



# te reo

1973

**Journal of the  
Linguistic Society  
of New Zealand**

**16**



Te Reo is published by the Linguistic Society of New Zealand, and supplied free to members of the Society. The series of **Te Reo Monographs** is also available at special rates to members. Membership rates are as follows:

	\$NZ
Students	0.50
Individual Members	2.00
Libraries & Institutions	2.50

In the publication of articles in **Te Reo**, preference will be given to articles submitted by members. Manuscripts should be sent to the Honorary Secretary, Linguistic Society of New Zealand, C/- University, Private Bag, Auckland, they should be typed on A4 paper, on one side of the sheet only, and double spaced. Preparation of the copy to be printed is much easier if there are no hand-written additions. All words underlined will be printed in italics. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively throughout the text, and typed separately on an additional sheet. References given in the text or in the footnotes should give only the surname of the author, the date of publication and the page number:

<sup>1</sup>Smith, 1954:249.

Where references are made to two or more works published by the same author in the same year, they should be distinguished by the addition of *a*, *b*, etc. to the year:

<sup>1</sup>Smith, 1954a:249

<sup>2</sup>Smith, 1954b:492.

On a further additional sheet should be given a complete bibliography of all the references cited, arranged in alphabetical order of authors, and where several works by the same author are included, in chronological order. The place of publication and the name of the publisher should be quoted for books. The titles of books and of periodicals should be underlined; the titles of articles published in periodicals should be placed in inverted commas; abbreviated titles of periodicals as printed in the annual **Linguistic Bibliography** of the Permanent International Committee of Linguists are to be used; titles of periodicals not listed therein should be listed in full. Examples of the printed version:

Smith, X.Y., 1954a. "The Phonemes of Kerguelen." *Journal of the Phonemic Society*, 49:249-257.  
----- 1954b. *A Grammar and Vocabulary of Kerguelen, Kerguelen, Smith and Smith.*

Authors of articles published receive 20 free reprints. If more are desired, the author should communicate with the Honorary Secretary.

Back issues of **Te Reo** cost the same as a subscription. Subscriptions include postage at 2nd-class mail rates, payments from outside New Zealand should include bank charges and should be drawn on Auckland. All payments should be addressed to : The Treasurer, Linguistic Society, C/- University of Auckland, Private Bag, Auckland.

# TE REO

*Journal of the Linguistic Society of New Zealand*

---

Volume 16

1973

---

Linguistic Humour: It's not the way you tell it (Janet Holmes) .....	1
The Auckland Scow (K. Smithyman) .....	9
A Phonetic Transcription System for New Zealand English (Peter Hawkins) .....	15
Malacca Creole Portugese: a brief transformational outline (Ian F. Hancock) .....	23
Tense and Aspect in Mauritian Creole (Chris Corne) .....	45
Deux cartes populaires seychellois: texte, traduction et notes (A. Alsdorf-Bollee et R. Chaudenson) .....	60

---

*Published by the Linguistic Society of New Zealand,  
c/o University of Auckland, Private Bag, AUCKLAND.*

REO

17

---

STO

---

REO  
17  
STO

## LINGUISTIC HUMOUR IT'S NOT THE WAY YOU TELL IT!

Janet Holmes

Victoria University of Wellington

This analysis of linguistic humour represents an initial attempt to describe a function of speech, as manifested in the English language, which may well be a sociolinguistic universal. Jokes may be regarded, from a sociolinguistic point of view as examples of verbal play or verbal art; as expressions of "the ludic and aesthetic motives" of speech (Hymes, 1964). A socio-psychological approach might regard jokes as one means of expressing the solidarity between members of a group, or of manipulating power and status relationships in a social situation. These are possibilities which need to be explored in detail in the future. For the present I intend to postpone discussion of the social function and context of humour and concentrate on the linguistic features of jokes.

Linguistic jokes are analysed here according to the ways in which the various levels of language are exploited for humorous purposes: graphological, phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical and semantic. Some reference is also made to the sociolinguistic variables which may be manipulated with humorous effects within the framework of jokes. Two broad categories of jokes have been established: (A) jokes which exploit surface structure ambiguities in standard English; (B) jokes which make their point by deviating from the norm in some way. This classification is not altogether satisfactory but it seems well suited to the material collected. It will become apparent that the second category exploits a wider range of these variables than the first, although this may be true only for the examples discussed in this paper.

William Hazlitt in his essay "On Wit and Humour" says: "The essence of the laughable . . . is the incongruous, the disconnecting one idea from another, or the jostling of one feeling against another." The disconnection of ideas can often be achieved linguistically by a manipulation of the various levels of language. If humour derives, at least in part, from a perception of the absurdity or incongruity of juxtaposed ideas, this suggests that the listener holds certain expectations or makes predictions about what he is about to hear, which are in some way subverted. He hears something unpredictable and absurd, but still meaningful; he is forced to reinterpret the utterance in the light of the unexpected element, and the meaningfulness of the unexpected interpretation functions against the background of the predicted or expected interpretation. It is this juxtaposition of the expected with the unexpected and absurd which seems to give rise to the response of laughter. The perception of two meanings where only one was expected can be intellectually very satisfying. Ambiguity alone, however, does not guarantee humour. The element of incongruity is essential: the two or more possible interpretations must be sufficiently dislocated and disconnected to provide an absurd contrast. In the majority of jokes the surprise element occurs in the last two or three words. The decoding process is a continuous one, involving constant modification as the listener receives more information. Towards the end of the utterance the listener generally feels relatively confident that he can accurately predict the last few words on the basis of the input received; the possibilities become more restricted both grammatically and lexically with each additional piece of information. So the listener's mind is tuned in to a particular structural framework and lexical set; and then, in a joke, the whole framework collapses and his predictions prove to be inaccurate or inadequate.

Puns provide excellent examples of these principles in category (A). They generally depend on the ambiguity of at least one lexical item: in other words, puns generally exploit the existence of homonyms in the language. There is some confusion in the literature over the distinction between homonyms, homophones and polysemantic words. The confusion arises largely from the lack of any generally accepted definition of a word. For the purpose of this analysis a homonym is defined as one sound sequence or phonological structure representing two distinct meanings or semantically differentiated concepts. Each of these concepts is called a "word". This definition eliminates the need for the terms "homophone" and "polysemantic



word", since each meaning of the sound sequence is regarded as a distinct "word". In some cases the meanings will be semantically quite different; in others they will be more closely related. An example of the homonym as the basis of a pun is provided by an introductory remark made by a Professor in a lecture to his urban geography students:

( 1) I would like you to consider Liverpool as a whole.

Here one sound sequence /həʊl/ may be interpreted as two distinct words (which also happen to be distinguished graphologically): *whole* meaning "entirety" and *hole* meaning 'dull place'. It is a clear example of the exploitation of phonology for humorous purposes, since it involves two distinct meanings at the level of semantics which are by coincidence phonologically identical in their surface structure. There is no intra-textual syntactic or lexical clue to indicate the possibility of more than one interpretation; nor is there any syntactic ambiguity. The linguistic competence of the listeners, however, enables them to perceive two meanings, one contextually appropriate, the other absurdly inappropriate.

Jokes in category (a) involve the exploitation of a surface structure ambiguity. An analysis of the reasons for the ambiguity, however, involves focussing on different levels of language in different types of jokes. At the morphological level, for example, there is a particular type of joke (usually presented in written form) which depends on a false morphological analysis of a particular word. The word could in fact be described as a pseudo-homonym. Examples are:

( 2) Badminton: the reason the lamb tasted so awful.

( 3) Inundated: sitting home all alone waiting for the telephone.

The perception of an ambiguity depends in this type of joke on a recognition of the potential polymorphemic analysis of a word which is in fact a monomorpheme. The morphological pseudo-homonym can also occur in narrated jokes:

( 4) "I'm really having trouble with this syntax. Do you understand it?"

"Understand it? I didn't even know it *was* taxed."

Another example goes beyond the word level and takes the analysis into the area of syntactic ambiguity:

( 5) A drunk staggering home tripped over a friend who was lying underneath his car. "Why are you down there?" he asked.

"Piston broke" was the answer. "Ssame here" replied the drunk.

An analysis of the ambiguity here involves recognising the existence of two different grammatical structures underlying the surface-structure phonemic identity of the crucial sound sequence. The semantic significance of suprasegmental features such as stress and intonation is sometimes discounted in linguistic jokes which rely solely on phonemic identity for their ambiguity (see also examples 21 and 22).

There is a related type of joke which involves the exploitation of grammatical homonyms for humorous effect. The simplest examples depend on the ambiguity of a form like *runs*, which may be interpreted as a plural noun or as a third person singular verb form.

( 6) "What has one wheel and flies?"

"A barrowload of manure."

More complex examples also rely on the potential ambiguity of forms which may function as more than one part of speech, and similarly involve two quite different underlying structural analyses.

( 7) A lightning conductor gets through Beethoven's *Fifth* in twenty minutes.

( 8) She married a sailor because she wanted to have children and rear admirals.

The latter example relies firstly on the possibility of interpreting *rear* as both verb and as an adjective, and secondly on the ambiguity of *have* which here provides an example of syllepsis — a device which will be discussed in more detail below. Another method of exploiting syntactic ambiguity in jokes is the use of anaphoric pronouns where the referent is ambiguous.

( 9) Mrs Jones finally boarded the plane for New York. Shortly afterwards her huge nose was turned into the wind, and, like some enormous beast, she crawled along the runway.

In more complex jokes the ambiguity of a particular lexical item may be the result of the deletion of some element of meaning by regular transformational rules. This process occurs generally in contexts where there is no possibility of misinterpretation. One example is the transference of an action from one noun to another which occurs in phrases such as *the kettle's boiling* and *the tap's running* where it is the water which is in fact *boiling* and *running*. Many linguistic jokes exploit the potential ambiguity of surface structures which result from deletions of this kind by deliberately emphasising a possible but inappropriate interpretation of such phrases.

(10) "It's time I changed the baby."

"Well make sure you get a quieter one."

(11) He wasn't earning enough money so he took a job in a film studio trying to pick up a little extra. Her name was Sally.

The listener's initial interpretation of *extra* as "extra money" depends on the assumption that a regular transformational rule has deleted the second occurrence of the noun *money*. The final sentence forces a reinterpretation of *extra* and exploits a potential ambiguity of which the listener was initially unaware. Similarly in the next example the potential ambiguity of *fill* is made use of, and the listener becomes aware of the elements of meaning which are present in the deep structure but deleted from the surface structure.

(12) I would like to introduce Mrs Betty Brown: the only woman who could fill this hall.

Jokes which exploit the ambiguity of lexical items such as *fill* depend on a linguistic and non-linguistic context which allows the listener to perceive both interpretations: the appropriate and the absurd. These factors contribute to the perceptive set or framework of those listening to the joke. In the next two examples the extra-verbal context steers the listener towards one interpretation of the homonyms, while the final intra-textual lexical items bring the alternative unexpected interpretation into focus.

(13) Letter from wife to husband: "Bert I missed you yesterday. Come home and let me have another shot."

(14) Comment on a famous actor: "He played the King as if he were in constant fear that someone else was about to play the ace."

The alternative interpretations of *play* in the last example also involve the semantic features of the word *King*. One interpretation relies on its having the feature +ANIMATE, the other on its being -ANIMATE. These semantic features are frequently the basis of the alternative meanings of items which may be interpreted both literally and metaphorically. The close relationship between syntax and semantics is clearly demonstrated in the following example which exploits this potential ambiguity.

(15) A proportion of the Church Building Fund will be used to get the choir properly plastered.

The choice of  $\pm$  ANIMATE, as a semantic feature of *choir* determines its grammatical status as subject or object of *plaster*; and consequently *plaster* may be interpreted as intransitive or transitive.

The use of words in both their literal and metaphorical senses within the same sentence is a common literary device. Syllepsis is another closely related device whereby one word is made to refer to two others in the sentence, but where it applies to them in different senses. The verb *have* in (8) provides a simple example of the way this device may be used in jokes; *have* was clearly being used in two quite different senses. More complex examples may involve the manipulation of idioms and clichés, where the substitution of an unexpected item within the idiomatic phrase emphasises the potential ambiguity of the words.

(16) Some husbands come in handy around the house; others come in unexpectedly.

(17) In most places cleanliness is next to godliness; round her it's next to impossible.

Finally in this category the ambiguity of surface structure may involve not just one or two lexical items, but the whole utterance. In literature extended similes and even allegories provide examples of surface structures which may be interpreted in two or more ways. They

often exploit a semantic coincidence just as homonyms exploit a phonological coincidence, where one surface structure may refer equally to two disparate objects. An example of the use of such ambiguous reference in jokes is provided by the following definition:

- (18) A good speech should be like a woman's skirt: short enough to arouse the interest but long enough to cover the essentials.

Throughout category (A) the progression from the simple homonym to the more complex ambiguities of the later examples demonstrates the ways in which the inter-relationship between the various levels of language may be exploited for humorous purposes. The analysis has moved from a consideration of the homonym which involves the coincidental phonological identity of two different words to an exploration of the mutual network of relationships between the phonological form, lexical collocations, syntactic status and semantic features of the lexical items in linguistic jokes.

The second major category involves deviations from the norm or the mishandling of language with humorous results. The humour derives, as in category (A), from the perception of two meanings one of which is appropriate and the other absurd. The interesting difference however is that this category involves two alternative surface structures, one explicit and one implicit: the absurd and unpredictable surface structure is provided, but it functions against the background of the appropriate and predictable surface structure. The listener hears only the inappropriate or marked forms, but his knowledge or competence (both linguistic and sociolinguistic) supplies the unmarked and appropriate forms with which it contrasts; he appreciates the deviations against the background of his knowledge of the norm. A simple example at the graphological level will illustrate the point. The following paragraph appeared in a newspaper column.

- (19) To-day I am MAKING AN INNOVATION, as you may already have guessed, I am typing this article myself. Instead of writing it, The idea is to save time and expense, also to demonstrate that I can type just as well as any blessed girl if I give my mind to it!"

Newspaper readers have reason to expect a high standard of correctness in spelling and punctuation. This paragraph relies on these expectations in order to deviate from the norm. The content of the paragraph explicitly acknowledges that a deviation from normal practice is involved, yet pretends to ignore the impeccable orthography and pronunciation associated with it. This kind of tongue-in-cheek "competence for incompetence" is a feature of many jokes in category (B). To the extent that the narrator of the joke is aware of the "mistakes", the joke involves a conscious manipulation of language for humorous effect. A different example at the graphological level illustrates another variation in this category where the narrator is conscious of the incompetence involved although the original perpetrator of the "mistakes" is not.

- (20) Letter to the Town Council:

Dear Sirs,

Would you please send a plumber to inspect our metre as there is a mouse in it and it is most unerving to hear it squeal.

Many of the jokes in this category of inappropriate handling of language involve a second person recounting the mistakes of others, so placing the listener and the narrator in a superior position, and this seems to be one of the sociopsychological factors involved in the joke situation.

A coincidence of phonology in what could be regarded as an "extended homonym" may lead the listener to misinterpret the meaning. This often happens when children encounter language which is unfamiliar in some way, such as the specialised register used in prayers and hymns.

- (21) Gladly, my cross-eyed bear. (Gladly my cross I'd bear.)

- (22) We can sing full though we be. (Weak and sinful though we be.)

These interpretations, which are totally inappropriate in the context, reveal the child's attempts to make sense of unfamiliar syntax and vocabulary, despite inadequate or underdeveloped communicative competence in this area of language. A similar type of



ambiguity is exploited in jokes which depend on a phonological coincidence of a regional accent with R.P. in the pronunciation of two quite different words.

(23) Oyster: a lift or crane used in East London.

(24) Furry: found at the bottom of a Liverpool suburban garden.

Some jokes in category (B) depend on mispronunciations which result in the use of a meaningful but inappropriate word: the listener's knowledge of the appropriate word is essential for appreciation of the joke since the inappropriate form functions against the background of the unmarked or appropriate form. The following two examples involve a very conscious exploitation of phonological confusion:

(25) Sign outside a church: Help stop truth decay.

(26) Twins: womb-mates.

Another less deliberate type of phonological and morphological confusion is exploited in jokes which relate the incompetence of a third party; these often take the form of malapropisms or schoolboy howlers.

(27) The Mediterranean and the Red Sea are connected by the Sewage Canal.

(28) King Solomon had two hundred wives and five hundred porcupines.

(29) You must come and see our Nativity play Dad. I'm playing one of the three kings: the one who carries the frankenstein.

These are all examples of the mishandling of language by native speakers whose linguistic competence is in some way underdeveloped or imperfect. An obvious source of further examples in the mispronunciation of English by foreigners which often results in a meaningful but humorously inappropriate linguistic item. One well-known example is the air-hostess's greeting:

(30) We hope you will all have a nice fright.

Another type of linguistic joke involving the foreigner's misinterpretation or mishandling of language exploits the humorous potential of an inaccurate morphological analysis of English. The following exchange between a foreigner and his hostess provides an illustration.

(31) "I am only sorry I have cockroached on your hospitality."

"You mean encroached."

"Of course, I was forgetting; you are a woman."

Or the inappropriate item may be a paradigmatically related but in other respects completely different part of speech from the item it is replacing, as in this notice on a menu in Venice.

(32) If you are satisfactory please tell your friends. If you are unsatisfactory warn the waitress.

Non-standard dialects may also be a source of linguistic jokes when they provide a grammatical form which coincides phonologically with a different form in the standard dialect, thus providing a potential ambiguity.

(33) "Did you seed the grapefruit Nellie?"

"Yes madam, I seed 'em."

Cliches and idioms are a further potential source of confusion for foreigners. Again the inappropriate use of such forms functions in contrast to the listener's knowledge of the appropriate usage or meaning. The following example is the result of a confusion of lexical items which was heard in a Nairobi radio report of a race:

(34) "The drivers will now be keeping their toes closed for the last leg."

He corrected himself however, and added, "Of course I mean their toes crossed." The inappropriate use of language may also be due to an idiom being interpreted in a literal sense.

(35) Thank you for a lovely meal. We are thoroughly fed up.

(36) The man in the bunk above me was very seasick. And he kept on shouting 'Look out' when he meant 'Look in!'

From a sociolinguistic point of view many of the examples already discussed involve some specification of participants and context in order that the listener may appreciate their point.

The importance of such factors becomes even more explicit when the handling of different styles of language is involved. Fishman (1971) has said: "Humour during a formal lecture is realised through a metaphorical switch to another variety or code." And humour can often result from the use of an *inappropriate* variety or code as in the following example:

- (37) We normally inform our customers that their dentures are ready for collection Miss Brown, not that their choppers are off the block.

A second example provides evidence of the problems faced by a foreigner who is trying to manipulate formal written English:<sup>1</sup>

- (38) "After forming my resolution of writing a large novel, I confided it to my crony, Mr Ram Ashootosh Lall, who warmly recommended to persevere in such a *magnus opus*. So I became divinely inflated periodically every evening from eight to twelve p.m., disregarding all entreaties from feminine relatives to stop and indulge in a blow-out in ordinary eatables. And at length my colossal effusion was completed, and I had written myself out: after which I had the indescribable joy and felicity to read my composition to my mothers in law and wives and their respective progenies and offsprings, whereupon, although they were not acquainted with a word of English, they were overcome by such severe admiration for my fecundity and native eloquence that they swooned with rapture."

Fishman (1971) has also discussed the concept of congruent and incongruent elements in a situation. A consideration of such factors leads beyond jokes which are strictly speaking "linguistic" and into a broader area of humour than can be covered in this paper. A few examples, however, will serve to illustrate the way in which sociolinguistic variables may be manipulated for humorous purposes. The jokes discussed so far in this second major category have generally involved the use of an inappropriate linguistic form in a context where the listener perceives the marked usage against the background of the expected or unmarked form. In the examples which follow the humour lies in the incongruity of some situational element or sociolinguistic variable. The first example involves the efforts of an elocution teacher who taught his class of Liverpool slum pupils to speak with an R.P. accent.

- (39) He was greeted one morning by a boy with a black eye who explained: "Me Mam battered me for talking like a fruit."

This is a good example of insensitivity to the context in which the code was to be used. At the other extreme there is this exchange between St Peter and an applicant at the gates of heaven:

- (40) "Who's there?"

"It is I, Jonathan."

"Go to hell. We've had enough Eton blokes for today."

The social dialect here clearly provides a clue to social identity. The schoolboy who wrote the following note was similarly heedless of his addressee:

- (41) Dear Sir I have wrote 100 times I have gone home and then I have went home.

And finally there is this story from a newspaper where the humour lies in the incongruous physical setting of the message:

- (42) Loss of the Boeing Supersonic Transport and cuts in the space programme have brought financial hardship to the U.S. city of Seattle. Although many people are leaving Seattle to find work elsewhere, not everyone has lost his sense of humour. Two young businessmen erected a huge billboard on Highway 99 for motorists heading out of the city. Its message reads: WILL THE LAST PERSON LEAVING SEATTLE TURN OUT THE LIGHTS.

-UPI

To summarise briefly, linguistic jokes seem to depend on some unexpected manipulation of language which involves upsetting the listener's expectations and predictions. This may be achieved in two main ways; firstly by the exploitation of a surface structure ambiguity which relates to two disparate underlying interpretations, one of which is predictable and appropriate, the other absurd and unexpected; secondly by the exploitation of some kind of

Example provided by Dr Jack Richards.

linguistic incompetence, so that the listener perceives a marked, inappropriate but meaningful utterance in the context of the norm from which it deviates, and relates the two contrasting surface structures (one explicit and one implicit) to the shared underlying meaning. Jokes in both categories may be usefully analysed by examining the various levels of language which they exploit in order to achieve their effect.

#### Bibliography

- Fishman, J.A., 1971. *Sociolinguistics: A Brief Introduction*. Massachusetts, Newbury House.
- Hazlitt, W., n.d. "On Wit and Humour", in F. Carr (ed.) *Essays of William Hazlitt*. London, Walter Scott.
- Hymes, D., 1964. "Introduction to 'Speech Play and Verbal Art' " in D. Hymes (ed.) *Language in Culture and Society*. New York, Harper and Row.

## THE AUCKLAND SCOW

K. Smithyman

University of Auckland

Over most of seventy years (roughly 1870-1940) many Auckland people took a notable pleasure from the sight of their port's fleet of smaller vessels. If the Islands' traders had pride of place, some of the coastal ships or trans-Tasman vessels were scarcely less regarded. More than a simple pleasure was afforded by these ships. They were objects of parochial pride. They were of course also a significantly commercial feature. As Dr R.C.J. Stone (1973:35) writes:

The 1881 census brought out the maritime character of the Auckland province in a striking way. Although less than 10 percent of the colony's railway employees were in the province, it had 35 percent of the sailors and ships' officers, 38 percent of ships' engineers, 41 percent of the watermen and boatmen, and 62 percent of the lumpers. In a context of that sort, it is not surprising that before long the impulse of local pride should find that it needed some special, some singular, case to fix on, as it did. In newspapers and periodicals of the late nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century, as in reminiscences of the period, readers today will catch the move towards locating the particular example, and the subsequent assertions that Auckland was peculiarly the place of the *scow*. As a boy, because of my father's associations I was quite often around the wharves or builders' yards, and grew up with the firm understanding that the *scow* was a contriving of Aucklanders, designed explicitly for the needs of Auckland provincial shipping, the vessel's shallow draught being a local answer to shallow waterways, its usual bluntness an answer to the demands made by beachings for handling cargo. This was near the end of the time when scows were a common sight, and consequently when force of legend or folklore was maximized.

That *scow* was a name which in the circumstances might be at all odd was something which went unchallenged. A few years later, when I was a student interested in words, when there was any talk of loan words *yacht* was fairly likely to be instanced, but as far as I recall *scow* was passed over. It had the sense of being indigenous. Local variations on yacht-design abounded, and local namings (*patiki*, *mullety*, *fourteenfooter*, *zeddy*) were coinages which conceivably reinforced the conviction that *scow* too was local, a belief not open to be shaken by any other currency of *scow* as applied to any type of vessel than the one which we were familiar with. As far as we were concerned, the native-born, there was only one kind of *scow*. To labour the point, all other possible significances, whether of North Europe or North America, were lacking. There must exceptionally have been people who knew of those significances, in having specialised interest in small ships or in view of the varied backgrounds of the maritime community, but it seems safe to say that in general *scow* had a narrow significance locally. Of that general condition, what strikes me from old newspapers seems to support the claim. Moreover, I cannot recall from my own reading coming across *scow* before the later part of the last century, which is an impression only and worth no more credence than any other impression. However, as will be seen below, *scow* was apparently missing from the lexis of Aucklanders when the local prototype was built in the 1870s, and such enquiries as I have made among my contemporaries point firmly to one only understanding of *scow* and to thorough ignorance of the word ever being applied to any but the one type of vessel.

Given that there was one predominant sense of *scow* for Aucklanders, were those Aucklanders at all warranted in believing in a local peculiarity of the craft? Put otherwise, as a point of enquiry for this article, was there anything distinctively *an Auckland scow*, one more item to be added to the various *scow* compounds which appear in dictionaries? If Aucklanders were in error in believing in the singularity of their vessels, were they wholly wrong?

Conviction or disposition arising out of familiarity is mentioned above. The force of familiarity is possibly hinted in the language used by an historian of coastal ships, P.A. Eaddy, although Eaddy (1939:15) recognised that his Auckland-based vessel was anticipated elsewhere:

The idea of using the flat-bottom scow type of vessel as a cargo carrier originated either in the great freshwater lakes of Canada, or in some parts of the United States.<sup>2</sup> Eaddy here suggests that Auckland vessels somehow differed from North American prototypes, implying the existence of a distinctively Auckland type of *scow*, further implying



that the name held some local sense of differentiation. Admittedly, his phrasing is not entirely explicit, yet one possibility recognisably attaching to it is that 'the scow type of vessel' signifies that *scow* is to be construed in terms of what Aucklanders first, other New Zealanders subsequently, thought of as "a scow".

One may say positively that Aucklanders did not think so before 1873. The evidence strongly indicates that *scow* with any differentiating significance attached did not become truly established before about 1880. In that decade usage was confirmed. Contrariwise, positive movement towards eclipse can be pretty surely dated to the period of the Second World War, for the military supply services took away into the Pacific a drastic part of a dwindling fleet, which did not return. In itself, this withdrawal was hardly the beginning of the end. That effectively began when shipowners gave up commissioning new scows, in the 1920s. Few remain today, although not so long ago I saw three together at the shipyard haul-outs in St Mary's Bay where probably they were waiting their annual Marine Department certification. Asking about *scow* among first year students of English at this university (not all of whom are Aucklanders) seems to show that for the majority *scow* is actually or virtually meaningless. One or two have it as a literary word, something you read about. Some have no response at all. Few get only to the minimal level of *scow* 'boat'. Fewer still reach to any kind of detail. Except for those with a specialised interest, the ending of *scow* is well under way.

That is scarcely to be wondered at. The building of scows was almost ended by 1914. Thereafter, according to Hawkins (1960:170-99, Appendix II, a table of Sailing Vessels built in the Auckland Province), only three vessels described as scows were built (in 1921, 1924, 1925). Commonly, a scow had long life, and when obsolescent was likely for conversion. A handful of students gave as answer *scow* 'barge', which locally and lexically was the beginning and (sadly) materially the ending of a number of these little ships.

The scows of Auckland were the outcome of a process of recapitulation, modification, and innovation. Wright (1904:265) gives a dialect *scow* 'A small boat, esp. a flat-bottomed boat, a barge, punt', which usefully indicates the basis for variation. An *O.E.D.* quotation records Lord Hatherley in a judgment of 1877 equating *scow* 'large barge'. From other examples will be seen the variation acceptable for the size of a *scow*, and variation in one feature, whether the vessel was decked or not. If decked, the barge-character is emphasised; if undecked, the punt character.

The *O.E.D.* bypasses *scow* in British English dialects, leaning to North American examples. It takes from Jefferson (1780), 'A large flat-bottomed lighter or punt', and an equation of *scow* 'bateau', which compares with Carlton (1843), quoted by Mathews (1951:1475), *scow* 'pirogue'. Guillet (1966:11) writing of the upper St Lawrence traffic about 1820-30 refers to 'scow-like Durham boats' but extends the sense when writing about the Assiniboine River at 1862 (Guillet 1966:113) and a ferry which was 'a scow drawn by rawhide ropes at both ends', which 'could take no more than a single cart and ox at one time'. Whether decked or undecked, the examples recur to the feature of the flat bottom. Thus, Simcoe (1795) quoted by Avis *et al* (1967:666) defining *scow* 'a vessel with four sides, an oblong square, in length forty to fifty feet, in breadth thirty to forty, and from four to five feet deep, flat-bottomed' stresses the flatness and implies a shallow draught. Allan (1884), in *O.E.D.*, is the source of a 'scow or flat-bottomed boat' in canal service in the United States. The unhandiness of Simcoe's vessel is mooted again in Grove, Webster's *Third New International Dictionary* (1961): 'A large flat-bottomed boat with broad square ends that is used chiefly for transporting sand, gravel, or refuse'. A like awkwardness is inferred, for the kind of *scow* up to one hundred or so feet in length, which is variously reported for the Yukon.

Dictionaries and source-books, regardless of Wright's gleanings, give more weight to a North American provenance than to metropolitan English, whatever the ultimate source, so the lack of *scow* in the Auckland area in 1873 is not incongruous. By the same token, as will emerge, the introduction of *scow* into maritime usage is, in the circumstances, quite in keeping.

The drift of the definitions above is towards statements about shape of the hull. With modification in means of propulsion, definitions follow in relation to the rig and, to anticipate, when rigged, some further modification was needed to facilitate handling the unwieldy hulls.

Something easier to handle than, say, Simcoe's 'oblong square' developed on the Great Lakes in the 1840s. Harington (Megill 1966:172) has written of traffic of the second Welland

Canal, 1842-5, that 'schooners predominated, with a following of barques, brigs, sloops and scows', which recalls Bret Harte (1878), quoted in *O.E.D.*, 'a long, low, sloop-rigged scow', suggesting that the rigging of scows was not uniform, as indeed was the case if we look to Bartlett (cited *O.E.D.*) quoting from 1848: 'On Lake Ontario they are sometimes rigged like a schooner or sloop, with lee-board or sliding keel, when they make tolerably fast sailers'.

Whatever the currency of *barge* or *lighter* around Auckland, *scow* was lacking. 'Scows began to appear in the New Zealand coastal trade in the eighteen-seventies, but they were not called scows then, for in the newspaper files of those years we find them entered as barges', said Eaddy (1939:24).

The first "scow" was completed early in 1873. Launched in April, she arrived in Auckland, 26 June 1873. Hawkins (1960:146-7) quotes from an Auckland newspaper, the *Southern Cross*. I give two extracts here, the first of 26 April 1873 and the second of 27 June 1873:

- (a) There was recently launched from the shipbuilding yards of Messrs Meiklejohn, Omaha, a vessel which for peculiarity of build is quite a novelty in Auckland. The vessel, which is being rigged as a fore-and-aft schooner, is in the shape of a punt—bluff at both ends. She is 60 feet long; and her beam amidships is 16 feet 6 inches, and at the stem and stern she has a beam of 15 feet 6 inches. The depth between her bottom and deck is four feet. The vessel is decked over, and has a bulwark of between three and four feet high. No cargo is to be carried below deck, everything being placed above: in fact, no hatchways, etc., are to be provided. She will be fitted with a centre-board (on the American principle — swung from one end). The vessel, or monster punt, is to be employed in the timber and firewood trade, and is expected to carry about 80 tons cargo. The idea of building a vessel of this description is to enable the owners to run the vessel up the shallow creeks, and take in her cargo direct from the mills, instead of having to lie off at some distance, as is so frequently the case with cutters and schooners, and so save the lightering off by small punts, etc. The new vessel may be expected in Auckland in about a week's time. She has been very appropriately named the *Ark*.

The *Ark* was apparently a nickname. The vessel was registered as the *Lake Erie*. It should be said, for the benefit of non-Aucklanders, that the place of building, Omaha, is a Maori place name and only coincidentally North American:

- (b) The new schooner *Lake Erie*, built at Omaha, and on the same principle of the wood-carrying vessels on the lakes in America, arrived in harbour yesterday morning. The vessel carries the whole of her cargo of wood on deck, the hull of the vessel being completely watertight. It is intended to run the vessel in the firewood trade, for which she was specially built.

Even if the reporter picked up a bit of information (about the Great Lakes wood-carriers) he plainly lacked a word for the bastard barge-punt. From the phrasing 'the lakes in America' Eaddy inferred the Great Lakes.

That inference gets support from the names of early craft built by 1876: the *Lake Erie*, 1873, at Omaha; the *Lake Superior*, 1875, Pakiri, not far north of Omaha; the *Lake St Clair*, 1876, Mahurangi, not far south of Omaha; The *Lake Michigan*, 1876, Omaha. The regional character of the location of the yards is noticeable. So too is the pointed reference to the Great Lakes, with which *Lake St Clair* is consistent. (The lake lies between Lake Erie and Lake Huron.) The outsider of the set is the *Lady of the Lake*, 1876, Mahurangi, the first of a number of Sir Walter Scott names of vessels of the sort.

Four builders were involved. Darrach (the *Lake St Clair*) was an immigrant from Prince Edward Island; Dunning (the *Lady of the Lake*) was probably Nova Scotian; Sharp (the *Lake Superior*), not known; Meiklejohn (the *Lake Erie* and the *Lake Michigan*), son of a Scotsman, migrant ex Nova Scotia, ex Prince Edward Island, ex Sydney. The colouring of Scottishness, eastern Canada and timberworking, is apparent. So too the suggestion that a consciously (locally) new class of vessel is introduced under the influence of 'the wood-carrying vessels' of the Great Lakes, to serve local timber and firewood interests.

Yet, it appears from these reports and from the fact that these craft referred to as "barges or "punts" were registered as *barges*, there was no class name immediately available for them. The journalist, whose report of 26 April 1873 talks in terms of *punt*, seems to see the *Lake*

*Erie* as an enlargement of the small punt but is uneasy at the decking. Registration talks in terms of *barge*, but could also have followed the practice of following the terms of rigging; the reporter speaks of the *Lake Erie* being 'rigged as a fore-and-aft schooner'.

In the event, various ways of classifying these vessels emerged regionally. They could be referred to in terms of motive power: *sailing scow* or *auxiliary scow*. They could be referred to in a fashion which compares with North American practice (on which see Mathews 1951:1475) and alludes to usual cargo: *shingle scow*, *firewood scow*, *timber scow*. I have no note on it, but am fairly sure that I heard another style which implied a distinction of the short-haul and markedly shallow-draught vessel from those which might risk longer voyages, the *mud scow* a term which figures in A.F. Chamberlain's list of Americanisms recorded in Ontario 1880-90 (Orkin 1971:25). Chamberlain did not recognise *scow* in his items of Ontario English, indicating an absence which compares with the Auckland case of the 1870s, although he significantly regards *scow* as an Americanism.

For these vessels to be named as *barges* became possible again when they suffered a change of function, and for the sake of economy were not used as independent craft. This reversion gives priority of regard to the hull as determinant for reference, but a variety of namings was possible when the rig had priority. This could and did make *scow* an adjunct of the class *schooner*, or of the class *ketch*. So, there appear in shipping records items *schooner scow*, modified by subclassification to a *topsail-schooner scow* or *three-masted schooner scow*, or modified further by recognised motive power, an *auxiliary schooner-rigged scow*. The last might be modified. For example, a sailing scow could be converted to an engined scow, relying mainly on the motor although retaining minimal sail to aid steering, arriving at an *auxiliary scow*, which in turn became a class name with an adjunct, such as *oil-engined scow* (Ingram & Wheatley 1951:490)

The course of these variants has nothing obviously to do with North America. They seem spontaneous, breeding their own authority and exclusiveness. Although more than enough contact with the Californian coast existed, there was no evident inclination to follow the Californian pattern of *scow schooner*.

The first *scows* of the Auckland area were modelled after Great Lakes craft. By the time the first four builders began production north of Auckland, *scows* were a long established feature of the San Francisco area, with which Auckland had and continued to have contact. The San Francisco *scows* were the first to develop the centreboard, so one authority says, but this would seem to be arguable in light of one way of interpreting the 1848 Lake Ontario reference, instanced above, to 'lee-board or sliding keel'. From the information available, it appears that the San Francisco *scows* were modelled after the Great Lakes vessels, and that the use in the Bay area of the centreboard was anticipated on the Lakes. The San Francisco craft, with shallow draught, decked, with centreboard, designed for delta and river service, inevitably resemble the Auckland craft in the early years. They remained conservative in their building, and ceased to be renewed not so long before the beginning of the end in Auckland. The last San Francisco *scow* to be launched was in 1905.

As for the centreboard, that was introduced otherwise in Auckland building in 1862 and continued in other types of vessel contemporaneous with the early and with the subsequently modified *scows*. Hawkins (1960:154) ascribes the centreboard in Auckland to the example of Great Lakes schooners known to builders who migrated from North America to New Zealand. The antecedents of the *scows* of Auckland were not straightforward, nor were the developments, since the use of centreboards did not eliminate the use of leeboards.

At this point, one may say that from 1873 to 1880 *scow* as a maritime word was a novelty, but the type of craft was known to be not original. If innovatory, it was only so in terms of New Zealand coastal shipping. If peculiar, only in the sense that it was limited to Auckland waters. To recur to the question which was the matter of this enquiry, at 1880 *an Auckland scow* signified little if anything more than the port of registry.

The first *scows* built in the Auckland area were flat-bottomed and square-bilged, square at bow and stern, bluff-built to the water. The hull was decked over, divided within to make sections either by "post and rail" or "solid partition" which ran from bow to stern, according to Hawkins (1960:147), the middle line being set slightly to the side to allow for positioning the centreboard casing and for stepping the masts. Post-and-rail might be combined with solid partition. Crossmembering systems could differ. The locating and placing of the centreboards

— ultimately, there might be as many as three — varied. The rudder was large, awkward, and required (because of beaching) to be moved up and down. Leeboards were a feature of some of the early vessels built about Auckland, recalling the practice of *sailing barges* elsewhere (which Hawkins notices) and the Lake Ontario craft mentioned in 1848. (The 1873 registration of the *Lake Erie* conceivably implies *barge* 'sailing barge'.)

Local variation and innovation were needed if a particularly or peculiarly *Auckland scow* was to emerge. The variation seems to have come about in 1880 when Gouk built a 'leeboard barge', the *Rata*, for timberwork, but unorthodoxly gave her a pointed bow (Hawkins 1960:153). In 1883 the ketch-rigged *Vixen* had rounded bilges and bows although she was flat-bottomed and squared at the stern (Eaddy 1939:25-26). In 1897 an effort was made by the Marine Department to impose a modification on a vessel which, with hindsight, we can now see was evolving, quite unlike the static condition of the Californian craft. The Department made bulwarks compulsory; the trade opposed and overcame this, although bulwarks which could be shipped and unshipped were and had earlier been adopted as a natural course.

Consideration was given previously to the fact that *scow* was classifiable in terms of hull or rig. With the *scows* built by Bailey that either/or classification became qualified. Whatever the orthodoxy of the idea of a *scow*, Bailey moved away from it, by rounding the bilges, using "longitudinal" instead of "athwartships" planking, and by frame building, which is to say over-abruptly that Bailey ships conformed closer in the hull to "schooner" construction. In the 1890s rigging came closer to schooner orthodoxy, hulls were given more sheer, the line of the bow cleaner definition. In the early 1900s sail area was markedly increased and heightened. Some of the craft had three masts. The fairly definable *schooner scow* was attained, decidedly different from the Californian *scow schooner*.

This shift going forward, it is not surprising that after schooner fashion, the hull space was utilised for cargo-carrying holds even if the vessel still remained shallow-draughted. A distinctive *Auckland scow* was attained, with further distinction to come, in cruising range.

