

Preface

 <https://doi.org/10.1075/cll.27.01pre>

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Creoles, Contact, and Language Change: Linguistic and social implications

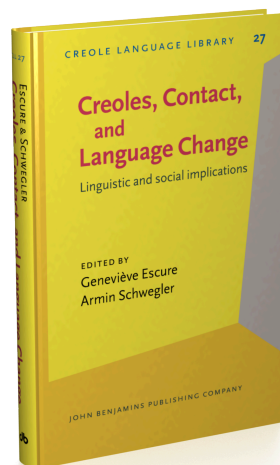
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[Creole Language Library, 27] 2004. x, 355 pp.

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Preface

This volume contains a selection of papers presented at three consecutive meetings of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics. These were held in Washington, D.C. (January 2001); Coimbra, Portugal (June 2001); and San Francisco (January 2002).

Thirty-one revised papers were originally submitted for inclusion in this volume. Two or more specialists refereed each submission. We eventually accepted fifteen articles, all of which are revised and much-extended versions of the original conference papers.

The fifteen articles in this volume offer a balanced sampling of creolists' current research interests. Even though all of the contributions address issues directly relevant to pidgin/creole studies and other contact languages, their topics and approaches vary greatly. Bettina Migge and Anita Herzfeld, for instance, use pragmatic and sociolinguistic approaches, while others (Umberto Ansaldo and Stephen Matthews, Margot van den Berg & Jacques Arends, Geneviève Escure, Magnus Huber) rely primarily on sociohistorical methods; still others either combine sociolinguistic and historical approaches (see, for instance, Sarah Roberts' study on Hawaiian Creole) or they favor predominantly theoretical orientations (see the articles by Dany Adone, Malcolm Finney, and Rocky Meade).

The majority of papers address issues of morphology or syntax (Dany Adone, Umberto Ansaldo and Stephen Matthews, Alan Baxter, Margot van den Berg and Jacques Arends, Eva Eckkrammer, Geneviève Escure, David Frank, Katrin Mutz). Some of the research presented makes use of phonological analysis (Malcolm Finney, Rocky Meade, Geneviève Escure). Alan Baxter, Fred Field, and Rocky Meade study language development from the point of view of acquisition. Geneviève Escure examines the opposite, namely, attrition. A few papers examine discourse strategies and style (Bettina Migge, Katrin Mutz, Sarah Roberts), or broader issues of social and ethnic identity (Anita Herzfeld, Bettina Migge, Sarah Roberts).

While this array of topics and perspectives is reflective of the diversity of the field, there is also much common ground in that all of the papers adduce solid data corpora to support their analyses. The range of languages analyzed spans the planet, as it includes Asia (Macanese), the Pacific (Hawaiian), the Indian Ocean (Morisyen, Seselwa), Africa (Krio, Tonga Portuguese), the Caribbean (Guadeloupean, Haitian, Jamaican Creole, St. Lucian Creole, Papiamentu), Central America (Limon Creole, Garifuna), South America (Eastern Maroon Creole, Sranan), and North America (AAVE, Gullah, Nova-Scotian varieties).

We have grouped the fifteen articles into coherent sections. Undoubtedly, a different arrangement would also have been possible, as some of them could be placed in more than one of these four categories:

Historical:	Ansaldo/Matthews, Van den Berg/ Arends, Escure, Huber
Acquisition:	Baxter, Field, Meade
Aspects of structure:	Adone, Eckkrammer, Finney, Frank
Discourse/identity:	Herzfeld, Migge, Mutz, Roberts

Broadly defined as historical, the first section includes contributions whose primary or secondary focus is the origin or subsequent development of a contact variety. Written records as well as social, ethnic and demographic history are used to explain adstrate and substrate influences in language development. **Ansaldo and Matthews** describe how the convergence of Sinitic and Malay influences have conditioned reduplication in Macanese, the Portuguese-based creole of Macao. They conclude that the Sinitic adstrate was the most influential factor in morphological reduplication. **Van den Berg and Arends** examine 17th- and 18th-century court records as sources of early **Sranan** sentences. They discover that overt marking of tense (*ben*), mood (*zal, sal, sa*) and aspect (*de*) is attested from 1745 onward. A further finding is that copular *da* first emerged in presentative contexts. **Escure** discusses the mixed status of **Garifuna** and its current obsolescence. Garifuna's various components (Arawak, Carib, French, Spanish, English, Belizean Creole) are traced to their ancestral sources via an examination of phonological and morphological processes. She also documents language attrition in terms of past tense marking — a feature that is represented differentially in Belize and Honduras. **Huber** presents several corpora of written records (lists of heads of households, diaries, letters) to trace the movements of ex-slaves from the US to Nova Scotia, and then to Sierra Leone. Phonological and morphological features gleaned from the written data support his claim that the transshipment of Nova Scotians to Sierra Leone may explain similarities between **Gullah** and **Krio**.

