit. 'water eyes' (Holm 2000: 104). Holm (2000: 104), noting that the Nubi form "happens to correspond to compounds in the Atlantic creoles", concludes that "[s]uch compounds may have resulted from a universal strategy for expanding a pidgin vocabulary to fill lexical gaps". In pidgins, this is typically done by means of lexicalizing semantically transparent compounds (Parkvall 2000: 113). From the diachronic point of view, "[m]uch of what may look African in Creole semantics may therefore well be but an indirect manifestation of former Pidginhood" (Parkvall 2000: 113). Third, it is recorded in the Pacific as well (Avram 2004: 84). Thus, the Tok Pisin form *aiwara* may also reflect this strategy. Thus, in this analysis, the forms in the various Atlantic pidgins and creoles themselves may well be the outcome of an identical strategy. Parkvall (2000: 113), for instance, mentions *eyewater* as a "[word] that could predictably be invented on the spot by anybody not knowing any other word".

Semantic shift is also factor conducive to the occurrence of world-wide features.

49. *dohi* 'earth, dirt'

Listed among the Atlantic features by Baker and Huber (2001: 198), this item is reclassified as a world-wide feature by Avram (2004: 84), since it is recorded in Pacific varieties as well. For Cassidy (1961: 396), since it "means *dirt*, [it] would seem clearly to come from it, yet its real basis is Twi *dòtɛ*, which means the same". Alleyne (1980: 111) also mentions "Twi *dɔtɛ* 'earth'". He does, however, add that this etymology is doubtful (Alleyne 1980: 229). Striking a more cautious note, Allsopp

(1996: 209) points to “[p]robably” < Akan *dɔte* ‘soil, earth, clay, mud’” but adds “[p]rob[ably] also infl[uenced] by DIRTY”. Finally, Aceto (1999: 73) traces it back to “Twi *d’ɔte* ‘earth, ground, dirt’” but also mentions “(cf English *dirty*)”. However, since this feature occurs in three Pacific varieties as well (Avram 2004: 84), deriving it etymologically from an African substrate language appears even less safe than hitherto assumed. A Pacific substrate source has yet to be suggested. Therefore, in my opinion, English *dirty* seems a more likely etymon. Note that assuming a Twi/Akan etymon cannot easily account for the vowel [ʌ], instead of [ɔ], which occurs in the form [dʌti], attested in a number of Caribbean English creoles (Allsopp 1996: 209). Nor can such an assumption explain why the final vowel /e/ or /ɛ/ in the alleged Twi / Akan etymon turns into /i/. On the contrary, assuming an English etymon avoids both of these problems. In this view, [ɔ] and [ʌ] would be reflexes in the Atlantic English-based pidgins and creoles of English /ə/ in *dirty*. This parallels rather nicely the situation in the Pacific varieties: the reflex of English /ə/ is [ɔ] in Bislama and Tok Pisin, but [ɑ] in Torres Strait Creole. Next, the final vowel in both the Atlantic and in the Pacific varieties is identical to that of the English etymon. Finally, the new categorial status and the new meaning could plausibly be the result of conversion with semantic shift; positing substratal influence seems therefore unnecessary.

Consider one last factor involved in the occurrence of world-wide features, namely metaphorical extension.

148. *sweetmouth* ‘flattery’.

This is a lexical item which is supposed to illustrate “[t]he relationship between Afro-American dialects and West African languages” by means of “a number of shared metaphors and idiomatic expressions” (Alleyne 1980: 115). The diagnostic feature at issue is included by Alleyne in “a group of lexemes which in English are known as abstract nouns but in Afro-American dialects and West African languages are expressed in concrete terms”. In support of this claim, Alleyne (1980: 116) mentions the following possible sources of *sweetmouth* ‘flattery’: Twi *ano yɛdɛ* ‘flattery’, lit. ‘mouth sweet’, Vai *da kiña* ‘flattery’, lit. ‘mouth sweet’, Gã *nã ñõ* ‘flattery’, lit. ‘sweet mouth’, and Yoruba *enĩdidĩ* ‘persuasiveness’, lit. ‘sweet mouth’. Holm (1992: 191) adds Igbo *onua suso* ‘flatter’, lit. ‘mouth sweet’. In his turn, Allsopp (1996: 542) writes: “[a] calque from W Afr languages. Cp Twi *n’amo yɛ dɛ papa* [lit.] (*he mouth be sweet too-much*) ‘He is a flatterer’”. However, the occurrence of *sweetmouth* in a Pacific variety such as Bislama (Avram 2004: 92), raises doubts