Mixed in their antecedents, these Auckland-built vessels were hybrid in their outcome, a class subsuming sub-classes. Shallow draught remained a feature. Take two late ships from Niccol's yard, the *Korora* built in 1905, a three-masted *fore-and-aft schooner scow* 121 feet long with a 31 feet beam but drawing only 5 feet, and the *Zingara*, a three-masted *topsail-schooner scow* of 128 feet length and 33 feet beam, drawing 6 feet of water. Centreboarded, the *Korora* carried all her cargo on deck, as did the *Zingara*.

Hawkins seems to distinguish among hybridised vessels. He talks of the *Eunice* built by Darroch (not Darrach) A 'not a true scow' because she was a frame vessel, but the truth of a scow must remain a quibble. *Scow* of Auckland was a class, flat-bottomed, shallow-draughted, centreboarded, variable as to bilge, bow, stern, rigging, motive power, frame, or partition, carrying on deck or in hold, and variable in range.

If immediate short-haul servicing, carrying firewood, logs, sawn timber, cattle, shingle, were first purposes, the immediate service area was not long in getting extended. From Hauraki Gulf servicing, the range became coastal and in short order involved sailing from one northern coastline to another. In 1879 Darroch's *Makarau* made a maiden voyage from a West Coast loading around North Cape to Auckland (Hawkins 1960:147). Extended services developed such as, Auckland to the Bay of Plenty, and longer routes were initiated: inter-island services, and inter-colonial services. Trips to the Pacific Islands, to San Francisco, are recorded; even one, of uncertain reliability, to New York. Auckland-built vessels were sold on to the Australian coast.

Among *the scows* of Auckland were some markedly different in build, use and range of service from those of the Great Lakes or of San Francisco. These were *the Auckland scows* which fostered longshore and deepwater legend, the venturesome part of the fleet. Aucklanders, then, were warranted in believing that *an Auckland scow* was special and peculiar. That could very well be, even if that belief was not justifiable for all the scows of Auckland.



**Bibliography**

- Avis W.S. et al., 1967. *A Dictionary of Canadianisms*. Toronto, W.J. Gage.
- Eaddy, P.A., 1939. *'Neath Swaying Spars*. Christchurch, Whitcombe and Tombs.
- Guillet, E.C., 1966. *The Story of Canadian Roads*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press.
- Hawkins, C.W., 1960. *Out of Auckland*. Auckland, the author.
- Ingram, C.W.N. and Wheatley, P.O., 1951. *Shipwrecks, New Zealand Disasters*. Wellington, A.H. and A.W. Reed.
- Mathews, M.M., 1951. *A Dictionary of Americanisms*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Megill, W.J., 1966 (ed.) *Patterns of Canada*. Toronto, Ryerson.
- Orkin, M.M., 1971. *Speaking Canadian English*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Stone, R.C.J., 1973. *Masters of Fortune*. Auckland, Auckland University Press and Oxford University Press.
- Wright, J., 1904. *English Dialect Dictionary*, Vol.IV. London, Frowde.

## A PHONEMIC TRANSCRIPTION SYSTEM FOR NEW ZEALAND ENGLISH

Peter Hawkins

Victoria University of Wellington

Phonemic transcription is one of the skills which is usually taught at the beginning of any course in linguistics or the English language. There are however a number of transcription systems available, and it is essential to choose one which is both adequate and appropriate. The notations used by, for example, Daniel Jones (1960), Gimson (1962) and Ida Ward (1948) are well-known and have in the past been used to teach transcription to New Zealand students, but they share one disadvantage, for New Zealanders, in that they describe Received Pronunciation (RP), from which NZ pronunciation differs in a number of respects. This means that in practice, when students are taught one of the RP notations, they have to accept certain conventions which are generally felt to be unsatisfactory and unnatural, because they do not represent the students' own pronunciation. At Victoria University, therefore, we have devised a notation which, in the light of our experience in teaching transcription, corresponds more closely to the realities of NZ pronunciation. In doing this, we have been guided by the students themselves, and other "native speakers" of NZ English, whose intuitions we have tried to take into account.<sup>1</sup>

Before discussing a New Zealand notation in detail, I shall outline the properties and characteristics of notations in general, since transcription systems differ in other ways quite apart from the particular accent they are describing. Jones, Gimson, and Ward, for example (henceforth J/G/W), all describe the same accent (RP) yet differ from each other in several respects. In devising a notation, a number of principles must be followed, and differences in the relative emphasis given to each have an effect on the resulting notation. The principles can be outlined as follows:—

- (a) *Symbol economy*: Phonemic analyses, and hence notations, which are more economical in the use of symbols are preferable, though there is often a price to pay.
- (b) *Sound-symbol correspondence*: Each sound in the language should be allotted one symbol only, and, conversely, each symbol should represent only one sound.
- (c) *Phonetic information*: Notations which give the maximum amount of phonetic information are preferable, though this depends very much on who is going to use the system. If it is for foreign learners, more information is desirable than if it is for native speakers.
- (d) *The Cardinal vowels as reference points*: The Cardinal vowels devised by Jones may or may not be used as reference points for vowel notation.

We can illustrate the different emphases given by J/G/W by comparing the vowel of *bit* (*bin*, *bid* etc) with that of *beat* (*been*, *bead* etc.). There are differences of *length* (*beat* is longer than *bit*) and of *quality* (*beat* is a closer and more fronted vowel<sup>2</sup> than *bit*). Jones chooses to emphasise the length difference, and hence transcribes *bit* with /i/, *beat* with /i:/, where : represents a length mark. Ward, on the other hand, emphasises the quality difference by using a completely different symbol for each vowel; /ɪ/ (known as "cap i") for *bit*, /i/ ("dotted i") for *beat*. Jones' method has the advantage of symbol economy — principle (a) above — because he can relate five pairs of English vowels according to length in this way (see page 4), so that he needs only five symbols plus the length mark, where other systems require ten separate symbols. Ward's system has the advantage of sound : symbol correspondence — principle (b) — and avoids the association of two vowels such as /ɪ/ and /i/, which are probably unrelated phonologically even if they are phonetically similar. Gimson on the other hand shows both length and quality differences by transcribing *bit* with /ɪ/ and *beat* with /i:/. He does this because he aims to help the foreign learner, who will benefit from the extra phonetic detail

1 The author comes from England and has been resident in New Zealand for five years. The advantage of being an outsider is that the special qualities of N.Z. pronunciation, particularly the vowels, are relatively easily perceived; the disadvantage of course is that one lacks the NZ-born native's gefühl.

2 But cf. the discussion on the diphthongal character of this vowel, below (p17).

which shows these vowels differing in two dimensions instead of just one. Gimson admits that his notation here is redundant as far as the native speaker is concerned.

Further choices of notation depend on whether the Cardinal vowels are used as reference points. Lyons (1968) points out, quite rightly, that the actual choice of symbol for a phoneme, once it has been established, is quite arbitrary and need not necessarily reflect phonetic values at all; the vowel of *bit*, *bin* etc. could be represented by a number like 15, without ambiguity, provided transcriber-readers are told that "15" means "the vowel of *bit*, *bin* etc." But in practice, notations generally try to represent phonetic values to some extent – cf. principle (c) above. Thus, for vowels, the Cardinal-vowel scheme devised by Jones is available as a set of reference-points. Not all linguists use this scheme; some American transcriptions, especially those of Bloch and Trager, Trager and Smith, and their successors, which have been very influential, establish their own values for the vowel symbols. British systems however have tended to make use of the Cardinal vowel scheme. For example, the vowel of *bet*, *bed* etc. in RP has a quality roughly midway between Cardinal 2 (C2), [e], and C3, [ɛ], so that the choice of either symbol for the phoneme would be equally appropriate. Ward chooses ɛ, Gimson e, while Jones uses e in his *Outline of English Phonetics* and ɛ in his book *The Pronunciation of English*.<sup>3</sup>

Table 1

	Gimson	Jones	Ward
bit	ɪ	i	ɪ
beat	i:	i:	i
bet	e	e/ɛ	ɛ
bait	eɪ	ei	eɪ
bat	æ	a/æ	æ
Bart	ɑ:	a:/ɑ:	ɑ
butt	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ
Bert	ɜ:	ə:	ɜ
pot	ɒ	ɔ	ɒ
bought	ɔ:	ɔ:	ɔ
put	ʊ	u	ʊ
boot	u:	u:	u
beer	ɪə	iə	ɪə
bear	ɛə	ɛə	ɛə
tour	ʊə	uə	ʊə
bite	aɪ	ai/ɑi	aɪ
bout	əʊ	au/ɑu	əʊ
boat	əʊ	ou	əʊ
boy	ɔɪ	ɔi	ɔɪ
about, mother	ə	ə	ə

Table 1 compares the notations of Gimson, Jones and Ward for RP. On the left is a set of 'key words', each of which contains a different English vowel (including diphthongs); these vowels have been set into similar contexts (e.g. p-t) as far as possible. In reading the table, we may note the following:—

- (1) Jones uses alternative notations for *bet*, *bat*, *bite* and *bout*, as discussed above.
- (2) Gimson and Ward are almost identical except that Gimson gives (redundant) length marks to the long vowels of *beat*, *part*, *pert* etc.
- (3) Jones achieves greater economy of symbols by treating the following as pairs of vowels, one short, one long:

i	i:	(bit/beat)
u	u:	(put/boot)

<sup>3</sup> It appears that this is not a case of Jones changing his mind at some point during his career, because both works have run concurrently through a large number of editions and reprintings over a period of 60 years.

	ɔ	ɔ:	(pot/port)
	ə	ə:	(apart/pert)
and sometimes	a	a:	(pat/part), though these

two differ so greatly in quality that Jones was never entirely happy about taking them as a pair.

In devising a notation for N.Z. English we preferred to follow the principle of "one sound, one symbol" rather than aim for economy of inventory. We felt that the advantages of Jones' pairs in achieving economy are outweighed by the disadvantages entailed, viz., the implication that the paired vowels are phonologically related to each other, which they are not (there is only *phonetic* similarity), and the doubtful nature of some pairs, e.g. a/a: and ə/ə: (why should /ə:/ (*pert*) be paired with /ə/ (*apart*) rather than with /ʌ/ (*butt*)?). Gimson's length marks are redundant if the system is to be used by native speakers, so there was no point for us in following Gimson here rather than Ward. There is an additional objection to the use of length marks for the vowel of *beat*, which will be mentioned in connection with differences between NZ and RP (see below).

For these reasons, then, we based our system on that of Ward, who gives relative emphasis to principle (b) above. We have adopted two further principles, one minor, viz.: where possible, we have kept to Gimson/Ward symbols so that students reading these texts would not be entering unfamiliar territory; the other more important, viz., in the method of denoting diphthongs.

Diphthongs present something of a problem because although they consist phonetically of two sounds, or rather of a glide from one articulatory position to another, they nevertheless behave and are felt as single, unitary elements (i.e. *phonologically*, they are units).<sup>4</sup> Some notations, e.g. that of Pike (1947), recognise this phonemic unity by assigning one symbol only, so that *bait* is transcribed /bet/ (*bet* is /bɛt/. Most notations, however, including J/G/W, use a double symbol, e.g. /eɪ/ for *bait*, which is intended as a sort of digraph. Proponents of this method argue that it is quite acceptable to use /e/ for *bet*, /ɪ/ for *bit* and /eɪ/ for *bait* (even though *bait* is not the sum of *bet* and *bit*) since the sequence e + ɪ is never found in English and thus the notation /eɪ/ cannot give rise to ambiguity. They have to explain, however, that the symbol /eɪ/ is intended to represent a single phoneme; and although this digraphic symbol gives more phonetic information than Pike's /e/, it still cannot indicate one important phonetic fact, viz. that the diphthong is falling – the first part is more important than the second.

The use of a superscript notation, eg. /e<sup>ɪ</sup>/, which we have adopted, overcomes both these problems: it indicates the greater prominence of the first part, and, more important, it clearly shows the phonemic unity of this phonetic sequence. Superscripts have occasionally been used by others before: Pike (1947) uses them for the vowels of *bite* and *boy* (/ba<sup>i</sup>t, bɔ<sup>i</sup>/), but for reasons of his own he does not extend this to the other diphthongs.

One further point is worth noting: those who adopt the 2-symbol notation for most diphthongs (e.g., J/G/W) are not pursuing a strictly consistent policy, because they all transcribe *beat* and *boot* with single symbols (i, u, or i:, u:), while acknowledging that in fact these vowels are pronounced with a diphthongal glide in RP. There are historical reasons for this treatment – the vowels concerned have become diphthongized only fairly recently – but in a synchronic description, internal consistency is more important than historical considerations. Why, then, are *beat* and *boot* given unit symbols? If /bɔɪ, baɪ, beɪ/ are used for *boy*, *bite*, *bait*, why isn't *beat* treated similarly? The reason is that the choice of symbols becomes very awkward, because the end-point of the glide in *beat* is similar to that in *boy*, *bite*, and *bait*, while the starting-point is close to the vowel of *bit*. The logical choice for *beat* would thus be /bɪɪt/, but this of course is impossible because it means either that *beat* is a reduplicated version of *bit*, which it is not, or that ɪ has two different values, which is difficult to explain. To overcome this problem the end-point of all the front closing diphthongs could perhaps be symbolized by i, so that *boy*, *bite*, *bait*, *beat* are /bɔi, baɪ, beɪ, bɪit/. For a transcription of

4. Many American linguists, esp. Bloch, Trager and Smith and their successors, treat diphthongs as a phonological, as well as a phonetic, sequence, identifying the end point of the glide with the semi-vowels j, w, h. e.g. *bite* is /bajt/. We do not like this analysis, for a number of reasons too complex to deal with here.



RP, this solution would be neater and more consistent than the ones currently employed, but it will not work for NZ English (see below).

Having discussed some of the basic principles of transcription, we can now go on to consider differences between NZ and RP pronunciations.<sup>5</sup> Many of the differences between the two are actually of no consequence for transcription purposes; New Zealanders for example pronounce *bit*, *bet* and *bat* quite differently from RP (with closer and/or more centralized realisations) but the system of phonemic contrasts remains the same, so the same symbols can be used.<sup>6</sup> Such differences as these fall into Wells' (1970) *realisational* category. It is only when we have (in Wells' terms) *systemic* or *distributional* differences that the notation is called into question.<sup>7</sup>

One major difference between NZ and RP involves the close front vowels (diphthongs) discussed above. In RP, the final vowel of such words as *tragedy*, *windy*, *company* (normally spelt with -y) is transcribed with /ɪ/, i.e., the same vowel as in *bit*. NZ speakers however feel strongly that this vowel should be equated with the vowel of *beat* rather than of *bit*, so (using Ward's notation) the words in -y would be transcribed with /i/. Phonetically, the vowel in question is a short, pure (i.e. non-diphthongal), close front vowel, [i], and thus differs both from the vowel of *beat* which is diphthongal, and from that of *bit* which is (approximately) a half-close central vowel [ɨ] (see figure 1). It is, however, felt to be associated with /i/ rather than with /ɪ/. In a notation for NZ we therefore need a symbol which will represent both -y and *beat* with reasonable phonetic accuracy. A symbol involving a length-mark (e.g. /i:/) or diphthongization (e.g. /ɪ<sup>i</sup>/) would be approximate for *beat* but not for -y. The symbol /i/ avoids both these disadvantages and has therefore been adopted; *beat* is /bit/, -y is /-i/, *bit* is /bɪt/.<sup>8</sup> The parallelism between *beat* and the other front closing diphthongs in *boy*, *bite* and *bait* has unfortunately been lost in adopting this solution (just as it has been in J/G/W's notations for RP), but this seems to be unavoidable.

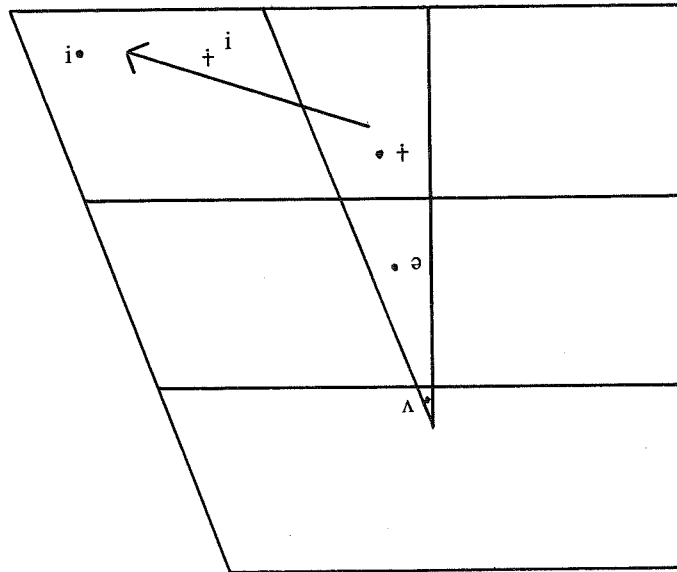


Figure 1

Positions of N.Z. vowels in *bit* [ɨ], *beat* [ɨ<sup>i</sup>], and -y [i]; also of vowels in *about* [ə] and *butt* [Λ].

- 5 I am assuming that there is such a thing as "a N.Z. accent". I have mentioned elsewhere (Hawkins in press): (a) that there is a characteristically New Zealand pronunciation; (b) that this accent can vary along a continuum from 'broad' to 'modified', rather as Turner (1966) suggests for Australian English; (c) that the 'modified' end approximates RP, which is regarded by New Zealanders as the standard accent even though it is used only rarely; and (d) that there is little regional variation of any significance within New Zealand.
- 6 Unless, that is, one demands that one's notation should have a high degree of phonetic precision; if NZ vowel phonemes are to refer to Cardinal values, then /bet/ will be acceptable for *bet*, but /bɛt/ will not. Phonetically, *bit* is [b ɨ] where [ɨ] represents a close central vowel), *bet* is [bɛt] and *bat* is [bɛt].
- 7 A detailed comparison of NZ and RP in these terms can be found in Hawkins (in press).
- 8 Similarly, *boot* is /but/ and *put* is /pvt/.

The second major difference between NZ and RP is in the status of /ə/. /ə/ has not been clearly established as a phoneme even in RP, the main problem being that it occurs only in unstressed syllables and therefore cannot be in minimal-pair contrast with /ʌ/, which occurs only when accompanied by some degree of stress. Nearly-minimal pairs such as *hiccough* /'hɪkʌp/ and *syrup* /'sɪrəp/, *humdrum* /'hʌmdrʌm/ and *conundrum* /kə'nʌndrəm/ have been adduced in support of a number of arguments favouring the retention of /ə/ as separate from /ʌ/ (see Jones 1950; Wells 1970), and most descriptions of RP seem to adopt this solution. One thing is certain: there is no difficulty in contrasting /ə/ with /ɪ/, since there exist minimal pairs of a variety of types such as:

city/sɪtɪ/	vs	sitter/sɪtə/
boxes/bɒksɪz/	vs.	boxers/bɒksəz/
batted/bætɪd/	vs.	battered/bætəd/
illusion /ɪluːʒən/	vs.	allusion /əluːʒən/

In NZ, however, the separate status of /ə/ is complicated by the phonetic proximity to it of /ɪ/, which is realised as a central vowel [ɨ]. /ɪ/ stands in contrast with /ʌ/ as close central vs. open central (see figure 1), there being a large number of minimal pairs of the type *bit* /bɪt/ vs. *butt* /bʌt/. The problem arises in unstressed syllables, where no difference between /ɪ/ and /ə/ can be perceived. Students who are introduced to /ɪ/ and /ə/ with examples like *bit* and *about* are uncertain how to deal with, for example, the last two syllables of *mountainous*, which could have either /ə/ or /ɪ/ in both, giving four possibilities /-tɪnɪs/, /-tɪnəs/, /-tənəs/, /-tənɪs/. Since unstressed syllables containing /ə/ or /ɪ/ are of very high frequency in English (about 15% of all phonemes in continuous text), the problem is a sizable one. It involves, among many other purely lexical items such as *mountain*, such grammatical morphs as plural (in nouns) and third-person singular (in verbs) when they occur after sibilants (e.g., *hisses*, *houses*, *watches*, *bridges*, *splashes*), and past tense after /t, d/ (e.g. *waited*, *waded*). Minimal pairs distinguishing /ɪ/ from /ə/ in RP are lost in NZ, for two different reasons: (1) the *city:sitter* type, although still distinguished in pronunciation, no longer involves /ɪ/; in NZ, *city* is /sɪti/ not /sɪtɪ/; (2) the other pairs mentioned above, such as *boxes:boxers*, are not distinguished in pronunciation and are therefore subject to the same uncertainty as *mountainous*, above.<sup>9</sup>

As a result, /ə/ cannot be established as a separate phoneme for NZ English. The question then is whether it can be dispensed with altogether. Let us see what happens; in the first place we need /ɪ/ and /ʌ/, which are clearly established as phonemes by minimal pairs like *bit*, *butt*. But if we work with only these two, we still encounter uncertainty in unstressed syllables, because *mountainous* could now be transcribed with /ɪ/ or /ʌ/, giving /-tɪnɪs/ or /-tʌnʌs/ or permutations of these. At one time we used the symbol ə instead of ʌ, so that *butt* was /bət/; but this only amounted to a change of symbol, and the uncertainty of ɪ vs. ə remained.<sup>10</sup>

The conclusion is that /ə/ could be dispensed with in transcriptions of NZ English (we have tried this and it works satisfactorily) but in practice we have retained it, for the not very

9 It is interesting to observe that this problem of /ɪ/ vs. /ə/ in unstressed syllables is not confined to N.Z. English but occurs also in RP, even though phonetically the realisations of /i/ in RP are closer and more fronted. Thus Jones (1967: para. 150): "/ə/ is used by many [speakers of RP] in prefixes and suffixes like be-, re-, pre-, less, -ness, -est, where the more usual southern pronunciation has /ɪ/. . . The forms with /ɪ/ are probably the more usual in the South, but the pronunciation with /ə/ seems to be gaining ground." And in para. 82: "/ə/ is an alternative to /ɪ/ in [the penultimate syllable of] words like *ability*, *policy*." All these examples are subject to uncertainty in N.Z. too; the prefixes be-, re-, pre- are, in addition, occasionally transcribed with /i/. The interesting thing is, however, that for many RP speakers the 'psychological distance' between /ɪ/ and /ə/ makes them aware that two distinct pronunciations are involved, as Jones implies; they can hear the difference between /bɪ'twɪn/ and /bə'twɪn/ or /'spɑɪnɪs/ and /'spɑɪnəs/; but for NZ speakers there is no psychological distance between /ɪ/ and /ə/ here; they are not aware of, and cannot hear (unless phonetically trained), two distinct pronunciations.

A nice illustration of this point was provided recently by a local choir which was rehearsing a work that included the words *manifest*, *perceptible*, *family*. The conductor, who was English-trained, asked the choir to sing /'mæɪnɪfest, pə'septɪbəl, 'fæmɪli/ with /ɪ/ in the penultimate syllable instead of the normal /ə/. The choir, of course, not being ear-trained phoneticians, could not distinguish the two pronunciations, and went on singing /mæɪnəfest/ etc. as before.

10 Recent theoretical developments in phonology have thrown some light on this kind of problem. Followers of the Prague school would describe it as a case of neutralization (the contrast between /ɪ/ and /ʌ/ is neutralized in unstressed syllables); in distinctive feature terminology, the unstressed vowels

compelling reason that ə will be encountered frequently in descriptions of RP and other accents of English (including American ones) and in the literature generally. The symbol is needed in our transcription anyway, as the end-point of the centring diphthongs /i<sup>ə</sup>, e<sup>ə</sup>, u<sup>ə</sup>/ (see below), so that nothing is lost by using ə for other purposes.

The notation we have devised for these centring diphthongs as in *beer*, *bear*, *tour*, requires a brief comment. The starting-point for *beer* is closer and more fronted in NZ than in RP, so that the symbol i is needed, rather than **ɪ** which J/G/W use for RP. The notation **ɪə** tends to be unintelligible to New Zealanders, since, as we have shown, **ɪ** is a central vowel and is not distinguished from ə. **ɪə** would thus be interpreted as a sound gliding to itself. For similar reasons, *tour* is u<sup>ə</sup> rather than v<sup>ə</sup>.

The starting-point of *bear* is correspondingly closer than for RP, so that e<sup>ə</sup> (with reference to Cardinal 2 [e]) is more appropriate than J/G/W's **ɛə**.

The end-point of the closing diphthongs in *bait*, *bite*, *boy* is in NZ a relatively close front vowel which must be associated with i rather than **ɪ**. Our notation for *bait*, /**ɛ**<sup>i</sup>/, thus differs completely from Ward/Gimson's **ɛɪ**, since the starting-point is more open (nearer to C3), hence **ɛ** – this is a purely realisational difference – and the end-point is closer and more fronted, hence i rather than **ɪ**. The latter involves more than just realisation, since we are associating the sound with the vowel of *beat* and -y rather than with *bit* as J/G/W do.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, the end-point of the back-closing diphthongs is u not v.

We have represented the starting-point of *bite* as **ɑ** rather than a, since it is phonetically closer to C5 [ɑ] than the C4 [a]. We have tried to use phonetic approximation to the Cardinal vowels where possible, thus keeping to principle (d) above. The exception is our notation for *boat*, for which **ʌ**<sup>u</sup> would be more accurate, since the starting-point is generally (in 'modified' NZ) a half-open central vowel similar in sound to the [ʌ] of *butt* (in 'broad' NZ it may be even more open and fronted, [ã]). Our retention of **ə**<sup>u</sup>, however, preserves a correspondence with Gimson's əv.

A complete list of our transcription symbols is given below (Table 2). Obviously, the system is not definitive in any way, and a number of problems have been raised for which alternative transcription solutions are possible. Our system is heavily dependent both on the notations and by others and on our analysis of NZ English, which may not be accurate. However, the notation works quite well in practice, and the principles of one sound ≡ one symbol, and phonetic approximation to Cardinal values – principles (b) and (d) above – to which we have given priority, have been found useful for students beginning linguistics courses, who are not yet quite clear about the difference between phonetics and phonemics.

Table 2  
The phonemes of NZ English: The Hawkins-Holmes system

Vowels			Diphthongs		
/i/	/bit/ / <b>sɪ</b> ti/	beat, city	/ <b>ɛ</b> <sup>i</sup> /	/d <b>ɛ</b> <sup>i</sup> t/	date
/ <b>ɪ</b> /	/ <b>bɪ</b> t/	bit	/ <b>ə</b> <sup>u</sup> /	/d <b>ə</b> <sup>u</sup> t/	dote
/e/	/bet/	bet	/ <b>ɑ</b> <sup>i</sup> /	/b <b>ɑ</b> <sup>i</sup> t/	bite
/æ/	/b <b>æ</b> t/	bat	/ <b>a</b> <sup>u</sup> /	/b <b>a</b> <sup>u</sup> t/	bout
/ɑ/	/p <b>ɑ</b> t/	part	/ <b>ɔ</b> <sup>i</sup> /	/b <b>ɔ</b> <sup>i</sup> /	boy
/ɒ/	/p <b>ɒ</b> t/	pot	/ <b>e</b> <sup>ə</sup> /	/b <b>e</b> <sup>ə</sup> /	bear, bare
/ɔ/	/p <b>ɔ</b> t/	port	/ <b>i</b> <sup>ə</sup> /	/b <b>i</b> <sup>ə</sup> /	beer
/ʌ/	/b <b>ʌ</b> t/	butt	/ <b>u</b> <sup>ə</sup> /	/t <b>u</b> <sup>ə</sup> /	tour

could be regarded as distinctively *central* but not distinguished by tongue height, whereas the vowel of *bit* would be distinctively *central* and *close*, the vowel of *butt* distinctively *central* and *open*. Notice that the situation here is parallel with that of plosives after /s-/ word-initially, where *steam*, for example, could theoretically be transcribed as /st-/ or as /sd-/; but in this case the problem normally lies unnoticed, because of the strong orthographic tradition favouring /st-/. In the case of /**ɪ**/ vs. /**ə**/ however there is no orthographic tradition to hide the problem.

11 Note that Jones' i means **ɪ**, i.e., he uses i where Ward/Gimson use **ɪ**. Jones' i is therefore quite different in meaning from our i, as the foregoing discussion will, I hope, have made clear.

**Vowels**

/ʊ/	/pʊt/	put
/u/	/bʊt/	boot
/ə/	/bʌtə/ /əpɑt/	butter, apart
/ɜ/	/pɜt/	pert

**Consonants**

/p/	/pæt/	pat	/m/	/mɑk/	mark
/b/	/bæt/	bat	/n/	/net/	net
/t/	/tɒt/	tot	/ŋ/	/rɪŋ/	ring
/d/	/dɑk/	dark	/l/	/lɪv/	leave
/k/	/kæt/	cat	/r/	/red/	red
/g/	/gɛɪt/	gate, gait	/w/	/wɑɪn/	wine
/f/	/fɪt/	fit	/j/	/jɑd/	yard
/v/	/vəʊt/	vote	/h/	/hɛɪt/	hate
/s/	/sɛɪk/	sake	/tʃ/	/tʃɪn/	chin
/z/	/zɪl/	zeal	/dʒ/	/dʒɪn/	gin
/θ/	/θɪn/	thin			
/ð/	/ðɛn/	then			
/ʃ/	/ʃɪn/	shin			
/ʒ/	/meʒə/	measure			

**Note:** The symbols tʃ, dʒ (*chin, gin*) are intended as digraphs, not as the sequences t + ʃ, d + ʒ. We have kept to the British tradition here rather than the American, which uses the symbols č, ĵ for these two phonemes. tʃ and dʒ, like diphthongs, are units phonemically but complex phonetically.

**Bibliography**

- Bloch, B., & G.L. Trager, 1942. *Outline of Linguistic Analysis*. Baltimore, Linguistic Society of America.
- Gimson, A.C., 1962. *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English*. London, Arnold.
- Hawkins, P.R. (in press). "The Sound Patterns of New Zealand English", in *Proceedings of the XV AULLA Congress*.
- Jones, D., 1950. *The Phoneme: its nature and use*. Cambridge, Heffer.
- 1960. *An Outline of English Phonetics*. 9th ed. Cambridge, Heffer.
- 1967. *The Pronunciation of English*. 4th ed., reprint. Cambridge, University Press.
- Lyons, J., 1968. *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*. Cambridge, University Press.
- Pike, K.L., 1947. "On the phonemic status of English diphthongs". *Language* 23.
- Trager, G.L., & H.L. Smith, 1951. *An Outline of English Structure (Studies in Linguistics, Occasional Paper No. 3)*
- Turner, G.W., 1966. *The English Language in Australia and New Zealand*. London, Longman.
- Ward, Ida C., 1948. *The Phonetics of English*. 4th ed. Cambridge, Heffer.
- Wells, J.C., 1970. "Local accents in England and Wales". *Journal of Linguistics* 6:231.



**MALACCA CREOLE PORTUGUESE  
A BRIEF TRANSFORMATIONAL OUTLINE**

Ian F. Hancock  
University of Texas at Austin

**0.0.0. Historical Background**

The Malaysian Creoles, or Sārani, descend from the 800 original Portuguese who, with 600 Indian fellow seamen, first arrived in Malacca in 1511.<sup>1</sup> The city remained a colony of Portugal until December, 1640, when the Dutch, after a series of naval offenses, succeeded in blockading the city and reducing the population of twenty thousand by starvation to ca. three thousand, within a space of five years. About 1,000 of these were Portuguese, or Portuguese Eurasians, the so-called "Black Christians".

0.1.0. At the time of the Dutch takeover, the majority of the inhabitants were transported to other areas in the East, such as Diu, Goa, Ceylon, Negapattam, and especially Batavia (Djakarta), which came to be known as "New Malacca" and where a creole-speaking population has survived into the 20th century.<sup>2</sup>

0.1.1. According to the Dagregister for December, 1641, only 1,603 of the citizens who remained in Malacca at the time of the takeover were of Portuguese stock. By the end of the period of Dutch occupation in 1795, the total population of Malacca had risen only to 15,000.

0.1.2. From the outset the Dutch clamped down on the practice of the Roman Catholic faith in the city; all chapels, convents and churches were either made into barracks and storehouses, or burnt to the ground. An exception was the Church of St Francis Xavier in the centre of the city, which was converted to a Reformed Church chapel. Roman Catholic citizens were highly taxed, and forbidden to practice their religion openly under penalty of banishment. All Catholic clergy were forced to give up their vestments and vocation, and no foreign priest was permitted to land in the city.

0.1.3. The local Dutch governor at that time, Balthazar Bort, noted that the "... prohibition of the exercise of the Romish religion has notably reduced the population of the town". This was because nearly all of the Sārani population who could afford it, being unable to be christened, married, or buried according to their faith, left Malacca for Siam, Laos, Cochin, Hainan and Cambodia; only the poor remained. In a city where the cosmopolitan population attended Hindu and Buddhist temples, Muslim mosques and Protestant chapels, the Creoles were subjected to rigorous and continuing religious persecution, and allowed no right to worship; nevertheless, throughout this period, priests were able to be smuggled into the region from Goa and Macao, and masses held in secret deep in the forests around the city.

0.1.4. Accounts such as these have been handed down verbally, and culled from visitors' observations, since written details of the welfare of the Creoles under Dutch rule from before 1767 have so far not been located. It is probable that the very persecution suffered by the Sārani in fact, has caused them to cling so tenaciously to their faith and language.

0.1.5. Although the Sārani were restricted in these many ways by the Dutch, they were albeit expected to man the Dutch garrisons, and marriage between Dutch and Creole was not infrequent. At least a quarter of the present-day Creole population bears Dutch surnames, and the Dutch language has left its mark upon the Portuguese Creole, *Papia Kristang*;<sup>3</sup> but Dutch as a discrete language has long since disappeared from Malaysian shores, probably not surviving for very long after British takeover in 1795. Ironically, an Italian visitor to Malacca in 1695 noted that some of the Dutch Malaccans, who had taken Creole wives and mistresses, had themselves become converted by them to Catholicism.<sup>4</sup>

1 See Hancock 1969: 38 for a brief historical sketch of events following this.

2 See François 1920: 84 and Hancock 1972 for historical and linguistic details.

3 See Hancock 1970. Dutch lexical influence is largest in domestic vocabulary probably as a result of Creoles having been formerly employed in Dutch households in Malacca as cooks, servants, etc., cf. earlier references to Afrikaans as "Kitchen Dutch", for example.

4 Gemeli Careni, *Giro del Mondo* (1695), quoted in Teixeira 1961:322.

0.2.0. Papia Kristang remains the first language of the majority of the Malaccan Creoles, whose number has been estimated as high as six thousand.<sup>5</sup> It is also spoken by a community in Singapore, and may possibly survive on Pekan Tugu in Java. It was also spoken until the 19th century at the Cape in South Africa where it has left traces in the speech of the present-day Cape Malays.<sup>6</sup> The Creole Portuguese of Hong Kong, transported from Macao (founded by the Portuguese in 1557) during the last century, appears to be almost identical to Papia Kristang, and also survives.<sup>7</sup>

0.2.1. In Malaysia, education in all State schools is now compulsorily carried out through the medium of Bahasa Melayu. Private parochial or mission schools teach in English, Chinese or Tamil, but for the Creole population, no Creole-language schools exist, or are at present projected.

0.3.0. The origins of Papia Kristang are not known. Despite its distance from the Mediterranean, it seems to have more features in common with Sabir, with which it has been linked,<sup>8</sup> than have Portuguese derived Creoles closer to Portugal. It may have developed from a non-African pidgin Portuguese acquired by sailors at Arguin Island off the north-west African coast,<sup>9</sup> and brought to the Far East after only brief stops along the African littoral.

0.3.1. Indo-Portuguese and Papia Kristang differ in several respects. Coastal India was being visited by the Portuguese from 1498 onwards, eleven years before Malaya was reached, but it is not likely that Papia Kristang is a development from Indo-Portuguese, but rather that the same pidgin became differently creolized in India and Malaya.

0.3.2. The reason that Macao and Java Creole Portuguese dialects and supposedly the now probably extinct dialects of Timor, Shanghai, etc., are so similar, is that Papia Kristang was in all likelihood already creolized when it spread to these areas, and therefore more resistant to modification.

0.3.3. The Creole Portuguese spoken at the Cape was the Papia Kristang of Batavian slaves, and may, as Valkhoff and others have suggested,<sup>10</sup> have played a major part in the development of Afrikaans. Certainly the Pasar Malay pidgin in common use in Malaysia and parts of Indonesia reflects many Portuguese pidgin features such as the use of the genitival particle *punya*,<sup>11</sup> almost total loss of morphological features, such as the prefixes *běr-*, *mēm-*, *dī-*, and a high proportion of Portuguese-derived lexicon.

0.3.4. The reverse influence is of course also marked, especially in areas of phonology and calquing (PK *kumí béntu*, Mal *makan angin*, "to stroll", lit. "eat wind", PK *mai-pái*, Mal *ibu-bapa*, "parents", lit. "mother-father", etc.).

0.3.5. The origins of some Papia Kristang features are shared by Malay as well as other Portuguese-derived Creoles, and are more difficult to pinpoint an origin for. Plurality by reduplication (2.1.2. 2.12.0) is found by the creoles of Diu and Bombay, for example,<sup>12</sup> and

5 By da Sailva Rêgo (1960-1). This estimate may be a little high.

6 See Kok 1953, and Valkhoff 1966:241-5.

7 The Hong Kong Creoles have a weekly musical radio programme in their language. In Macao, the creole appears to have become a local dialect of Portuguese with only minimal vestiges of creolization.

8 Especially by Thompson 1961. Such common features include the use of a pre-object-nominal preposition (LF *per*, PK – and Papiamentu – *ku*, 2.5.0.), retention of the bound morpheme *-to* (Lingua Franca), *-du* (PK, 2.12.2.) in the past participle, lack of gender/number concord (2.12.1.), and so on. For discussions of the Lingua Franca, see Clarke and Bonaparte 1877, and Coates 1971.

9 P.E. Russell, in an unpublished addendum to Whinnom 1965, has suggested that Arguin may have been the home of pidgin Portuguese rather than the African mainland, since it was a multilingual fort and trading station probably using Sabir as the common language, and a regular calling-point for vessels bound out from Lisbon. Anthony J. Naro of the Department of Linguistics at the University of Chicago in a very significant (and as yet unpublished) paper first presented at the Ninth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society in April 1973, on the other hand, suggests and presents very plausible evidence for the possibility that Pidgin Portuguese originated in Portugal itself, and was taught to Africans brought there to be trained as interpreters as an intentionally simplified "reconnaissance language". He finds no evidence of this being a development of any earlier pidgin such as Sabir.

10 Valkhoff 1966.

11 E.g. *saya punya rumah*, "my house", rather than Standard Malay *rumah saya*; cf. both constructions in Papia Kristang: *yo-sá kázá ~ kázá yo*.

12 Although this may have been taken to these colonies by Malaccan Creoles when they were relocated by the Dutch in 1640.

the post-nominal possessive pronoun (2.3.3., 2.9.6.) in São Tomé, Príncipe and Annobom.<sup>13</sup>

0.4.0. The future of Papia Kristang is uncertain. As an unwritten and nationally unimportant language which is usually abandoned by first generation Sārani born outside Malacca, and as the tongue of a small Christian group amidst a dispassionate Muslim majority, it seems destined to expire; and yet it has survived against similar odds since 1640, and is still being learned in Malacca from childhood as the language of the home and the church.

0.4.1. The Sārani identify themselves with Europe, and especially Portugal, although for most the only European link is a linguistic one. Unlike the situation for most creole languages, no feelings of linguistic inferiority exist in Malacca since a diglossia situation has not pertained for 300 years or more; the resident priests sent out from Portugal to the mission at St. Peter's have to learn Papia Kristang or use English or Malay. The feelings of kinship with Portugal were demonstrated during the course of the writer's fieldwork in Malacca, when he was on several occasions asked whether he was Portuguese, and on two occasions introduced as one, these nationals being apparently the most concerned outsiders known to Sārani experience. Pressures against the Malacca Creoles within Malaysia are largely social and religious, perhaps the very factors which are perpetrating their existence as a cohesive ethnic group.

### 1.0.0. Phonology

No systematic attempt has yet been made to describe the phonology of Papia Kristang adequately. Brief texts in the same phonemic orthography may be found in Hancock 1969 and at 3.0.0. below.