The second section examines first- and second-language acquisition in an attempt to relate these findings to creole situations. Phonological, morphological, and syntactic phenomena are covered variously in the following articles: **Baxter** studies the growth of variable plural agreement in the noun phrase of the restructured Portuguese of the Tongas, descendants of Africans contracted on the Monte Café plantation of Sao Tomé in the 19th and 20th centuries. Basing himself on a VARBRUL analysis of plural NPs collected from three age groups, he attributes the appearance of variable plural marking in L1 **Tonga Portuguese** to the past role of L2 Portuguese in L1 acquisition. **Field** examines a sampling of English-based creoles (**Hawaiian, Jamaican, Tok Pisin**) that, during their formation, had various degrees of contact with the lexical source language (and its native speakers). He argues that second-language acquisition processes are involved in the genesis of creole languages. To bolster his claim, he uses Pienemann's (2000) processability hierarchy, and, for a broader perspective, he adduces data from **Palenquero** (Colombia). **Meade** discusses the acquisition of Jamaican syllable structure in several groups of Jamaican children — all learners of **Jamaican Creole** and English. He shows that Optimality Theory, accompanied by independently motivated constraints, can account for the

partial early inventories produced by the children, as well as for their eventual competence in the complete range of adult syllable types.

The third section includes analyses of what is often considered the core of linguistic systems, namely suprasegmental phonology, syntax and semantics. The following articles illustrate a variety of approaches, some more descriptive, others more theoretical. **Adone** uses Wunderlich's Lexical Decompositional Grammar to account for the distribution of dativized verbs in two French-based creoles, **Morisyen** and **Seselwa**. She offers evidence that both creoles possess two structural arguments, but that they also possess Double Object Constructions (DOC). Adone concludes that DOC constitute, in fact, one of the preferred universal structures associated with ditransitive verbs in the Morisyen and Seselwa lexicon. **Eckkrammer** analyzes the passive voice in **Papiamentu**, the only Atlantic creole with a full passive. Its three passive markers (derived from Dutch, Spanish and creole) exhibit considerable dialectal variation. This observation is based on two separate written corpora of Curaçao, Bonaire and Aruba varieties. **Finney** adopts the position that **Krio** is a tonal rather than a pitch-accent language. There exists a difference in tone assignment in lexical items, depending on whether items are of English or African origin. Although the English stress pattern determines High tone in certain cases, the influence of contiguous African tonal languages cannot be discounted. In some data sets Finney finds tone to be the only contrasting element. **Frank** focuses on the use of TMA markers in **St. Lucian Creole** (SLC). He concludes that these TMA markers conform for the most part to the universal pattern proposed by Bickerton for creole languages. In some cases, however, the rules for SLC differ from those described for other Caribbean creoles. Frank suggests that to fully account for the TMA usage in SLC, discourse considerations must also be taken into account.

The fourth section covers areas that broadly include socio-pragmatic issues, such as style, register, discourse context and identity. These areas have often been ignored in creolistics, but are given due attention in the contributions by Herzfeld, Migge, Mutz, and Roberts. **Herzfeld** discusses how calypso lyrics are representative of Afro-Limonese identity among the Afro-Limonese of Costa-Rica. The author concludes that music (along with its lyrics) contributes to the maintenance of **Limonese Creole**, a language that is now under much pressure from Spanish. **Migge** investigates the social and linguistic properties of the *kuutu* ('council meeting') — a formal and highly structured event in the Eastern Maroon (Pamaka) community of Suriname and Guyane. The **Eastern Maroon Creole** linguistic practices of the *kuutu* are analyzed as face-saving strategies and social conventions that index social status. **Mutz** focuses on reflexivity in several French-based creoles (**Haitian**, **Guadeloupean**, **Guyanese**, **Morisyen**, **Seselwa**). She demonstrates that the choice of appropriate reflexive constructions is constrained by semantic and discourse factors, which can be understood as precursors of grammaticalization. **Roberts** focuses on the role of style and identity in the development of **Hawaiian Creole**. She finds evidence in data culled from 1920s Life Histories to support the claim that the linguistic elaboration attested in the development of HCE is essentially stylistic. Accord-

ing to Roberts, modernist ideologies promoted the shift from Hawaii's ancestral languages to Hawaiian Creole.

We thank all the referees for their indirect participation in this volume, and all authors for advancing the study of creoles, contact, and language change.

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