about the plausibility of such a connection. Indeed, as put by Cassidy (1971: 215), “some metaphors [...] are so obvious that they may be expected to turn up by coincidence or ‘reinvention’ in unrelated pidgins”.

8. Conclusions

I will attempt to determine correlations between source or factor accounting for a particular world-wide feature, the mechanism of emergence (diffusion vs. independent developments), agentivity (in the sense of Winford 2003a), and the stage in the genesis of English pidgins and creoles. The conclusions are interpreted within the framework of language ecology. Their relevance is examined in light of the ideological prejudices about pidgins and creoles.

Before discussing the results set out in Tables 3, 4 and 5, a few remarks are in order.

Most sources and factors are rather straightforward with the possible exception, of metaphorical extension which is not always distinguishable from semantic transparency.

Both agentivity and the mechanism of emergence can be inferred in most cases from the source or factor accounting for a particular world-wide feature. One exception is metaphorical extension, in which case agentivity is less clear.

Consider next the issue of the mechanism of emergence in light of the date of the first attestation. World-wide features that are, on currently available evidence, first recorded in Pacific English pidgins and creoles cannot have been diffused from the Atlantic. There are 11 such features (see Tables 3 and 4): 183. *capsize* ‘spill, pour out’, 191. VERB *finish* (completive), 194. *got* ‘have’, 216. *nogood* ‘bad’, 217. *number one* ‘best, chief (adj.)’ 226. *-side* (locative suffix), 235. *too much* ADJ/VERB ‘a lot’, 239. *walkabout* ‘wander’, 245. WH *thing* ‘what’, 254. *bel(ly)* ‘seat of emotions’, and 268. *first time* ‘ahead, formerly’.

World-wide features that are, on currently available evidence, first attested in the Pacific in the twentieth century cannot be accounted for in terms of diffusion from Atlantic varieties either. This is in accordance with the rationale formulated by Baker and Huber (2001: 159): looking at “attestations that predate 1900 [...] minimizes the effect of later, non-diffusionist cross-influences between the varieties considered”. I have

identified 21 such features: 40. *dem* (article, demonstrative), 49. *dohti* 'earth, dirt', 55. *eyewater* 'tear', 62. *fullup* 'fill, be full', 71. *hungry* 'hunger, starvation', 107. *mouthwater* 'saliva', 111. *nose hole* 'nostril', 129. (*make*) *play* '(to have a) party, dance', 137. *santapi* 'centipede', 139. *say* (complementizer), 142. *small* 'little (adv.)', 147. *sweet* 'tasty, nice; be agreeable, please (V)', 148. *sweetmouth* 'flattery, 167. WH *matter* 'why', 180. *born* 'give birth', 185. *comeout* 'go out, detach' (reanalysis), 188. *dem* (3PL), 202. *lili* 'little', 229. *standup* 'stand' (reanalysis), 232. *that time* 'when', and 233. *thatsall* 'just, only, still'.