1.1.0. The orthography employed here is based upon that until recently used for Malay, with the exception that Malay e-breve (ě) for /ê/ is written (ã). This has the advantage of being a spelling system with which most Papia Kristang speakers are already familiar, and may easily be used since the phonological systems of the two languages are, broadly speaking, identical.

1.2.0. Papia Kristang has eight vowels, only six of which are contrastive (with one located exception: *pétu* 'chest, breast' and *pétu* 'near' < Portuguese *peito* and *perto* respectively). These are /i/, /e/ ~ /ɛ/, /a/, /ɔ/ ~ /o/, /u/ and /ə/. For some speakers there is a certain amount of free variation between /i/ and /e/, and /o/ and /u/. Phonetically, /ə/ is articulated as a half-close back vowel with lip spreading [ɤ], especially in final position; otherwise it is articulated in mid-central position. The diphthongs are /ai/, /au/, /eu/, /iu/, /oi/, /ia/, /iã/, /ua/, /ue/, /uã/ (*frai* 'nice', *saudádi* 'yearning', *péu* 'leg, foot', *siúmi* 'jealousy', *koitádu* 'pity', *papiá* 'speak', *fróniã* 'pillowcase', *rakuá* 'run away', *aguentá* 'arrest' and *chúã* 'rain').

1.3.0. The consonants are /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /ch/, /j/, /k/, /g/, /f/, /s/, /z/, /m/, /n/, /ng/, /ny/, /l/, /r/, /w/ and /y/. Plosives are unaspirated in all positions, and /l/, /r/, /t/ and /d/ tend to be slightly retroflexed, especially in the speech of older generation speakers. As in Malay orthography, *ng* represents the velar nasal [ŋ], the nasal plus stop ([ŋg] and [ŋk]) being written /ngg/ and /ngk/: *lúngã* [lúŋə] 'moon', *sángi* [sáŋji] 'blood', *ngkã* [ŋkə] 'not', *nggrátu* [ŋgrátu] 'ungrateful'. /ch/ and /j/ are affricates, and for some speakers historic [v] is retained (the usual reflex being /b/): *uvídã* ~ *ubída* 'ear'. The palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ] occurs in lexical adoptions from English containing that sound: *máshín* 'machine'.

1.4.0. Stress is marked throughout with an acute accent. As is the practice in Malay, reduplications (see 2.12.0) may be indicated by a small subscripted numeral 2 thus: *língu-língu* 'languages' written *língu<sub>2</sub>*.

### 2.0.0. Grammatical Description

The principal structural features of Papia Kristang are here outlined:

2.1.0. All grammatical utterances in the language derive from one or more of six kernel

13 Papia Kristang also shares similarities with Palenquero and Papiamentu; a newspaper in the latter language was in part intelligible to Malaccan informants to whom it was shown. At the same time, these creoles differ considerably from those derived from Portuguese in West Africa, where both African languages and Portuguese have continued to exert influence. This reflects a common linguistic process, the extremities of a language, in this case geographical rather than social, being less subject to change than the mainstream varieties, and as a result retaining far more conservative features.

sentence patterns. Each of these consists of two immediate constituents; a noun phrase (NP) and a verb phrase (VP). In its simplest form this may be exemplified by the following:

*Juáng flói* 'John whistles'  
NP + VP

2.1.1. The NP consists of an optional determiner plus a nominal word. The determiner may be an article (Da), a demonstrative (Dd) or a quantifier (Dq) (see also 2.3.3 and 2.9.5/6):

Da *ngwǎ* ~ *n* ('*m*' + bilabial, *ng*' + velar) 'a, an'  
Dd *ísi* 'this, these', *áti* 'that, those', *akéli* 'that, those'  
Dq *m'póku* 'some, a few', *mútu* 'many', *t'uru* 'all', *kádǎ* 'each'.

2.1.2. The nominal word may be a noun (N) or a pronoun (PN); the noun may be abstract (Na) or common (Nc):

Na *dué* 'pain', *amór* 'love', *lembrásǎ* 'memory', *sentídu* 'feeling'  
Nc *álbi* 'tree', *kachóru* 'dog', *péu* 'leg', *bíspu* 'bishop'  
Pluralization may optionally be shown by reduplication of N after Dd or Dq:  
*mútu gátu* ~ *mútu gátu-gátu* 'many cats'

At least one instance of a separate fossilized plural in /-ís/ has been noted, although for some speakers the two forms are in free variation:

*flor* 'flower' (or 'flowers') *florís* 'flowers' (or 'flower')

2.1.3. The pronoun (P) may be personal (Pp) or indefinite (Pi):

Pp *yo* 'I', *bo* ~ *bos* 'you (sg. and pl.)', *el* ~ *éli* 'he, she, it, they', *nu* ~ *nos* ~ *nos-túru* 'we', *bos-túru* 'you (pl.)', *elótru* ~ *olotú* ~ *éli-túru* 'they'  
*Jénti* lit. 'person/people', is commonly used instead of *yo*, and may be regarded as a deletion of *isi jénti* 'this person':

*jénti keré báí* ~ *yo keré báí* 'I want to go'

Pi *nggégng* 'nobody', *keng-keng* 'anybody', *nádǎ* 'nothing', *ng'kózǎ* 'something', *kiki-kózǎ* 'anything', *túru-més* 'everybody'

Pp and Pi may not be preceded by determiners, although *éli* may precede the demonstrative *ísi*:

*éli, ísi dos bándǎ teng jénti Kristáng fiká* 'they, these two places have people Christian stay(ing) (these are the two places where the Christians (i.e. Creoles) live)'

*éli, ísi kambrádu bong yo* 'He, this my good friend'

The same Pp may be optionally repeated after the NP:

*súkri ku mantégǎ éli dos kózǎ difrénti* 'sugar and butter they are two different things'  
*akéli krénsǎ-máchu éli béstǎ* 'that boy he is stupid'

2.2.0. The six kernel predicate patterns are:

2.2.1. NP + (PvAD) + (Neg) + (TM) + (*sámǎ ku*) + NP + (AD<sup>t</sup>P)

PvAD (preverbal adverb): *slálu* 'always', *sémpri* 'always', *aunǎ-bés* 'maybe', *mutu-bés* 'often', *tántu* 'certainly', *prafórsǎ* 'of necessity'

Neg (negator) *ngkǎ*, *nádi* (= \**ngkǎ lógo*)

TM (tense/aspect marker)

*ta* progressive action marker

*ja* past action marker

*lógo* ~ *lo* 'future action marker'

∅ non-past action marker

*kabá* completed action marker

*ta*, *ja* and *lógo* may not occur in combination with each other

*ta* has no tense reference:

*yo ta kantá* 'I'm singing'

*yo ta kantá tēmpu bos chegá* 'I was singing when you arrived'

TM's are optional when AD<sup>t</sup>P occurs in the predicate phrase:

*ki-órǎ yo báí Málákǎ ísi Páskǎl* 'When I go to Malacca this Easter'

*Kabá* may precede or follow the main verb:

*yo ja kabá kumí* ~ *yo ja kumí kabá* 'I have finished eating'

*sámǎ ku* 'like, as'

AD<sup>t</sup>P (adverb of time phrase): *agórǎ* 'now', *ónti* 'yesterday', *ozi-diǎ* 'today', *mas póku órǎ*

'in a little while', *dě pasádu* 'yesterday', *pamyáng-pamyáng* 'each morning', *mi-órě* 'soon', *índě* 'yet'

ADpP (adverb of place phrase): *nakí* 'here', *nalá* 'there', *na-nalá* 'at that place', *lónzi di nos* 'far from us', *na kázě* 'at home'

Examples:

*Juáng tántu ngkě sámě ku Kristubáng ozi-dě* 'John certainly isn't like Christopher today'  
*Akéli kamizě auně-bés n'saguáti* 'That shirt might be a gift'

### 2.2.2. NP + (éli) + (PvAD) + (Neg) + (TM) + (ADint) + $\frac{A}{VP}$ + (AD<sub>p</sub><sup>t</sup>P)

*éli* optionally follows Na or Nc only

ADint (intensifying adverb): *mútu* 'very', *bomóng* 'very', *mpangkádu* 'very', *m'póku* 'a little', *tang* 'so', *fórsě* 'exceptionally', *tántu* 'certainly'

A (adjective): *bong* 'good', *frai* 'nice', *kěńinu* 'small', *marélu* 'yellow'

VP (verb phrase): *kumí* 'eat', *bebé* 'drink', *kasá tígri* 'hunt tigers'

Examples:

*áti kuvélu éli mutu-bés ngkě bomóng prestádu* 'That rabbit (it) often isn't very quick'

*Juáně ta kuzé búnychis* 'Joan is cooking beans'

*Juáně bunitu* 'Joan is pretty'

*Juáně sabé* 'Joan knows'

### 2.2.3. NP + (PvAD) + (Neg) + (TM) + Vt + ((Prep) + NP) + (ADman) + (AD<sub>p</sub><sup>t</sup>P)

Vt (transitive verb): *kunisé* 'be acquainted with', *skribé* 'write', *falá* 'say', *olá* 'see', *mirá* 'look at', *fumá* 'smoke', *lembřá* 'remember'

Prep (preposition): *ku* 'with', *na* 'to, on', *dári* 'from', *nté* 'without', *di* 'of, from', *pádi* 'for, to', *pra* 'for', *básu di* 'under', *na rěbě di* 'on top of', *dréntu* 'inside'

ADman (adverb of manner): *lestí* 'readily', *bagěbágě* 'quietly'

Examples:

*yo-sě mái-pai slálu skribé ku yo alégri* 'My parents always write to me in a cheerful way'

*rátu pasá na chang na kázě bagěbágě* 'The mouse crossed the floor in the house quietly'

*městri-di-skólě ta les* 'The school-teacher is reading'

*městri-di-skólě ta les búku* 'The school-teacher is reading a book'

### 2.2.4. NP + (PvAD) + (Neg) + (TM) + Vint + (Prep + NP) + (ADman) + (AD<sub>p</sub><sup>t</sup>P)

Vint (intransitive verb): *chegá* 'arrive', *drumí* 'sleep', *trimí* 'tremble'

Examples:

*fógu jadí prestádu minggu pasádu* 'The fire happened quickly last week'

*nu ta trimí ku frú na águ* 'We were shivering from the cold in the water'

### 2.2.5. NP + (PvAD) + (Neg) + (TM) + Vs + (ADint) + A

Vs (sense verb): *cherá* 'smell', *fiká* 'become', *sentí* 'feel', *teng* 'be'

Examples:

*krěnsě-fěmi sentí trísti* 'The girl feels sad'

*akéli florís cherá bomóng dósi* 'That flower smells very sweet'

*yo teng bong* 'I'm (feeling) good'

### 2.2.6. NP + (PvAD) + (Neg) + (TM) + Vs + (sámě ku) + NP

Examples:

*krěnsě-fěmi sentí sámě ku trubádě* 'The girl feels like an idiot'

*akéli florís cherá sámě ku rózě-munggáring* 'That flower smells like jasmine'

### 2.3.0. Separation transformations

The following most frequently occur:



## 2.3.1. Dd + NP → NP + Dd

*isi kubís* → *kubís isi* 'this cabbage'

Cf. the following distinction:

*akéli kázǎ gráni* ~ *kázǎ akéli gráni* 'that house is big'

*akéli kázǎ gráni* ~ *kázǎ gráni akéli* 'that big house'

Dq + NP → NP + Dq appears to be restricted to *m'póku* 'a few': *m'póku kukís bendé* ~ *kukís m'póku bendé* 'a few cakes to sell'

2.3.2. N + A → A + N *ébrǎ séku* → *séku ébrǎ* 'dry grass'2.3.3. P + *sǎ* + NP → NP + P (with deletion of *sǎ*)

*yo-sǎ chapéu* ~ *chapéu yo* 'my hat'

*yo-sǎ spingárdǎ kúrtu* ~ *spingárdǎ kúrtu yo* 'my short gun'

*yo-sǎ spingárdǎ kúrtu* ~ *spingárdǎ yo kúrtu* 'my gun is short'

Retention of *sǎ* (NP + P + *sǎ*) results in nominalization: *chapéu yo-sǎ* 'the hat is mine'

*éli sámǎ ku bós-sǎ* 'it's the same as yours'

## 2.3.4. AD + TM + V → TM + AD + V → TM + V + AD

*pun ja beng* ~ *ja pun beng* ~ *ja beng pun* 'also came'

TM + AD + V does not appear to operate with K-adverbs in interrogative constructions (see 2.7.1).

*úndi ta báí?* ~ *ta báí úndi?* (but not *\*ta úndi báí?*) 'Where are you going?'

*kái lo' fazé?* ~ *lo' fazé kái?* (but not *\*lo' kái fazé?*) 'How will (you) do (it)?'

## 2.3.5. NP + VP + NP + AD → NP + VP + AD + NP

*bo mará isi dos páu juntádu* → *bo mará juntádu isi dos páu* 'You tied these two sticks together'

2.3.6. NP † VP<sub>1</sub> + VP<sub>2</sub> → VP<sub>1</sub> + NP + VP<sub>2</sub>

*nu sabé kuré* → *kuré nu sabé* 'We know how to run'

*éli chádu skribé* → *skribé éli chádu* 'He is able to write'

## 2.3.7. NP + AD + NP → NP + NP + AD

*isi nakí éli-sǎ kóbǎ* ~ *isi éli-sǎ kóbǎ nakí* 'This is his grave here'

Also *isi kóbǎ nakí éli-sǎ* (Dd + NP + AD + NP) 'This grave here is his'

2.3.8. NP + V + Prep + NP<sub>1</sub> + NP<sub>2</sub> → NP + V + NP<sub>2</sub> + Prep + NP<sub>1</sub>

*yo mandá ku éli ng'kátrǎ* → *yo mandá ng'kátrǎ ku éli* 'I sent him a letter'

## 2.4.0. The imperative transformation

IMP + *bos* + VP → VP

IMP + *bos santá* → *santá!* 'IMP + you sit down → sit down!'

## 2.4.1. The negative imperative

IMP + *bos* + neg + VP → *nang* + VP

IMP + *bos ngkǎ santá* → *nang santá!* 'IMP + you don't sit down → don't sit down!'

## 2.5.0. Formation of indirect objects

Certain prepositional phrases in kernel pattern 2.2.3. which begin with *pádi* or *ku* may be transformed into indirect objects when they follow any of a limited number of verbs:

*da ku* 'give to', *prestá ku* 'lend to', *ofresé ku* 'offer to', *mandá ku* 'send to', *irgí pádi* 'build for', *komprá pádi* 'buy for', *achá pádi* 'get for', *fazé pádi* 'make for'

Examples:

*el ofresé' fumánsǎ ku yo* → *el offresé yo fumánsǎ* 'She offered me a cigarette'

*bo achá pusá-fógu pádi nos* → *bo achá nos pusá-fógu* 'You got us (some) matches'

## 2.6.0. Deletions

One deletion has already been noted above at 2.3.3. Others include:

## 2.6.1. Optional deletion of TM with ADT

*ki-órã yo báí grézã ampamyáng ~ ki-órã yo lo' báí grézã ampamyáng* 'When I go to church tomorrow morning'

2.6.2. Optional deletion of *éli* before genitive particle *sã*

*akéli éli-sã írmang-fémi → akéli sã írmang-fémi* 'that's his sister'

2.6.3. Optional deletion of preverbal preposition *pádi*

*trabálu pádi prendé → trabálu prendé* 'A bother to learn'

*éli gostá keré prendé* 'She likes to want to learn, i.e. she really wants to learn'

*yo gostá kalú pòdi achá fazé sibrísu na-nalá* 'I want if able get do work at that-place' ('I would like to be able to get work there')

*pamyáng-pamyáng pòdi báí labá kórpu na prái* 'each morning able go wash body at beach' ('Each morning we are able to go swimming at the beach')

## 2.6.4. Deletion of object of transitive verb:

NP + V + NP → NP + Vt

*yo kumí arós → yo kumí* 'I eat rice' → 'I eat'

*nu ta kuzé rópã → nu ta kuzé* 'We are sewing clothes' → 'We are sewing'

2.6.5. Optional deletion of partitive *di* (see 2.9.6.)

*tántu di yo-sã kambrádu → tántu yo-sã kambrádu* 'many of my pals'

*ng'kasínu di kándri → ng'kasínu kándri* 'a package of meat'

## 2.6.6. Optional deletion of subject or object pronouns

*fazé éli tézu → fazé tézu* 'Make it tight'

*lembrá yo lógo báí Natál sejá* '(I) think I'll go at Christmas only'

*yo lo' mandá bos nos-sã pinturã ki-órã nos dos tomá* 'I will send you our photograph when we both take (it)'

2.6.7. *Di* is deleted in question-transformations:

*ísi kubitór longgá → ki longgá?* 'This lid is loose → what is loose?' (see 2.7.0.)

2.6.8. Deletion of preposition *ku* after change of focus transformation (cf. 2.3.8.):

NP<sub>1</sub> + VP + NP<sub>2</sub> + Prep + NP<sub>3</sub> → NP<sub>3</sub> + NP<sub>1</sub> + VP + NP<sub>2</sub>

*yo lo' fazé klómpu ku ísi kadërã → ísi kadërã yo lo' fazé klómpu* 'I am going to make clogs with this wood'

## 2.7.0. Questions

## 2.7.1. K-questions: Adverbs of interrogation are referred to here as K-adverbs and include:

*kai* 'how', *ki-fói* 'why', *ki-káuzu* 'for what reason', *ki-láyã* 'in what way', *ki*, *ki-kózã* 'what', *keng* 'who', *keng-sã* 'whose', *ki-órã* 'when' (but cf. non-interrogative *témpu* 'at the time that'), *úndi* 'where', *di-úndi* 'whereat'

The question transformation simply involves rewriting the NP or AD<sub>P</sub><sup>t</sup> substituting the appropriate K-adverb:

Q + akéli térong *kái n'éli-sã kabésã* → *ki (-kózã) kái n'éli-sã kabésã?*

K

'That apple fell on his head' → 'What fell on his head?'

Q + *bos-sã írmang-fémi ja mudré* térong akéli → *bos-sã írmang-fémi ja mudré ki?*

K

'Your sister bit that apple' → 'What did your sister bite?'

Q + *chúã ta kái* túru-bándã → *chúã ta kái úndi?*

K

'Rain is falling everywhere' → 'Where is rain falling?'

Q + chúã ta kái túru-bándã → *ki ta kái úndi?*

K

K

'Rain is falling everywhere' → 'What is falling where?'

Note the optional application of the separation transformation (2.3.4.) with K-adverbs:

*chúã ta kái úndi?* → *úndi chúã ta kái?* 'Where is rain falling?'

2.7.2. Yes/No questions: Those questions requiring a yes or no answer have the same syntactic ordering as the declarative form but, as with K-questions, are uttered with rising inflection.

Unlike K-questions, they may have the optional question-tag *-ka* (after positive or negative questions) or *ngkǎ* (after positive questions):

- Q + *el kumí* → *el kumí (-ka)?* → *el kumí, ngkǎ?*  
 'He eats' → 'Does he eat?' → 'He eats, doesn't he?'
- Q + *el ngkǎ kumí* → *el ngkǎ kumí (-ka)?*  
 'He doesn't eat' → 'Doesn't he eat?'

## 2.8.0. Generalized bases

### 2.8.1. Conjoining

Any two (seldom more) of the six kernel pattern types (2.2.1-6) may form a generalized base for a conjoined sentence rewrite:

[S<sub>1</sub>] [S<sub>2</sub>] → [S<sub>1</sub>] + Conj + [S<sub>2</sub>]

Conj (conjunction): *ku*, *dan* 'and', *tapí* 'but', *maski*, *sunggopún* 'although, nevertheless', *káuzi* 'because', *atáu* 'or', *así* 'therefore', *sampé*, *até* 'until'

Examples:

- [*Jeráldu jǔntá dúriang*] [*el lebrá yo gostá*]  
 → *Jeráldu jǔntá dúriang káuzi el lebrá yo gostá* 'Gerald gathered durians because he thought I liked (them)'
- [*yo lógo bebé ísi cha*] [*el nté léti*]  
 → *yo lógo bebé ísi cha máski el nté léti* 'I will drink this tea even though it has no milk'

When only the subject NP's differ for two kernel patterns in a generalized base conjoined by *ku* or *dan*, redundant elements may be deleted, and *pun* or *tamíng* introduced into the second constituent:

- [*Biulántǎ sái di kázǎ*] [*Antóno sái di kázǎ*]  
 → *Biulántǎ sái di kázǎ ku Antóni sái di kázǎ tamíng* 'Violanta leaves the house and Tony leaves the house too'
- *Biulántǎ sái di kázǎ ku Antóni tamíng* 'Violanta leaves the house and Tony (does) too'
- *Biulántǎ ku Antóni sái di kázǎ* 'Violanta and Tony leave the house'

### 2.8.2. Relative clauses

Sentences containing relative clauses derive from a generalized base whose constituents share identical NPs. The second of these becomes the relative pronoun *ki*, or *keng* for persons:

- [*yo ja buská m'búku*] [*m'búku teng n'almarí*]  
 'I found a book a book in is the cupboard'
- *yo ja buská m'búku ki teng n'almarí* 'I found a book which was in the cupboard'
- [*nu olá ku Juáng*] [*Juáng ta santá na kadéřǎ*]  
 'We see John John is sitting on a chair'
- *nu olá ku Juáng keng ta santá na kadéřǎ* 'We see John who is sitting on a chair'

Change of focus may be achieved by embedding the relative clause within the host clause:

- m'búku [yo ja buská m'búku] teng n'almarí*  
 → *m'búku ki yo buská teng n'almarí* 'A book I found was in the cupboard'
- Juáng [nu olá ku Juáng] ta santá na kadéřǎ*  
 → *Juáng keng nu olá (,) ta santá na kadéřǎ* 'John, whom we saw (,) is sitting on a chair'

### 2.8.3. Restrictive clauses and appositive clauses

The relators *ki* and *keng* introduce two types of relative clauses, those which define the preceding NP more specifically (a restrictive clause), and those which add new, incidental information to the preceding NP (an appositive clause).

Examples:

Restrictive:

*mulé keng ja falá akéli ku yo, teng sabôr* 'The woman who told me that is in good health'

Appositive:

*mulé, keng jénti landósǎ, teng sabôr* 'The woman, who is Dutch, is in good health'

### 2.8.4. Relative clause deletions

In some instances *ki/keng* or *ki/keng* + Vt may be deleted from a relative clause leaving a phrase modifying the nominal head:

*sapátu [ki teng pétu di fôgu] aună-bés lôgo kemá* 'The shoes which are near the fire perhaps will burn'

- *sapátu pétu di fôgu aună-bés lôgo kemá* 'The shoes near the fire perhaps will burn'
- Siără Núnis [keng fiká na Trangkéră] ja parí n'útu krénsă-soné* 'Mrs Nunes who lives in Tranqueira, has had another baby'
- *Siără Núnis na Trangkéră ja parí n'útu krénsă-soné* 'Mrs Nunes in Tranqueira has had another baby'

Deletion of *ki/keng* before a NP reverts the relative construct to the base pattern:

- akéli figu ki frútă sabrózu* 'That is a banana, which is a tasty fruit', 'That banana, which is a tasty fruit'
- *akéli figu frútă sabrózu* 'That banana is a tasty fruit'
- ísi yo-să úmpi, keng pekadór* 'This is my uncle, who is a fisherman', 'This, my uncle, who is a fisherman'
- *ísi yo-să úmpi pekadór* 'This, my uncle, is a fisherman'

#### 2.8.5. Adjectival modifiers

When one of the two constituent elements of a generalized base, both of which share a common NP, is of the form NP + A, the second element may be transformed into an adjectival modifier:

- [yo cherá n'florís] [ísi florís bunítu]*
- *yo cherá n'florís ki bunítu* 'I smelt a flower which was beautiful'
- [yo kunisé n'stóri] [stóri ísi trísti pádi kontá]*
- *yo kunisé n'stóri ki trísti pádi kontá* 'I know a story which is sad to relate'
- [yo panyá m'peníti] [peníti agúdu na púntă]*
- *yo panyá m'peníti ki agúdu na púntă* 'I picked up a pin which was sharp at the point'

#### 2.8.6. Deletions in adjectival modifiers

The relator *ki/keng* may be optionally deleted from sentences of the above pattern:

- yo cherá n'florís ki bunítu* → *yo cherá n'florís bunítu* 'I smelt a beautiful flower'
- yo kunisé n'stóri ki trísti pádi kontá*
- *yo kunisé n'stóri trísti pádi kontá* 'I know a story sad to relate'
- yo panyá m'peníti ki agúdu na púntă*
- *yo panyá m'peníti agúdu na púntă* 'I picked up a pin sharp at the point'

The N + A → A + N separation transformation (2.3.2.) may optionally operate when the complement consists only of an adjective or adjectives:

- yo cherá n'florís bunítu* → *yo cherá m'bunítu florís* 'I smelt a beautiful flower'
- but not: \**yo kunisé n'trísti pádi kontá stóri*

#### 2.9.0. Comparatives

Comparisons are made between sentences of kernel pattern type 2.2.2. The base contains the item COMP(arative), but the rewrite depends upon the sameness or difference of the adjectivals. The following comparative forms occur in Papia Kristang:

*Mas... di* 'more than', *ménu... di* 'less than', *así... di* 'the same as', *iguál ku* (non-separable) 'the same as'

##### 2.9.1. Nominals different, adjectivals identical:

- [Juáng gráni COMP] [Pédru gráni]*
- *Juáng gráni mas di Pédru gráni* 'John is big more than Peter is big'

With the obligatory comparative separation transformation NP + A + *mas di* → NP + *mas* + A + *di*, plus regular deletion of repeated elements (2.8.1.), this yields:

- Juáng mas gráni di Pédru gráni*
- *Juáng mas gráni di Pédru* 'John is bigger than Peter'

##### 2.9.2. Nominals identical, adjectivals different:

- [Juáng póbri COMP] [Juáng trísti]*
- 'John is poor' 'John is sad'
- *Juáng póbri mas di Juáng trísti* 'John is poor more than John is sad'

When NP's are identical, the second is replaced by a Pp:

- *Juáng póbri mas di éli trísti* 'John is poorer than he is sad'

## 2.9.3. Nominals and adjectivals different:

[*Juáng mídu COMP*] [*Pédru bráni*]  
 'John is fearful' 'Peter is courageous'

In this instance no deletions are made, although the rewrite is an infrequently-occurring construction:

→ *Juáng mas mídu di Pédru bráni* 'John is more fearful than Peter is courageous'

## 2.9.4. Comparative links as relative clauses:

In the same way as a generalized base, one kernel of which contains a predicate adjective, will yield a sentence containing an adjectival (cf. 2.8.5), e.g.

[*yo dalí matá ku m'brigadáng*] [*akéli brigadáng malbádu*]

→ *yo dalí matá ku m'brigadáng keng malbádu*

→ *yo dalí matá ku m'brigadáng malbádu* 'I killed a wicked soldier'

so the preceding comparative conjunctions (2.9.1-3) may also operate as relative clauses:

[*yo báí da bístǎ ku Juáng*] [*Juáng duénti COMP*] [*Pédru duénti*]

→ [*yo báí da bístǎ ku Juáng*] [*Juáng así duénti ku Pédru*]

→ *yo báí da bístǎ ku Juáng, keng así duénti ku Pédru* 'I went to visit John, who is as sick as Peter'

## 2.9.5. Genitival constructions:

Genitive forms derive from a base containing *teng* 'have':

*Juánǎ teng fílu-kachóru* → *fílu-kachóru Juánǎ-sǎ*

'Joan has a puppy' 'the puppy is Joan's'

NP<sub>1</sub> V NP<sub>2</sub> NP<sub>2</sub> NP<sub>1</sub> + sǎ

Which may be rewritten NP<sub>2</sub> + NP<sub>1</sub> → NP<sub>1</sub> + NP<sub>2</sub>:

*fílu-kachóru Juánǎ-sǎ* → *Juánǎ-sǎ fílu-kachóru*

'The puppy is Joan's' 'Joan's puppy'

The above constructions underly the string

[*yo gostá ku fílu-kachóru*] [*Juánǎ teng fílu-kachóru*]

'I like puppies' 'Joan has a puppy'

→ *yo gostá ku fílu-kachóru ki Juánǎ-sǎ* 'I like the puppy which is Joan's'

→ *yo gostá ku Juánǎ-sǎ fílu-kachóru* 'I like Joan's puppy'

## 2.9.6. Determiner nominals:

Including the above form NP-sǎ + NP, the determiner nominal may be written in three ways:

a) NP<sub>1</sub> + sǎ + NP<sub>2</sub> *Juánǎ-sǎ kachóru* *yo-sǎ kachóru*  
 'Joan's dog' 'my dog'

b) NP<sub>2</sub> + di + NP<sub>1</sub> *kachóru di Juánǎ* *kachóru di yo*

c) NP<sub>2</sub> + NP<sub>1</sub> *kachóru Juánǎ* *kachóru yo*

cf. 2.3.3.

## 2.10.0. Nominalization

Nominalizations appear to be derived from equivalent sentence structures, although the process may not be a productive one since such nominal items may occur in the language as single morphemes (but see 2.12.2). Examples include:

[*Juáng skribé m'búku NOM*] [*el fazé kuntriasáng*]

'John wrote a book' 'It caused a commotion'

→ *Juáng-sǎ skribesáng fazé kuntriasáng* 'John's writing caused a commotion'

[*krénsǎ-krénsǎ ta papiá NOM*] [*el agrabá ku yo*]

'The children are talking' 'It annoys me'

→ *krénsǎ-krénsǎ-sǎ papiaméntu agrabá ku yo* 'The children's talking annoys me'

## 2.10.1. Agent nouns:

These are formed from *jénti* + the corresponding verb:

*n'jénti keng kantá mestí teng bong osé*

'A person who sings must have a good voice'

→ (*n'*) *jénti-kantá mestí teng bong osé* 'A singer must have a good voice'

*n'jénti keng skribé mestí sabé spel*

'A person who writes must know how to spell'

→ (*n'*) *jénti-skribé mestí sabé spel* 'A writer must know how to spell'

*n'jénti keng sandé mpódi báí nté chirípu fórti*

'A person who climbs cannot go without strong boots'

- (*n'*) *jénti-sandé mpódi báí nté chirípu fórti* 'A climber cannot go without strong boots'

#### 2.11.0. Negation

This has been touched upon above at 2.2.1 and 2.4.1. The formula for negation is:

NP + *ngkǎ* + (TM) + VP

*yo ngkǎ ta báí* 'I am not going'

With the rewrites

*ngkǎ lógo* + VP → *nádi* + VP (negative future)

*bo ngkǎ lógo ri* → *bo nádi ri* 'You won't laugh'

*ngkǎ* + VP IMP → *nang* VP (negative imperative)

*bo ngkǎ ri* → *nang ri!* 'You don't laugh' → 'Don't laugh!'

#### 2.11.1. Some verbs have a separate negative form:

*ngkǎ keré* → *nggére* 'not to want'

*ngkǎ teng* → *nté* 'not to have'

*ngkǎ podí* → *mpódi* 'unable'

*ngkǎ mestí* → *numestí* 'must not'

#### 2.11.2. Negative NP's are followed by a negative VP:

*nggéng mpódi* 'no one is able'

*nádǎ nádi fói* 'nothing will happen'

*ngkǎ ng'kózǎ nté mersiméntu* 'nothing has any value'

#### 2.11.3. Negative kernel patterns may be linked by *ku/dan . . . tamíng/pun* in the same way as positive kernel patterns:

*Juáng lo' teng na skólǎ dan yo lo' teng na skólǎ tamíng* 'John will be in school and I'll be in school too'

*Juáng nádi teng na skólǎ dan yo nádi teng na skólǎ tamíng* 'John won't be at school, and I won't be at school either'

#### 2.11.4. Negative extension:

Negative sentences can be extended by sequences in a way not possible with positive sentences, using *mísu* 'even', with neg + VP:

*yo-sǎ pái ngkǎ ja kumí nádǎ; ngkǎ n'fáiskǎ mísu*

'My father didn't eat anything, not even a bread-roll'

#### 2.12.0. Reduplication

Nominal reduplication as an exponent of plurality has been mentioned at 2.1.2:

*lagrátu-lagrátu* 'crocodiles'

It also operates for verbs, indicating repetitive action:

*el ta andá-andá* 'he kept on walking'

For adjectives, indicating intensity:

*sibrísu ísi fásǎl-fásǎl* 'this work is very easy'

And for adverbs for emphasis:

*úndi-úndi* 'wherever', *keng-keng* 'whoever', *ki-órǎ-ki-órǎ* 'whenever'

#### 2.12.1. Residual gender distinction

Knowlton 1964 and Silva Rêgo 1942 have both noted a separate feminine third person personal pronoun, *élǎ* in Papia Kristang. This was unknown to the informants consulted in the preparation of the present description.

A small group of adjectives exhibit evidence of noun-adjective concord, although for all the speakers consulted these are in free variation:

*bunítǎ* ~ *bunítu* 'beautiful', *alégrǎ* ~ *alégru* 'happy', *prigǎsózǎ* ~ *prigǎsózu* 'lazy',

*mintǎrózǎ* ~ *mintǎrózu* 'deceitful', *bélǎ* ~ *bélu* 'old'

#### 2.12.2. Bound morphemes

A small number of bound morphemes are still productive in the language:

-*méntu* 'nominalizer' (see 2.10.0)

*kazá* 'to marry', *kazáméntu* 'wedding'

-*dór* 'agentis nominalizer'

*merká* 'to sell', *merkádór* 'merchant'



*-du* 'attributivizer'  
*kebrá* 'to break', *kebrádu* 'broken'  
*tomá* 'to take', *tomádu* 'taken, oillaged'

A few preterite forms are irregular:

*skribé* 'to write', *skrítu* 'written'  
*bebé* 'to drink', *bébdu* 'drunk'

The regularized forms *skribédu*, *bebédu* were acceptable to the informants.

### 2.12.3. *Emphatic tag -la*

The tag *-la* may be appended to nouns, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives or interjections as a highlighter, or to add emphasis. Examples are:

*éli-la palábrá ki nos na Máláká papiá* 'THOSE are the words we in Malacca use'  
*nos-sá tántá-la ja muré* 'It was our AUNT who died'  
*ast* 'Of course!'  
*astá-la!* 'Of course!'  
*mpódi-la!* 'That cannot be!'  
*seng-la!* 'Yes!'  
*Beng-la!* 'Come!'

### 3.0.0. Phonemicized Text

This text, originally written in Portuguese-based impressionistic spelling,<sup>14</sup> was written to commemorate the visit of the Portuguese Minister of Overseas Affairs to Malacca on May 19th, 1952.

AO MUITO RESPEITADO SENHOR, COMANDANTE MANUEL MARIA SARMENTO RODRIGUES MINISTRO DO ULTRAMAR-PORTUGUES

Mútu Respítádu Sinór,

Nos jénti, desendé di antígu Portugés di Máláká, ki nakí ja beng kwátru séntu ánu pasádu, teng nakí ózi túru juntádu, ku mútu tántu alégríã, keré resibé ku bos, Respítádu Sinór di Portugál. Nos bomóng gabádu di tang grándi ónrã, ki Sinór ja da ku nos, beng bizitá ku nos túru.

Sinór-sã grándi sibrísu, ki ja fazé ku Francés, Marikánu, Spanyol dan Inggres elótru-sã gobermíntu, ja chegá nos-sã ubídã. Isi káuzu, nos fiká gabádu m'bes.

Nos podí papiá ku jústu rizáng ki, kwátru séntu ánu fórá teng, ki-órã Alfónso di Albukérke ja plantá éli-sã péu n'ísi téra di Máláká, éli ja teng dos sentídu na éli-sã pensáméntu. Priméru sentídu, ganyá ísi téra pa Re Dong Manuel-sã Sinór ku lantá naki ngwã grándi póde. Ísi sórti, éli ja regí ngwã fortálézã ku nómi di Famósã; segúndu éli-sã sentídu, teng keré spalá túru-bándã m'bes dutrína di Krístu; ísi káuzu, el ja regí ngwã grézã ku nómi di nos-sã Siyárã di Asunsáng, mísu na lárã di fortálézã.

Di téra di Máláká, soldádu ku marinuéru ja bai túru-bándã; ku elótru ja bai tamíng misyonáriu túru-bándã di téra di Sámátrã, Ambóinu, Ternáti, Timór, Siáng, Chínã, Japáng, pregá dutrína di Krístu. Máláká n' akéli témpu teng ngwã sidádi bomóng gráni.

Ki-órã Portugál-sã pódi ja kai kansádu di fazé tántu gráni sibrísu, Landés-sã jénti ja tomá ísi sidádi. Elótru ja distruí túru grézã dan nung desá ku nos-sã ábu, disábu fazé rézu na abértu; éli ja persegí ku jénti Kristáng. Isi káuzu, nós-sã jénti di Máláká ja fuzí na mátu. Nalá bibé, tapí Portugál ngkã skisé ku elótru; nalá ja mandá misyonáriu keng bibé juntádu ku elótru, na témpu di tántu nfádu ku trabálu.

Ísi sórti, Respítádu Sinór, bos, ki ku tántu amór, ja beng nakí bizitá ku nos túru, nos tamíng keré mostrá nos-sã amór ku Portugál, téra di nos-sã ábu dan disábu. Nos, ózi-díã nakí juntádu, keré ofrisé ku bos, ngwã saguáti ki-sórti judá podí mostrá, ku Sinór Prezidénti di Ripúblikã, Sinór Jenerál Krabíru Lopés dan ku túru jénti Portugál.

Respítádu Sinór, judá fazé mersé ku nos resibé ísi kasínu. Na dréntu teng dos pédrã; ngwã ja rangká di fortálézã: ísi mostrá nos-sã gráni amór ku Portugál, téra di nos-sã ábu ku disábu; segúndã pédrã ja rangká di Grézã di Anunsiádã; ísi da mostrá nos-sã Fe, ki Portugál ja trazé nakí dan ki nos ta gardá ku mútu tántu amór.

14 Probably transcribed by the local Portuguese priest.

Nos mas pidí, mútu respitádu Sinór, fazé gráni mersé ku nos asetá ísi palábru skrítu na nos-sá língu di Kristáng, judá podí mostrá na túru Portugál ki na Málákă teng Kristáng papiá Portugés.

Agóră nos teng dibásu di Inglatéră, kambrádu bélu di Portugál; nos fiká gradisídu pa fasilidádi pádi nos desá pratiká nós-să fe di Kristáng.

Kómu finál, nos pidí ku Sinór Miniştru, judá lebá nós-să respítu, ku Sinór Prizidénti dan ku túru Portugál ki ja mandá Sinór beng bizitá ku nos desendénti di Portugés ántigu di Málákă.

NOS FIKÁ FIELMÉNTI  
MÚTU RESPITÁDU SINÓR,  
Komunidádi Portugés di Málákă

### 3.1.0. Free translation

Much respected Senhor,

We, the people descended from the early Malaccan Portuguese who came here four hundred years ago, have all gathered here today with much happiness to receive you, respected Senhor, from Portugal. We are flattered by such a great honour which the Senhor has given us by coming to visit us all.

News of the Senhor's great work, which he has undertaken with the French, American, Spanish and English governments, has reached our ears; for this reason we are made the more proud.

We can say with certainty (with reason) that four hundred years ago when Alfonso de Albuquerque set foot on Malaccan soil, he had two thoughts in mind: firstly to acquire the land for King Dom Miguel's agent(?) and establish authority. Thus was built the fortress called Famosa. The second thought was to spread everywhere at once the doctrine of Christianity, and so he eventually built the church called Our Lady of Assumption, as he had done the fortress.

From Malacca, soldiers and sailors went everywhere, as had also missionaries to Sumatra, Amboina, Ternate, Thailand, China and Japan to preach the doctrine of Christ. Malacca in those days was a very great city.

When Portugal's might fell, and she declined from doing so much (administrative) work, people from Holland took this city. They destroyed all the churches, forsaking our ancestors, who had to pray in the open air; they persecuted the Creoles. Because of this, our Malaccan people fled into the forests. There they stayed, but Portugal did not forget them: she sent missionaries who lived together with them during those distasteful and troublesome times.

In the same way, respected Senhor, as you, who with much love came here to visit us all, we too want to show our love for Portugal, the land of our ancestors. Gathered here today, we want to offer you a gift, of a kind which will help show (this love) to the Senhor Presidente da Republica, Senhor General Craveiro Lopes, and to all the people of Portugal.

Respected Senhor, help us to make our thanks by accepting this casket. Inside are two stones: one was taken from the fortress; this represents our great love for Portugal, the land of our forefathers. The second stone was taken from the Church of the Annunciation; this represents our faith, which Portugal brought here and which we guard with very much love.

We ask further, highly respected Senhor, that in making our thanks we may explain these words, which are written in our language, Kristang. Please could you show to all Portugal that in Malacca there are Christians who speak Portuguese (still).

Now (1952) we are under Britain, that old friend of Portugal, and we are able to develop freely (mature with ease) since the practice of the Christian faith is allowed.

In conclusion, we ask that the Senhor Minister please convey our respects to the Senhor Presidente and to all Portugal, who sent the Senhor to come and visit with the descendents of the early Portuguese of Malacca.

We remain faithfully, much respected Senhor, the Portuguese Community of Malacca.

## 4.0.0. Papia Kristang Basic Lexicon

## 4.1.0. Verbs

Abuse	Mbísi	Finish	Kabá, Triminá
Agree	Silisé	Flog, whip	Zorniká
Annoy	Agrábá	Fly	Abuá
Ask	Pidí	Forget	Skisé
Awaken	Kordrá	Forgive	Da pedráng
Be (locating)	Teng	Give	Da
Bear, endure	Aturá	Go	Bai
Beat	Tizá	Go away!	Rakuá!
Become	Fiká	Go back	Birá
Begin	Komesá	Go up	Subí
Believe	Konfiá	Grow	Kresé, Ngkudá
Birth, give	Parí	Hang	Nforká
Bite	Mudré	Have	Teng
Bleed	Sanggrá	Hear	Ubí
Blink	Pichipichí	Help	Astendé, Judá
Blow	Sufrá	Hold	Pegá
Bore, drill	Furá	Hunt	Kasá
Break	Kebrá, Gabratá	Hug	Abrásá
Build	Regí	Hurt	Trumínyu, Chuchú
Burn	Kemá	Jump	Saltá, Pinchá
Burst	Rabentá	Keep	Gadrá, Mantí
Buy	Kumprá	Kill	Matá
Can, be able	Pódi	Kiss	Cherá, da bókã
Cannot	Mpódi	Knock	Bostiá
Care for	Kidá	Know	Sabé, Kunisé
Carry	Lantá	Laugh	Ri, Kuchiká
Catch	Pegá	Leave, go out	Sai
Chase	Sigí	Lie down	Detá
Chew	Mastigá	Lift	Kratá
Choke	Afugá, Sǎngkáng	Listen	Kustá
Choose	Skulé	Live, be alive	Bibá
Climb	Subí, Ratá	Live, reside	Fiká
Come	Beng	Look (at)	Olá
Cook	Kuzé, Masá	Look after	Kidá
Copulate	Bringká fúlǎ	Make	Fazé
Cover	Kubrí, Stópu	Marry	Kazá
Crush	Chipé	Move	Mobá
Curtsey	Nzélu, Yozélu	Must	Mésti
Dare	Afótu	Open	Abrí
Dip	Mergulá	Pull	Tirá
Do, make	Fazé	Push	Pusá
Dream	Sunyá, Lumyá	Put	Metí, Botá
Drink	Bebé	Remember	Lembrá
Drive away	Alú, Distará	Scratch	Ranyá
Drop	Fazé kai	See	Olá, Spiá, Ripará
Eat	Kumí	Seek	Buská
Enter	Ntrá	Seize	Panyá
Exchange	Truká	Shake	Sakudí, Trimí
Expect	Isprá, Sperá	Shout	Gritá, Chomá
Fall	Kai, kai básu	Shut	Pichá
Fasten	Mará	Sit	Santá
Fight	Brigá	Slap	Bostiá
Fill	Nché	Sleep	Drumí
Find	Buská, Ntopá	Snore	Rongká

Socialize, mix	Champorá	Dumb	Múmu, Bīsu
Split	Rachá	Each	Kádǎ
Spoil	Daná	Empty	Bazīdu
Squat	Nzélú	Every	Kádǎ, Túru
Squeeze	Chipé	Expensive	Káru
Stab	Fisgá	Faithful	Fiyél
Stand	Mpé	Far	Lónzi
Stay	Fiká	Filthy	Súzu, Kótor
Steal	Ratiá, Frutá	Fine	Fīnu
Stop, cease	Perá	First	Pimīru
Stutter	Gágu	Fresh	Frésku
Swallow	Nggulí, Tragá	Foolish	Béstǎ
Take	Tomá	Glad	Alégru, /-ǎ
Take, accompany	Kumpanyá	Good	Bong
Talk	Papiá	Greedy	Golózu
Tell	Falá	Green	Bédri
Thank	Falá mersé	Heavy	Prezádu
Think	Pensá, Lembrá	High	Áltu
Threaten	Mezá	Hoarse	Rúku
Tie up	Mará	Hot	Kénti
Tilt	Mpinyá	Hungry	Fómi
Tremble	Trimí	Inexpensive	Barátu
Walk	Andá, Kumí béntu	Interwoven	Papúa
Want	Keré	Jealous	Siúsu
Not want	Nggére	Lazy	Prīgǎsózǎ/-u
Wash	Labá	Long	Kumprídǎ
Wear	Bisí	Lucky	Fortúnǎ
Wipe	Seká	Many	Tántu
Work	Fazé sibrísu	Mean	Skaká, Káinyu
Write	Skribé	Middle	Miǎ
Yawn	Busichá	Miserable	Danádu, Mízárbǎl
		Naked	Dispīdu
		New	Nóbu
4.2.0. Adjectives		Nice	Frai
Afraid	Mīdu	Old	Bélǎ/-u
All	Túru, Túdu	Only	Úniku
Angry	Ráibǎ, Furiádǎ	Other	Útu, ótru
Bad	Mal	Own	Própi
Better	Miyór	Painful	Frumíntu
Big	Gráni	Poor	Póbri
Black	Prétu	Pretty	Bunītǎ/-u
Blind	Teng ólu tórtu	Red	Brumílu, Ngkarnádǎ
Blue	Azúl, Blau, Blu	Rich	Ríku
Blunt, dull	Tompól	Ripe	Madúrǎ
Bold	Brábu, Bráni	Rotten	Pódri
Broken	Kebrádu	Sad	Ánsiǎ, Trísti
Careless	Chúpǎ	Salty	Salgádu
Clean	Límpu	Sharp	Agúdu
Cold	Frīu	Short	Kúrtu
Correct	Rétu	Small	Kǎnīnu, Pǎkǎnīnu
Crazy	Lungádu	Soft	Móli
Dangerous	Riskádu	Sour	Azédu
Dark	Skúru	Strong	Fórti
Dead	Muré	Sweet	Dósi
Deaf	Súrdu	Tasty	Sabrózu
Deep	Fúndu	Thin	Mágru
Drunk	Bébdú, Ferádu	Third	Treséru
Dry	Séku		

Tired  
Tough  
Ugly  
Untidy  
Varied  
Wet  
White  
Yellow  
Young

## 4.3.0 Animals

Animal  
Ant  
Bedbug  
Bee  
Bird  
Buffalo  
Cat  
Cockatoo  
Cockroach  
Cow  
Crab  
Crocodile  
Dog  
Donkey  
Duck  
Elephant  
Fin  
Fish  
Fly  
Frog  
Goat  
Hen  
Iguana  
Lizard  
Lion  
Monkey  
Mosquito  
Mouse  
Oyster  
Parrot  
Peacock  
Pig  
Prawn  
Rabbit  
Rooster  
Seaslug  
Snail  
Snake  
Spider  
Swallow  
Tiger  
Tortoise  
Turkey  
Turtle  
Worm

Nfádu, Sónu  
Nsútu  
Féu  
Skabeládu  
Bariádu  
Muládu  
Brángku  
Marélu, Marízu  
Mǎñinu

Animál  
Frumínggǎ  
Putubézǎ  
Lǎbá  
Pástu  
Búfrǎ  
Gátu  
Kakǎtúǎ  
Kéchuǎ  
Bákǎ  
Kanggrézu  
Lagrátu  
Kachóru  
Búru  
Árdi, Ádi  
Alfánti  
Ázǎ  
Pési  
Múskǎ, Kámbarang  
Mandúku, Kódu  
Kábrǎ  
Galínyǎ  
Gwánǎ  
Chichá  
Liyáng  
Buzǎ  
Muskítu  
Tíkus, Rátu  
Trite-gráni  
Núri  
Pábang  
Pórku, Letáng  
Kambráng, Grágu  
Kuvélu, Kwélu  
Gálu  
Bǐchu-di-már  
Sipút  
Kóbrǎ  
Labǎlabǎ  
Andurínu  
Tǐgri  
Tatrúgǎ, Tontóng  
Kalkún  
Biúku  
Cháching

## 4.4.0 Plants, food, eating

Banana Fígu, Písang  
Bean Búnchis  
Bread Pang, Róti  
Breakfast Almúsu  
Bushland Mátu  
Cake Kukís  
Calabash Kalbás  
Chocolate Chokláti  
Coconut Kóku, Lányǎ  
Coffee Kófi  
Cookie Biskóitu  
Corn Mílu  
Cucumber Pipínyu  
Egg Óbu  
Flour Farínyǎ  
Flower Flor, Florís  
Food (unprepared) Kumírǎ  
Food (prepared) Láu  
Fruit Frútu, Frútǎ  
Garden egg Brinjálǎ  
Ginger Áliǎ  
Hemp Bánggi  
Ingredients Témpřǎ  
Irish potato Atápǎl  
Lemon Limáng  
Mango Mánggu  
Mango-tree Manggérǎ  
Meat Kándri, Fles  
Nut Abiláng  
Milk Léti  
Olive oil Azéti  
Onion Sǎbólǎ  
Peanut Káchang  
Palm Pálmǎ  
Palm sugar Jágrǎ  
Peach Pésgu  
Pawpaw Papáyǎ  
Pepper Primentǎ  
Pineapple Nanás  
Pomegranate Rumáng  
Pumpkin Abóborǎ  
Rattan cane Rotáng  
Rice Arós  
Rice, burnt Néli  
Root Ras  
Saffron Safráng  
Sapodilla Chǐu  
Salt Sal  
Spice Témpřǎ  
Straw Pálǎ  
Sweet potato Batátǎ  
Sugar (cane) (kánǎ di) súkri  
Tamarind Tambrínyu  
Tea Cha, Te  
Thicket Blángkǎ  
Tobacco Tabáku

Tree	Álbi	Boat	Bárku, Práu
Vegetable	Břidu, Prátu	Book	Búku
Vinegar	Binágri	Bucket	Báldi
Water	Águ	Buoy	Bóyǎ
Water, drinking	Águ-bebé	Candle	Kandǎǎ
Wheat	Trǐgu	Candlestick	Katisál
Wood	Pau, Lényǎ, Madérǎ	Church	Grézǎ
Yam	Yam, Yámi	Crib	Bobói
		Cup and saucer	Kópi-pirǐng
4.5.0 Natural phenomena		Cupboard	Almarǐ
Ash	Sǐnzǎ	Door	Pórtǎ
Charcoal	Kabráng	Drum	Tamból, Brembréng
Coast	Kóstǎ	Fence	Pagá
Color	Klor	Fork	Gárfu
Copper	Kóbri	Furniture	Abiméntu
Country	Térǎ	Garden	Jardǐng
Dawn, to	Manisé	Glass	Bǐdru
Day	Dǎǎ	Goods	Fazéndǎ
Diamond	Diamáng	Graveyard	Oitéru
Drain	Lóngkang	House	Kázǎ
Evening	Atádi	Kettle	Kétǎǎ
Fire	Fógu	Kitchen garden	Ótrǎ
Gold	Óru	Knife	Fákǎ
Ground	Chang	Lamp	Lámpu, Lantérǎ
Iron	Féru	Lid	Kubitór
Lead	Chúmbu	Latrine	Kakús
Meteor	Strélǎ-di-karérǎ	Mat	Stérǎ
Midday	Metádi-dǎǎ	Medicine	Mezǐnyǎ
Midnight	Mǎǎ-núti	Mirror	Spélu
Moon	Lúngǎ	Oven	Fugáng
Morning	Pamyáng	Pen	Pénǎ
Mountain	Mónti	Pillow	Anfádǎ
Mud	Lámǎ	Pillowcase	Frónyǎ
Night	Anúti	Piece	Pǎdás
Noise	Róngku	Place	Lúgǎ, Bándǎ
Rain	Chúǎ, Chúbǎ	Plaster	Argámásǎ
River	Rǐu	Pot	Tizálǎ, Panélǎ, Kasról
Sand	Áriǎ	Plate	Basǐu
Silver	Prátǎ	Rowboat	Baláng
Smoke	Fúmu	Sack	Gúni
Star	Strélǎ	Saucer	Pirǐng
Stone	Pédrǎ, Pédru	School	Skólǎ
Sun	Sol	Song	Kántu
Thunder	Gurugúru, granggrúng	Spoon	Kulé
Time	Témpu	Stair, ladder	Skádǎ
Time, period of	Spásu	Station	Stasáng
To-day	Ózi, ozi-dǎǎ	Story, tale	Stóri
Tomorrow	Amyáng	Street	Rúǎ, Kamǐnyu
Tomorrow morning	Am pamyáng	Table	Mézǎ
Typhoon	Tufáng	Tablecloth	Taflák
Wind	Béntu	Teapot	Póchi-té
World	Múndu, Dúnyǎ	Towel	Tuálǎ, Mandóku
Yesterday	Ónti, ónti-dǎǎ	Town	Sidádi
		Vehicle	Karétǎ
4.6.0 Household etc.		Car	Motoká
Bed	Kámǎ	Bike	Báisǎkǎǎ
Bell	Sǐnu	Plane	Bárku-abuá



Trishaw	Bechá	Boy	Krénsă-măchu, Boi
Train	Tren, Rélwe	Bride	Nóibă
Verandah	Bărandă	Brother	Írmang-măchu
Wash-basin	Baskóng	Child	Krénsă, Păkăniŋu
Water-drum	Tángki	Chief	Kabésă, Mandór
Wheel	Ródă	Chinese	Jénti Chhă
Whip	Chambúku	Christian	Kristáng
Window	Janélă	Creole	Jénti Kristáng,
Word	Palábră	(Malaccan)	Topáz, Topáziu, Săráni
		Daughter	Filă
4.7.0 Clothing		Daughter-in-law	Nóră
Baggage	Trósă	Devil	Diábu
Blouse	Kăbáyă	Dutchman	Jénti Landósă, Jénti Landé
Bracelet	Tángkal	Englishman	Jénti Inggrés
Button	Butáng	European	Jénti Erópă, Ropiánu
Cap	Krapúsă	Family	Familiă, Raskúnyă
Clothing	Rópă, Dástor	Father	Pai
Clogs	Klómpu, Prómpă	Father-in-law	Sógru
Comb	Pénti	Frenchman	Jénti Fránsă
Creole hair-bun	Kónde	Friend	Ránchu, Kámbră
Gloves	Askúng	Gentlefolk	Bonjénti
Handkerchief	Lénsu	Girl	Krénsă-fémi
Hat	Chapéu	Girlfriend	Amigă, Nóibă
Jacket	Báju	God	Déus
Jewelry types	Korkupíng, pakupáku	Grandfather	Pai-abó
Knot	Kănóp	Grandmother	Mai-abó
Lace	Réndă	Groom	Núbu
Mattress	Bolsá	Husband	Spósu, Marídu
Necklace	Pínding	Indian	Múru
Necktie	Dási	Japanese	Jénti Japáng
Pajamas	(Báju-)paijámă	Malayan	Jénti Măláyu
Perfume	Sénsi	Man	Ómi
Pigtail, braid	Cocháng	Master	Méstri
Pipe	Pípă	Mister	Siyór, Sinór
Ribbon	Fítă	Mistress, lover	Dámă
Sandals	Chákiă	Mother	Mái
Sash	Banderól, Bandéră	Mother-in-law	Sógră
Satchel	Bandálă	Mrs.	Siără
Shawl	Tókă	Muslim	Múru
Shawl, wedding	Báuichi	Parents	Mai-pái
Shirt	Kamíză	People	Póbu, Jénti
Shoe	Sapátu, Kálsu	Person	Jénti
Slipper	Chinélă, Chiripú	Portuguese	Jénti Portugés
Sock	Kus, Miă	Procuror	Páilot, Asentidór
Spectacles	Ókăl	Prostitute	Mulé-danádu, Fémi-diábu
Sword	Spádă	Relatives	Jerisáng
Thimble	Dédăl	Sister, elder	Súsi
Trousers	Kalsáng	Sister, younger	Írmang-fémi
Umbrella	Sumbrélu	Son	Filú
Walking-cane	Tóngkat	Spirit	Sprítu
Wrapper	Sárong	Tribe, ethnic group, nation	Nasáng
4.8.0 Persons		Uncle	Tíu, Tatúm, Úmpi
Aunt	Tiă, Tántă, Anti	Visitor	Jénti-bizitá
American	Jénti Marikánu	Wife	Spósă, Maridă
Baby	Krénsă-soné	Woman	Mulé
Bastard	Pútă	Young man	Familă

Youth	Mansību	Macao	Makáu
4.9.0. Geographical names		Madras	Mădrástă
Amboina	Ambóinu	Malacca	Mălákă
Bengal	Benggálă	Malaysia	Téră Mălályu
Ceylon	Seláng, Téră Jínggli	Portugal	Portugál
China	Téră Chínă	Singapore	Singăpúră
England	Téră Inggrés	Spain	Téră Spanyol
Europe	Erópă	Sumatra	Sămátră
France	Fránsă	Ternate	Ternáti
Holland	Téră Landósă, Téră Landés	Thailand	Siyáng
Ilher	Ilír, Hilír	Timor	Timór
Japan	Japáng	Tranqueira	Trangkéră
		U.S.A.	Téră Marikánu

## 4.10.0 Male proper names

Adáng, Altúfu, Antóni, Dízmă, Érik, Eródi, Jeráldu, Jeróni, Jozé, Judéu, Kristubáng, Liándru, Níkolu, Simáng

## 4.11.0 Female proper names

Biulántă, Filumínă, Juánă, Kălără, Lizárdă, Mariă, Palfídă, Ranjinélă, Róză, Sulúndă

## 4.12.0 Anatomical, etc.

Anklebone	Ólu-di-péu	Hunger	Fómi
Arm	Mang	Intestines	Trípă
Armpit	Bódi, Kăchák	Jaw	Dágu
Back	Tras	Knee	Yozélu
Beard	Bárbă	Leg, foot	Péu
Blood	Sángi	Lip	Bésu
Body	Kórpu	Liver	Fígdu
Bone	Ósu	Lung	Bófi
Breast	Pétu	Mouth	Bókă
Buttocks	Ku	Mustache	Bigódi
Carcass	Mótri	Nail	Únyă
Chest	Chéstu, Pétu	Nausea	Nggúlu
Cholera	Kóleră	Nose	Narís
Coccyx	Ósu-di-rábu	Nostril	Buráku-di-narís
Cold	Katáru, Rapiăméntu	Penis	Pisá
Cough (n.)	Túsi	Perspiration	Sor
Ear	Ubídă	Pregnant	Prényă, Pizádă
Epilepsy	Duénsă-pusăpúsă	Pupil of eye	Karózu-di-ólu
Eunuch	Omi-kapádu	Pus, suppurate	Nsolpă
Excreta	Kaká	Rib	Kustélă
Eye	Ólu	Shoulder	Brásu
Eyebrow	Subrinsélă	Sickness	Duénsă
Face	Kără, Róstu	Skin	Péli
Fever	Fébri	Smallpox	Bésigă
Finger	Dédu	Sneeze (n.)	Spíru
Fingernail	Únyă-di-máng	Stomach	Stámu, Barígă
Genitalia	Bergónyă	Tail	Rábu
Gullet	Guélă	Tears	Lágru
Hair	Kabélu	Thirst	Sédi
Hand	Mang	Throat	Gargántă
Head	Kabésă	Toe	Dédu-di-péu
Heart	Korsáng	Toenail	Únyă-di-péu
Heel	Barígă-di-péu, Chíspu-di-péu	Tongue	Línggu
		Tooth	Dénti

Tuberculosis	Étikă	As	Asĩ
Vagina	Fúlă	At	Na
Venereal disease	Dandĩsă, Duénsă-di-dandĩsă	At first	Mazánti
Womb	Lúgă-parĩ	Because (of)	Káuzi (di)
		Before	Diánti (di)
		Behind	Na tras (di)
		But	Tapĩ
4.13.0 Pronouns, verbal markers		Certainly	Tántu
I	Yo, jénti	Even	Mĩsu, Própi
You	Bo, bos	Everywhere	Túru-bándă, Nalá-nalĩ
He/She/It/They	El, Éli	Everyone	Túru-més
We	Nu, nos	For	Pádi, pra, pa
You (pl.)	Bos-túru, Bos, Bo	For this reason	Isi káuzu
They	El, Éli, Elótru, Eli-túru, Olotú	From	Di, Dári
Noncompletive Marker	ta	From here	D'alĩ
Future marker	lo', lógo, lógu	From there	D'alá
Past marker	ja	Hello	Kai!, Ki nóbes!
Completive Marker	kabá	Here	N'akĩ
		Hour	Óră, Bĩdru
4.14.0 Numerals		How	Kai, Ki-sórti, Ki-láyă
One	Ngwă	How many	Kántu
Two	Dos, Dóis	If	Kalú, Ka', Si
Three	Tres	In	Na
Four	Kwátu	In a	N'ungwă
Five	Sĩngku	In front of	Na frónti (di)
Six	Ses	Inside	Dréntu (di), Réntu (di)
Seven	Séti	Interjection of pain	adó!
Eight	Óitu	Interjection of pleasure	olé!
Nine	Nóbi	Interjection of anger	da!
Ten	Des	Interjection of surprise	ai!, wa!, ayó!, alá!
Eleven	Ónzi	In spite of	Máski
Twelve	Dózi	Just	Jéstă
Thirteen	Trézi	Kind of	Sórti di
Fourteen	Katórzi	Manner, way	Sórti
Fifteen	Kĩnzi	Mile	Pédră
Sixteen	Disés	Month	Mis
Seventeen	Diséti	More (than)	Mas (di)
Eighteen	Disóitu	More-or-less	Esnués
Nineteen	Disnóbi	Near (to)	Pétu (di), Pértu (di)
Twenty	Bĩnti	Nearly	Pétu, Pértu
Twenty one	Bĩnti-ngwă	Never	Ngkă m'bés
Thirty	Trĩntă	Nevertheless	Máski
Hundred	(N')séntu	News	Nóbes
Thousand	Mil	No	Ngkă
Half	Mũ (n.), Mĩă (a.)	No one	Nggéng
		Nothing	Nádă
4.15.0 Grammatical, miscellaneous		Now	Agóră
Again	Toná, Torná	Nothing at all	Nté kiki
Against	Kóntră	Occasion	Bes
Also	Pun, Tamĩng	Of	Di
Although	Maski	On top (of)	Na rĩbă (di)
Always	Sémpri, Slálu	Or	Atáu
And	Ku, Dan	Outside	Fóră (di)
Another	Ng'útu, n'útu	Perhaps	Aună-bes, Anumbés
Any	Kiki	Quite	Jústu
Anyone	Keng-keng	Readily	Lestĩ
Around	Sérkă	Recently	Ja teng m'póku

So	Tang	Too, also	Pun, Tamíng
So much, So many	Astántu, Sotí	Under	Básu (di)
Some, A few	M'póku	Underneath	Dibásu (di)
Something	Ng'kózǎ	Until	Até, Sampé
Soon	Póku-órǎ, mi-órǎ	Very	Mútu, Múntu, Bomóng
Speed	Karérǎ	What	Ki
Still	Indǎ	What?	Kózǎ?
That	Akéli, Áti	What's the time?	Kant'órǎ agórǎ?
That one	Akel'úngwǎ	When	Ki-órǎ, Témpu
That other	Akel'útu	Where	Úndi
There	N'alá	Which, that	Ki, Kal
There is, There are	Éli, T'ngwǎ, N'alá teng	Who	Keng
These	Ísi, Ísti	Which one	Kal'úngwǎ
This	Ísi, Ísti	Why	Ki-fói
This one	Is'úngwǎ	With	Ku
Thus	Así	Without	Nté, Seng
To (preverbal)	Pádi, Pra	Yard (3 feet)	Élǎ
To (locative)	Na	Year	Ánu
Together (with)	Juntádu (ku)	Yes	Seng
Too, overly	Mútu tántu	Yet	Indǎ

#### Bibliography

- Baker, A.C., [c.1920]. "An Historical Sketch of Malacca". *Historical Guide of Malacca*, Malacca, pp 1-20.
- Beirão, Caetano, 1960. *A Short History of Portugal*, Lisbon.
- Chaves, Luiz, 1933a. 'O cristão', 'papiá cristão' ou 'seranī'. O português de Malaca em apontamentos folclóricos". *Língua Portuguesa*, 3: 169-178.
- 1933b. "O papiá cristão de Malaca. Mais apontamentos". *Língua Portuguesa*, 3: 209-216.
- Clarke, H., and L.L. Bonaparte, 1877. [Correspondence dealing with Sabir]. *The Athenaeum*, 50: 545, 607-8, 640, 671-2, 703. (April 28th to June 2nd, 1877).
- Coates, William A., 1971. "The Lingua Franca". *Proceedings of the 5th Kansas Linguistics Conference* (ed. F. Ingemann), pp. 25-34.
- Coelho, F.A., 1886. ["Singapore Creole Portuguese"]. *Boletim da Soc. de Geografia de Lisboa*, 6: 718-723.
- François, J.P., [?1920]. "The Portuguese of Malacca". *Historical Guide of Malacca*, Malacca, pp. 84-88.
- Hancock, I., 1969. "The Malacca Creoles and their language". *Afrasian*, 3: 38-45.
- 1970. "Some Dutch-derived items in Papia Kristang". *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en en Volkenkunde*, 126: 352-356.
- 1972. "Some Dutch-derived items in Java Creole Portuguese". *Orbis*, 12: 549-554.
- Huet, G., 1909. "La communauté portugaise de Batavia". *Revista Lusitana*, 12: 149-170.
- Knowlton, Edgar C., "Malaysian Portuguese". *The Linguist*, 26: 211-213, 239-241.
- Kok, B., "A influência do português na Língua africânder". *Boletim Gêral do Ultramar*, 29: 85-90.
- Rêgo, A. da Silva, 1942. *Dialecto português de Malaca. Apontamentos para o seu estudo*, Lisbon.
- 1960-61. "Portugal e a Malásia". *Portugal em Africa*, número especial, July 1960-July 1961, pp 193-206.
- 1964. "A comunidade luso-malaia de Malaca e Singapura". *V. Colóquio Int. de Estudos Luso-Brasileiros*, Actas 1: 507-512.
- Schuchardt, H., 1891. *Über das Malaioportugiesische von Batavia und Tugu*, Vienna.
- Teixeira, M., 1961. *The Portuguese missions in Malacca and Singapore, 1511-1958*. Vol. 1: Malacca. Lisbon.

- Thompson, R.W., 1961. "A note on some possible affinities between the creole dialects of the old world and those of the new". *Creole Language Studies*, 2: 107-113.
- Valkhoff, M., 1966. *Studies in Portuguese and Creole*, Johannesburg.
- 1972. *New Light on Afrikaans and "Malayo-Portuguese"*. Louvain.
- Whinnom, K. 1965. "The origin of the European-based creoles and pidgins". *Orbis*, 14: 509-527.

## TENSE AND ASPECT IN MAURITIAN CREOLE

Chris Corne

University of Auckland

1.0 In this paper<sup>1</sup> the semantic values and syntactic behaviour of the temporal and aspectual pre-verbal particles in Mauritian Creole French are described. Aspect is considered here solely as a modification of a three-way temporal system (past, present, future). The behaviour of two other items which may occur pre-verbally and which modify the assertion of the speaker are also considered.

The paper has a double purpose. Its primary aim is to describe adequately an area of Mauritian syntax that has been misinterpreted to date.<sup>2</sup> This description will then serve as a contribution to the description of, if not proto-Creole, then at least the proto-Creole of the French Creole dialects of the Indian Ocean (Réunion, Seychelles, Mauritius, Rodrigues).

I make no claims as to the definitiveness of this analysis. It is of necessity tentative, since it is based largely on data obtained from a very small number of informants<sup>3</sup> who, obviously, can only partially represent the entire Mauritian speech community. All are, or have been, resident in New Zealand for varying lengths of time, and all speak French and English. Creole is, however, their preferred vehicle of communication amongst themselves (social gatherings, etc). It is the first language learnt in all cases, and was the language used predominantly in the home (in Mauritius). Some data came from commercially-recorded *ségas* (songs), but all the examples thus obtained were checked against the usage of my informants, or against their knowledge of variations of usage among other more or less identifiable sectors of the Mauritian community. While it seems likely that more data from a wider range of informants would clarify the obscurities that remain, since many of these are undoubtedly factors in the very complex socio-linguistics of Mauritius<sup>4</sup>, I would hope that the broad outline of my analysis will prove to be valid.

2.0 The temporal and aspectual particles may be considered as constituents of the Auxiliary, within a framework (simplified) such as the following

P	→	NS + VS	P	=	sentence
VS	→	Aux + VG	NS	=	nominal syntagm
VG	→	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Copula} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NS} \\ \text{AS} \\ \text{PS} \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{V} + (\text{NS}) + (\text{PS}) \end{array} \right\}$	VS	=	verbal syntagm
			Aux	=	auxiliary
			VG	=	verbal group
			AS	=	adjectival syntagm
			PS	=	prepositional syntagm
			V	=	verb

Which constituents of Aux may actually occur depends on the subcategorisations of V (or on the presence of Copula), which in the above formulation will be handled in the lexicon in the form of categorial lexical features (e.g. *don(e)* 'to give': [+transitive, +attributive, . . .], *mâz(e)* 'to eat': [+tr, -attr, . . .], *al(e)* 'to go': [-tr, +attr . . .], etc). The lexical features will specify the

1. This research was supported in part by a grant from the University of Auckland Research Committee. I am grateful to Professor K.J. Hollyman, University of Auckland, for his very valuable comments on an earlier version of this paper. Of course, I hereby absolve him of all responsibility for any remaining ineptitudes, which may be considered as being all my own work.
2. Baker 1972:106-110; Corne 1970:13-15.
3. I wish to thank here in particular Mr Vadivel Vencatachellum, whose patience has been little short of miraculous, and also Messrs Ed Hojird, Dev Mooten, Joseph Gaiqui and Abdool Oodally. Any errors of fact herein are attributable solely to the questions I asked, not to any linguistic aberrations on their part.
4. See Baker 1972:5-38.



aspectual compatibilities of any given verb (or of Copula), but these compatibilities are only marginally relevant to this paper. The simplest rewrite of Aux appears to be the following (a more complex version including a constituent Mod (modality) is discussed later).

Aux	→	T + (A)	Aux	=	auxiliary
T	→	{Pres} {Pas} + (Fut)	T	=	tense
A	→	{FutAsp} {Asp} + (Asp)	A	=	aspect
FutAsp	→	{FutInd} {FutDef}	Pres	=	present
Asp	→	{Prog Com PasImm}	Pas	=	past
Pres	→	ϕ	Fut	=	future
Pas	→	ti <sup>5</sup>	FutAsp	=	future aspect
Fut	→	{a, ϕ}	Asp	=	aspect
FutInd	→	va	FutInd	=	indefinite future
FutDef	→	pu	FutDef	=	definite future
Prog	→	(a)pe	Prog	=	progressive
Com	→	{fin, in, n}	Com	=	completive
PasImm	→	fek	PasImm	=	immediate past

A general constraint is that any given constituent of Asp may only occur once.<sup>6</sup> There are other constraints, which will be discussed shortly. In fact, not all the combinations of particles that may occur (after all constraints have been observed) do in fact occur for all speakers – in other words, there are some gaps in the system, particularly where *fek* is concerned.

### 3.0 The Temporal System

Given the rewrite of T:

$$T \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \text{Pres} \\ \text{Pas} \end{Bmatrix} + (\text{Fut})$$

the temporal system of Mauritian includes the Present Tense, the Past Tense, the Future Tense (Pres + Fut) and the Future-in-the-Past (or Conditional) Tense (Pas + Fut).

#### 3.1 The Present Tense

The Present (or the Non-past) is generally “marked” by the absence of any particle:<sup>7</sup>

li mât so larak ‘he drinks his arrak’  
li vin nuar ‘he becomes black’

#### 3.2 The Past Tense (*ti*)

The Past is marked always by *ti*

mo ti malad ‘I was sick’  
mo ti mâze ‘I ate’

5. The transcription of Mauritian used here is that set up in Corne 1970. Cf. also the orthography set up for Seychelles Creole French in Corne, in press.
6. The case of *fek fek* is an apparent exception, to be discussed later.
7. Certain verbs, however, are inherently past, at least in some contexts:  
li mâke perdi so lavi ‘he nearly lost his life’ (he missed lose his life)  
My assertion (Corne 1970, p.56, note 6 and paragraph 7.3.9, pp.25-6) to the effect that in negation the completive Aspect particle *fin* may be omitted, now appears to be erroneous, except with *pâkor* ‘not yet’: li pâkor mâze ‘he has not yet eaten’

The presence of *ti* in any given sentence in the main clause often affects the semantics of any aspectual particle in a subordinate clause.

li ti dir mua li pu ale 'he told me he would go'

lôtâ, ler mo pu al dormi, mo ti plöre 'in the past, when I used to go to sleep, I would cry'

### 3.3 The Future Tense (*a*, $\phi$ )

The Future is generally marked by *a*, and derives from an underlying sequence of Pres + Fut  $\rightarrow \phi + a$ <sup>8</sup>

In the rewrite of Aux, Fut is marked as being optional:

$$T \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Pres} \\ \text{Pas} \end{array} \right\} + (\text{Fut})$$

This optionality concerns *solely* the choice of Future time. However, even when Fut is chosen, the surface realisation *a* is optional when a Future Aspect particle is chosen. In other words, the Future Aspect (if present) subsumes Future time, and Fut may be rewritten as *a* or  $\phi$ .

This statement is true only on an historical basis. Synchronically, the aspectual nature of the Indefinite Future (or Possible Future) *va* does not appear to be distinguished from the Future Tense, so that *a* and *va*, or *a va*, are stylistic and/or social variants. The use of *va* alone seems characteristic of Frenchified Creole (*va* being phonologically identical to the 3rd singular present of French *aller* 'to go', used also aspectually in French as a *futur progressif*<sup>9</sup>). My informants tend to use either *a* alone, or the sequence *a va*, with no discernible difference of meaning.<sup>10</sup>

*a* (and *va*, *a va*) is used to convey a prediction, by the speaker, of possible future events:

mo a truv u dimê 'I'll see you tomorrow' (as we have just arranged)

li a gañ en baba 'she will have a baby' (if she isn't careful)

to a va malad si to mâz sa 'you will be sick if you eat that'

(speaker supposes so, but there is some doubt)

- 8 Fut may alternatively be rewritten as *ava*, so that the rules given would then be

$$\text{Aux} \rightarrow T + (A)$$

$$T \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Pres} \\ \text{Pas} \end{array} \right\} + (\text{Fut})$$

$$A \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{FutDef} \\ \text{Asp} \end{array} \right\} + (\text{Asp})$$

$$\text{Fut} \rightarrow \textit{ava}$$

$$\text{FutDef} \rightarrow \textit{pu}$$

This would entail an obligatory (for most speakers) deletion of *ava* if *pu* is chosen (see now footnote 12). Although I do not wish to make an issue of it here, it is my contention (v. also Corne 1971:102) that Creole languages are Indo-European, or at least, that French Creole languages are derivable from a late 16th or early 17th Century variety of French. In this connection, it is interesting to note that Dubois and Dubois-Charlier (1970) postulate the following structure for the constituent Aux in modern Standard French:

$$\text{Aux} \rightarrow \text{Tps} + (\text{Parf}) + (\text{M}) + (\text{Parf})$$

$$\text{Tps} \rightarrow \left( \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Futur} \\ \text{Subj} \end{array} \right\} \right) + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Prés} \\ \text{Pas} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Pe} + \text{No}$$

Tps = tense

Parf = perfect

M = modal

Futur = future

Subj = subjunctive

Prés = present

Pas = past

Pe = person

No = number

The sequence Futur + Prés produces the Future Tense while Futur + Pas produces the Conditional.

9. Dubois & Dubois-Charlier 1970:105.

10. In Seychellois, *pu* appears to translate the Indefinite or possible Future, while *a (va)* often appears to translate the Definite Future:

u a mâze kamem u pa ule 'you will eat, even if you don't want to'

letâ sa maladi i nepli pu egziste 'when that sickness will no longer exist'

It may be noted in passing that my data contradicts Baker's assertion (1972:109) that *a va* and *va* are simply contextually conditioned variants (occurring before a verb beginning with *a-*, e.g. *aste* 'to buy'), although this is indeed the most common case.<sup>11</sup>

The semantic coalescing of *a*, *va*, and *a va* produces some sequences of three Aspect markers, in apparent contradiction to the rewrite of Aux; in this case, for such speakers and in such contexts, Fut is rewritable as  $\{a, (a)va, \phi\}$ . At the same time, it explains why my informants are doubtful as to the acceptability of sequences of three constituents of A including *pu*.

A constraint on the occurrence of *a* is that the Future Progressive is obligatorily constructed of a sequence Fut + FutInd + Prog (*(a) va pe*), since a sequence Fut + Prog (*a + pe*) is homophonous with *ape* (variant of *pe*, see 4.2 below). A further constraint appears to be that *pa* 'negation' + Future is obligatorily constructed for some speakers of a sequence Fut ( $\phi$ ) + FutDef (*pu*) – see below, 4.1.

### 3.4 The Future-in-the-Past (Conditional) Tense (*ti a*)

The Conditional derives from an underlying sequence of Pas + Fut.

*si to ti.aste lavian, li ti a mât li* 'if you bought the meat, he would eat it'

The statement above concerning the use of *va* and *a va* as variants of *a* is true here, too; thus, the above sentence may occur as:

*si to ti aste lavian, li ti (a) va mât li*

Furthermore, the Definite Future (*pu*) may replace the Future or the Indefinite Future:

*si to ti aste lavian, li ti (a) pu mât li*

with no discernible difference of meaning. Thus the Conditional may be analysed thus:

$$\text{Pas} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Fut} \\ (\text{Fut}) + \text{FutAsp} \end{array} \right\}$$

The Conditional Completive (or Conditional Perfect) is discussed below, 4.3.

### 4.0. The Aspectual System

Aspect can only exist in Mauritian as a modification of a temporal framework, and is therefore always a product of T (Tense) + A (Aspect), the present tense being unmarked on the surface.

11. Although only marginally relevant to this paper, a number of facts concerning the 3rd person singular pronoun *li* may be noted:

(a) Before any sequence of temporal and/or aspectual particles beginning with *a-*, *li* (as subject) may be optionally replaced by *i*:

*si li vini, i a va dâse* 'if he comes, he will dance'

*i a truve* he will see'

*i a pu mâze* he will eat'

*kâ i a n repar so loto* 'when he will have repaired his car'

*si letâ bô, i a kapav vini* 'if it is fine (weather), he will/might be able to come'

*Liza, i ape zigile* 'Liza is wriggling'

*ki to piti ape fer? i ape mâze* 'what is your child doing? he is eating'

(b) The sequence *li pa* 'he + negative' may be replaced by *i apa*:

*i apa kapav vini* 'he is unable to come'

*i apa kapav fer so somej* 'he is unable to sleep'

(c) One of my informants uses *i ena* 'there is, there are' as well as *ena* (v. Come 1970:40, 8.5.1.4 (a)) and this form also occurs in some ségas:

(i) *ena ki koz biê frâse* 'there are (some people) who speak French well'

(Cf. Seychellois (*i*) *ana* 'there is, there are').