It is not the case that all world-wide features presumably originating in English foreigner talk have emerged through diffusion from the Atlantic to the Pacific English pidgins and creoles. A clear case for diffusion can only be made for those items which do not appear to have emerged independently, given that no universal process can be plausibly invoked. These include 10 features presumably characteristic of earlier English foreigner talk, 96. *look* 'see, find', 130. *plenty too much* 'a lot', 175. *all same* 'as, like', 182. *byandby* (adv.) 'soon', 190. *fashion* 'manner, way', 235. *too much* ADJ/VERB, 236. ADJ/VERB *too much*, 237. NOUN *too much* 'many, a lot', 238. *too much* NOUN 'many, a lot', and possibly 295. VERB-VN (transitive suffix), as well as 3 features well-established in current English foreigner talk (Ferguson 1975: 9), namely 222. *plenty* NOUN 'a lot of', 223. *plenty* (postverbal) 'a lot', and 224. *plenty* 'very many'. Note that another potential candidate, 217. *number one* 'best, chief (adj.)', has already been shown not to be the result of diffusion since it is first attested in the Pacific. I thus follow Clark (1979: 9) who attempts to rule out "those innovations likely to occur more than once independently as a result of universal processes of simplification, such as the elimination of inflections and most grammatical morphemes, the use of preverbal *no* as negator, etc." The world-wide features at issue are: 213. NP1NP2 (possessive N1's N2), 215. *no* (negator), 247. ZERO (equative copula), 248. ZERO (predicative copula), and the 8 pronominal forms listed in Table 3.

Features 55. *eyewater* and 148. *sweetmouth* have been shown not to be instances of "words showing African substrate influence that came to the Pacific via the Atlantic creoles", in the sense of Holm (1992: 191). On the other hand, it may be that compounds similar to features 55. *eyewater* and 148. *sweetmouth* occur in the substrate languages of Pacific pidgins and creoles. However, Parkvall's (2000) and Cassidy's (1971) remarks about the Atlantic pidgins and creoles apply *mutatis mutandis* to

the Pacific varieties as well. In this analysis, the occurrence of such compounds in the substrate would not be a sufficient condition for positing substratal influence on the Pacific pidgins and creoles.

The wider distribution of a number of such compounds also shows that problems with their origin still arise, even if “[t]wo-morpheme calques are more readily identified”, as stated by Holm (2000: 104). This is because “[a] basic lexicon may be increased by combination among expectable lines: some coincidences need not indicate historical relationship” (Cassidy 1971: 215). The points made by Cassidy (1971: 215) and Parkvall (2000: 113) are well taken and may account for the occurrence of other bimorphemic compounds in both Atlantic and Pacific English pidgins and creoles. A similar case could be made for phrases. Likely candidates are features 129. *(make) play* ‘(to have a) party, dance’, 203. *little bit* ‘slightly’, 219. *onetime* ‘(at) once’, 232. *that time* ‘when’, 268. *first time* ‘ahead, formerly’, and 276. *look see* ‘inspect, take a look’. Each such case involves a morphologically opaque and statistically less frequent word in the lexifier. Such a word would have been less salient and less likely to be of use in the contact situation. Consequently, it is replaced by a compound of more frequent words, already known to the non-anglophone participants in the contact situation.

The world-wide features in Tables 3 and 4 are listed in decreasing order of the number of varieties in which they are recorded. Indicated within brackets in Table 3 are varieties in which world-wide features listed as unattested in Baker and Huber (2001) do in fact occur (see Avram 2003a and in press b, c and d). Dates in bold characters in Tables 3 and 4 are corrections (see Avram in press c), i.e. earlier attestations than those indicated in Baker and Huber (2001).

The following abbreviations are used in Tables 3, 4 and 5: angl. = anglophones; Atl. = Atlantic; E = English; FT = foreigner talk; inst. gr. = instantaneous grammaticalization; m. ext. = metaphorical extension; non-anglophones; non-st. E = nonstandard English; ord. gr. = ordinary grammaticalization; P = Portuguese; Pac. = Pacific; ph. ad. = phonological adjustment; reanal. = reanalysis; sem. sh. = semantic shift; sem. tr. = semantic transparency; Ship E = Ship English; substr. = substrate

Table 3 World-wide features in Baker and Huber (2001)