Whether this is contextually determined in any way is not clear (this informant is no longer resident in New Zealand), but it is evident that this usage is in any case archaic (cf. Baker 1972:61 n2), since my other informants are unanimous in rejecting *i ena*, in favour of *ena*.

Note also that in Seychellois, the 3rd person singular pronoun (subject) is *i*; *i* may also occur as a "reprise" of a 3rd person singular or plural subject:

*ban piti i reste dâ môt lakaz* 'the children (they) remain in my house'

*dilo i sal* 'the water (it) is dirty'

The rewrite of A:

$$A \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{FutAsp} \\ \text{Asp} \end{array} \right\} + (\text{Asp})$$

gives rise to a variety of aspectual combinations, once the general constraint — any given constituent of Asp may occur only once — is taken into account. I will discuss firstly the combinations of Tense and Aspect, including however the Future Tense and the Future Aspect under the same heading:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Pres} \\ \text{Pas} \end{array} \right\} + (\text{Fut}) + (\text{FutAsp}) + \text{Asp}$$

and then the various combinations of Aspect + Aspect will be dealt with.

#### 4.1 The Aspects of the Future

As noted above (Future Tense), the Future Aspect subsumes Future time, and Fut may be rewritten as  $\phi$  when FutAsp is present:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Pres} \\ \text{Pas} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Fut} + \text{FutAsp} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \phi \\ ti \end{array} \right\} + \{a, \phi\} + \{va, pu\}$$

The Indefinite or Possible Future Aspect (*va*) has already been discussed.

The Definite (or Immediate) Future Aspect is marked by *pu*, and is used to convey certainty about the future, about predetermined or regularly scheduled events.<sup>12</sup>

- (a) Pres + (Fut) + FutDef  $\rightarrow$  (*a*) + *pu*

mo pu truv u dimê 'I'll see you tomorrow' (as usual)

li pu gañ en baba 'she will have a baby' (she is already pregnant)

to pu malad si to mâz sa 'you will be sick if you eat that' (it is deadly poison)

kâ li vini, li (*a*) pu mâz sa kari la 'when he comes he will (definitely) eat that curry' (he will *have* to eat it)

- (b) Pas + (Fut) + FutDef  $\rightarrow$  *ti* + (*a*) + *pu*

This has been discussed above, the Future-in-the-Past (Conditional) Tense. The distinction between the Indefinite Future (*va*) and the Definite Future does not appear to be retained here.

#### 4.2 The Progressive Aspect (*pe* or (*a*)*pe*)

The Progressive is marked generally by *pe*, which has a variant *a**pe*. Baker (1972:108) states: "An archaic variant of */pe/* is */ape/*. This form is now rarely heard in conversation, but it is not uncommon in the lyrics of Kreol songs known as 'ségas' where it may perhaps be preferred for rhythmic reasons. This appears to be an intermediate form between 'après' [sic] (the only form noted by Baissac . . .) and the current form */pe/*." I can not really argue with this statement, except to say that my informants do indeed generally use *pe*, except in combination with the Immediate Past marker *fek*, when *a**pe* seems to be preferred.<sup>13</sup> (*a*)*pe* may mark habitual action, as well as continuing action.

The following combinations of T + Prog occur.

- (a) Pres + Prog  $\rightarrow$   $\phi$  + (*a*)*pe*

mo (*a*)*pe* mâze 'I am eating'

li nek *pe* mâzmâze 'he is always nibbling'

12. The Immediate Future may also be handled by the use of *pre pur* 'to be on the point of': *mo pre pur fini mo larak* 'I am on the point of finishing my (alcoholic) drink' (Corne 1970:42-43, TCA *pur*). It must be noted here that the sequence *a + pu* is suspect wherever it occurs. None of my informants appear actually to use it, except in paradigms produced during work sessions. It certainly is not used at all in Seychellois. If the sequence is in fact agrammatical, then the alternative set of rules given in footnote 8 are correct.
13. In Seychellois, *a**pe* appears to occur at least as frequently as *pe*, but my data are inconclusive on this point.

(b) Pas + Prog → *ti + pe*

li ti pe sâte 'he was singing'

My informants tend to prefer *pe* following *ti*, rather than *ape*.

(c) The Future progressive is obligatorily constructed with the Indefinite Future Aspect: a sequence Pres + Fut + Prog →  $\phi + a + pe$  produces *a pe* which is homophonous with Pres + Prog →  $\phi + ape$ .

Pres + (Fut) + FutInd + Prog →  $\phi + va + pe$

kâ li a vini, mo (a) va pe travaj 'I will be (busy) working when he comes (will come)'

*ape* does not occur after *va*.

My informants disagree as to the acceptability of a sequence Pres + (Fut) + FutDef + Prog →  $\phi + (a) + pu + pe$

? li (a) pu pe sâte 'he will be singing'

It seems probable that a speaker using *(a) va* as a free variant of *a* (Future Tense) would be able to produce *(a) pu* in this context, by the application of the same rule (FutAsp + {FutInd / FutDef}), but I do not know whether this form in fact occurs in everyday usage. One informant is categorical in his rejection of it, on the grounds of "cacophony" and "lack of logical meaning". This second reason seems the more likely explanation, in that there would appear to be a semantic incompatibility between a definite future aspect and a progressive aspect (although a combination of an immediate past aspect and a progressive aspect does occur).

(d) Pas + (Fut) + FutInd + Prog → *ti + (a) + va + pe*

si ban la pa ti vin apel li, li ti (a) va pe mâze aster la 'if that group (of people) had not come to call him (away), he would be (busy) eating right now'

Again, *ti a pe* does not occur (homophonous with *ti ape*, (b) above), and there is the same uncertainty concerning *ti (a) pu pe* as for *(a) pu pe*, (c) above.

#### 4.3 The Completive Aspect (*fin*, *in*, *n*)

The Completive is marked by *fin*, which has two contextually conditioned variants.

*in* may optionally replace *fin* after all 3rd person (singular or plural) subjects except *li* 'he, she, it'. However, my informants hesitate to accept *in* following *a*, *va*, *pu* and *ti*, and frequently reject such sequences categorically.<sup>14</sup>

*n* may optionally replace *fin* (and does so frequently) following *pa* 'negative', *ti*, *a*, *li*, *mo* 'I', *to* 'you (singular, informal)', *u* 'you (singular, formal, polite)', *nu* 'we', *ki* 'who, whom, which, that'. Less frequently, *n* occurs after *va*, *pu*, and after a shortened form, *zo*, of *zot* 'you (plural), they'.<sup>15</sup>

14. The fact that some of my informants sometimes hesitate to reject such sequences as *\*a va in* is perhaps explainable on the basis of analogy. Since *fin* may occur following, for example, the Future tense (*kâ Zorz a fin repar so loto* 'when George will have repaired his car'), the force of simple analogy suggests the possibility of *\*a in*. An example (possibly agrammatical) of this type of sequence is given in Corne 1970:15:

mo pa kone si li ti pu vini, mem si mo ti a va in diman li 'I do not know if he would have come, even if I had (would have) asked him'

The Seychellois pronoun *i* 'he, she, it (subject)' and its use in "reprise" of the subject has been noted above. In Seychellois, *in* is better analysable as *i + n*:

sô kat lapat i n kole 'his four feet (they) were stuck'

and it seems at least possible that there is some link between this and the fact that *in* in Mauritian occurs only in the 3rd person.

15. Cf. Baker 1972:108: "*/fin/* and */in/* are ... interchangeable". He then gives the following example (retranscribed in my orthography): *en linôdasiô t in arive* 'flooding had occurred'. This is either a printing error, or an error of analysis, and should surely read *en linôdasiô ti n arive*. In Corne 1970:14, *n* is noted as occurring after *sa* 'that (pronoun)', but this now appears to be erroneous.

The following combinations of T + Com occur

$$(a) \text{ Pres + Com} \rightarrow \phi + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{fin} \\ \text{in} \\ n \end{array} \right\}$$

Zorz  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{fin} \\ \text{in} \end{array} \right\}$  bez li 'George (has) hit him'

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{zot} \\ \text{zo n} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{fin} \\ \text{in} \end{array} \right\}$  mâze 'you/they have eaten'

$$(b) \text{ Pas + Com} \rightarrow ti + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{fin} \\ n \end{array} \right\}$$

This corresponds to the pluperfect in English (or French)

apre ki mo ti n eksplik li sa zafer la, li n ale 'after I had explained that business to him, he left'

$$(c) \text{ Pres + Fut + Com} \rightarrow \phi + a + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{fin} \\ n \end{array} \right\}$$

kâ u a  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{fin} \\ n \end{array} \right\}$  repar u loto 'when you (will) have repaired your car'

$$(d) \text{ Pas + Fut + Com} \rightarrow ti + a + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{fin} \\ n \end{array} \right\}$$

mo ti a  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{fin} \\ n \end{array} \right\}$  bez li, si li ti  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{fin} \\ n \end{array} \right\}$  dir mua kujô 'I would have hit him, if he had called me an idiot'

In the case of (c) and (d) above, Fut may be replaced by the sequence (Fut) + FutInd:

kâ u (a) va fin repar u loto 'when you (will) have repaired your car'

mo ti  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} a \\ (a) va \end{array} \right\}$  fin marie, si mo pa ti mizer 'I would have got married, if I was not poor'

Whereas in the Conditional, the distinction between the Future Tense, the Indefinite Future Aspect, and the Definite Future Aspect is not retained, FutInd and FutDef are not interchangeable when followed by Com:

$$(e) \text{ Pres + (Fut) + FutDef + Com} \rightarrow (a) + pu + fin$$

?kâ li (a) pu fin gañ so piti, li pu don tua li 'when she will have had her child, she will give him to you'

My informants disagree as to the acceptability of this sequence (cf. the Progressive Aspect, 4.2 (c) above).

$$(f) \text{ Pas + (Fut) + FutDef + Com} \rightarrow ti + (a) + pu + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{fin} \\ n \end{array} \right\}$$

mo ti (a) pu fin marie ar li, si so papa pa ti kas mo lagel 'I would have married her, if her father had not beaten me up'

The distinction between *ti (a) pu fin* and *ti (a) va fin* ((d) above) is that the sequence with *pu* is more imminent, more definite ('I had the girl, the ring, the preacher, everything was set for the marriage, but my father-in-law-to-be decided to push my face in . . .')

The sequence *ti (a) pu n* appears to have some kind of restriction on its occurrence, the nature of which is not entirely clear:

si so papa pa ti aret mua, mo ti (a) pu fin bez li 'if his father had not stopped me, I would have hit him'

While this sentence is acceptable, when *n* replaces *fin* my informants prefer to embed an underlying sentence *mo bez li* into a principal sentence containing *fini* 'to finish'; this gives

si so papa . . ., mo ti (a) pu n fini bez li

rather than



? si so papa . . . , mo ti (a) pu n bez li

(g) The Conditional Perfect ((d) and (f) above) is not always distinguished from the Conditional, but this appears to be linked to some extent to the presence of *ti* (see 3.2 above, the Past Tense):

mo ti a va fer li, me mo okipe pur lèstâ 'I would do it, but I am busy right now'

mo ti a va fer li, me mo ti okipe 'I was going to do it, I would have done it, but I was busy'

#### 4.4 The Immediate Past Aspect (*fek*)

The Immediate Past is marked by *fek*. While Goodman (1964:65-66, 80) designates *fek* as an aspectual particle, Baker (1972:110) calls it a "pre-verb"<sup>16</sup> and includes it in a class comprising *âkor* 'still (and expected to terminate shortly)', *tuzur* 'still (and expected to continue indefinitely)', *nek* 'merely, only', *nepli* 'no longer',<sup>17</sup> *mem* 'even' (only when following *pa* 'negation'), and *biê* 'really, indeed'. In my 1970 monograph (p.32) I included *fek* as a member of a verbal sub-class including also *kapav* 'possibility, to be able', *bizê* 'necessity, to have to', and *ule* 'to wish, want, desire', on the grounds that these four "words" appeared to share certain syntactic traits. A closer examination of the facts suggests that *fek* is indeed an aspectual particle.

The following combinations of T + PasImm occur.

(a) Pres + PasImm →  $\phi$  + *fek*

li *fek* al labutik, u âvi li al âkor en ku? 'he has just been to the shop (and come back again), do you want him to go (there) again?'

(b) Pas + PasImm → *ti* + *fek*

li *ti* *fek* al labutik, mo pa kone kot li n ale apre 'he had just gone to the shop (and come back again), I do not know where he went to afterwards.'

(c) Pres + Fut + PasImm →  $\phi$  + *a* + *fek*

My informants hesitate to accept either this string, or the equivalent

Pres + (Fut) + FutInd + PasImm →  $\phi$  + (*a*) + *va* + *fek*

? mo (a) *va* *fek* fini 'I will have just finished'

but agree that Pres + (Fut) + FutDef + PasImm →  $\phi$  + (*a*) + *pu* + *fek* is acceptable:

mo (a) *pu* *fek* fini 'I will have just finished'

This is perhaps a question of the semantic compatibility of *pu* Definite or Immediate Future with *fek* Immediate Past.

(d) Pas + Fut + PasImm → *ti* + *a* + *fek*

li *ti* *a* *fek* fini mâze, si laklos pa *ti* sone 'he would have just finished eating, if the bell hadn't rung'

Here, my informants reject the (theoretically possible) sequence Pas + (Fut) + FutDef + PasImm → *ti* + (*a*) + *pu* + *fek*, but the reason for this is not clear. \**ti* (*a*) *va* *fek* is rejected also.

However, *ti a*  $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} n \\ fin \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$  *fek* (see below) is considered as the equivalent of *ti a* *fek* — this concords with Baker's comment quoted above, but also with the already noted tendency not to distinguish the Conditional and the Conditional Perfect.

Thus far, the combinations of T + A given in Table 1 have been considered.

16. Baker adds (footnote 4, p.117): "Many speakers treat *fek* as an aspect marker . . . 'John has just gone out' . . . would be *Zâ fek sort* rather than *Zâ in fek sorti* [my transcriptions]. (Cf. British 'she has just left' with American 'she just left'.)"

17. *nek* is treated as a product of a "restriction" transform (Corme 1970:26) while *nepli* is treated as a product of a "negative" transform (Corme 1970:23-24).

Table 1

Pres	Pas
Pres + Fut	Pas + Fut
Pres + (Fut) + FutInd	Pas + (Fut) + FutInd
Pres + (Fut) + FutDef	Pas + (Fut) + FutDef
Pres + Prog	Pas + Prog
Pres + (Fut) + FutInd + Prog	Pas + (Fut) + FutInd + Prog
?Pres + (Fut) + FutDef + Prog	?Pas + (Fut) + FutDef + Prog
Pres + Com	Pas + Com
Pres + Fut + Com	Pas + Fut + Com
Pres + (Fut) + FutInd + Com	Pas + (Fut) + FutInd + Com
?Pres + (Fut) + FutDef + Com	Pas + (Fut) + FutDef + Com
Pres + PasImm	Pas + PasImm
?Pres + Fut + PasImm	Pas + Fut + PasImm
?Pres + (Fut) + FutInd + PasImm	*Pas + (Fut) + FutInd + PasImm
Pres + (Fut) + FutDef + PasImm	*Pas + (Fut) + FutDef + PasImm

### 5.0 Aspect + Aspect

One possible rewrite of A

A → FutAsp + Asp

has already been dealt with above. The other possible rewrite is

A → Asp + Asp

This corresponds to the following possibilities, given that (a) any given constituent of Asp may only occur once, (b) the Completive Aspect (*fin, n*) is incompatible with the Progressive Aspect (*pe, ape*):

Prog + PasImm  
Com + PasImm

PasImm + Prog  
PasImm + Com

An apparent exception is the occurrence of *fek fek*:

li fek fek fer sa 'he has only just, this minute, right now, done that'

This is best considered as an example of reduplication,<sup>18</sup> in that the reduplicated *fek fek* emphasises the immediacy of the completion. As such, it may be safely excluded from this discussion.

### 5.1 Progressive and Immediate Past

(a) Pres + Prog + PasImm →  $\phi$  + *ape* + *fek*

nu ape fek koz u la 'we are just talking about you'

The semantics of the Immediate Past Aspect are difficult to grasp in this context, but my informants accept this sequence without hesitation. The preference for *ape* rather than *pe* in combination with *fek* has already been noted.

(b) Pres + PasImm + Prog →  $\phi$  + *fek* + *ape*

nu fek ape koz lor Zorz 'we are just talking about George'

There appears to be no difference of meaning between these two sequences (a) and (b).

(c) Pas + Prog + PasImm → *ti* + *ape* + *fek*

18. Baker 1972:102; Come 1970:53-55.

- (d) Pas + PasImm + Prog
- $\rightarrow$
- ti + fek + ape*

nu ti ape fek koz u 'we were just talking about you'  
 nu ti fek ape koz lor Zorz 'we were just talking about George'  
 li ti fek pe lir lagazet 'he was just reading the newspaper'

- (e) Pres +
- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Fut} \\ (\text{Fut}) + \text{FutInd} \end{array} \right\}$
- + PasImm + Prog
- $\rightarrow$
- $\phi + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} a \\ (a) + va \end{array} \right\} + fek + pe$

letâ to pu râtre, li a (va) fek pe sorti 'when you (will) come in, he will just be  
 (?have just been) going out'

The FutDef (*pu*) appears to be unacceptable here. The possible incompatibility of *pu* and *ape* has been noted above, 4.2.

- (f) Pas + Fut + PasImm + Prog
- $\rightarrow$
- ti + a + fek + pe*

li ti a fek pe vini 'he would be just coming'

The sequences (e) and (f) above do not seem to be in fact very common, and may conceivably be the product solely of work sessions held at a desk in front of a tape-recorder. The sequence *ti (a) va fek pe* seems to be excluded.

## 5.2 Completive and Immediate Past

- (a) Pres + Com + PasImm
- $\rightarrow$
- $\phi + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{fin} \\ \text{in} \\ n \end{array} \right\} + fek$

kot li ete? li n fek al labutik 'where is he? he has just gone to the shop' (and is not back yet)

This may be contrasted with the sentence already given (Pres + PasImm, 4.4)

li fek al labutik, u âvi li al âkor? 'he has just been to the shop (and has come back again) ...'

and also with (b) below.

- (b) Pres + PasImm + Com
- $\rightarrow$
- $\phi + fek + fin$

li fek fin al labutik 'he has just (this minute) gone (out to go) to the shop'

This sequence appears to imply a greater degree of immediacy than *fin + fek*.

- (c) Pas + Com + PasImm
- $\rightarrow$
- ti + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{fin} \\ n \end{array} \right\} + fek*

- (d) Pas + PasImm + Com
- $\rightarrow$
- ti + fek + fin*

li ti  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{fin fek} \\ \text{fek fin} \end{array} \right\}$  buar so dite, letâ Zorz ti apel li 'he had just drunk his tea, when George called him'

There appears to be no difference of meaning between these two sequences.

- (e) Pres +
- $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Fut} \\ (\text{Fut}) + \text{FutInd} \end{array} \right\}$
- + Com + PasImm
- $\rightarrow$
- $\phi + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} a \\ (a) + va \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{fin} \\ n \end{array} \right\} + fek$

mo  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} a \\ (a) + va \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{fin} \\ n \end{array} \right\}$  fek ale 'I will have just left'

The Definite Future may also occur here, presumably by analogy with the sequence containing the Indefinite Future (this gives a sequence containing three constituents of A).<sup>19</sup>

Pres + (Fut) + FutDef + Com + PasImm  $\rightarrow$   $\phi + pu + n + fek$

si to al get li aster, li pu n fek ferm so laport 'if you go to see him now, he will have just closed his door'

19. I assume that one other sentence in my collection occurs for a similar reason:

? li pu fek fin fer sa 'he will have just done that'

although I have not noted any sentence like:

? li a (va) fek fin fer sa

(f) Pas + Fut + Com + PasImm  $\rightarrow$  *ti + a + \left\{ \begin{matrix} fin \\ n \end{matrix} \right\} + fek*

li ti a  $\left\{ \begin{matrix} n \\ fin \end{matrix} \right\}$  fek fini mâze, si laklos pa ti sone 'he would have just finished eating if the bell hadn't rung'

The sequence *ti (a) va fin fek* does not occur, and *pu* seems to be excluded also in this context.

The combinations of T + Asp + Asp given in Table II have been considered.

Table II

Pres + Prog + PasImm	Pas + Prog + PasImm
Pres + PasImm + Prog	Pas + PasImm + Prog
Pres + Fut + PasImm + Prog	Pas + Fut + PasImm + Prog
Pres + (Fut) + FutInd + PasImm + Prog	*Pas + (Fut) + FutInd + PasImm + Prog
*Pres + (Fut) + FutDef + PasImm + Prog	*Pas + (Fut) + FutDef + PasImm + Prog
Pres + Com + PasImm	Pas + Com + PasImm
Pres + PasImm + Com	Pas + PasImm + Com
Pres + Fut + Com + PasImm	Pas + Fut + Com + PasImm
Pres + (Fut) + FutInd + Com + PasImm	*Pas + (Fut) + FutInd + Com + PasImm
Pres + (Fut) + FutDef + Com + PasImm	*Pas + (Fut) + FutDef + Com + PasImm

#### 6.0 The Constituent *Mod* ("modality")

An alternative rewrite of A is

$$A \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{FutAsp} \\ \text{Asp} \\ \text{Mod} \end{matrix} \right\} + (\text{Asp})$$

$$\text{Mod} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{kapav} \\ \text{bizê} \end{matrix} \right\} \begin{matrix} \text{'possibility'} \\ \text{'probability'} \end{matrix}$$

I postulate this rewrite<sup>20</sup> to account for the meanings of 'possibility' and 'probability' of *kapav* and *bizê*, respectively.

#### 6.1 *bizê* 'probability'

The use of *bizê* as a modality appears to be restricted to the following two cases:

- (a) Pres + *bizê* + Prog  $\rightarrow$  *bizê pe*  
li *bizê pe fer sa* 'he is probably doing that'
- (b) Pres + *bizê* + Com  $\rightarrow$  *bizê fin*  
li *bizê fin al lakaz* 'he has probably gone home'

In both cases, *kapav* is preferred to *bizê* to indicate that there is some doubt about the assertions made.

In the following two cases, my informants are doubtful as to whether the sense may be construed as 'probability':

- (c) Pres + *bizê*  
li *bizê ale* 'he must go', ?'he probably goes'

20. I suspect that further research is necessary to clear up some of the anomalies that remain. For example, *fek* does not seem to occur after *Mod*, and with *Mod* only the Present tense occurs (or, in the case of *kapav*, the Future tense as well). As it stands, this rewrite does account for most of my data, but not entirely convincingly, and it will in fact be rejected below.

- (d) Pas + *bizê*  
li ti bizê ale 'he had to go', ?'he probably went'

### 6.2 *kapav* 'possibility'

As a modality, *kapav* may occur only in the following sequences. Where Asp does not occur, the resulting sentences are ambiguous.

- (a) Pres + *kapav*  
li kapav ale 'he may go' and 'he can go'
- (b) Pres + Fut + *kapav*  
li a kapav vini 'he may come' and 'he will be able to come'
- (c) Pres + *kapav* + Prog → *kapav pe*  
li kapav pe fer sa 'he may (might) be doing that'
- (d) Pres + *kapav* + Com → *kapav fin*  
li kapav fin mâze 'he might have eaten'
- (e) Pres + Fut + *kapav* + Prog → *a kapav pe*  
li a kapav pe mâze 'he might be eating'
- (f) Pres + Fut + *kapav* + Com → *a kapav fin*  
li a kapav fin mâze 'he might have eaten'

6.3 *Kapav* and *bizê* also occur in embedding transforms including TC<sup>Inf</sup> (Corne 1970:30-34)<sup>21</sup> and TC<sup>Em</sup> (Corne 1970:40, paragraph 8.5.2). These are illustrated below.

In TC<sup>Inf</sup>, a small group of verbs including *bizê* 'to be obliged', *kapav* 'to be able', *get(e)* 'to see',<sup>22</sup> *ule* 'to wish, want', and perhaps others, allow the presence of aspectual particles.<sup>23</sup> The derivation of a sentence such as

li ti ule pe mâz lavian (olie bujô bred) 'he wanted to be eating meat (instead of a bouillon of brêdes),<sup>24</sup>

may be represented as in Fig. 1.

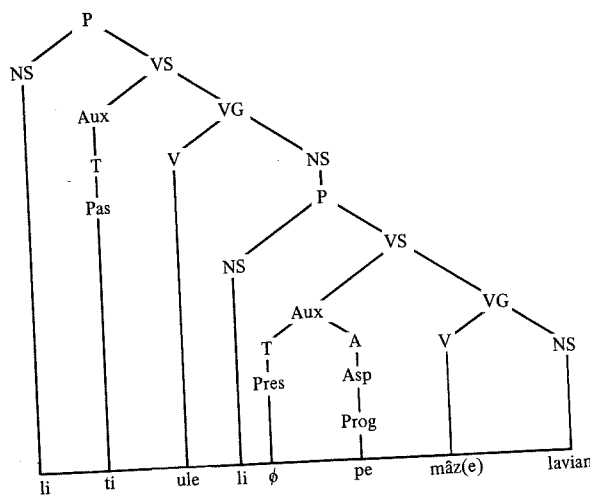


Fig. 1

21. TC<sup>Inf</sup> in Mauritian corresponds to the "infinitive transformation of completives" in French (Dubois & Dubois-Charlier 1970:239-240).
22. Cf. Corne 1970:34, where *get(e)* + particles is analysed, perhaps erroneously, as a special case of a relative clause with the subordinator *ki* omitted. In Seychellois, *uar* 'to see' behaves similarly: *mô ti uar Frâsua ape plere* 'I saw François crying'.
23. Most other verbs appear to exclude aspectual particles:  
li kumâs marse 'he begins walking'
24. *brêdes* 'plant spp.' See Hollyman 1970:14-15.

Similar derivations will account for sentences such as the following:

- (a) with *bizê* 'to be obliged'

li ti bizê pe travaj 'he should have been working, he had the obligation to be working'

li ti bizê fin travaj 'he should have worked, he had the obligation to have worked'

li fek bizê ale 'he has just had to go'

- (b) with *kapav* 'to be able'

mo ti a kapav pe travaj 'I could have been working' (at this moment, but I'm not because I'm lazy)

mo ti a kapav fin travaj zordi 'I could have worked today' (but the day is over now and I've wasted it)

In some Presentative Structures (TC<sup>Em</sup>) various elements may occur as the verb of the principal clause, with no surface subject (Corne 1970:33, 40). These include: *fode*, *fodre*, *fale*<sup>25</sup> 'it is necessary that', *vomie* 'it is better that', *ala* 'voilà que'<sup>26</sup>, *kumâ dir*, *kuma dir* 'it is as if', *posib* 'it is possible that', *êposib* 'it is impossible that', . . .

posib li malad 'it is possible that he is sick'

*bizê* may also occur here, but only with the "full" sense:

pa bizê u mok dimun 'it is not necessary that you laugh at people, you shouldn't laugh . . .'

*kapav* in this structure has only the meaning 'it is possible that, maybe, perhaps':

kapav li pe mâze 'perhaps he is eating'

kapav li n fek mâze 'perhaps he has just eaten, he might have just eaten'

ti a kapav ena ki koz frâse 'there might be (some people) who speak French'

This construction is not always the exact equivalent of *kapav* as a modality:

kot li n ale? li kapav fin al lakaz 'where has he gone? (he has gone), maybe he went home'

kot li ete? kapav li fin al lakaz 'where is he? he might have gone home (but maybe he's still around here somewhere)'

In a sentence such as the following:

fek ena trua, la 'there has just been three of them'

*fek* is of course a constituent of Aux.

6.4 My rewrite of A including Mod accounts for the following facts: (i) in their modal meanings, *kapav* and *bizê* may not be preceded by any aspectual particles; (ii) in their "full" sense, *kapav* and *bizê* occur as verbs sharing certain syntactic patterns with other verbs; (iii) in TC<sup>Inf</sup>, *kapav* and *bizê* have only their "full" sense; (iv) in TC<sup>Em</sup>, although *kapav* has its modal sense of 'possibility', it behaves in the same way as *bizê*. There is, however, a residue of facts that are not accounted for.

- (a) A sentence such as:

ti pu bizê ena trua, la – kot zot? 'there ought to be three of them – where are they?'

poses a problem of semantic interpretation, in that *bizê* does not appear to have the sense of 'necessity', nor that of 'probability'.

- (b) My informants disagree as to the acceptability of:

? li kapav pu vini 'he might come'

25. Also, in "refined" Creole, *fo*, *deve*.

26. Untranslatable into English unless a context is given. E.g. *ala mo mari vini* 'there is my husband coming, here comes my husband'

(c) Reduplication of *kapav* is possible:

li kapav kapav fer sa 'with some difficulty, he could perhaps do that'

As an example of normal verbal reduplication (v. Corne 1970:53) this corresponds, for example, to:

li ule ule fer sa 'he really wants to do that'

My informants however disagree as to the acceptability of both of these sentences, but agree that *bizê* can not be reduplicated. The reduplicated *kapav kapav* can also be analysed as a sequence Pres + Mod + *kapav*, with *fer* embedded by TC<sup>Inf</sup>.

The "modal" use of *kapav* and *bizê* may be more satisfactorily handled as a case of TC<sup>Inf</sup>, with the "modal" sense specified in the lexicon along with features blocking the occurrence of any constituent of A preceding. The Progressive and Completive aspect particles *pe* and *fin* occurring after *kapav* and *bizê* are then accounted for by the type of derivation illustrated in Fig. 1 above. Such an approach also avoids having identical lexical items appearing as totally different parts of speech, but (in the case of *kapav* in TC<sup>Em</sup> and as Mod) with the same (or very similar) meaning. It therefore seems, at the present stage of research, that the rewrite of A including a constituent Mod is to be rejected.<sup>27</sup>

7.0 The temporal and aspectual system (excluding Mod) of Mauritian as described here is a symmetrical system with the usual gaps to be expected of any natural language. Of the various combinations described, some appear to be infrequent in everyday usage, but grammatical nonetheless. Some of the imbalances of the system are clearly due to the fact that the language is essentially an unwritten language. As such, it is evolving fairly rapidly, with French being one major phonological and syntactic influence (of which the shift of *va* from an aspectual use to a temporal use is the most striking example), while another is the usual analogical levelling processes (for example, the use of *pu* replacing *va* (replacing *a*) and producing sequences of three constituents of A).

The temporal and aspectual system of the closely-related, although somewhat more conservative, Seychelles Creole should turn out to be accounted for by the same rules as postulated here, although some modifications (notably concerning Future time and Future aspect) will doubtless be necessary. Similarly, these rules should also account for the underlying structures (the surface structures will require additional phonological rules) of Reunion Creole, although I advance this assertion very tentatively in view of the severely limited data on Reunion Creole at my disposal.

If the postulated underlying structure is an accurate representation of the facts, the rules given should turn out to be those of French, or, more precisely, of the spoken French of the

27. The same appears to be so for French, also. The structure of Aux in French as postulated by Dubois & Dubois-Charlier 1970, mentioned above, includes a constituent Mod. Without going here into the details, it can be shown that the postulated rules in their present form do not work for French, producing such anomalies as \**il a dû être venu*. They can be rewritten so as to produce both *il doit être venu* and *il a dû venir* 'he must have come' while excluding the unacceptable \**il a dû être venu*. However Mod, which in this formulation includes only *devoir* (erroneously glossed as 'necessity' instead of 'probability') and *pouvoir* 'possibility', can be handled in French, as in Mauritian, more economically by TC<sup>Inf</sup>. If Mod is included, Dubois' rules for French can be reworked along lines something like the following:

Aux → T + (A)

T → ( { Fut } ) + { Pres } + Pe + No

Pas → { Imperfect }  
 { Past Historic }

A → { Parf }  
 { Mod + (Parf) } + Inf }  
 { (Parf) + { Mod } }  
 { Asp }

Parf → { avoir }  
 { être } + Past Participle

Here, Parf is considered as an aspect, various constraints need to be specified, and so on. But such a rewrite would still account for only *some* of the facts (cf. Benveniste 1959).



16th or 17th Centuries. The French surface structures are consistent with this hypothesis, although a detailed study remains to be done.

*Ti, a, va, pu* and *(a)pe* are discussed in Goodman 1964:78-88. *Fin* undoubtedly comes from French *finir*, and while the development of *in* and *n* may be explainable purely on phonetic grounds, this remains to be established. *Fek* is discussed in Goodman 1964:65, especially footnote 77. The underlying structure of *Aux* as postulated for modern French by Dubois and Dubois-Charlier, while inaccurate, can be adjusted (see footnote 27) to account for the facts better than it does, and the result of such an adjustment looks strikingly similar to the structure set up here for Mauritian. Again, a detailed study of this area also remains to be done.<sup>28</sup>

#### Bibliography

- Baker, P., 1972. *Kreol. A Description of Mauritian Creole*. London, C. Hurst & Co.
- Benveniste, E., 1959. "Les relations de temps dans le verbe français". *BSLP*, 54:69-82.
- Corne, C., 1969. "Les dialectes créoles français de Maurice et des Seychelles: esquisse de phonologie, suivie de texts". *Te Reo*, 12:48-63.
- 1970. *Essai de grammaire du créole mauricien*. Auckland, Linguistic Society of New Zealand (Te Reo Monographs).
- 1971. "Le patois créole français de la Guyane (St-Laurent-du-Maroni): esquisse de grammaire". *Te Reo*, 14:81-103.
- 1972. Errata and Corrigenda for *Essai de grammaire du créole mauricien*. *Te Reo*, 15:71-73.
- (in press) "Seychelles Creole French Phonemics". To appear in *Journal of African Languages*, special no. devoted to Romance-based creoles, guest edited by Morris Goodman.
- (ms.) *Grammaire du créole sychellois*.
- Dubois, J., and F. Dubois-Charlier, 1970. *Eléments de linguistique française: syntaxe*. Paris, Larousse.
- Goodman, M.F., 1964. *A Comparative Study of Creole French Dialects*. The Hague, Mouton.
- Hollyman, K.J., 1970. "Lexicographie calédonienne - 2". *Te Reo*, 13:11-22.

28. As this paper goes to press, some additional evidence has come to hand which indicates that *Com* and *Prog* are not always incompatible (v. 5.0 above):  
 mo ti a n ape mâze 'I would (probably) have been eating'  
 The context *ti a* appears to be a necessary precondition, however.

**DEUX CONTES POPULAIRES SEYCHELLOIS**  
**TEXTE, TRADUCTION ET NOTES**

A. Alsdorf-Bollee et R. Chaudenson  
 Centre Universitaire de la Réunion

**1. Situation géographique des Seychelles.**

Les Iles Seychelles, 53.000 habitants, colonie de la Couronne Britannique, se situent entre les 3ème et 11ème degrés de latitude Sud et les 45ème et 58ème degrés de longitude Est; l'archipel comprend 92 îles parmi lesquelles se distinguent deux groupes. L'un formé par des îlots coralliens souvent dispersés, l'ensemble principal constituant les Amirantes; ces îles sont sinon inhabitées, du moins dépourvues de population permanente. Le second groupe est celui des îles granitiques dont l'aspect est extrêmement différent puisque leur relief est beaucoup plus accidenté et leur végétation abondante. Toute la population est concentrée dans cette zone et lorsque nous parlerons des Seychelles, nous désignerons essentiellement les quatre îles principales: Mahé, Praslin, La Digue et Silhouette. Mahé, la plus grande, n'a guère que 27 km de long, sa largeur variant entre 5 et 10 km. Néanmoins, elle forme plus du tiers de la surface totale de la colonie et regroupe plus de 80% de la population seychelloise. Victoria, la capitale, est le port de l'archipel. Jusqu'à 1971, on ne pouvait gagner les Seychelles que par la voie maritime; Victoria était une escale entre l'Afrique et l'Inde; les liaisons avec l'île Maurice étaient alors rares et incertaines. L'ouverture d'un grand aéroport international a depuis peu rompu l'isolement quasi total du pays.

**2. Histoire et peuplement.**

On ne peut aborder l'étude du parler seychellois sans envisager les circonstances historiques qui ont fait que la langue parlée dans cette colonie britannique est un créole français. Comme les Iles Maurice et Rodrigues, devenues depuis territoire indépendant, les Seychelles furent cédées par la France à l'Angleterre en 1814. L'occupation française était alors relativement récente puisque la France qui s'était installée à Bourbon depuis un siècle et demi et à l'île de France depuis près d'un siècle, n'occupait les Seychelles que depuis 1770. Avant cette date, on s'était contenté d'y faire des reconnaissances ou de procéder à des prises de possession symboliques. Mahé de Labourdonnais, Gouverneur des Iles de France et de Bourbon, y avait envoyé une expédition en 1743; le résultat le plus positif en fut que l'île principale reçut le nom de Mahé en l'honneur du gouverneur.

L'intérêt que portait Labourdonnais à ces territoires était, semble-t-il, surtout inspiré par des considérations stratégiques. L'idée d'en faire une colonie de peuplement ne fut guère sérieusement envisagée avant que P. Poivre, Intendant de l'île de France, autorise Brayer du Barré à y fonder un "établissement". C'est à cette fin que débarquent, en 1770, 15 blancs accompagnés de 7 esclaves, 5 "malabars" et 1 négresse<sup>1</sup>. La plupart de ces premiers habitants ne restèrent pas et regagnèrent l'île de France. Ils étaient cependant encore aux Seychelles quand débarqua une seconde expédition conduite par Gillot et comprenant une quarantaine d'ouvriers blancs et noirs. Ces deux tentatives se soldèrent par des échecs qui conduisirent en 1773 à une évacuation presque totale des îles. Leur importance stratégique empêcha pourtant le total abandon; quelques colons restèrent ainsi qu'une petite garnison. En 1788, on y recense 20 blancs, 9 "libres" et 221 esclaves (Benedict 1970: 10; on doit peut-être y ajouter la douzaine de soldats qui se trouvait aux Seychelles en 1785). Cette population atteint le chiffre de 572 en 1791: 65 européens, 20 "libres", 487 esclaves; en 1810, les Seychelles comptent 3467 habitants: 317 blancs, 135 "libres" ou affranchis, 3015 esclaves. On constate donc que le moment essentiel dans la colonisation est l'arrivée de Malavois (1788) et que comme l'a montré C. Wanquet c'est à ce moment que se produit le "boom démographique" (1972:19).

1) Précisions que le terme "malabar" a ici son sens créole et qu'il désigne un Indien sans préjuger de son origine réelle. Les renseignements qui suivent sont pour la plupart extraits de Wanquet 1972. Cette contribution a apporté des éclaircissements décisifs sur une période très mal connue de l'histoire de ces îles.

En 1810, les Seychelles deviennent colonie anglaise. Il est probable que le changement politique est assez faiblement ressenti; il l'est d'autant moins que commence une période de grande prospérité économique liée à l'essor de la culture du coton. La population s'accroît; 10.000 habitants environ en 1830 (Sauer 1967:23). L'abolition de l'esclavage en 1833, la crise du coton provoquent un mouvement d'émigration si considérable que les Seychelles perdent près de la moitié de leur population. La perte de main d'oeuvre est considérable; elle sera compensée en partie par la libération sur place des esclaves africains que les Anglais saisissent sur les vaisseaux négriers qui continuent à pratiquer illégalement la traite. On estime qu'entre 1861 et 1872, 2500 Africains furent ainsi débarqués aux Seychelles (Sauer 1967:26). Il se trouve donc que non seulement ces îles n'ont pas connu l'énorme courant d'immigration indienne qui a conduit à une transformation radicale de la population de l'île Maurice, mais que la quasi-totalité de l'immigration durant le XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle a été d'origine africaine.

### 3. Origine du peuplement.

#### 3.1 Le peuplement blanc ou "libre".

Nous connaissons les noms des principaux colons des îles en 1791 (Benedict 1970:10); plusieurs d'entre eux sont des Français, anciens marins, soldats ou officiers (Lambert, Quienet, Lebeuze, Audibert, Hangard, Drancourt, Savi); d'autres sont des "Créoles" de l'île de France ou de Bourbon (sont certainement "bourbonnais" par exemple Gruchet et Launay). L'indication de leur origine est d'ailleurs confirmée par une lettre de 1791 qui précise à propos des chefs "d'habitations" que "12 sont européens, 4 sont créoles de l'île Bourbon, 1 seul est né à l'île de France, 6 seulement ont été colons de cette île" (Wanquet 1972:18). Quoique les deux premières expéditions aient été à peu près uniquement formées de "Créoles", on semble préférer pendant quelques années l'installation de colons d'origine métropolitaine en dépit des instructions ministérielles de 1778 demandant de favoriser l'installation "d'habitants des îles de France et de Bourbon" (Lettre citée par Wanquet 1972:10). Gillot cependant réclame des Bourbonnais. Cette position est reprise par Malavois; elle devient d'ailleurs la doctrine officielle puisque l'ordonnance de 1787 précise que dans toute la mesure du possible les concessions ne seront accordées "qu'à des créoles des îles de France et de Bourbon et à ceux des îles Seychelles, lesquels seront de bonne vie et moeurs, mariés ou enfants de colons, ou gens de métier utiles à la navigation et à l'agriculture" (Wanquet 1972:16). C'est ainsi qu'en 1786 des concessions sont accordées à des Indiens libres de Bourbon, L. Ramalinga et ses neveux.

A partir de 1791 Bourbon va fournir une grande partie des nouveaux habitants des Seychelles. Nombreux sont les habitants de cette île qui pour diverses raisons demandent à y émigrer: les uns sont des blancs pauvres comme ces "cinq honnêtes habitants de Saint-Joseph", d'autres des gens riches comme ces deux habitants de Saint-Benoit qui demandent à partir avec 30 esclaves. A ces émigrations volontaires s'ajoutent à partir de 1798 les déportations politiques. Dès 1795, des condamnés de La Réunion demandent que leur peine d'emprisonnement soit commuée en un exil aux Seychelles. Mais c'est seulement en 1798, à la suite de la révolte du Sud de la Réunion, qu'on prononce des peines d'exil contre 14 meneurs de l'insurrection auxquels on adjoint 5 blancs et 6 esclaves condamnés pour d'autres motifs (Wanquet 1972:26). Ces Réunionnais s'installèrent en particulier sur une île inhabitée, La Digue, et commencèrent à la mettre en valeur. D'autres exilés suivirent et l'on permit largement aux parents et aux amis des déportés d'aller les rejoindre aux Seychelles. Non seulement ils ne rentrèrent pas tous à La Réunion après l'amnistie de 1802, mais d'autres familles nouvelles partirent à leur tour pour les Seychelles. Cette colonisation "réunionnaise" de La Digue permet de comprendre le surnom de [safrã] ("safran") que donnent aux Digois les habitants de Mahé; de leurs ancêtres réunionnais, ils auraient conservé l'habitude d'assaisonner les mets avec du "curcuma" (en créole [safrã]); cet usage culinaire est en effet spécifiquement réunionnais.

Cette importance du peuplement réunionnais se remarque également dans le grand nombre des patronymes communs aux Seychelles et à la Réunion. Elle est vraisemblablement un élément essentiel dans l'appréciation des rapports que peuvent avoir entre eux les parlers créoles de l'Océan Indien.

#### 3.2 Le peuplement servile.

Les considérations précédentes s'appliquent dans une large mesure aux esclaves étant

donné que bon nombre des colons seychellois venus des Iles de France ou de Bourbon amenèrent avec eux des esclaves qui étaient eux-mêmes créoles. Cependant nous sommes beaucoup moins bien renseignés sur l'origine des esclaves que sur celles des blancs ou des noirs libres; à peine lit-on dans un rapport de Pluviose an XII que "presque tous les esclaves de cette colonie sont africains, de la côte de Mozambique" (Wanquet 1972:36). Le fait n'a rien d'étonnant en raison de la situation géographique des îles. Nous connaissons mieux en revanche les apports massifs d'Africains qui eurent lieu au XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle (cf. supra). Ils ont sans doute contribué à donner à la population seychelloise ce caractère d'évidente africanité qui frappe le visiteur qui arrive des Mascareignes.

#### 4. La situation linguistique.

Quoiqu'elle soit caractérisée par l'existence d'un créole d'origine française, la situation linguistique des Seychelles diffère assez sensiblement de celles des Mascareignes.

##### 4.1. L'anglais.

La langue officielle est l'anglais puisque le territoire est colonie de la Couronne. Cette langue est celle de l'administration, des documents officiels à l'exception de celui que constitue le "Essential Services Ordinance" qui est rédigé à la fois en anglais et en créole sans doute parce que la terminologie juridique est considérée comme d'accès trop difficile. Depuis 1944, l'anglais est la langue de l'enseignement, le français n'étant plus enseigné que dans des établissements privés. Sur ce point la situation linguistique est donc assez voisine de celle de l'île Maurice encore que la place officiellement reconnue au français soit beaucoup plus réduite.

##### 4.2. Le français.

Comme à l'île Maurice, le français est la langue des classes sociales les plus élevées. Il semble cependant que cette langue, quoique possédant un statut social objectivement voisin de celui qu'elle peut avoir à Maurice, constitue psychologiquement et sociologiquement une réalité différente. Il est en effet clair qu'à l'île Maurice le français est dans l'esprit de la très grande majorité des Mauriciens le parler d'une classe sociale très déterminée; c'est la langue des "franco-mauriciens", bourgeoisie blanche, souvent très "anglicisée" de moeurs et d'allures, qui continue à posséder et à diriger l'essentiel des moyens de productions locaux. De ce fait la majorité de la population indienne a envers le français une réaction d'hostilité naturelle car le français lui apparaît à la fois comme un symbole de l'oppression coloniale et de la distance qui peut la séparer de cette classe dominante. Il semble qu'il n'en soit pas de même aux Seychelles où, un peu comme à la Réunion, créole et français sont plus nettement en rapport de diglossie, le français étant la langue à haut prestige social. (Notre sentiment rejoint celui de B. Benedict qui, malheureusement, ne se préoccupe pas de ce problème quoiqu'il remarque: "French is prestigious, whereas Creole is not" et il ajoute, en note: "Families who are attempting to rise socially often claim to speak French rather than Creole" (1968:60). On constate ainsi que le français est utilisée dans certaines circonstances par des locuteurs qui ne le comprennent en fait que très mal. Les romances chantées dans les mariages ou les "discours" qu'on prononce dans les mêmes occasions en sont la preuve.

Il nous paraît clair que cette différence entre les deux îles tient autant à des différences de structures sociales qu'à l'existence à Maurice d'une communauté indienne majoritaire. Il ne serait pas impossible de ce fait qu'au sein de la population non-indienne ("population générale"), le statut subjectif du français soit différent et plus proche de celui qu'on peut remarquer aux Seychelles.

##### 4.3. Le créole.

Un élément important de la différenciation avec l'île Maurice est naturellement l'absence totale des langues indiennes puisque les Seychelles n'ont pas connu cette immigration. De ce fait, en dépit des apparences, la situation linguistique n'est pas fondamentalement différente de celle de la Réunion, et, en tout cas, assez voisine de celle de Rodrigues où se constate la même absence de population indienne. Le créole seychellois est la langue maternelle de la quasi-totalité de la population. Langue de la communication quotidienne, il n'apparaît que rarement dans les documents officiels (cf. supra). Radio-Seychelles émet surtout en anglais, cependant outre les chansons ou récits en créole, on diffuse des bulletins d'information dans ce

parler. Il faut cependant reconnaître que la langue utilisée est assez sensiblement différente du créole courant et qu'elle se caractérise par l'abondance des emprunts lexicaux à l'anglais. La presse, soit anglaise, soit française, ne fait qu'une place réduite au créole.

Le créole seychellois présente des rapports évidents avec les autres parlers de l'Océan Indien; l'histoire du peuplement permet de l'expliquer puisqu'elle fait apparaître que la colonisation s'est opérée essentiellement à partir des Mascareignes et que par conséquent les esclaves et les colons qui y sont arrivés parlaient déjà créole. Le seychellois ne s'est donc pas constitué localement et il est issu des parlers des Iles de France et de Bourbon. Comme la première avait déjà été peuplée en partie à partir de la seconde à un moment où le créole s'était déjà formé, il est probable qu'à la fin du XVIIIème siècle ces parlers étaient moins différents l'un de l'autre qu'ils ne le sont devenus aujourd'hui. Cette situation nous paraît expliquer l'originalité essentielle du seychellois qui est d'être relativement plus proche du mauricien que du réunionnais, tout en présentant avec le second des traits communs que ne connaît pas le premier.

La présence de troupes américaines, le développement du tourisme anglo-saxon (les Iles sont desservies par la B.O.A.C.), font que l'usage de l'anglais se développe considérablement. On communique encore assez facilement en français avec des personnes âgées, il est beaucoup plus difficile de le faire avec les jeunes qui sont beaucoup plus habitués à l'anglais tant par l'école que par les contacts qu'ils peuvent avoir avec les étrangers. La situation du créole ne paraît cependant pas menacée.

### 5. La transcription

Entre les possibilités d'une graphie normalisée et d'une transcription phonétiquement assez fidèle, nous avons choisi cette dernière. Quoiqu'elle risque d'être non sans inconséquences, elle présente l'avantage de permettre au lecteur de se faire une idée de la prononciation du seychellois. Nous avons préféré une notation facilement dactylographiable au système de l'A.P.I.

Voyelles orales: [i], [a] comme en français; [u] comme dans le français *cou*;

[e], [o] = e, o fermé ou moyen; [è], [ò] = e, o ouvert.

Voyelles nasales: [ã], [ẽ], [õ] comme en français.

Consones: [p], [b], [t], [d], [f], [v], [m], [n], [l] comme en français; (dans le deuxième conte,

[l] passe parfois à [y]: [yèr] = [lèr]).

[k] comme dans le français *cou*;

[g] comme dans le français *goût*;

[s] comme dans le français *sot*;

[z] comme dans le français *zèle*;

[š] comme dans le français *chat*;

[ž] comme dans le français *jour*;

[y] comme dans le français *yeux*;

[w] comme dans le français *oui*;

[r] comme dans l'allemand *lang*.

La transcription du phonème /r/ présente quelques difficultés; les textes en offrent trois variantes:

[r] uvulaire, semblable au r français;

[<sup>w</sup>r], [<sup>f</sup>w] ou [w], variante labiale que nous entendons sporadiquement en position initiale, intervocalique ou postconsonantique: [p<sup>w</sup>ra], M 38, [w<sup>f</sup>akote], M 51;

[(r)] variante affaiblie ou presque zéro, surtout en position finale. La prononciation du -r ressemble à celle du -r en allemand ou en anglais; ce n'est pas une consonne à proprement parler, il s'agit plutôt d'un allongement et d'une fragmentation de la voyelle qui précède.

Pour une description phonologique du créole seychellois, nous renvoyons à l'article de Chris Corne 1969.

## Mizèr

alò(r) ã žu(r) tyanã ã zòm apele Mizèr. i ti rèste kot nu konè kòmela Lamizèr. sò metye ti fòrzo. ã žur, žu(r) lafèt sakrekè(r), ã zòm ti pas kot li e di li fè(r) ã sabo pu sò seval. èk sò dè(r)nye but fe(r)ay ki ti rèste Mizèr ti fèr sa sabo. pãdã ki ti dã lafòrz, i di avèk sa zòm: "asiz tuzur." sa zòm ti asize ziska lèr Mizèr ti fini travay. lèr Mizèr tin fini fèr sabo e mèt ãba lapat seval, i tyal dèyèr lafòrz pu lav sò lamè. kã i returne, napa ni seval ni sa zòm. èn èstã pli tar nòt Sènyèr e Sèpyèr ti vin kòt lafòrz pu mèt ã sabo nef avèk zòt seval pwal lafèt sakrekè(r). Mizèr, tu sò feray tin fini. alòr i di avèk sa de zãs: "mò napa feray. mè mò ãna zist mò buk sãg ki mò ti gãy kado pu mò premyèr kòminyò. mò a fèr avèk sa mèm akoz zot nariv la pwal lafèt sakrekè(r). kã i tin fini sa de zãs ti demãn li kòbyè. i ti repòn: "pa fè(r) nãyè, lamè dwat i lavè lamè goš."

prezã nòt Sènyèr ti di li: "bõ, mò a dòn u trwa dõ. demãn sa ki ule e u a gãye. Mizè(r) ti mazin sa zòm ki tyasiz lo sò sèz e i di: "mò ule tu sa kasiz lo mò sez pa pu kapab leve sã mo pèrmisyò." Sèpyè(r) i di èk ki: "akoz u pa ti demãn ã plas dã lesyèl?" Mizè(r) ti di li: "ki mo pu fèr avèk lesyèl?" mè li Mizèr i pa ti kònè si sa de zãs ti nòt Sènyè(r) avèk Sèpyèr.

pu sò dezyèm dõ i ti mazin ãkòr ki tu letã i desãn ã vil, lèr i returne, ã pòm mir dã sò pye napa. i di: "mò ule ki tu sa ki mòt dã mò pye pòm pa pu nabu desãn sã mo pè(r)misyò." prezã Sèpyèr i di èk li: "la u dènye dõ. demãn ã plas dã lesyèl." Mizèr ti di ki pa bezwè okèn plas dã lesyèl. o kòtrèr i di: "tu dimun ki pase i prã mò taba sã demãn mwa. mò ule ki tu sa ki atwap mò tabatyèr pa kapab buze ziska mò a dòn li pè(r)misyò." lèr tu le trwa sò dõ tin akòrde, nòt Sènyèr e Sèpyèr tyale, ti kit li.

wit žu(r) aprè Lisifèr ti vin kòt Mizèr, i di li: "mò vwa ki mãyèr u pov, alòr, mo a èd u si u dakòr avèk mò kòdisyò." la Lisifè(r) ti di li: "mò a dòn u ã sak, ladã yãna vè pyès lò(r). sak pyès va sè(r)vi u pu èn ã. aprè vèt ã mò a vin sè(r)s u." la prezã Mizèr ti di li: "wi." tu le žur Mizèr ti fè(r) pa(r)ti èk sò ban zami: bwar, mãže, divèrti kòtã — sò letã ti pas byè vit. zu(r) tin ariv sò lepòk, ã demò ti vin kot li ã dizã: "Mizèr, sèf i ãvòy mwa vin sè(r)s u." Mizèr i ti kalkile, prezã ki ti mazin sò sèz, i di avèk sa demò: "asiz tuzu(r) letã mo al prepar mwa." demò dã sã kòne i asize. zot! Mizèr i prã ã gro batò, i kòmãs asòm li. sa demò i kòmãs kriye kriye. lèr Mizèr ti byè dòn li sò kòmisyò, i di li: "ale prezã, al rakòte èk u sèf." zot, sa demò i ubliye si ti vin sè(r)s Mizèr. kã i ariv kot Lisifèr i rakòt sò malèr.

sèt fwa si Lisifèr i di: "mò ava ãvòy trwa demò." lèr sa trwa demò i ariv ãba, zot di: "Mizèr, sèf i ãvòy nu vin sè(r)s u." Mizèr i di avèk zot: "asiz tuzur, mò ape vini." èn i repòn ã dizã: "nu pa ti vin isi pu nu asize, nu ti vin sè(r)s u. degaz u!" Mizèr i kalkile, i di dã li mèm: "zafèr i sal, mò futi sa voyaz." prezã i rapèl so tabatyè(r), i di: "mè prã ã ti pris tuzur." demò tu le trwa i ãvòy lamè ãsãm, mè tu le trwa osi lamè i pri. ah..., pa fodè di u ki Mizèr in komãse, in bat zot sò dekwa, lèr in fini i di zot: "ale prezã, al wakòte." sa t(r)wa demò ã sè minit zot ris zòt kalis. lèr zot wakòt sa Lisifè(r), in fini bebet. i di zot: "mè prezã, nu ava al nu tu." alòr i ralye tu demò e zot desãn pwal sès Mizèr. lèr zot arive, Lisifèr i di: "Mizèr, prezã mòn vin mwa mèm. ãnu ale, u letã n fini." Mizèr i di li: "asiz tuzur." Lisifèr i repòn: "mò pa ãvi asize." Mizèr i di ãkor: "mè prã èn ti pris." Lisifèr i di: "mò pa parèy lezòt, mò pa ni ãvi sike ni asize. degaz u, ãnu ale." prezã Mizèr i mazin sò pye pòm. ti zis la plèn sezò e tu pòm ti muste ã lèr lo pye. i di: "zot, la mo pe ale, mo pu kit sa ban zoli pòm muste ã lèr — ã wegre sa, ã? — zis matè pu vin mãze. akoz u pa kas det(r)wa u ãmèn èk u?" Lisifèr i gèt ã lèr, e vremã, tu pòm tin muste, i di

## Misère

Il y avait une fois un homme nommé Misère. Il habitait à l'endroit que nous connaissons aujourd'hui sous le nom de La Misère. Il était forgeron de son état. Un jour, le jour de la fête du Sacré-Coeur, un homme passant près de chez lui lui demanda de faire un fer pour son cheval. Avec le dernier morceau de ferraille qui lui restait, Misère fit le fer. Pendant qu'il était dans la forge, il dit à l'homme: "Asseyez-vous toujours." L'homme s'assit jusqu'à ce que Misère ait achevé son travail. Quand Misère eut terminé le fer et qu'il l'eut fixé sous le sabot du cheval, il alla derrière la forge pour se laver les mains. Quand il revint, il n'y avait plus ni cheval ni homme. Un moment après, Notre Seigneur et Saint Pierre vinrent à la forge pour faire mettre un fer neuf à leur cheval afin d'aller à la fête du Sacré-Coeur. Misère n'avait plus de ferraille. Il dit alors aux deux hommes: "Je n'ai pas de ferraille; je n'ai que ma boucle de ceinture que j'ai reçue en cadeau pour ma première communion. Je l'utiliserai puisque vous êtes venus ici pour aller à la fête du Sacré-Coeur. Quand il eut fini, les deux hommes lui demandèrent combien ils lui devaient. Il répondit: "Ça ne fait rien, la main droite lave la main gauche."

Notre Seigneur lui dit alors: "Bien, je vais t'accorder trois dons. Demande ce que tu veux et tu l'auras." Misère pensa à l'homme qui s'était assis sur sa chaise et dit: "Je veux que tous ceux qui s'assent sur ma chaise ne puissent se lever sans ma permission." Saint Pierre lui dit: "Pourquoi n'as-tu pas demandé une place au Ciel?" Misère répondit: "Qu'ai-je à faire du Ciel?" En effet Misère ne savait pas que ces deux personnes étaient Notre Seigneur et Saint Pierre.

Pour son deuxième don, il réfléchit encore que toutes les fois qu'il descendait en ville, il n'y avait plus de pommes mûres sur son pommier quand il revenait. Il dit: "Je veux que tous ceux qui montent sur mon pommier ne puissent plus en descendre sans ma permission." Saint Pierre lui dit alors: "C'est ton dernier don. Demande une place au Ciel." Misère répondit qu'il n'avait pas besoin d'une place au Ciel. Au contraire, il dit: "Tous les gens qui passent prennent mon tabac sans me le demander. Je veux que tous ceux qui prennent ma tabatière ne puissent plus bouger jusqu'à ce que je leur en donne la permission." Quand ces trois dons lui eurent été faits, Notre Seigneur et Saint Pierre s'en allèrent et le laissèrent là.

Huit jours après, Lucifer vint chez Misère; il lui dit: "Je vois comme tu es pauvre; alors je t'aiderai si tu acceptes mes conditions." Lucifer lui dit alors: "Je te donnerai un sac, dedans il y a vingt pièces d'or; chaque pièce te servira un an; après vingt ans, je viendrai te chercher." Alors Misère dit "Oui". Tous les jours Misère se divertissait avec ses amis. Le temps passait très vite. Le jour de l'échéance étant arrivé, un démon arriva chez lui en disant: "Misère, le chef m'a envoyé te chercher." Misère réfléchit, c'est alors qu'il pensa à sa chaise; il dit au démon: "Asseyez-vous toujours, le temps que j'aie me préparer." Le démon, sans savoir, s'assit. Et allez! Misère prend un gros bâton, il commence à l'assommer; le démon se met à hurler. Quand Misère lui eut bien fait son affaire, il lui dit: "Va maintenant, va raconter ça à ton chef." Allez! Ce démon, il oublie qu'il était venu chercher Misère. Quand il arrive chez Lucifer, il raconte son malheur.

Cette fois-ci Lucifer dit "J'enverrai trois démons." En arrivant en bas, ils disent: "Le chef nous envoie, nous venons te chercher." Misère leur dit "Asseyez-vous toujours, j'arrive." L'un d'entre eux répond ainsi: "Nous ne sommes pas venus ici pour nous asseoir, nous sommes venus te chercher. Dépêche-toi." Misère réfléchit, il se dit en lui-même: "La situation est mauvaise, je suis perdu ce coup-ci." Il se souvient alors de sa tabatière. "Prenez toujours une petite prise" dit-il. Les trois démons avancent la main en même temps; leurs trois mains se trouvent prises ensemble. Ah . . . Pas besoin de vous dire ce que Misère se mit à faire! Il les battit tout son saoul. Quand il eut fini, il leur dit: "Allez maintenant, allez raconter." Les trois démons en cinq minutes rentrèrent en toute diligence. Ils racontèrent la chose à Lucifer qui entra dans une violente colère. Il leur dit: "Maintenant nous y irons tous." Alors il rassemble tous les démons et ils descendent pour aller chercher Misère. A leur arrivée, Lucifer dit: "Misère, maintenant je suis venu moi-même. Allons, ton temps est fini." Misère dit: "Asseyez-vous toujours." Lucifer répond: "Je n'ai pas envie de m'asseoir." Misère dit encore: "Eh bien prenez une petite prise." Lucifer dit: "Je ne suis pas comme les autres, je n'ai envie ni de chiquer ni de m'asseoir. Dépêche-toi, allons." Misère pense alors à son pommier. C'était justement la pleine saison et toutes les pommes étaient bien mûres sur l'arbre. Il dit: "Eh vous, cette fois je m'en vais, je vais laisser toutes ces jolies pommes bien mûres là-haut, c'est regrettable ça, les martins seront les seuls à les manger. Pourquoi n'en cueillez-vous pas



èk Mizèr: "na kas det(r)wa sakèn. pa bezwẽ ta(r)de akoz yãna pa(r)ti tãto."

Mizèr ti repõn wi, e Lisifèr èk tu sõ ban demõ ti grëp lo pye põm. zõt! Mizèr tyal kup li ã gro batõ pikã pwin. lèr ban demõ ti truv li, zot ti komãs pèr e kwiye. "ayoyo zõt! pa(r)dõ myse Mizèr!".  
 65 li Lisifèr, i ti fèr sè(r)mã, i di sè(r)mã i pa pu vin ãkòr ditu. mè Mizèr i fèr kòm si i pa tãd ditu. i mõt lo pye põm i kòmãs bis zõt. mò di u! ti fè(r) lapèn gète. lèr i tin fatige, i di èk zõt: "ale." pa fode di u, tu ban demõ ti di grã mersi e kot zot ale pa  
 70 bare dimun vivã. wit zu(r) apre Mizèr sõ letã tin fini lo latè(r). alòr i mõt kot lesyèl. devã baro Sèpyèr ki ti ga(r)de. zis kã i truv Mizèr i di: "pa isi, pa isi; mò ti di u demã ã plas dã lesyèl, u pa ti ule. al laba mèm dã lãfèr." alòr Mizèr ti bezwẽ al dã lãfèr. kòmã i ariv kòt baro lãfèr, i sòn laklos. ga(r)dyè baro lãfèr ti sa  
 75 premye demõ ki ti vin sè(r)s li lo latèr, ti gãy mèt asize lo sez e gãy bate. alòr, sa demõ i uvèr ba(r)o admi e gète ki sèn la. komã i truv figi(r) Mizèr i di: "mò lipye ãmèn mwa!" i taye e i kòmãs kriye pa(r)tu: "zõt mò ban zami, zafèr i sal! Mizèr pe vini!" pa  
 80 fodè di u kã demõ i tãn nõ Mizèr, tu dimun fan klèr, sakèn i fèr sa ki pu li.

pov Mizèr, pè(r)sòn pa ti ule li, ni lesyèl ni lãfèr. dã sa ka, i tyoblize retu(r)n lo latèr, e ziska ozòrdi nèpot lãdwa ki u a pase dã lemõn, mizèr i la mèm. i pa ã vis, mè ã klu byè(r)ive.

#### Kõper Sũgula avèk Zako

tyãna ã fwa ã sũgula èk ã zako ki ti de grã dalõ. kot u truv èn, u a bezwẽ truv lòt osi, parèy tuk dife avèk lasãn. sa de bõ dalõ zot ti pas zot letã zis vòl plãtasyõ dimõn. tu sa ki zot vole, zot partaz lamwatye sakèn. ã zur, zot tin al vòl banãn èk tõtõ ki apèl Bom  
 5 Lapèn. lèr ki zot tin fini partaz sakèn sõ lamwatye, zot ti truve ki zot parti tro boku pu zot amèn tu kot lakur. alòr, zot ti deside pu amèn zis trwa lamẽ sakèn kot lakaz e la pli grãd parti zot al mèt mir dã bwa pu zot vãn. malgre ki sa de kõpèr ti de grã dalõ, tyãna èn parmi ki pe mazine pu trõp kamarad. alòr kõpèr Zako i di avèk  
 10 kõpèr Sũgula:  
 "may frènd! i tyan mèt si nu tyal mèt mir nu banan lo ã pye dibwa dã de grã fèrblã, sispãn dã ã but fildefèr. kòm sa, lèr nu ava ã bõ kuvèrtir fèrblã lo la ni lera ni suri pa pu kapab gãnye pu mãze  
 15 paski zot glise lèr zot mars lo fèrblã." sa mèm ki nu grãmun ti tuzur di ki "malẽ pa ãpès kuyõ". kõpèr Sũgula dã tu sõ malẽ ki malẽ i di: "sa ã bòn ide!" mè malèrèzmã Sũgula pa kapab mõt lo pye dibwa paski i napa zõn. mè kõpèr Zako mèm ki bezwẽ fèr tu sa ban debruy mè banãn mir lo pye dibwa. lèr tin pas wit zur, Zako pa dir Sũgula  
 20 naryè, mè i pe mazine ki banãn dwatèt in mir kòmela. aswar i grëp lo pye dibwa, i vwa(r) banãn in mir e i di: "sa wi bõ zafèr! ozòrdi volèr ya vòl vòlèr!" kõpèr Zako i desãn, i prã de grã sak, i remõt avèk lo pye dibwa, i asiz dã brãs, i mãz kãtite ki sõ vãt ti kapab ãba(r)ke, e pi i rãpli sõ de grã sak, i desãn, i kit sa de fèrblã  
 25 vid, i al vãn sõ banãn mir e i prã tu larzã pu li sã di kõpèr Sũgula naryè, e i al bwar tu sa larzã banãn. kõpèr Sũgula i zwèn li byè su dã semè. i demãn avèk li: "Tom, kòt u gãyè?" Zako i di li: "fèr u debruy parèy mwa, u osi u a su parèy." mè kõpèr Sũgula li osi tèlmã ki ti rize i pe mazine ki pãgar kõpèr Zako pe zwe ãba bol èk mwa. lãdmè matè Sũgula demãn avèk Zako: "may frènd, e sa ban banan, pãkòr  
 30 mir?" Zako i di: "mè nõ dõ. nu dã lapli komela, banãn i lapèn mir." Sũgula dã so lekèr i di(r): "u pa zwe ãba bol èk mwa?" mè i pa di naryè kõpèr Zako. i lès pas kèz zur i demãn ãkòr avèk Zako: "may frènd, e sa ban banan, pa pu mir ditu sa? ozòrdi fèr kèz zur depi

quelques-unes pour les emporter avec vous? ” Lucifer regarde en l’air et vraiment toutes les pommes étaient bien mûres. Il dit à Misère: “Nous en cueillerons quelques-unes chacun. Ne nous attardons pas car il y a fête cet après-midi.”

“Oui” répondit Misère et Lucifer et tous ses démons montèrent sur le pommier. Ah là là! Misère alla couper un gros baton de “prunier piquant”. Quand les démons le virent, ils commencèrent à avoir peur et à crier! “Oulala! Pardon Monsieur Misère!” Lucifer lui, jura qu’il ne viendrait plus jamais, mais Misère fait comme s’il n’entend rien du tout. Il monte sur le pommier et il commence à les rosser. Je vous le dis! Cela faisait peine à voir. Quand il fut fatigué, il leur dit: “Allez”. Inutile de vous dire que tous les démons lui dirent grand merci et ils s’enfuirent sans que personne ne puisse leur barrer le chemin. Huit jours après, le temps de Misère sur la terre était fini; alors il monta au ciel. Devant le portail, Saint Pierre montait la garde. Dès qu’il vit Misère, il dit: “Pas ici, pas ici; je t’ai dit de demander une place au Ciel; tu n’as pas voulu. Va là-bas, en enfer.” Alors Misère dut aller en enfer. Quand il arrive au portail de l’enfer, il sonne la cloche. Le gardien du portail de l’enfer était le premier démon qui était venu le chercher sur terre, s’était laissé prendre à s’asseoir sur la chaise et avait été battu. Alors le démon ouvre à demi le portail et regarde qui est là. Quand il voit la figure de Misère, il dit: “Mes pieds, emmenez-moi!” Il se met à courir et à crier partout: “Vous mes amis, catastrophe! Misère arrive!” Inutile de vous dire que quand les démons entendent le nom de Misère, tous s’éclipsent; chacun ne pense qu’à sa propre sauvegarde.

Pauvre Misère. Personne ne voulait de lui, ni le Ciel ni l’enfer. Dans cette situation, il dût revenir sur la terre et jusqu’à présent, en quelque endroit du monde que vous passiez, Misère s’y trouve. Ce n’est pas un vice, c’est un clou bien rivé.

#### Compère Soungoula et Compère Jako

Il y avait une fois un Soungoula et un singe qui étaient deux grands amis. Là où vous en trouviez un, vous ne pouviez manquer de trouver aussi l’autre, comme la pierre du foyer et la cendre. Ces deux bons amis ne passaient leur temps qu’à voler dans les cultures des gens. Tout ce qu’ils volaient, ils le partageaient, la moitié chacun. Un jour ils étaient allés voler des bananes à un vieil homme qui s’appelait Bonhomme Lapène. Quand ils eurent fait le partage en deux moitiés, ils trouvèrent que leur part était trop importante pour l’amener tout entière chez eux. Ils décidèrent alors qu’ils apporteraient seulement trois mains chacun chez eux et qu’ils iraient mettre la plus grande partie mûrir dans le bois pour la vendre. Quoique les deux compères fussent deux grands amis, il s’en trouva un qui conçut le projet de tromper son camarade. Compère Jako dit alors à Compère Soungoula:

“Mon ami! Ce serait mieux si nous allions mettre nos bananes à mûrir sur un arbre dans un grand bidon de fer-blanc suspendu à un morceau de fil de fer. Ainsi quand nous les aurons mises à l’abri sous un autre bidon de fer-blanc, ni les rats ni les souris pourront arriver à les manger puisqu’ils glisseront quand ils marcheront sur le fer-blanc”. Comme nos vieilles gens le disaient toujours: “Etre malin n’empêche pas d’être bête”. Compère Soungoula, tout malin qu’il est dit: “Voilà une bonne idée!” Mais malheureusement Soungoula ne peut pas monter sur les arbres parce qu’il n’a pas de griffes; c’est donc Compère Jako qui doit accomplir toutes les opérations, mettre les bananes à mûrir sur l’arbre. Quand huit jours eurent passé, Jako ne dit rien à Soungoula, mais réfléchit que les bananes doivent avoir mûri maintenant. Le soir, il grimpe sur l’arbre, il voit que les bananes ont mûri et dit: “Voilà vraiment une bonne affaire; aujourd’hui le voleur va voler le voleur!” Compère Jako descend, prend deux grands sacs, remonte avec sur l’arbre. Il s’assied dans les branches et mange tout ce que son ventre peut contenir. Ensuite il remplit ses deux grands sacs, descend en laissant les deux bidons de fer-blanc vides. Il va vendre ses bananes mûres et prend tout l’argent pour lui sans rien dire à Compère Soungoula. Il va boire tout l’argent de la vente des bananes. Compère Soungoula le rencontre complètement ivre sur la route. Il lui demande: “Tom, où as-tu trouvé l’argent?” Jako lui dit: “Débrouille-toi comme moi et tu seras ivre comme moi.” Mais compère Soungoula, tant est grande sa ruse, songe qu’il lui faut prendre garde que Compère Jako ne le trompe. Le lendemain matin Soungoula demande à Jako: “Mon ami, et les bananes pas encore mûres?” Jako lui dit: “Mais non voyons! Nous sommes dans une période de pluie, les bananes mûrissent difficilement.” Soungoula se dit en lui-même: “N’es-tu pas en train de me duper?” mais il ne dit rien à Compère Jako. Il laisse passer encore quinze jours puis demande à nouveau à Compère Jako: “Mon ami, et ces bananes, elles ne vont pas bientôt être mûres? Ca fait

- ki nu fin mèt li.” Zako i di li: “yèr bomatē i ākòr vèr, vèr mèm.  
 35 e dā fèrblā i tuzur frè èk lapli, i pu lapèn mir.”
- lādmē Sūgula debut āba sa pye dibwa, gèt ā lèr vwa ē golā lo  
 brās dibwa. i di li: “frèr Golā, gèt si mō banan pākòr mir dā fèrblā.”  
 Golā i gète, i di li: “mo tòm mo truv zis delo lapli dā fèrblā,  
 napa ni banan ni lapo.” Sūgula i di: “a be, ki vu a fèr?”  
 40 in fini kōnē ki tin arive paski li osi ē grā zwèr. alòr i di dā li mèm:  
 “fodrè ki mo tuy kōpèr Zako pu sa kin fèr mwa.” i fèr kòm si i pa  
 kōn naryē. i al kot kōpèr Zako, i di li: “mo frèr, in yèr pu nu arèt  
 vole paski dimōn pe koz de nuvel partu e nu pu perdi nu lavi si nu  
 kōtinye vole. mō war, ki ya meyer si nu al plāt ē bitasyō pu nu gāy nu  
 45 māze e ānu komās demē mèm.” Sūgula i kōtinyē: “mwa mèm ti āmās de  
 pyòs e nu va komās pyose demē matē.” Sūgula i mèt lamās pyòs Zako  
 byē sere avèk ē bō kal ladā, tādiski pu li i pa mèt kal e i byē  
 las ki tázatā i pu demāse.
- bomatē komā zot arive pu komās travay, Sūgula i di èk Zako: “may  
 50 frènd, pu nu travay pli vit, ānu arāz ē bō kōdisyo. kā mèm nu pyòs a  
 demāse lèr nu pe travay, nu pa pu bezwē kit nu travay pu nu al rod  
 ròs pu reāmās pyòs lo la, nu va tap lo latèt kamarad. kòm sa, nu pa  
 pu perdi letā.” kōpèr Zako i di: “sa ē bōn ide!” mè kōpèr Zako i pa  
 kōnē pu di sa mèm sō malèr. kōmā zot kōmās pyose, pyòs kōpèr Sūgula  
 55 i demāse. i di èk kōpèr Zako: “āmèn u latèt!” Zako i āmène. Sūgula  
 i don li de ku byē pòrte lo sō latèt. Zako i su e delo i vini da  
 sō lizye. be, ki vu a fèr, kōdisyo travay ki kòm sa. la zot kōtinye  
 fosay latèr. dā de minit aprè, pyòs kōpèr Sūgula in demās ākòr. i  
 di avèk Zako: “may frènd, amèn latèt!” Sūgula i dòn li ākor de pli  
 60 fòr ku lo sō latèt e kōpèr Zako i tōbe mòr atèr. Sūgula i di li:  
 “u a fèr sèrmā vòyèr vòl vòyèr.”
- ān alā se li Sūgula i rākòtre Pa Lyō. i demān li si pa ule aste ē  
 zako byē gra kin tuye letā i pe vòl sō plātasyō. Pa Lyō i di li: “lavyān  
 mèm ki mo pe rode. kōbyē u vān?” Sūgula i di li: “akoz i byē gra mo  
 65 a lès u trāt sèk rupi. e mo a depoz u lavyān labatwar, midi al sèrse.”  
 ān arivā ē pe pli devā kōpèr Sūgula i zwèn Papa Tig, e i arāz  
 mèm kōdisyo ki ti arāz èk Pa Lyō. pli devā i rākòtre ē leopar e i  
 osi di li mèm zafèr. i prā trāt sèk rupi mèm. sa trāt sèk rupi la  
 in prā èk sakèn e i di tu le trwa al sèrs zot lavyān labatwar midi,  
 70 i ava depoz laba. byē bonèr Sūgula in trèn kōpèr Zako mòr e in al  
 mèt li obòr labatwar. in return se li avèk sō sā sèk rupi dā sō pòs.  
 zis midi tu le trwa bèt feròs, zot tin ariv kot labatwar pu vin  
 sèrs zot lavyān. sètaki i di: “pu mwa sa, pu mwa sa, mòn pèy trāt  
 sèk rupi èk Sūgula.” leopar ti ē pe pli kōprā dā laban, i di: “zot,  
 75 ānu pa lagèr. si Sūgula, nu tu nu kōnē ki etè. ānu partaz sa lavyān  
 ā trwa e nu a trāp pu Sūgula e nu al partaz li osi ā trwa, sakèn ē  
 mòrso.”
- lèr ki sa trwa bèt feròs tin fini māz sakèn sō pti mòrso lavyān  
 Zako, de lwē zot rekonèt kōpèr Sūgula pe vini, mè kōpèr Sūgula pākòr  
 80 truv zòt. zot di: “ānu fèr kòm si nu fin mòr atèr, e lèr i ariv ē  
 pe obòr nu, nu ava devòr li.” tu le trwa zot fèr kòm si zot tin mòr  
 atèr, zot pa buze. kōpèr Sūgula, lèr ki tin ariv ē bō distās avèk  
 zòt, i rekònèt sa trwa bèt feròs, i di: “yāna mirak pli ale lo latèr.  
 lōtā, lèr ban bèt feròs in mòr, zot zorèy ti buze, mè sa ban  
 85 komela, yèr zot mòr, zot zorèy pa buz ditu.” sa trwa grā ēbesil zot  
 pa yal buz zot zorèy! Sūgula i di: “zòt, mō ban zāmi, sa ban vye riz  
 lōtā pa bezwē zwe avèk mwa sa. lōtā ki burik ti amèn vwatir, mè komela  
 vwatir yamèn burik.” Sūgula i di: “mō lipye amèn mwa.” e i kit  
 sa trwa grā zorèy dòrmi atèr.
- alòr le trwa bèt feròs zot sāz plā, zot di: “ānu al trāp āba lakav  
 Sūgula aswar, e komā i a sòrti grā matē pu li al vole, nu a devòr  
 li.” mè Sūgula osi pe fèr travay sō pti latèt, i pe mazine ki  
 90 petèt sa trwa bèt feròs i kapab vin trāp āba sō lakav aswar komā zot  
 tin māk li lezur. aswar i mèt de fèrblā delo bwi lo reso tu lanwit.  
 95 vèr minwi, Pa Lyō tin gāy ē pti somèy e i pe rōfle komā loraz āba

aujourd'hui quinze jours que nous les avons mises". Jako lui dit: "Hier matin elles étaient encore vertes, bien vertes; dans un bidon, il fait toujours froid s'il pleut; elles auront du mal à mûrir."