Feature	Attested in	Source / Factor	Agentivity	Mechanism of emergence	1 st att. in Atl.	1 st att. in Pac.
178. <i>been</i> (past/anterior)	13	inst. gr.	non-angl.	indep.	1718	1826
182. <i>byandby</i> (adv.) 'soon'	13	FT	angl.	diff.	-1765	-1791
215. <i>no</i> (negator)	13	FT	angl.	indep.	1686	1743
218. <i>one</i> (definite article)	13	inst. gr.	non-angl.	indep.	1761	1807
231. <i>suppose</i> 'if'	13	inst. gr.	non-angl.	indep.	-1785	-1800
247. ZERO (equative copula)	13	FT	angl.	indep.	1686	1743
200. <i>him</i> (3SG)	12	FT	angl.	indep.	1718	1830
208. <i>me</i> (1SG)	12	FT	angl.	indep.	1707	-1795-
225. <i>sabby</i> 'know'	12	Port.	angl.	diff.	1686	1800
241. WH <i>for</i> 'why'	12	sem. tr.	angl.	indep.	1822	1796
192. <i>for</i> (infinitive)	11	non-st. E	angl.	diff.	1735	1831
205. <i>make</i> (causative/ imperative)	11	sem. tr.	angl.	indep.	1745	1783
220. paragogic vowels	11 (MPE)	substr.	non-angl.	indep.	1721	1844
248. ZERO (predicative) copula)	11	FT	angl.	indep.	1770	1787
184. <i>catch</i> 'get, obtain, reach'	10 (Gul)	sem. sh.	non-angl.	indep.	1762	1799
194. <i>got</i> 'have'	10	non-st. E	angl.	indep.	1806	1783
196. <i>he</i> (resumptive)	10	FT		indep.	-1765-	1824

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219. <i>onetime</i> '(at once'	10 (PN)	sem. tr.	angl.	indep.	1718	1882
221. <i>picaninny</i> 'small;child'	10	Port.	angl.	diff.	1647	1747
222. <i>plenty</i> NOUN 'a lot of'	10 (PN)	FT	angl.	diff.	1795	1824
234. <i>throwaway</i> 'throw' (reanalysis)	10 (Gul)	reanal.	non-angl.	indep.	1779	1800
181. <i>bruck</i> 'break'	9	non-st. E	angl.	diff.	1761	1891
187. <i>dead</i> 'die'	9	sem. sh.	non-angl.	indep.	1759	1863–
190. <i>fashion</i> 'manner, way'	9	FT	angl.	diff.	1718	1743
216. <i>nogood</i> 'bad'	9	sem. tr.	angl.	indep.	–1816	1795
236. ADJ/VERB <i>too much</i> 'a lot'	9	FT	non-angl.	diff.	1718	1830
238. <i>too much</i> NOUN 'many, a lot of'	9	FT	non-angl.	diff.	1726	1769
244. WH <i>side</i> 'where'	9	sem. tr.	angl.	indep.	–1765–	–1836
174. <i>all about</i> 'every-where'	8 (PN)	reanal.	non-angl.	indep.	1785	1825
186. <i>da(t)</i> (definite article)	8	inst. gr.	non-angl.	indep.	–1765–	1826
188. <i>dem</i> (3PL)	8	FT	angl.	indep.	1760	1940–
193. <i>go</i> (future)	8	inst. gr.	non-angl.	indep.	–1765–	1841
207. <i>-man</i> (agentive suffix)	8 (Jam)	inst. gr.	non-angl.	indep.	1762	1831
209. <i>me</i> (1SG POSS)	8	FT	angl.	indep.	1718	1881
213. NP1NP2 (possessive N1's N2)	8	FT	angl.	indep.	1762	1831

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230. <i>stop</i> (locative verb)	8	sem. sh.	non-angl.	indep.	1820	1842–
235. <i>too much</i> ADJ/VERB ‘a lot’	8 (Sur)	FT	non-angl.	indep.	1833	1769
175. <i>all same</i> ‘as, like’	7	FT	angl.	diff.	1773	1784
195. <i>grande</i> ‘big’	7	Port.	angl.	diff.	1718	1747
198. <i>he</i> (3SG POSS)	7	FT	angl.	indep.	1782	1831
204. <i>long</i> ‘with’	7	sem. sh.	non-angl.	indep.	1718	1826
206. <i>make haste</i> ‘hurry’	7 (Sur, PN)	non-st. E	angl.	diff.	–1765–	1826
211. <i>more better</i> ‘better’	7 (Gul)	non-st. E	angl.	diff.	–1765–	1826
214. <i>never</i> (negative-completive)	7	ord. gr.	non-angl.	indep.	–1785–	1897
223. <i>plenty</i> (postverbal) ‘alot’	7	FT	angl.	diff.	1818	1826
224. <i>plenty</i> ‘very, many’	7	FT	angl.	diff.	1820	1826
179. <i>before time</i>	6 (Gul)	non-st. E	angl.	diff.	1785	1831
180. <i>born</i> ‘give birth’	6	sem. sh.	non-angl.	indep.	1884	1937
189. <i>fall down</i> ‘fall’ (reanalysis)	6 (Jam, Gul)	reanal.	non-angl.	indep.	1762	1930–
199. <i>him</i> (3SG POSS)	6	FT	angl.	indep.	1745	1881
201. <i>lick</i> ‘flog’	6	non-st. E	angl.	diff.	–1785–	1881
210. <i>moon</i> ‘month’	6	sem. sh.	non-angl.	indep.	–1745	1825
212. <i>most</i> ‘almost’	6 (PN)	sem. sh.	non-angl.	indep.	–1780–	1826
226. <i>-side</i> (locative suffix)	6	reanal.	non-angl.	indep.	1834	1830
228. word derived from <i>something</i> ‘thing’	6	reanal.	non-angl.	indep.	1718	–1880–
229. <i>stand up</i> ‘stand’ (reanalysis)	6	reanal.	non-angl.	indep.	1779	1943

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232. <i>that time</i> 'when'	6	sem. tr.	angl.	indep.	1762	1904
185. <i>come out</i> 'go out, de-tach' (reanalysis)	5 (Gul)	reanal.	non-angl.	indep.	1718	-1910
202. <i>lili</i> 'little'	5	substr.	non-angl.	indep.	1775	1904
203. <i>little bit</i> 'slightly'	5	sem. tr.	angl.	indep.	-1796-	1826
217. <i>number one</i> 'best, chief (adj.)'	5	FT	angl.	indep.	-1960	1828
227. <i>sit down</i> 'sit, re-side' (reanalysis)	5	reanal.	non-angl.	indep.	-1765-	1825
237. NOUN <i>too much</i> 'many, a lot of'	5	FT	non-angl.	indep.	-1765-	1884
239. <i>walk about</i> 'wander'	5 (PN)	reanal.	non-angl.	indep.	-1980	1828
242. WH <i>fashion</i> 'why, how'	5	sem. tr.	angl.	indep.	1718	1787
243. WH <i>place</i> 'where'	5	sem. tr.	angl.	indep.	1718	1870
246. WH <i>time</i> 'when'	5	sem. tr.	angl.	indep.	1718	-1860
176. <i>be</i> (equative copula)	4	non-st. E	angl.	diff.	1785	-1861
177. <i>be</i> (predicative copula)	4	non-st. E	angl.	diff.	1788	1834
197. <i>he</i> (3SG OBL)	4	FT	angl.	indep.	1780	1800
240. <i>we</i> (relativizer)	5	ord. gr.	non-angl.	indep.	1882	1900
245. WH <i>thing</i> 'what'	4 (PN)	sem. tr.	angl.	indep.	-1850	1807
183. <i>capsize</i> 'spill, pour out'	3	Ship E.	angl.	indep.	1991	-1883
191. VERB <i>finish</i> (completive)	3	ord. gr.	non-angl.	indep.	1931	-1884-
233. <i>thats all</i> 'just, only, still'	2	reanal.	non-angl.	indep.	1842	1910