Le lendemain Compère Soungoula se tient au pied de l'arbre, il regarde en l'air et voit un "goéland" sur une branche. Il lui dit: "Frère Goéland, regarde si mes bananes ne sont pas encore mûres dans le bidon." Le goéland regarde et dit: "Mon ami, je ne vois que de l'eau de pluie dans le bidon, il n'y a ni banane, ni peau." Soungoula dit: "Eh bien, que vas-tu faire?" Il a compris ce qui s'est passé parce que lui aussi est un grand trompeur; alors il se dit en lui-même: "Il faudrait que je tue Compère Jako pour ce qu'il m'a fait." Il fait comme s'il ne savait rien. Il va chez Compère Jako et lui dit: "Mon frère, c'est le moment de nous arrêter de voler parce que tout le monde en parle et nous allons périr si nous continuons à voler; mon vieux, je vois qu'il vaut mieux se mettre à cultiver un jardin pour gagner notre pain; commençons demain même." Soungoula continue: "J'ai emmanché deux pioches et nous commencerons à piocher demain matin." Soungoula fixe le manche de la pioche de Jako en le serrant bien, avec une bonne cale tandis qu'au sien il ne met pas de cale et ne le serre pas; ainsi de temps en temps, la pioche se démanchera.

Le matin, quand ils arrivent pour commencer le travail, Soungoula dit à Jako: "Mon ami, pour travailler plus vite, convenons d'un bon arrangement. Quand notre pioche se démanchera pendant que nous sommes au travail, nous n'aurons pas besoin d'abandonner notre ouvrage pour aller chercher une pierre pour réemmancher notre pioche dessus; nous taperons sur la tête de l'autre. Ainsi, nous ne perdrons pas de temps." Compère Jako dit: "Voilà une bonne idée!" Mais Compère Jako ne sait pas que ces paroles lui seront funestes. Quand ils commencent à piocher, la pioche de Compère Soungoula se démanche. Il dit à Compère Jako: "Approche ta tête!" Jako l'approche. Soungoula lui donne deux coups bien assésés sur le crâne. Jako en est tout assommé et les larmes lui viennent aux yeux. Qu'y faire, c'était là les conditions de travail! Alors ils continuent à creuser la terre. Deux minutes après, la pioche de Compère Soungoula se démanche de nouveau, il dit à Jako: "Mon ami, approche ta tête!" Soungoula lui donne deux coups encore plus forts sur la tête et Compère Jako tombe raide mort. Soungoula lui dit: "Tu feras serment que le voleur vole le voleur."

En allant chez lui, Soungoula rencontre Pa Lion; il lui demande s'il ne veut pas acheter un singe bien gras qu'il a tué alors qu'il volait dans son champ. Pa Lion dit: "C'est justement de la viande que je suis en train de chercher. Combien le vends-tu?" Soungoula dit: "Comme il est bien gras, je vous le laisserai à trente cinq roupies et je déposerai la viande à l'abattoir; à midi allez la chercher." Un peu plus loin, Soungoula rencontre Papa Tigre et il conclue le même accord qu'avec Pa Lion. Plus loin encore il trouve un léopard et lui dit la même chose; il reçoit trente cinq roupies. Il a pris trente cinq roupies à chacun et leur a dit à tous les trois d'aller chercher leur viande à l'abattoir et qu'à midi il la déposera là-bas. Tôt Soungoula a traîné le corps de Compère Jako et est allé le placer près de l'abattoir. Il est rentré chez lui avec ses cent cinq roupies en poche.

A midi juste les trois bêtes féroces sont arrivées près de l'abattoir pour venir chercher leur viande. Chacun dit: "C'est à moi, c'est à moi, j'ai payé trente cinq roupies à Soungoula." Le léopard était un peu plus intelligent que les autres; il dit: "Eh vous, ne nous querellons pas, nous connaissons tous Soungoula! Partageons la viande en trois, nous guetterons Soungoula et nous le partagerons aussi en trois, chacun un morceau."

Quand les trois bêtes féroces eurent fini de manger chacun leur petit morceau de viande de singe, de loin elles reconnaissent Compère Soungoula qui arrive, mais Compère Soungoula ne les a pas encore vues. Elles disent: "Faisons comme si nous étions mortes à terre et quand il arrivera près de nous, nous le dévorerons." Toutes trois font comme si elles étaient mortes, elles ne bougent pas. Lorsque Compère Soungoula arrive à quelque distance d'elles, il reconnaît les trois bêtes féroces; il dit: "Il y a des miracles qui ne se produisent plus sur la terre. Autrefois, quand les bêtes féroces étaient mortes, leurs oreilles bougeaient, mais celles de maintenant, quand elles sont mortes, leurs oreilles ne bougent plus." Les trois grands imbéciles, est-ce qu'il ne se mettent pas à bouger les oreilles! Soungoula dit: "Hé, mes amis, ces vieilles ruses d'autrefois, inutile de les utiliser avec moi; autrefois c'était l'âne qui tirait la voiture, aujourd'hui la voiture tire l'âne." Soungoula dit "Mes pieds, emmenez-moi!" et il laisse ces trois imbéciles couchés par terre.

Les trois bêtes féroces changent alors de plan, elles disent: "Allons guetter ce soir sous le trou de Soungoula et quand il sortira de bon matin pour aller voler, nous le dévorerons." Mais

lakav Sūgula. Sūgula i ekute, i di: "si pa zot, i ava mwa." i prā sō fèrblā delo bwi, i vid lo zot āba lakav. aprè kat segōn i napli ātān rōfle. Sūgula i di: "mo sir ki aprezā zot dā zot pli profō somèy ki tayèr." i gèt āba lakav, i truv tu le trwa peri èk kamarad. Sūgula i di zot: "zot kōtā aprezā, mwa zot tu le trwa periye." Sūgula i prā tu le trwa, i kròs zot lapo, i al vān avèk kòrdònyē. i gāy li e bō pe larzā, i aste ē pti but latèr, Sūgula i di: "mayèr bèf in fè(r) bòyèr buse."

## 6. Notes grammaticales

1. M1 [tyāna] (= ti āna) "il y avait", [yāna] (= i āna) "il y a", [pu āna] "il y aura" – présentatifs qui introduisent des syntagmes nominaux. La forme négative est [napa], [ti napa], rarement [pa (t)yāna], M 7<sup>2</sup>: [napa ni seval ni sa zòm] "il n'y a plus ni cheval ni homme". [āna] et [napa] remplissent aussi la fonction d'un verbe avec la signification "avoir, posséder", cf. M 10:

[mò napa feray, mè mò āna zist mō buk sāg . . .] "Je n'ai pas de ferraille, je n'ai que ma boucle de ceinture . . ."

La tendance à la prédétermination, déjà nettement accusée en français par rapport au latin (cf. Baldinger 1968 : passim), s'est poursuivie dans le développement des dialectes créoles et a abouti, dans le domaine du verbe, à un système fondé sur la combinaison d'un lexème invariable avec des morphèmes antéposés qui indiquent la personne, le nombre et le temps ou l'aspect. Dans le créole seychellois ces morphèmes prédicatifs sont les suivants (v. aussi la note 11) :

### Morphèmes prédicatifs personnels

[mō] "je"

[u] "tu"

[i] "il, elle"

[nu] "nous"

[zòt] "vous"

[zòt] "ils, elles"

D'après nos textes, la distinction entre forme de politesse et forme familière à la deuxième personne ne se fait pas en seychellois.

### Morphèmes prédicatifs temporels et aspectuels

La forme non-marquée du verbe – base verbale sans particule temporelle ou aspectuelle – a la valeur du présent français, c'est-à-dire elle désigne le présent actuel, le présent permanent, le présent historique et très rarement le futur.

[pe] marque l'aspect duratif, comme la forme en *-ing* de l'anglais; dans le passé, combiné avec [ti] (v. ci-dessous), ce morphème prend souvent la forme [ape], qui rappelle sa base étymologique *après*:

[lèr nu pe travay] "quand nous sommes en train de travailler";

[pādā sa letā mamā Sililin tyape rod sō piti.] "pendant ce temps la mère de Sililine était en train de chercher son enfant."

[ti] exprime le passé sans valeur aspectuelle, tandis que son concurrent [in]/[n] sert à désigner l'aspect accompli (ou perfectif) d'une action passée; M 1 sqq.:

[tyāna ē zòm] . . . [i ti rèste] . . . [ē zòm ti pas kot li] "Il y avait un homme . . . Il habitait . . . un homme passait chez lui";

S 20: [i vwar banān in mir] "il voit que les bananes ont mûri". La forme [in] est souvent réduit à [n], toujours après [mò], [u], [nu], [pa], [ti], [ki], et [si], cf. S41:

[fodrè ki mo tuy kōpèr Zako pu sa kin fèr mwa.] "Il faut que je tue Compère Jako pour ce qu'il m'a fait."

[ti] et [in] se combinent ([tin]) pour l'expression de l'accompli et de l'antériorité dans le passé, comme le plus-que-parfait et le passé antérieur en français, cf. M 6 et M 60:

[lèr Mizèr tin fini fèr sabo] "Quand Misère eut fini de faire le fer";

[tu pōm tin muste] "toutes les pommes étaient bien mûres".

2) M 7 = Mizèr, ligne 7. Kōpèr Sūgula avèk kōpèr Zako sera désigné par le sigle S.

Soungoula aussi est occupé à faire travailler sa petite tête, il songe que peut-être les trois bêtes féroces peuvent venir le guetter au pied de son trou le soir puisqu'elles l'ont manqué le jour. Le soir, il met deux récipients d'eau à bouillir sur son fourneau toute la nuit. Vers minuit, Pa Lion, s'étant assoupi, ronfle comme le tonnerre sous le trou de Soungoula. Soungoula prête l'oreille et dit: "Si ce n'est pas l'autre, ce sera moi." Il prend son récipient d'eau bouillante et le vide sur eux, aux dessous de son trou. Après quatre secondes, il n'entend plus ronfler. Soungoula dit: "Je suis sûr que maintenant ils dorment d'un plus profond sommeil que tout à l'heure." Il regarde au dessous de son trou et les voit morts tous les trois ensemble. Soungoula leur dit: "Vous êtes contents maintenant, j'ai tué tous les trois." Soungoula les prend tous les trois, les dépouille et va vendre leur peau au cordonnier. Il gagne beaucoup d'argent et achète un lopin de terre. Soungoula dit: "Le malheur du boeuf a fait le bonheur du boucher."

Pour le futur, le seychellois possède les mêmes morphèmes que le mauricien: [pu] et [a]/[va]/[ava]. I. Richardson voit dans [pu] le marqueur du futur proche, dans [a]/[va]/[ava] les marqueurs du futur lointain ("distant [or indefinite] future"; 1963:10). C. Corne aussi constate "une opposition entre *pu* et *a va*:"

mo a va malad si li don mua sa 'je serai malade s'il me donne cela (il y a un doute qui reste)'

mo pu malad si li don mua sa 'je serai malade s'il me donne cela (cela ne fait aucun doute)'"

tout en admettant que "nos informateurs ne sont pas toujours d'accord sur la distinction sémantique entre ces formes" (1970:14). En réunionnais [pur] désigne la phase antérieure au début de l'accomplissement du procès (nuance de fatalité ou d'imminence).

Dans nos textes, nous n'avons pas pu constater d'opposition sémantique entre les morphèmes du futur, cf. un exemple tiré d'un autre conte où le protagoniste emploie les deux marqueurs [a] et [pù] l'un à côté de l'autre pour deux actions futures interdépendantes:

[mè ozòrdi pa pu sãti lòdèr, mò a mãz mò sitrõ laba mèm.] "Mais aujourd'hui elle ne sentira pas l'odeur, je mangerai mes citrons là-bas même."

Il est à remarquer pourtant que des phrases négatives c'est toujours [pu] que l'on entend. [a], [va] et [ava] varient librement, [a] étant employé de préférence.

La combinaison de [ti] et [pu]/[a] remplit la fonction du conditionnel français dans les exemples suivants:

[ki ti pu kapav fèr èk Fènriv?] "Qu'est-ce qu'il pourrait faire avec Fenrive?"

[si ti bwar, i ti pu ã pwazõ vyòlã pu li.] "S'il l'avait bu, cela aurait été un poison violent pour lui."

Dans les phrases hypothétiques, [ti] seul peut aussi servir de "conditionnel" dans la principale:

[si ti mwa, mò ti mèt li dã ã laplèn, mò tyã fizi li.] "Si c'était moi, je le mettrais dans une plaine, je le fusillerais."

2. M 2: [sõ metye ti fòrzõ] "Son métier était forgeron". Les déterminants possessifs sont:

[mõ] "mon, ma, mes"

[nu] "notre, nos"

[u] "ton, ta, tes"

[zòt] "votre, vos"

[sõ] "son, sa, ses"

[zòt] "leur(s).."

[nòt Senyèr] (M 8) s'explique sans doute par le fait qu'il s'agit d'une expression figée provenant de la langue ecclésiastique.

A l'exception de [pe], tous les morphèmes prédicatifs décrits dans la note précédente entrent aussi dans les syntagmes attributifs, c'est-à-dire dans des prédicats constitués d'un syntagme nominal, d'un adjectif, d'un adverbe ou d'un syntagme prépositionnel: S27: [u a su parèy] "tu seras ivre comme moi"; M 4: [pãdã ki ti dã lafòrz] "Pendant qu'il était dans la forge".

Le verbe *être* a presque totalement disparu des parlers créoles, tant comme auxiliaire dans le système verbal (la forme [ti] cependant remonte à *était*) que comme copule servant à relier les syntagmes attributifs énumérés ci-dessus au syntagme sujet. L'absence de copule est caractéristique de plusieurs langues pidgins et créoles<sup>3</sup>; parmi les créoles français seul le

3) Cf. Hall 1966:8: "These sentences already show certain of the main characteristics of all pidginized English: the equational clause, without the use of the verb *be*".

réunionnais l'a gardée: [lé] "est", [lété] "était", [sra] "sera", etc.: [mwě lé fayfay] "je suis fatigué"; [li lété kòm sa kāk li lété zèn] "il était ainsi quand il était jeune". En seychellois – comme en mauricien – une forme du verbe *être* subsiste "where the normal order is reversed [...] in dependant clauses or questions" (Goodman 1964:58sq), cf. S 75:

[Sūgula, nu tu nu kōnē ki etè.] "Soungoula, nous savous tous ce qu'il est".

3. M2: [zur lafèt sakrekèr] "le jour de la fête du Sacré-Coeur". La préposition *de* du français ne s'est pas maintenue en créole seychellois (ni dans les parlers des Mascareignes); le complément de détermination se rattache donc au nom par simple juxtaposition: M 74: [gardyě baro lāfèr] "le gardien du portail de l'enfer". Cf. aussi note 5.

4. M 4 et 5: [sa sabo]; [sa zòm] "ce fer à cheval; cet homme". [sa] "ce, cette, ces; ce, ceci, cela, ça, celui, ceux" – déterminant et substitut démonstratif. Il n'existe pas d'article défini, à proprement parler, mais le déterminant [sa] possède souvent une valeur démonstrative nettement affaiblie et peut, dans ces cas, être considéré comme équivalent de l'article défini français; M 4 sq.:

[... Mizèr ti fèr sa sabo. pādā ki ti dā lafòr i di avèk sa zòm: "asiz tuzur." sa zòm ti asize ...] "... Misère fit *le* fer. Pendant qu'il était dans la forge, il dit à l'homme: 'Asseyez-vous toujours'. L'homme s'assit ..."

[sa] peut être accompagné de la particule postposée [la] "-ci, -là" qui souligne la valeur démonstrative:

[sa voyaz la sa lakòrd ti lōg] "Cette fois-ci la corde était longue".

[sa] seul est pourtant beaucoup plus courant que [sa ... la], ce dernier étant considéré par les Seychellois comme une expression mauricienne (cf. infra, notes lexicales).

5. M 5: [i di avèk sa zòm] "il dit à l'homme"; M 9: [pu mèt ẽ sabo nef avèk zòt seval] "pour mettre un fer neuf à leur cheval". Ainsi que *de*, la préposition *à* du français a également disparu des dialectes créoles de l'Océan Indien. Par conséquent, le complément d'objet "indirect" se rattache souvent directement au verbe: S 31 sq.:

[mè i pa di naryě kōpèr Zako] "mais il ne dit rien à Compère Jako" [i demān li] "il lui demande".

Les conditions précises de l'emploi de la préposition [avèk]/[èk] qui introduit le complément indirect dans les phrases citées plus haut, restent à délimiter. Dans notre corpus, elle est courant surtout avec les verbes [dir] et [demān]: [i demān avèk li]; [i di èk kōpèr Zako].

Pour les autres significations de [avèk]/[èk] cf. les exemples suivants:

[prè èk zot lakur] "près *de* leur cour",

[ẽ bō distā avèk zòt] "à quelque distance *d'eux*",

[sarze èk sitrō] "chargé *de* citrons",

[i pe mōt èk lili] "il monte *sur* le lit"

[avèk]/[èk] remplace fréquemment la conjonction [e] "et" pour la coordination de deux substantifs ou de deux syntagmes nominaux: [kōpèr Sūgula avèk kōpèr Zako]; [de sèrpā, ẽ mal èk ẽ femèl] "deux serpents, un mâle et une femelle".

6. [asiz]/[asize] (M 5). Comme en mauricien, la grande majorité des verbes seychellois n'a qu'une seule base qui se présente sous deux formes: une forme courte à désinence zéro et une forme longue à désinence -e:

[amèn]/[amène]

[mazin]/[mazine]

[sov]/[sove]

[bat]/[bate]

[pèrs]/[pèrse]

[tay]/[taye]

[kup]/[kupe]

[return]/[returne]

[tir]/[tire]

La forme courte est employé à l'intérieur du mot phonétique, c'est-à-dire devant un autre verbe et devant le complément, tandis que la forme longue apparaît à la fin du groupe rythmique<sup>4</sup>; cf. S 55:

[“āmèn u latèt!” Zako i āmène.] "Approche ta tête!" Jako l'approche."

Devant les prépositions, nous avons relevé la forme courte dans un peu plus de deux tiers des cas; M 3: [ẽ zòm ti pas kot li] "un homme passa chez lui", M 82: [... ādwa ki u a pase dā

4) Sur cette alternance et la distribution des deux formes en haïtien et en mauricien cf. Goodman 1964:60sq., 64; et Come 1970:18.



lemõn] “. . . endroit du monde que vous passerez”. Egalement devant les adverbes on observe une préférence marquée pour la forme courte, que nous avons enregistrée 12 fois pour 3 occurrences de la forme longue.

Selon Goodman, “in Mauritius this identical pattern exists for almost all verbs with final *e* and a number of verbs with final *i*” (1964, p. 60). Dans nos textes, il n’y a qu’un seul verbe à alternance  $\emptyset$  / *-i*, [vini]: M 29 et 44:

[Lisifèr ti vin kòt Mizèr] “Lucifer vint chez Misère”, [mò ape vini] “j’arrive”.

Le reste des verbes en *-i* semble être invariable en seychellois. Avec quelques verbes, l’alternance prend une autre forme: [tòm]/[tõbe]; [tãn]/[tãde] “entendre”.<sup>5</sup>

La catégorie des verbes sans alternance comprend, outre ceux provenant d’un verbe français en *-re* (p. ex. [fèr], [dir], [bwar], [kwar]); [ule] “vouloir”, [mòr] “mourir”, [sufèr], [uver], [(de)kuvèr] et un groupe de mots dont la structure phonique demande une voyelle d’appui: [gõfle], [mõtre], [prõmne], [ralye], [rãkõtre] (cf. Rheinfelder 1963: §173).

7. M 6: [lèr Mizèr tin fini . . .] “Quand Misère avait fini . . .”, M 7: [kã i retourne . . .] “Quand il revint . . .”. [lèr] est la conjonction temporelle la plus courante du créole seychellois; nous l’avons relevée 19 fois dans les deux contes tandis que son synonyme [kã] n’y figure que 5 fois. Encore moins fréquemment on trouve la variante [lèr ki], employée avec la même valeur sémantique et syntaxique (étant donné que nous la trouvons seulement dans le deuxième conte, il nous semble possible qu’il s’agit d’une variante stylistique); S 5: [lèr ki zot tin fini partaz . . .] “Quand ils eurent fait le partage . . .”.

[lèr] se combine avec [ziska]: [ziska lèr] “jusqu’à ce que” (aussi [ziska] et [ziska ki]), et avec [avã]: [avã lèr] “avant que”. La plupart des autres conjonctions temporelles qui apparaissent dans nos textes se distinguent peu de leurs modèles français: [pãdã ki] “pendant que”, [depi ki] “depuis que”, [komã] “comme” et [zis kã] “dès que, au moment où”.

8. M 8: [nòt Sènyèr e Sèpyèr ti vin kòt lafòrz] “Notre Seigneur et Saint Pierre vinrent à la forge”. La préposition [kòt], un des substituts du français *à* (cf. aussi M 71: [i mõt kot lesyèl] “il monte au ciel”) se retrouve dans d’autres contextes avec les significations de “chez”: [kòt sò frèr lyõ] ou “près de”: [kòt larivyèr]; [kòt ã gro ròs] “près d’une grosse pierre”.

En outre [kòt] remplit la fonction d’un adverbial de lieu: S 1, 26:

[kot u truv èn . . .] “Là où vous en trouvez un . . .”, [Tòm, kòt u gãyè?] “Tom, où as tu trouvé l’argent?”

9. [akòz] “parce que, puisque; pourquoi”, conjonction de subordination, M 12:

[. . . akòz zot nariv la pwal lafèt sakrekèr] “puisque vous êtes venus ici pour aller à la fête du Sacré-Coeur”,

ou adverbial d’interrogation, M 18:

[akoz u pa ti demã ã plas dã lesyèl?] “Pourquoi n’as-tu pas demandé une place au ciel?”

Deux autres conjonctions servent à exprimer la cause dans notre corpus: [paski], qui est ici attesté seul dans *Compère Soungoula* et très rarement dans d’autres contes, et [komã] “comme” (v. aussi note 7).

10. M 19 sq.: [i pa ti kònè si sa de zã ti nòt Sènyèr avèk Sèpyèr.] “il ne savait pas que ces deux personnes étaient Notre Seigneur et Saint Pierre.” L’emploi de [si] au lieu de [ki] ou  $\emptyset$  pour introduire une proposition complétive doit être considéré comme exceptionnel; nous ne l’avons trouvé que 4 fois (sur 20 propositions sans conjonction et 46 introduites par [ki]), dont 2 fois dans *Misère* et 2 fois dans un autre conte; M 40:

[i ubliye si ti vin sèrs Mizèr.] “Il oublie qu’il était venu chercher Misère.”

[mo pa krwar si u lekòr èk u lake tin vin kulèr ruz.] “Je ne crois pas que ton corps et ta queue soient devenus rouges.”

5) Le témoignage de nos textes nous amène à supposer que le groupe des verbes à deux bases est plus restreint en seychellois qu’en mauricien. Dans son livre sur le créole mauricien, Ph. Baker énumère entre autres *tyom/tyõbo*, *res/reste*, *van/vãde*, qui sont invariables dans notre corpus: [tyõbo], [rèste], [van].

[zamè mon deza remarke sin deza sãz kulèr.] "Je n'ai jamais remarqué qu'ils aient déjà changé de couleur."

Autant que nous voyions, cette fonction de [si] n'est pas liée à une certaine catégorie de verbes<sup>6</sup> et ne se retrouve pas dans les autres parlars de la zone.

La règle qu'on peut formuler à l'égard des propositions complétives en seychellois est la suivante: [ki] s'emploie facultativement après des verbes déclaratifs, de sentiment, de volonté, etc.

[si u krwar mo mãti . . . ] "si tu crois que je mens . . .",

[mo krwar ki mo boku malad.] "Je crois que je suis très malade."

[mò ule tu sa kasiz lo mō sez . . . ] "Je veux que tous ceux qui s'asseyent sur ma chaise . . ." (M 17),

[mò ule ki tu sa ki mōt dã mō pye pōm . . . ] "Je veux que tous ceux qui montent sur mon pommier . . ." (M 22).

Le choix entre [ki] et  $\emptyset$  semble être conditionné par le style ou bien le niveau socio-linguistique du conteur<sup>7</sup>, car la plupart des contes montrent une préférence très nette pour l'un ou l'autre, cf. les chiffres pour chaque conte:

[ki]	—	—	1	5	5	—	10	8	17
$\emptyset$	1	1	5	1	3	5	—	2	2

11. M 18: [Sěpyèr i di èk li] "Saint Pierre lui dit", M 26: [sã demãñ mwa] "sans me demander". Dans la fonction de complément et après prépositions les pronoms personnels sont:

[mwa] "moi"  
[u] "toi"  
[li] "lui, elle"

[nu] "nous"  
[zòt] "vous"  
[zòt] "eux, elles"

Ces formes remplissent aussi l'emploi disjoint du pronom sujet:

[mwa, mo a di u ě sekrè] "Moi, je te dirai un secret."

et se combinent avec [mèm] pour souligner l'identité de la personne ou pour l'emploi réfléchi: [i di dã li mèm] "il se dit".

12. M 27: [tu le trwa sō dō]; [tu le zur] "tous ses trois dons; tous les jours". A côté de [tu] "tout, tous, toute(s)", il y a une variante [tu le], utilisée devant numéraux et dans certaines expressions comme [tu le zur], où elle évite l'homonymie avec [tuzur] "toujours", et [tu le tur latèr] "tout autour de la terre". Dans [tu letã] "tout le temps", [le] est partie intégrante du substantif [letã] "temps".

13. M 33: [sō ban zami] "ses amis". [ban], marque du pluriel (cf. notes lexicales), ne se trouve jamais après un numéral ou un déterminant de quantité; il n'est pas obligatoire si la pluralité est assurée par le contexte (p. ex. [banan] S 11, 19 sq.). Toutefois, les exemples de redondance ne sont pas rares dans notre corpus:

6) Comme en français, selon Lerch 1925:288: "Doch gibt es ein Gebiet, wo *si* tatsächlich mit *que* wechselt, wo also solchen *daß*-Sätzen, die Subjekt oder Objekt der eigentlichen Aussage sind, neben *que*-Sätzen auch *si*-Sätze entsprechen — und das sind die *daß*-Sätze bei Ausdrücken der *G e m ü t s b e w e g u n g*, besonders der *V e r w u n d e r u n g*, der *staunden B e w e r t u n g* usw."

7) Sur l'usage en réunionnais cf. la thèse inédite de R. Chaudenson, p. 413: "On retrouve ici, dans toute sa complexité, le problème des niveaux de langue que nous avons évoqué à propos du relatif. On peut, par exemple, constater que dans une brochure entièrement rédigée en créole, l'emploi de "ke" est constant [ . . . ]. Or, dans le parler des témoins qui n'usent que du créole, l'emploi de [k], dans des cas analogues, est beaucoup plus rare".

En mauricien, l'emploi de [ki] serait, selon Baissac 1880:80, moins courant que dans nos textes: "L'emploi du *qui* traduisant le "que" français est ici bien plutôt un luxe qu'une nécessité, et la phrase, qui s'en passait, en reçoit un je ne sais quoi d'emphatique et d'apprêté: on dirait un acheminement un peu gauche de la langue parlée vers la langue écrite."

[la Odin ti ralye tu ban bōdye āsām tini ě kōsèy pu kōnē ki pu kapab fēr. prezā la ban bōdye ti di . . . la ban bōdye ti uvēr ě lafōrz . . . kã ban bōdye ti fini fēr sa lasèn] “Alors Odine rassembla tous les dieux pour tenir un conseil pour savoir ce qu’on pouvait faire. Aussitôt les dieux dirent . . . Alors les dieux ouvrirent une forge . . . Quand les dieux avaient fini de faire cette chaîne . . .”

L’absence de la marque du pluriel n’est pas trop fréquente, surtout si on ne tient pas compte des cas où il s’agit de *deux* unités, étant donné que [ban] – en seychellois comme en réunionnais et en mauricien – ne peut pas exprimer le duel: [sō lamē] “ses mains”, [mō lipye] “mes pieds”, [sō sulye] “ses souliers”.

14. M 37: [dã sã kōnè] “sans savoir”, et, dans un autre conte, [dã sō debat], littéralement “dans son se débattre”. [dã] est en seychellois une préposition polyvalente (cf. notes lexicales) qui se présente dans des constructions tout à fait différentes de l’usage français. A côté de l’emploi avec l’infinitif dans les exemples cités nous avons noté [dã] avec la forme durative du verbe: [dã zot pe marse], [dã sō pe marse] “dans leur (son) marcher”.

Outre le sens de “dans” ([dã lakur], [dã bwa]), [dã] peut avoir le sens de “à”; S 12:

[sispān dã ě but fildefèr] “suspendu à un morceau de fil de fer”,

[i mèt dã plas Sililin] “elle le met à la place de Sililine”, et de “de”:

[i sorti ě brās lèrb dã labus Māgus] “elle sort une branche d’herbe de la bouche de Mangousse”,

[sō pti srē tyape sov li dã lamòr] “son petit serin tâchait de le sauver de la mort”.

Cette dernière signification de la préposition est courante dans tout l’Océan Indien (v. ci-dessous, notes lexicales).

15. [zòt!] “Et allez!”. Comme en français, toute phrase affirmative ou interrogative peut être prononcée avec une intonation exclamative: [pa bezwē di u! sa ti ě zoli bal!] “Pas besoin de vous dire! C’était un joli bal!” Parmi les autres marques de l’exclamation, deux nous semblent caractéristiques du créole: [pāgar!] “attention!” et [zòt!] “vous!, allez!”, qui est très courant en tête de phrases exclamatives; M 78:

[zòt mò ban zami, zafèr i sal!] “Vous mes amis, catastrophe!”

16. M 47: [ě ti pris] “une petite prise”. Le mot *petit* se présente sous trois formes en créole: [pti], [pti] et [ti]. Dans notre corpus, la forme [pti] apparaît de préférence quand l’adjectif est substantivé: [sa pti piti] “ce petit enfant”; dans la fonction d’épithète on trouve [pti] et [ti]: [ě pti baba] “un petit bébé”, [ě ti lakaz] “une petite maison”. Les deux formes peuvent aussi être interprétées comme préfixe diminutif dans la plupart des cas – une distinction entre un adjectif [pti] et un préfixe [ti], comme en haïtien (cf. Hall 1953: 28,35) ne nous paraît pas justifiée.

17. M56: [degaz u, ānu ale] “dépêche-toi, allons”. Le lexème verbal sans morphème prédéterminant sert à exprimer la deuxième personne de l’impératif: [arèt vòl sitrō!] “arrête de voler les citrons!”; il peut être suivi du pronom personnel, comme dans l’exemple cité. cf. aussi [dèsād u la!] “descends là!” Cet usage rapproche le seychellois du réunionnais où la postposition du pronom est également facultative: [dégaz au] “dépêche-toi”, [aspèr au] “attends”.

La première personne du pluriel de l’impératif est formée à l’aide du morphème [ānu] (maur. [anu], réun. [alō]/[anō]/[anu], v. ci-dessous, notes lexicales).

18. M 76: [. . . e gète ki sèn la] “. . . et regarde qui c’est”. [sèn la], dans notre exemple, donne l’impression d’être un vestige du verbe *être* avec la fonction de copule, comme [etè], cf. note 2. Toutefois, l’autre occurrence de cette forme dans nos textes:

[ban bōdye zot ti gèt kamarad . . . ki sèn la ki a ule mèt lamē dã sa lagèl] “les dieux se regardaient l’un l’autre [pour savoir] qui voudrait mettre sa main dans la gueule”, les parallèles mauriciens que donne Corne 1970:28: “ki san la u pe rode? ‘qui êtes-vous en train de chercher?’; ki sen la u ule? ‘qui voulez-vous?’ [. . .] apropo ki sen/san la u pe koze?”

'de qui parlez-vous?'"<sup>8</sup> et la filiation historique<sup>9</sup> nous amènent à y voir une variante du démonstratif (normalement [sa], v. note 4) employée après le pronom interrogatif [ki].

19. S 6 sqq.: [zot ti deside pu amèn zis trwa lamẽ sakèn kot lakaz e la pli grãd parti zot al mèt mir dã bwa pu zot vãn.] "Ils décidèrent d'apporter seulement trois mains chacun chez eux et d'aller mettre la plus grande partie à mûrir dans le bois pour la vendre." L'infinitif complément du verbe se construit en général sans préposition étant donné que *á* et *de* ne subsistent pas en créole, cf. p. ex.:

- [i kòmãs asõm li] "il commence à l'assommer",
- [i sèy pyose] "elle essaie de piocher",
- [mèt mir] "mettre à mûrir",
- [kõtinye vole] "continuer à voler",
- [zot defãn mwa ale] "ils me défendent d'aller", etc.

Quelquefois, pourtant, comme dans la phrase citée ([deside pu amèn]), l'infinitif est introduit par [pu], cf. encore S 9.:

- [ki pe mazine pu trõp kamarad] "qui pensait tromper son camarade",
- [mo ãnã pu di zõt] "j'ai à vous dire",
- [don pu bwar] "donner à boire".

Le seychellois possède, comme le français populaire et le français régional de Belgique, ce que A. Doppagne nomme "Un sorte de conjugaison de l'infinitif ou, comme disent certains grammairiens, [ . . . ] un 'infinitif personnel' : *pour moi partir, pour toi jouer, pour lui manger, pour elle écrire* [ . . . ]" 1966:173<sup>10</sup>), c'est-à-dire l'infinitif après [pu] est accompagné du pronom personnel, dans la forme objet et la fonction de sujet:

- [pu zot vãn] "pour qu'ils les vendent",
- [sèrpã pe debat pu li ale] "le serpent se débat pour s'en aller",
- [i marse partu pu li rod sõ burik] "il va partout pour chercher son âne",
- [kit nu travay pu nu al rod ròs] "quitter notre travail pour aller chercher une pierre" (S 51),
- [pu zõt dòn zõt zãfã] "pour [le] donner à leurs enfants".

D'autres parlars créoles en usent de même, cf. réunionnais [i rest ãkòr sèt pu mwa tyé] "il m'en reste encore sept à tuer"; mauricien "mo koze pur mo fer tua plezir 'je parle pour te faire plaisir'" (Corne 1970:42); martiniquais "vini pou moin bo ou' = viens que je t'embrasse" (Jourdain 1956:218).

20. S 9: [tyãna èn parmi] "il s'en trouve un". Le créole de la Réunion différencie nettement entre [ẽ], déterminant indéfini, et [èn], numéral (en mauricien il n'y a qu'une seule forme: [èn]). En seychellois cette distinction est moins nette. Dans la fonction de numéral, nous n'avons relevé que la forme [èn]:

- [pas devã mwa èn par èn] "passez devant moi un par un",
- [èn de ã aryèr, èn de ãn avã] "un deux en arrière, un deux en avant".

La forme de l'article indéfini est [ẽ] dans la grande majorité des cas, mais il y a des exceptions: [èn ti mòmã] à côté de [ẽ ti mòmã] "un petit moment",

- 8) Cf. aussi Baissac 1880:19: "on entend quelquefois *celle* ou *cenne* devant le pronom qui. — Ex.: Celui qui parlera, *Celle* ou *Cenne* qui pour causé."
- 9) Il s'agit d'une variante du démonstratif *ce*, dont l'élément nasal reste inexpliqué et qui, selon le FEW 4, 442a, est attestée en ancien français, en moyen français, sporadiquement au 17<sup>ème</sup> siècle, et dans les dialectes, surtout du nord de la France et dans le domaine du francoprovençal.
- 10) Cf. Grevisse, 1961, § 1027: "Au moyen âge, l'infinitif de but précédé de *pour* (et plus généralement l'infinitif prépositionnel) pouvait être accompagné d'un accusatif sujet: *Et fist en plusours lieux de son royaume maisons de beguines, et lour donna rentes POUR ELLES vivre* (JOINVILLE, § 725). — Cette construction subsiste dans le style du palais: *De tout quoi nous avons dressé le présent constat POUR LA REQUERANTE en faire tel usage que de droit* (COURTELINE, *L'Article* 330). — Dans l'usage populaire, elle reste vivante encore en Wallonie — et en France aussi, au témoignage de M. Cohen (1950:25), dans une région qui va du sud de Beauvais au département du Nord."

[i ti rèste dā èn ti lakaz] “il habitait dans une petite maison”,  
 [i tin marye avèk èn lòt madam] “il avait épousé une autre femme”,  
 [i ti ã dimun ðrol] “il était un homme drôle”.

21. S 9: [kõpèr Zako i di . . .] “Compère Jako dit . . .”; M 38: [sa demõ i kòmãs kriye] “le démon se met à hurler”. On peut dire qu’en principe le pronom personnel [i] apparaît avec la forme non marquée du verbe après un sujet nominal au singulier (et souvent au pluriel). Il y a pourtant des exceptions, par exemple S 18 et 29:

[Zako pa dir Sũgula naryẽ] “Jako ne dit rien à Soungoula”,  
 [Sũgula demãn avèk Zako] “Soungoula demande à Jako”.

Plus rarement nous trouvons la reprise du sujet devant [ti], et exceptionnellement devant une autre forme marquée du verbe:

[lyõ i a mǎz li] “le lion le mangera”,  
 [Mizèr i ti kalkile] “Misère réfléchit” (M 36).

Au pluriel, la langue semble offrir le choix entre [i] et [zòt], ce dernier est le plus fréquent dans le corpus:

[bãnan i lapèn mir] “les bananes mûrissent difficilement” (S 30),  
 [alòr le trwa bèt feròs zot sǎz plã] “Alors les trois bêtes féroces changent de plan”,

souvent aussi devant [ti], S 2 sq.: [sa de bõ dalõ zot ti pas zot letã] “Ces deux bons amis passaient leur temps . . .”.

L’emploi de [i] que nous venons de décrire est parfois considéré comme un des traits communs du seychellois et du réunionnais. Mais en réunionnais [i] est un morphème temporel entrant dans la formation du présent, et pas seulement à la troisième personne:

[mi (m i) dās]	“je danse”	[nu i dās], [ni (n i) dās]
[u i dās], [vi (v i) dās]		[zòt i dās]
[li dās], [le bug i dās]		[zòt i dās]

22. S 16: [sa ã bòn ide] “c’est une bonne idée”; dans un autre conte [sõ movè lide] “sa mauvaise idée”. En principe, le substantif seychellois est morphologiquement invariable. Il est très souvent issu d’un substantif français avec agglutination d’un article, surtout de l’article défini (ou d’une partie de celui-ci): [lera] “rat”, [lelefã] “éléphant”, [lipye] “pied(s)”, [laraz] “rage”, [dife] “feu”, [zòm] “homme”, [zami] “ami”<sup>11</sup>. Dans ces cas, on trouve quelquefois des variantes sans élément agglutiné: [return la lo mõ lepa] “retourner sur mes pas”, [i return lo sõ pa] “il retourne sur ses pas”. A côté de [ku] “coup”, il y a la forme [kud] quand le mot est suivi d’un autre nom: [kud pagay] “coup de pagaie”, [kud batõ] “coup de bâton”. Quelquefois, des formes francisées sont employées pour des raisons de style: [òm] et [ami] au lieu de [zòm] et [zami] (dans le discours d’un animal qui se croit extraordinaire) s’expliquent ainsi. — Il y a eu différenciation sémantique entre [lipye] “pied(s)” et [pye (dibwa)] “arbre”. [atèr] et [atã] à côté de [latèr] “terre” et [letã] “temps” doivent être considérés comme adverbes.

23. S 31: [u pa zwe ãba bol èk mwa?] “N’est-tu pas en train de me duper?” Quand l’interrogation porte sur la phrase entière, elle est, comme en français parlé, marquée par l’intonation ascendante ou par [èski] “est-ce que”, qui est pourtant assez rare dans notre corpus. L’interrogation (directe ou indirecte) qui porte sur un syntagme nominal est introduite par [ki] “qui, que, quoi”:

[ki ti arive?] “Qu’est-ce qui est arrivé?”  
 [ki i vwar?] “Qui est-ce qu’elle voit?”

[ki] “quel(s), quelle(s)” est également déterminant interrogatif (ou exclamatif): [ki kulèr] “quelle couleur”.

Nous avons relevé dans nos textes les adverbes et conjonctions interrogatifs suivants: [akòz] “pourquoi”, [kòt] “où”, [kõbyẽ] “combien” et [ki manyèr] “comment”.