Table 4 Features reclassified as world-wide

Feature	Attested in	Source / Factor	Agentivity	Mechanism of emergence	1 st att. in Atl.	1 st att. in Pac.
49. <i>dohti</i> 'earth, dirt'	9	sem. sh.	non-angl.	indep.	1762	1943
62. <i>fullup</i> 'fill, be full'	9	reanal.	non-angl.	indep.	1820	-1929
147. <i>sweet</i> 'tasty, nice; be agree- able, please (V)'	9	m. ext.	non-angl.	indep.	-1765-	1957
148. <i>sweetmouth</i> 'flattery'	9	m. ext.	angl./ non-angl.	indep.	1833	1974
71. <i>hungry</i> 'hunger, starv-ation'	8	sem. sh.	non-angl.	indep.	-1765-	1943
100. <i>married</i> 'marry'	8	sem. sh.	non-angl.	indep.	-1785-	-1899
110. <i>no more</i> 'merely'	8	reanal.	non-angl.	indep.	1762	1871
295. VERB-VN (transitive suffix)	7	FT	angl.	diff.	1825	1826
55. <i>eyewater</i> 'tear'	6	sem. tr.	angl.	indep.	1783	1969
111. <i>nose hole</i> 'nostril'	6	sem. tr.	angl.	indep.	1856	1988
139. <i>say</i> (complementizer)	6	substr.	non-angl.	indep.	-1785-	1990
167. WH <i>matter</i> 'why'	6	sem. tr.	angl.	indep.	-1808	1943
268. <i>first time</i> 'ahead, for-merly'	6	sem. tr.	angl.	indep.	1885	1839
40. <i>dem</i> (article, demonstrative)	5	non-st. E	angl.	diff.	1735	1979
96. <i>look</i> 'see, find'	5	FT	angl.	diff. 1	825	1891
129. (<i>make</i>) <i>play</i> ' (to have a) party, dance, amusement	5	sem. tr.	angl.	indep.	-1765-	1943
254. <i>bel(ly)</i> 'seat of emotions	5	substr.	non-angl.	indep.	1978	1845

107. <i>mouthwater</i> 'saliva'	4	sem. tr.	angl.	indep.	-1765-	1978
137. <i>santapi</i> 'centipede'	4	substr.	non-angl.	indep.	1952	1988
276. <i>look see</i> 'inspect, take a look'	4	sem. tr.	angl.	indep.	1783	1840
287. <i>saltwater</i> 'sea, coastal'	4	m. ext.	angl.	indep.	-1765-	1839
130. <i>plenty too much</i> 'a lot'	3	FT	angl.	indep.	1817	1880-
142. <i>small</i> 'little (adv)'	3	sem. sh.	non-angl.	indep.	1873	1907
300. <i>yet</i> 'still'	3	sem. sh.	non-angl.	indep.	1762	1892

The breakdown per type of source or factor of the correlations between source or factor, agentivity, mechanism of emergence and stage in the genesis of English-based creoles is set out in Table 5.

Table 5 Correlations

Source/Factor	Number of features	Agentivity	Mechanism of emergence	Stage
Portuguese words	3	angl.	diff.	early
Nonstandard English	10	angl.	diff.	early
Ship English	1	angl.	diff.	early
Foreigner talk	26	angl.	indep. 13 diff. 13	early
Substrate influence	5	non-angl.	indep.	late 1 early 4
Reanalysis	12	non-angl.	indep.	early
Instantaneous grammaticalization	6	non-angl.	indep.	early
Ordinary grammaticalization	3	non-angl.	indep.	late
Semantic transparency	18	angl.	indep.	early
Semantic shift	12	non-angl.	indep.	early
Metaphorical extension	3	angl. / non-angl.	indep.	early 1 late 2

As can be seen, most world-wide features emerge at an early stage in the development of the English creoles, as predicted by Baker and Huber (2001). However, 6 of them emerge at a late stage, *contra* Baker and Huber (2001).

The relative importance of (Pidgin) Portuguese, Ship English and English foreigner talk is significantly smaller than assumed by Baker and Huber (2001). Only 30 world-wide features (30.30%) are attributable to these sources.

To quantify agentivity, I suggest the following scoring system. World-wide features for which the agentivity can be identified are scored 1. Those attributable to metaphorical extension are assigned 0.5, since they may equally be contributed by either anglophones or non-anglophones. The contribution by anglophones thus amounts to only 41.5 (41.19%) of the world-wide features, whereas 58.5 world-wide features (58.81%) are contributed by non-anglophones. The world-wide features contributed by anglophones are thus in the minority, *contra* Baker and Huber (2001).

With the exception of those obtained from reanalysis, all world-wide features contributed by non-anglophones run against the views of Baker and Huber (2001) on the contribution of these participants in the genesis of English creoles.

72 world-wide features (72.72%) appear to be the result of such independent developments. This result runs counter to the Baker and Huber (2001) diffusionist scenario.

As for the stage in the formation of English creoles, it depends on whether the source/factor (necessarily) involves a certain period of time. This is typically the case in ordinary grammaticalization (Bruyn 1996 and 2003, Mufwene 1996c), which accounts for 3 features, but also for 4 features attributable to substrate influence and 2 features obtained from metaphorical extension.

Consider next the world-wide features in English pidgins and creoles in light of the ecological framework outlined in section 2. These varieties can indeed be regarded as a pool of features, contributed by individuals (speakers). The features, drawn from various sources and resulting from different factors, are combined in a process similar to genetic recombination in the model of blending inheritance. Since not all these features still occur, English pidgins and creoles can be analogized to Lamarckian species, whose genetic structure changes with time. They

can also be analogized to parasitic species since they depend on their hosts - individuals (speakers) participating in the contact situation - and on the sociohistorical context of creole formation. Like any other creole, English-based creoles are an excellent example of speciation.

The importance of selective advantages can be shown on several levels, illustrating the selection-and-competition process. Consider the following examples on the level of features: English foreigner talk features have a selective advantage over synonyms in Standard English; items that serve cross-linguistically as sources for grammaticalization (instantaneous or ordinary) have a selective advantage over those which do not; semantically transparent compounds have a selective advantage over semantically opaque words. At the level of individuals (speakers), given the power differential in the sociohistorical context of the formation of English creoles, anglophones have a selective advantage over non-anglophones. This explains why most world-wide features are from English, the lexifier language, and why even items of non-English origin, for example (Pidgin) Portuguese items, are also contributed by anglophones. The specific ecology characteristic of the formation of English creoles thus favors some individuals (speakers), here anglophones, by giving them a selective advantage over others individuals (speakers), here non-anglophones, sharing the same habitat (area). Similarly, on the level of species (languages), one species (language), here English, has a selective advantage over the other species (languages), here the substrate languages, sharing the same habitat (area). This confirms the view that there are no individuals (speakers) or species (languages) that in a given environment are more fit than others.

Finally, since the contribution of anglophones is still significant, the linguistic, cultural and racial prejudices frequently held by them (see section 3) are not justified. Notice, incidentally, that these prejudices necessarily turn, in part, against the very contribution of anglophones. As for the world-wide features contributed by non-anglophones, they are the result of developments attested cross-linguistically. Again, this means ideological prejudices are not justified. In addition, world-wide features may serve as evidence against the so-called "creole exceptionalism" (DeGraff 2001, 2003a and b, Mufwene 1989, *contra* e.g., Bickerton 1981, 1900 and 1995, Jackendoff 1994, McWhorter 1998, 2000, 2001 and 2003, Lightfoot 1999, Pinker 1994).

The data discussed in this article will hopefully contribute to further research into the genesis of English-based pidgins and creoles.

Appendix 1: working definitions

agentivity: refers to the contributor of a diagnostic feature (adapted from Winford 2003a)

apparent grammaticalization: transfer in a language of the result of a process of (ordinary) grammaticalization that has taken place in another language (Bruyn 1996 and 2003)

Atlantic features: fully attested in at least two English-based pidgins and creoles spoken in the Atlantic (West Africa, the Caribbean, Central America, South America), but not in the Pacific (Baker and Huber 2001)

creoles: a mixed language that is the native language of a speech community; develop in contact situations typically involving more than two languages; typically draw their lexicon from a single language (the lexifier), but not their grammar; creators of creoles are not bilingual in their interlocutors' language (Thomason 2001)

diagnostic features: phonological, grammatical and lexical features found in pidgins and creoles, at any time in its recorded history (Baker and Huber 2001)

full attestation: an item that is well established in a certain English pidgin or creole (Baker and Huber 2001)

foreigner talk: speech register used by native speakers of a language to foreigners who do not speak their language (Ferguson 1971 and 1981, Ferguson and De Bose 1977)

grammaticalization: gradual, slow, language-internal process whereby a lexical item acquires a grammatical function or a new grammatical function is assigned to a grammatical morpheme, which may be accompanied by loss of the original lexical meaning and by phonological reduction (Heine, Claudi and Hünemeyer 1991, Hopper and Traugott 1991, Traugott and Heine 1993); called **ordinary grammaticalization** by Bruyn (1996 and 2003)

instantaneous grammaticalization: grammaticalization proceeding considerably more rapidly than is typically the case (Bruyn 1996 and 2003)

lexifier: the language that provides most or all the vocabulary of a pidgin or creole; also called **superstrate**

marginal attestation: an item that is found only once in all the (currently available) records of a certain variety (Baker and Huber 2001)

Pacific features: fully attested in at least two English-based pidgins and creoles spoken in the Pacific (coast of China, Melanesia, Australia, Hawaii), but not in the Atlantic (Baker and Huber 2001)

pidgins: a mixed language that arises in contact situations typically involving more than two languages; there is no shared language; the lexicon is typically from a single language (the lexifier), but not the grammar (Thomason 2001)

reanalysis: non-recognition of the components of a word, compound or phrase; as a consequence, a complex unit is reanalyzed as simple

ship English: speech register typical of English-speaking sailors (Bailey and Ross 1988)

substrate: the language of the non-prestige language group in a contact situation

world-wide features: must have at least one full attestation in both the Atlantic and in the Pacific English pidgins and creoles (Baker and Huber 2001)

Appendix 2: Ship English in historical records:

Verbal morphology (Bailey and Ross 1988)

unmarked 3rd p. sg.: *cost* (1683), *seem* (1733)

-s on non-3rd p. sg.: *makes* (1682), *does* (1733), *takes* (1733)

pl. of *to be*: *be* (1669), *bee* (1669), *is* (1685), *is* (1710), *is* (1749)

past tense of irregular verbs: *come* (1661), *get* (1669), *bring* (1688), *run* (1692), *see* (1742)

regularized past tense of irregular verbs: *catched* (1669)

hybrid past tense forms of irregular verbs: *tookt* (1692)

past participle instead of past tense of irregular verbs: *seen* (1661), *begun* (1692)

past tense instead of past participle of irregular verbs: *had saw* (1691), *had broke* (1706)

Appendix 3: Actual English foreigner talk

Transcript of conversations between a health visitor (HV) and (M) who are native speakers of Urdu; dots indicate pauses (Sebba 1997: 86–87)

HV **Me** send. Teacher

M All right

HV Teach English

M Yeah

HV Come. Here. Teach you. English

HV Husband. Work

M Yes

HV Factory

M Factory yes

HV All day

M Yes all day so

HV So you. On your own

M Yes

Appendix 4: Experimental English foreigner talk

English foreigner talk versions of the sentence *I haven't seen the man you're talking about* by Australian adults, examples 1–6, and by British adults, examples 7–12 similar to genetic recombination on the model blending inheritance (from Romaine 1988: 77, and Mühlhäusler 1997 : 97)

1. **Me no** see man you talk about.
2. **No** see man. [head shaking]
3. **Me** [point] **no** see [eyes] man you [point] talk about [wild gestures].
4. **No** see **um** man you say.
5. You talk man. I **not** seen.
6. **Me no** look **him** man you say.

7. I **no** see man you say.
8. I **no** see man that man.
9. I **no** see man you speak.
10. That man you talk. I **not** see.
11. I **no** see man you talk about.
12. The man you talk of, I **not** see him.

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