11) Pour plus de détails sur le phénomène de l’agglutination dans les créoles français, v. Goodman 1964:26 sqq.

24. S 34: [i ãkòr vèr, vèr mèm] “elles sont encore vertes, bien vertes”. [mèm], particule de renforcement par excellence du créole seychellois (très courant aussi dans les parlers des Mascareignes), se postpose à des substantifs, des adjectifs, des verbes, des adverbes et des pronoms:

- [zis ã ti ku mèm] “seulement un petit coup”,
- [tãtin i kriye mèm] “Tantine crie fort”,
- [ãnu komã demã mèm] “commençons demain même (S 45),
- [sa mèm sã malèr] “c’est ça son malheur” (S 54)
- [li mèm ki ti vòle] “c’est lui qui a volé”.

Nous avons trouvé beaucoup moins fréquemment [mém] antéposé au nom en fonction de déterminatif de l’identité: [i demã mèm kèstyõ] “il pose la même question”.

25. S 16: [sa ã bòn ide] “C’est une bonne idée”; S 87: [pa bezwẽ zwe avèk mwa sa] “il ne faut pas jouer ça avec moi”. D’après le témoignage de nos contes, on peut établir deux catégories de présentatifs:

1° *Présentatifs qui introduisent des syntagmes nominaux*: [yãna]/[napa] “il y a/il n’y a pas” (v. note 1); [sa]/[sa . . . la] “c’est”, M 59: [ã regre sa] “C’est dommage”; [ala]/[la] “voilà”, M 24: [la u dènye dõ] “Voilà ton dernier don.”

2° *Présentatifs qui introduisent un infinitif ou une proposition*:

[bezwẽ] “il faut”, qui ne figure dans nos textes que dans des phrases négatives<sup>12</sup>:

[pa bezwẽ al zwe abòr larivyèr] “il ne faut pas aller jouer près de la rivière”.

[fodèr] ([fodè]) “il faut” est l’équivalent de [bezwẽ] dans les phrases affirmatives; S 41:

[fodèr ki mo tuy kòpèr Zako] “il faut que je tue Compère Jako”.

La forme [fodè] ne se trouve que dans une seule histoire (*Misère*) où elle prend la place de [bezwẽ] dans le tour [pa fodè di u] “inutile de vous dire” (M69); dans les autres contes: [pa bezwẽ di u]).

26. S 47: [tãdiski pu li pa mèt kal] “tandis qu’au sien il ne met pas de cale”. La disparition du substitut possessif français *le mien, le tien*, etc. et le développement de nouvelles formes pour cette catégorie grammaticale est considéré “typical of Creole” par Goodman 1964:55. A la Réunion, *le mien* a été remplacé par [sa d mwẽ], à Maurice, à Rodrigues et aux Seychelles par [sa ki pu mwa] ou simplement [pu mwa]<sup>13</sup>:

[Sũgula sã lizye tin boku plis truv klèr ki pu zõt] “Les yeux de Soungoula voyait beaucoup plus clair que les leurs”.

En haïtien, selon Goodman *ibid.*, *le mien* est rendu par *pa-m* ou *kin-a-m*; cependant, dans les textes publiés par Hall nous avons trouvé cette phrase: “Sé-pa-pou-li, sé-pou mwẽ.”, traduit par Hall (1953-75): “It’s not his, it’s mine.”

## 7. Notes lexicales

[ãba] Sous, au dessous de; M 6: [ãba lapat seval] “Sous le sabot du cheval”. Tous les créoles de l’O.I. offrent cet emploi de [ãba]; le réunionnais en use cependant moins fréquemment car il possède également [su]. [ãba] apparaît également dans les parlers de la zone américaine:

Haït. “en bas : sous” (Faine 1939); “anba id.” (Valdman 1970). Mart. “en bas : au dessous de” (Jourdain 1956); “en bas : sous, au dessous de, en bas” (David).

Ces rapprochements donnent à penser qu’*en bas de* a pu avoir en français populaire ancien un emploi plus étendu que ne le laissent supposer les documents dont nous pouvons disposer.

12) Outre cet emploi [bezwẽ] peut prendre la fonction de verbe dans des syntagmes verbaux:

[mo bezwẽ gète] “je dois regarder”,  
[pov tãr ti bezwẽ al se li] “Le pauvre tanrec dut aller chez lui”.

13) Cf. Baissac 1880:19: “Le créole développe le mien, le tien, en *ça qui pour moi, ça qui pour toi*; ou, plus brièvement, *pour moi, pour toi*. — Ex.: Ma maison vaut mieux que la vôtre, *Mo lacase plis vaut mié qui ça qui pour vous*, ou bien, *Mo lacase plis vaut mié qui pour vous*.”

Cet emploi est peut-être une conséquence du remplacement de à par [pu], cf. dans *Soungoula*: [pu mwa sa, pu mwa sa!] “C’est à moi, (=c’est le mien)” (73).

[ãmèn] dans l'expression M 77 ou S 88: [mò lipye ãmèn mwa]. Ce tour est souvent employé dans les contes quand un personnage veut marquer son désir de sortir rapidement d'un mauvais pas: "mes pieds (ou mon pied) emmenez moi (loin d'ici)".

[ãna] Présentatif ([yãna] "il y a") ou thème verbal ([mo ana] "j'ai"). On peut comparer sur ce point les divers créoles de l'O.I.

	Seych.	Réun.	Maur.	Rod.
"Il y a"	[yãna]	[nana/ena/na]	[ena]	[ena]
"Il n'y a pas"	[napa]	[napa]	[pena]	[napa]
"Il y avait"	[tyãna]	[lavé/navé] <sup>14</sup>	[tyana]	[tyãna]
"J'ai"	[mo ãna]	[mwẽ na]	[mo ena]	[mo ena]
"Je n'ai pas"	[mo napa]	[mwẽ na pa]	[mo pena]	[mo pena]

On constate que les formes, sans être identiques sont très voisines, étant entendu que, comme toujours, le réunionnais est plus proche du français. A La Réunion tous les documents anciens offrent pour "il y a" *n'ena* et pour "j'ai" *mo n'ena* (pour les formes négatives *moi y en a pas* ou *moi n'a pas* "je n'ai pas")<sup>15</sup>. Au milieu du XIXème siècle, Baissac note pour le mauricien: "Il y a: *yéna* ou *éna* - *Yéna éne bondié*" (1880:33); "*Napas éna fromaze* [...] il n'y a pas de fromage" (ibid., p. 147). La forme actuelle [napena] résulte de l'évolution de *napas éna*. Le rodriguais, par ailleurs très proche du mauricien, possède une forme négative originale [napa] "il n'y a pas"; les Rodriguais sont sensibles à ce caractère et le signalent comme l'un des traits qui distinguent leur parler de celui de l'île voisine.

C'est donc le mauricien qui sur ce point comme sur d'autres paraît présenter l'évolution la plus nette:

- 1) Perte de l'élément initial [y-] qui apparaissait encore au XIXème siècle,
- 2) Dénasalisation aboutissant à [ena]<sup>16</sup>,
- 3) Normalisation: [ena] forme unique pour le présentatif et le thème verbal; forme unique également pour les tours négatifs: [pena].

Le rodriguais plus conservateur a gardé pour "il n'y a pas" [napa] mais adopté pour le reste le système mauricien; l'influence analogique de [pena] utilisé pour les formes négatives du verbe "avoir" menace d'ailleurs [napa].

Le seychellois possède des formes très proches de celles qu'on relève à date ancienne en réunionnais où l'influence du français régional a introduit des formes analogiques ([tyãna], [lavé]).

[ãnu] Morphème servant à former la première personne du pluriel de l'impératif: M 56: [ãnu ale] "allons". Quoiqu'il ne semble pas douteux que l'origine soit commune, les parlers de l'O.I. présentent divers allomorphes:

Réun. [alõ], [anõ], [anu]: [alõ rête] "restons!".

Maur. [anu]: [anu mãze] "mangeons".

Rod. [nu], [anu].

Le réunionnais est le seul créole à offrir tous les allomorphes; [alõ] est attesté dès le XVIIIème siècle; le changement consonantique s'est produit sous l'influence de *nous* comme le prouve le témoignage de Baissac à propos de l'état ancien du mauricien: "La première [personne] du pluriel [de l'impératif] se forme à l'aide de l'interjection: *allons!* [...] qu'on prononce aussi *anons, anous*" (1880:28; le parler actuel ne possède apparemment plus que la seconde forme).

Les créoles de la zone américaine possèdent un type de formation de l'impératif analogue qui fait appel à des morphèmes de formes voisines (Goodman 1964:89); selon lui, ces impératifs seraient issus d'un "impératif périphrastique" qu'on retrouve en picard. Quelle que soit l'origine, on retrouve ici la tendance à la prédétermination qui se manifeste dans tout le système verbal créole.

14) Quelquefois [tyãna].

15) Ces termes sont attestés dans des interrogatoires de la fin du XVIIIème siècle (Archives de La Réunion, dossier L 450, 1799).

16) A l'île Maurice, en français régional, on entend très souvent "il y en a" pour "il y a".



[baro] Portail; le mot qui existe également en réunionnais avec la même signification, n'apparaît pas dans les lexiques mauricien et rodriguais (maur. [baraz], rod. [port lãturaz]); A La Réunion, la première attestation est du milieu du XVIIIème siècle (1745; succession J. Auber, Saint Paul, Archives Réun.). Il est donc possible que ce type de porte de clôture et sa dénomination particulière ne soient apparus à Bourbon qu'au cours de la première phase de développement agricole de l'île (période dite du café). Ainsi s'expliquerait que [baro] ne soit pas en usage à Maurice et à Rodrigues, mais se retrouve aux Seychelles où l'auraient introduit les immigrants venus de Bourbon à la fin du XVIIIème siècle.

[bate] Battre; thème verbal "normalisé"; cf. [morde] "mordre", [ule] "vouloir", etc. Normalisation fréquente dans tous les créoles français.

[ban] Marque du pluriel: O.I. id.<sup>17</sup>. Elle paraît issue du français *bande* dont certaines attestations populaires ou dialectales sont proches de [ban] tant sur le plan phonétique que sémantique: "Mfr. nfr. *bande* 'troupe, compagnie de gens' (ca. 1380) [ . . . ] lütt. *banne*, *bande* [ . . . ] Proyart *benne*, Louv. *bane* [ . . . ] Mfr. nfr. *bande* 'troupe d'animaux' (seit 1549) [ . . . ] Manche, hbret., Maine, Vendée id. [ . . . ] neuch. *bande* 'grande quantité (p.ex. de pommes de terre)'." (FEW 15/1: 53b) On peut donc supposer que la perte de la marque du nombre par l'article a rendu nécessaire en créole dès le stade du "bourbonnais"<sup>18</sup> la création d'un morphème qui antéposé au nom a servi d'indice de pluralité. Le lexème *bande*, vraisemblablement commun dans la langue des premiers colons, répondait parfaitement à cette double exigence. Cette évolution du système est moins surprenante qu'on pourrait le croire car on peut l'observer dans d'autres langues: "Un idiome aussi éloigné du nôtre [le français] que le tahitien est en train de se fabriquer un préfixe de pluriel à partir du mot *mau*, qui, originellement, signifiait 'groupe, troupe'. Pour dire 'les montagnes', on dit en tahitien moderne quelque chose comme 'le groupe-montagne', et cette préfixation, d'un emploi aisé, va permettre une expression à la fois claire et précise du pluriel dans une langue où la catégorie du nombre n'avait pourtant reçu qu'une expression très floue" (A. Sauvageot 1962:81).

[bise] Vb. Battre. Ce verbe existe également en créole réunionnais mais avec un sens différent ("couper un arbre"). L'un et l'autre semblent issus d'un même verbe français qui peut offrir les deux significations: "Afr. mfr. *buscher* 'frapper' [ . . . ] nfr. *bûcher* 'battre (qn)' (seit ca. 1790 LiSuppl) [ . . . ] *bucher* v.a. 'battre' [ . . . ] ang. *bûcher*, poit. saint. SeudrS. Varennes, bourg. *bucher* 'battre'" (FEW 15/2; 27b).

[bol] dans l'expression S 28: [zwe ãba bol] "tromper, duper" (m. à m. jouer sous le bol?).

[bomatẽ] De bonne heure, de bon matin.

[but] Bout. Le -t final est prononcé dans un certain nombre de termes communs à tous les parlers de l'O.I. La plupart d'entre eux se retrouvent en français canadien ou louisianais et ce trait phonétique constitue une survivance dialectale française.

[kalis] dans le tour M 50: [zot ris zot kalis] "ils s'enfuient précipitamment"; [kalis] est en fait une déformation de [kalès] que des témoins nous ont signalé. (M. à m. "ils tirent leur calèche".)

[kapab] Capable. Le verbe *pouvoir* a disparu des créoles de l'O.I. sans doute en raison de la complexité de sa conjugaison. Des faits analogues s'observent dans les parlers de la zone américaine; "kapab : can; to be able" (haïtien, Valdman 1970). Le français canadien offre une fréquence d'emploi de *capable* qui paraît plus élevé que celle du français standard (cf. *Glossaire* 1930); elle pourrait s'expliquer par le même souci d'éviter l'usage d'un verbe de maniement difficile.

Si en français canadien *capable* est, comme en français standard, un adjectif, [kapab] est utilisé en seychellois, comme en mauricien ou en rodriguais, comme une sorte de thème verbal (cf. M 17, S 22). Il est cependant difficile de l'affirmer et P.M. Moorghen constate qu'en mauricien "quelques verbes dont [kapav] ont un comportement assez particulier" (1972:61).

17) La mention "O.I. id." indique que la situation est la même dans tous les créoles de l'Océan Indien.

18) Nous désignons par ce terme le créole de l'île Bourbon avant 1721, date du début du peuplement de l'île de France.

Sans entrer dans une discussion de détail nous pensons qu'en fait [kapab] en seychellois (comme [kapav] en mauricien) ne constitue pas un véritable thème verbal puisqu'en particulier il n'est pas susceptible d'être pourvu de tous les morphèmes temporels, aspectuels et modaux qui peuvent précéder les véritables thèmes verbaux.

[kase] Vb. Cueillir. M 59: [akoz u pa kas detrwā pom?] "Pourquoi ne cueilles-tu pas quelques pommes?". O.I. id. Le même verbe apparaît dans d'autres créoles ou parlers français d'outre-mer:

Haït. "[...] apé casser maïe : faire la récolte du maïs" (Faine 1939:192).

Acadien "kasé : cueillir" (Massignon 1962:268); acad. louis. "Casser : cueillir, détacher des fruits, des fleurs [...]" (Ditchy 1932).

Canada: "Casser : cueillir; casser des pommes" (*Glossaire* 1930).

Les dictionnaires français ne mentionnent pas ce sens pour *casser*; il faut bien admettre qu'il a dû l'avoir dans des dialectes ou parlers populaires.

[komela] De nos jours, maintenant. Réun. id. Manifestement issu du français *comme il est là* ou *comme c'est là*, ce terme commun au seychellois et réunionnais n'est pas en usage à Maurice et à Rodrigues; on ne peut supposer qu'il y a disparu puisqu'au XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle Baissac ne l'y signale pas et ne mentionne que *acthère* (1880:65) qui demeure effectivement en usage dans les deux parlers: [aster], [asterla]. Ce dernier terme, d'origine dialectale est vraisemblablement plus ancien; [komela] "néologisme" créole a dû apparaître au cours du XVIII<sup>ème</sup> siècle.

[komisyõ] dans le tour M 39: [don sõ komisyõ] "Rosser, donner une volée ("donner sa commission").

[kone] Vb. Savoir. Thème verbal "normalisé" issu de *connaître* (cf. [bate]). *Savoir* est inconnu des créoles de l'O.I. comme de la plupart des créoles français (Goodman 1964:70). La complexité de la conjugaison de ce verbe à bases multiples est sans doute à l'origine de sa disparition.

[dalõ] Ami, camarade. Le terme, commun au seychellois et au réunionnais, ne semble pas exister dans les autres parlers de la zone. Il est attesté à la Réunion au milieu du XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle chez Héry mais son emploi est sans doute nettement plus ancien puisqu'on le trouve également aux Seychelles. Nous n'avons pu déterminer son étymologie.

[dã] 1. Dans: M 4: [dã laforz] "dans la forge";

2. Sur: M 22: [dã sõ pye pom] "sur son pommier"; à: S 12: [dã ã but fildefèr] "à un morceau de fil de fer";

3. De, hors de: [dã labus mãgus] "de la bouche de Mangouste".

Ce dernier sens qu'on retrouve dans tous les créoles de l'O.I. est le seul qui mérite une attention particulière. Le fait qu'il apparaisse partout prouve que cet emploi est très ancien. Curieusement Baissac note pour *dans*: "tous les emplois du français" (1880:78) sans relever l'originalité de l'emploi de [dã] avec cette signification alors qu'il en donne lui-même des exemples: "*Dé navires féque vine dans Linde*: il vient d'arriver deux navires de l'Inde" (ibid. p. 46). On ne peut savoir s'il s'agit là d'une inadvertance ou si l'auteur est victime d'une interférence entre créole et français.

Si on limite l'étude aux créoles de l'O.I., on peut être tenté de rapprocher l'emploi de [dã] "dans, de" de celui du malgache *amy* qui peut marquer différents rapports ("à [objet indirect, temps, lieu], avec, dans, de, chez, vers", R. Rajemisa-Raolison 1964:143).

Le rapprochement est cependant peu probant en raison de la polysémie beaucoup plus étendue de la préposition malgache et de l'absence totale d'analogie entre les formes.

La comparaison avec les autres créoles n'est cependant pas inutile: Martiniquais: "Certains compléments circonstanciels de lieu sont spécifiquement créoles, quoique venant du français, tels sont [...] en rasiers = dans les halliers (dans la brousse); en cannes, en cafés, en cacos, en grands bois = dans les champs de cannes, de caféiers, de cacaoyers, dans les grands bois" (E. Jourdain 1956:167). "En: en, dans, marque aussi l'origine: i sorti en France: il vient de France; cf. nen" (David). Haïtien: "[nã] 'dans' (D'Ans 1968:155); "nan: among; in, to, toward, on" (Valdman 1970:341). On constate cependant que J. Faine (1939:146) note l'emploi de *lans* au sens de "de, hors de": Zouézeau la sorti lans zeu li. Loup la sorti lans bois. Ouèter soulier lans pié ou [...] Raler corps ou lans serein: L'oiseau est sorti de son oeuf. Le loup est sorti du bois. Oter vos souliers de vos pieds [...] Retirez-vous du serein"; "lans

[...] 'dans, à''' (ibid.) Guyanais: "ãã'dans'" (St. Jacques Fauquenoy 1972:119).

On constate donc que l'emploi de *dans* est loin d'être constant en créole et que certains parlars possèdent des formes manifestement issues de *en* qui s'est même parfois maintenu. On peut donc se demander si, sur ce point comme sur bien d'autres, l'étude des créoles ne peut pas jeter quelque lumière sur la langue populaire ou dialectale ancienne. En effet l'emploi de la préposition *dans* est relativement tardif en français: "C'est seulement dans la seconde moitié du XVIème siècle que la préposition *dans* devient commune en français [...]. On peut dire que *dans* est né de la décadence de *en*" (Brunot/Bruneau 389). Les faits précédemment évoqués donnent à penser que dans les parlars populaires cette évolution ne s'était pas encore totalement faite un siècle plus tard puisque *en* était encore très courant dans la langue des colons.

	Dans	De
Océan Indien	[dã]	[dã]
Martiniquais	[dã], [adã], [ã], [nã]	[ã], [nã]
Haitien	[nã], [lã]	[lã]
Guyanais	[ãã]	

Que les prépositions soient issues de *dans* ou de *en*, elles peuvent dans plusieurs cas signifier à la fois "dans" et "de". Le fait est d'ailleurs plus remarquable pour des Français que pour des étrangers qui sont souvent frappés par certains emplois de *dans*: boire dans une tasse, prendre une prise dans une tabatière, etc.

[dekwa] dans M 49: [in bat zot sã dekwa] "il les battit tout son saouï" (de quoi?).

[degaze] Vb. Se dépêcher. Maur., rod., réun. id. Le terme est sans doute d'origine dialectale français (FEW 17:44a).

[dimõn], [dimun] Les gens, on; un individu; [ẽ bõ dimõn] "un brave homme". Maur., rod. [èn dimun] "quelqu'un, un individu", [dimun] "on"; [grã dimun] "vieillard". Réun. [mun], [mõd] "individu, homme, gens", [le mun], [dmun] "les gens"; [grã mun] "vieillard". L'étude comparée des créoles français, les attestations anciennes ou dialectales du mot *monde* permettent de résoudre le problème de l'étymologie du terme et d'écarter les hypothèses qui ont été formées à propos d'une origine africaine du mot (Taylor 1956 et 1963).

[èk], [avèk] Préposition qui sert à marquer en créole des rapports plus nombreux et variés que ceux que permet d'établir, en français standard, *avec*.

1. Avec: M 59: [akoz u pa kas detrwa u amèn èk u] "pourquoi n'en cueillez-vous pas quelques-unes pour les emporter avec vous?"; S 21: [i prã de grã sak, i remõt avèk lo pye dibwa] "Il prend deux grands sacs et monte avec sur l'arbre". Le sens est parfois presque celui de "et": M 63: [Lisifèr èk tu sã ban demõ] "Lucifer avec (et) tous ses démons".

2. A: S 69: [prã èk sakèn] "prendre à chacun"; S 73: [mon pèy trãt sèk rupi èk Sũgula] "j'ai payé trente cinq roupies à Soungoula"; S 49: [Sũgula i di èk Zako] "Soungoula dit à Jako".

3. De: S 82: [ẽ bõ distãs avèk zot] "à une bonne distance d'eux"; [gay avèk...] "recevoir de...".

Cette polysémie de [avèk] ou [èk] est commune à tous les parlars de l'O.I. Baissac la relevait déjà au XIXème siècle en mauricien: "Avec, *avèque*, le plus souvent *av*, quelquefois *éc*. C'est la plus usitée des prépositions créoles" (1880:77). Elle existe également en français canadien ("Avec = De.Par.Dans.Contre... *Glossaire* 1930) et est manifestement issue du français populaire. Le FEW n'offre pas d'indications intéressantes; en revanche, dans l'étude de H. Kervarec sur "Le parler français de Quimper", on relève une série d'emplois de *avec* exactement semblables à ceux des créoles et l'auteur constate: "Avec (bret.gant), préposition d'un usage très étendu, indique toutes espèces de rapport".

[fane] Vb. Répandre; se répandre, s'éparpiller, d'où s'enfuir. M 79: [tu dimun fan klèr] "tous s'éclipsent". L'emploi du terme en créole est ancien comme le prouvent sa présence dans tous les parlars de la zone et ses attestations dans des documents d'archives. [fane] est issu du français *faner* qui offre, dans les dialectes, des sens voisins (cf. FEW 3: 458a et b).

[frènd] dans le tour S 11: [may frènd] "mon ami"; de l'anglais *friend*.

[gete] Vb. Regarder. O.I. id. Cet emploi de [gete] se retrouve dans d'autres créoles ou parlers français d'outre-mer (haïtien, acadien louisianais); il s'explique aisément à partir du sens qu'offre le verbe *guetter* dans les dialectes de l'Ouest de la France (*FEW* 17: 455b).

[golã] Oiseau de mer; le terme paraît issu de *goéland*.

[lèr] Quand. O.I. id. D'autres créoles offrent le même emploi du terme: haït. "[lœ] 'au moment où'" (D'Ans 1968:159). "leu : id." (Valdman 1970). Martin. "Lheu [...] quand" (David). Il est issu du français à *l'heure que* (= au moment où) d'usage courant aux XVIème et XVIIème siècles (Huguet; *FEW* 4: 468b).

[lo] Sur. Maur., rod. [lor] ou [lo] id. Réunion. [ãlèr] "sur". Cette préposition est peut-être issue à la fois de *en haut* et de *en l'air*. De même que nous avons émis l'hypothèse que *en bas de* a dû avoir dans la langue des premiers colons des emplois beaucoup plus nombreux qu'on pourrait le supposer (cf. supra [ãba]), on peut également penser que *en haut de* a pu concurrencer *sur*; d'autres créoles ou parlers français confirment cette hypothèse: haïtien "en haut : sur" (Faine 1939:33); acadien louisianais "en haut : sur, dessus, au dessus de" (Ditchy 1932). Il en est de même pour *en l'air*: martiniquais "en l'air: sur, au dessus, au dessus de" (David); français canadien "En l'air = en haut (en parlant d'un endroit élevé [...]) Il reste en l'air = il loge à l'étage supérieur" (*Glossaire* 1930). Ce dernier emploi, adverbial, se retrouve exactement en réunionnais.

[lõtã] Autrefois. O.I. id. Le créole de la Martinique use également du terme avec le même sens: "Longtemps 1. longtemps; 2. autrefois; gens longtemps les gens d'autrefois" (David).

[matẽ] Oiseau commun dans les îles de l'Océan Indien; "martin" (*acridotheres tristis*); maur., réun. id. Le *FEW* relève ce nom (6, 385b) et mentionne comme première attestation Boiste, 1800. Le terme apparaît bien auparavant dans l'Océan Indien (vers 1750); l'oiseau est introduit dans les îles pour lutter contre les sauterelles. Bernardin de Saint Pierre mentionne d'ailleurs son origine dans son *Voyage à l'Île de France* (1773): "Un oiseau qui a multiplié prodigieusement dans l'île est le martin, espèce de sansonnet de l'Inde, au bec et au pattes jaunes" (éd. A. Martin, I, 65,a).

[mazine] Vb. Penser, réfléchir; réun. id. (de *imaginer*).

[muste] Mûr, mûre. (Vraisemblablement de *moucheté*, peut-être parce que pour certains fruits, comme les bananes, l'apparition de taches plus sombres sur la peau est un signe de maturité).

[nabu] Parvenir à, réussir à (cf. M 23); réun. [abu], [nabu] id. Alors qu'en seychellois [nabu] peut être considéré comme un thème verbal, [abu] ou [nabu] ne sont pas toujours utilisés comme tels en réunionnais où ils apparaissent souvent précédés de formes issues du français *venir*; ex. [mwẽ la pi abu d fer sa] "je n'ai pas pu faire cela", mais aussi [li vyẽ pli abu d marse] "il n'arrive plus à marcher". On voit par là que l'origine de [nabu] est le tour français *venir à bout de* au sens de "réussir" (*FEW* 15/1; 218b).

[naryẽ] Rien; maur., rod. id.; réun. [aryẽ] id. Des formes analogues apparaissent dans d'autres parlers ou créoles français: mart. "ayen: rien" (Jourdain 1956); haïtien "anyen : nothing" (Valdman 1970); guyanais "aye : rien" (St. Jacques Fauquenoy 1972:43); acadien louisianais: "arien : rien; je veux arien" (Ditchy 1932). La présence de l'initiale vocalique s'explique par l'usage du tour *ne... pas rien* encore courant dans le français populaire du XVIIème siècle (cf. Racine, *Les plaideurs*, v. 472). Certains dialectes français ont d'ailleurs conservé *arrien* (boulonnais).

[pa] dans S 62: [Pa Lyõ], plus rarement [papa], cf. S 66: [Papa Tig]. Terme de respect ou d'affection qui précède un nom propre ou un prénom; [pa] est utilisé pour les hommes, pour les femmes on use avec le même sens de [ma]. Réunion. id. On a parfois suggéré pour [ma] une étymologie malgache; elle paraît d'autant moins vraisemblable qu'on ne voit pas d'étymon possible et que l'emploi de [ma] ne peut guère être dissocié de celui de [pa]. Ces termes nous paraissent devoir être rattachés à *papa* et *maman*. En effet, Milbert (1812:II,71) signale l'usage de désigner ainsi les esclaves à l'Île de France: "[...] Papa (c'est le nom que l'on donne généralement aux noirs esclaves, de même qu'on appelle maman les négresses privées de leur liberté)". Nous avons relevé également *pa* en mauricien au XIXème siècle: "Pa Pierre, mo

compère" (*Le Mauricien*, 24.4.1855). Dans les créoles antillais, on constate également l'emploi de [ma] pour désigner une femme avec laquelle on a aucun lien de parenté réelle: mart. "man (origine maman): madame X, la mère X" (David); Ste Lucie (*id.*) Il en est d'ailleurs de même en français populaire (cf. *la mère* . . .); quant aux formes [pa] ou [ma], elles apparaissent dans les dialectes français de l'Ouest et du Centre-Ouest (*FEW* 6: 134b).

[parti] Fête, réunion, partie de plaisir. Le mot existe également en réunionnais, mais il est souvent accompagné d'un déterminant. (Français *partie*; cf. *FEW* 7: 680b).

[pãgar] De peur que. O.I. id. L'haïtien possède un terme voisin: "pi'ngard : de peur que" (Faine 1939:107); "[pinga] (exhortatif négatif) [ . . . ] pĩnga li-kɔ nã rut-mwẽ 'qu'il ne se retrouve jamais sur mon chemin'" (D'Ans 1968:170); il paraît cependant pouvoir être utilisé comme thème verbal: "pinga : to be careful, to watch out" (Valdman 1970). Ces diverses formes se rattachent toutes au français *prends garde*.

[pe] dans S 102: [ẽ bõ pe larzã] "une grande quantité d'argent"; réun. id. (*un bon peu* a le même sens dans le Sud de la France).

[pikã prin] Arbuste local (vraisemblablement *Flacourtia cataphracta*) ("prune piquante").

[rêste] Vb. Habiter, résider. O.I. id. La plupart des créoles français ont conservé l'usage de ce verbe que Littré considère comme fautif mais qui s'est maintenu dans beaucoup de dialectes français, en particulier de l'Ouest.

[rode] Vb. Chercher. O.I. id. Le verbe français *rôder* offre cette signification dans divers dialectes.

[rupi] Roupie (unité monétaire seychelloise).

[sa] Déterminant et substitut démonstratif; [sa . . . la] rare (cf. supra). Il est intéressant de comparer sur ce point les parlars de l'O.I.

	Déterminant	Substitut
Seychellois	[sa . . . ]	[sa]
Réunionnais	[sa . . . la] [sa . . . ] (plus rare) [ . . . la]	[sa]
Mauricien	[sa . . . la] [sèn . . . la] (plus rare)	[sa]
Rodriguais	[sa . . . la] [sa . . . ]	[sa]

On constate que seul le réunionnais a conservé trois types de déterminants; celui que possède le seychellois a disparu en mauricien, mais se retrouve en rodriguais où il concurrence le type mauricien.

[sabo] Fer à cheval.

[sãg] Ceinture ("sangle").

[sũgula] Compère Sougoula est sans doute le personnage le plus populaire des contes seychellois; le nom est d'origine africaine; il signifie "lapin" en swahili (cf. Sacleux 1941). Le rôle éminent de cet animal dans les récits caractérise également la tradition africaine. Comme ce héros, sous ce nom du moins, n'apparaît pas dans les contes des autres îles de l'Océan Indien, on peut supposer que, comme plusieurs autres termes seychellois d'origine africaine, il est d'introduction relativement récente. On sait en effet que dans la seconde moitié du XIXème siècle les Seychelles connurent une importante immigration africaine provoquée par la libération à terre d'esclaves qui se trouvaient sur des navires négriers saisis par la marine anglaise (cf. introduction).

[trãpe] Vb. Guetter. L'étymologie n'est pas claire; notons cependant pour le verbe français *tremper*: can. *tremper* "songer, réfléchir", afr. *atemprer* "machiner, combiner", *atremper* "maltraiter, malmener" (*FEW* 13/1; 168b et 173b).

[truve] Vb. Voir. Maur. id.

[tuk dife] Pierre du foyer. Réun. [tuk], rod. [tuk]; le mot était autrefois en usage en mauricien mais il semble avoir disparu. Du malgache *toko* qui désigne les trois pierres sur

lesquelles on pose la marmite. [parèy tuk dife avèk lasã] (cf. S 2) se dit de deux personnes très liées et qui ne vont jamais l'une sans l'autre: "comme la pierre du foyer et la cendre".

[ule] Vb. Vouloir. Maur., rod. id. (cf. supra [bate]).

[vis] dans M 83: [mizèr . . . i pa ã vis, mè klu byã rive] "La misère n'est pas un vice, mais un clou bien rivé." Le jeu de mots n'est pas excellent mais il est en tout cas ancien car Baissac le cite à l'île Maurice en 1880, sans cependant le considérer comme authentiquement créole: "*Lapauveté napas éne vis, mès li éne bien gros coulou*; La pauvreté n'est pas un vice, mais c'est un bien gros clou" (1880:165-166).

[vwayaz] Occasion, fois, circonstance; M 46: [sa vwayaz] "ce coup ci"; cf. mfr. *voyage* "fois", nfr. id. (1690-1771; *FEW* 14:382b).

[zwẽn] Vb. Rencontrer, rejoindre. O.I. id. Le verbe apparaît à Bourbon dès les premières années du XVIIIème siècle: "Mathieu dit aux autres: 'Allons joindre nos deux camarades'" (Journal de Villers, 1705. Arch. Réun. 4, J, 122). Les créoles ont conservé le sens dialectal du verbe *joindre*: "Nfr. *joindre* 'atteindre qn, se réunir à' [ . . . ] bess. *jouinde* 'attraper' [ . . . ] saint. *joindre* à 'aborder' (*FEW* 5:67a et b).

[zako] Singe; O.I. id. On peut être tenté de considérer ce terme comme issu du malgache *rajako* (même sens), mais l'inverse est beaucoup plus vraisemblable. La préfixation en *ra-* signale en effet un mot emprunté: "Rajako [ . . . ] Le singe ne peut être à Madagascar qu'un animal d'importation dont le nom aurait été ensuite préfixé en *Ra-* (cf. par ex. Ramole 'mulet')" (Dez 1964:86). L'auteur pense que l'étymon pourrait être le prénom français *Jacques* à cause du tour *faire le Jacques*. On peut suggérer une autre hypothèse. On relève en effet au XVIIIème siècle un nom de l'orang-outan très voisin du créole [jako]; il est issu du bantou *nshiego* "chimpanzé"; "Nfr. *enjocko* 'nom d'un anthropoïde du Congo' (1766, Buffon). *jocko* (1766, Buffon) 'un des noms de l'orang-outan' (seit 1789, Buffon Suppl) [ . . . ] Nfr. *jocko* 'pithèque de Guinée' (Boiste 1803-Besch 1858); 'homme qui fait des grimaces' (Land 1834-1851)" (*FEW* 20:88b). On ne peut guère songer à un emprunt direct du créole aux langues africaines puisque le terme semble attesté surtout dans l'Ouest et le Centre africain alors que les esclaves introduits dans les îles de l'Océan Indien venaient surtout d'Afrique Orientale. D'autre part, la présence du même mot avec le même sens dans tous les créoles donne à penser qu'il devait être en usage dès le début du XVIIIème siècle. Sans nous prononcer sur l'étymologie africaine proposée par le *FEW*, nous pensons donc que le singe, animal sur lequel se porte tout naturellement la curiosité et l'intérêt populaires, a pu recevoir, fin XVIIème ou début XVIIIème siècle, une dénomination populaire de la part des marins ou des colons issus des provinces de l'Ouest de la France. On relève en effet, dès cette époque, un mot dont la forme phonique et le sens paraissent convenir: "Nfr. *Jacquet* 'niais' Oud 1656 [ . . . ] maug. *jacquot* 'niais'; *jacques-jacquot*; norm. *jacquedale* 'imbécile'" (*FEW* 5:9a).

Si l'étymologie africaine est à retenir, l'attraction paronymique expliquerait l'évolution phonétique, *jocko* apparaissant alors comme un terme savant retenu par les naturalistes et les lexicographes, *jacko* comme un mot populaire de la langue des marins conservé par les créoles.

### Bibliographie

- Ans (D.), M., 1968. *Le créole français d'Haïti*. The Hague, Mouton.  
 Baissac, C., 1880. *Etude sur le patois créole mauricien*. Nancy, Maisonneuve & Larose.  
 Baldinger, K., 1968. "Post-und Prädeterminierung im Französischen" in : *Festschrift W. v Wartburg zum 80. Geburtstag*, Tübingen, Niemeyer.  
 Benedict, B., 1968. *People of the Seychelles*. Londres, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.  
 Bürgess, G.N. et Madden, J.F. 1961. "Aspects of Seychelles French" in *Te Reo* 4:30-37.  
 Cohen, M., 1950. *Regards sur la langue française*. Paris, Sedes.  
 Corne, C., 1969. "Les Dialectes créoles français de Maurice et des Seychelles. Esquisse de phonologie". *Te Reo* 12:48-63.  
 — 1970. *Essai de grammaire du créole mauricien*. Auckland, Linguistic Society of New Zealand.

- David (Abbé), s.d. *Lexique du créole de la Martinique* (inédit)
- Dez, J., 1964. "La malgachisation des emprunts aux langues européennes". *Annales de l'Université de Madagascar*: 19-46.
- Ditchy, J.K. 1932. *Les Acadiens Louisianais et leur parler*. Genève, Droz.
- Doppagne, A., 1966. *Trois Aspects du français contemporain*. Paris, Larousse.
- Faine, J., 1939. *Le Créole dans l'univers*. Port-au-Prince, Imprimerie de l'Etat.
- Glossaire du parler français du Canada*, 1930. Société du Parler français au Canada.
- Goodman, M.F., 1964. *A comparative study of creole French dialects*. The Hague, Mouton.
- Grevisse, M., 1961. *Le bon usage – Grammaire française*. Gembloux, Duculot.
- Hall, R.A., 1953. *Haitian Creole*. Philadelphie, American Folklore Society.
- 1966. *Pidgin and Creole Languages*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press.
- Hery, L., 1848. *Esquisses africaines*, Saint-Denis de la Réunion.
- Hollyman, K.J., 1964. *Le Français régional de l'Indo-Pacifique. Essais de phonologie*. Auckland, Linguistic Society of New Zealand.
- Jones, M.S., 1952. "French patois of the Seychelles" in *African Affairs* 51:237-247.
- Jourdain, E., 1956. *Du Français aux parlers créoles*. Paris, Klincksieck.
- Kervarec, H., "Le parler français de Quimper" *Annales de Bretagne* 25:612-623.
- Lerch, E., 1925. *Historische französische Syntax*. Vol.1 Leipzig, Reisland.
- Massignon, G., 1962. *Les Parlers français d'Acadie*. Paris, Klincksieck.
- Milbert, J.G. 1812. *Voyage pittoresque à l'île de France, au cap de Bonne-Espérance et à l'île de Ténériffe*. 2 vols. Paris, Népveu.
- Minatchy, A., 1973. "Les Seychelles" in *Les Cahiers de la Réunion et de l'Océan Indien* 2 (mars-avril): 112-133.
- Moorghen, P.M., 1972. *Etude structurale du créole de l'île Maurice*, thèse de doctorat de 3e cycle de l'Université de Nice, dactylographiée.
- Rajemisa-Raolison. 1964. *Grammaire malgache*, Fianarantsoa.
- Rheinfelder, H., 1963. *Altfranzösische Grammatik*. München, Hueber.
- Richardson, I., 1963. "Evolutionary Factors in Mauritian Creole" in *Journal of African Languages* 2, 1:2-14.
- Sacleux, 1941-1949. *Dictionnaire français-swahili et swahili-français*. Paris, Institut d'ethnologie de l'Université.
- Saint-Jaques Fauquenoy, M., 1972. *Analyse structurale du créole guyanais*. Paris, Klincksieck.
- Sauer, J.D. 1967. *Plants and Man on the Seychelles Coast*. Londres, University of Wisconsin Press.
- Sauvageot, A., 1962. *Français écrit et français parlé*. Paris, Larousse.
- Taylor, D.R., 1956. "Language Contacts in the West Indies" *Word*, 12:399-414.
- Valdman, A., 1970. *Basic course in Haitian Creole*. Bloomington, Indiana University.
- Wanquet, C., 1972. "Le Peuplement des Seychelles sous l'occupation française." Communication au Congrès d'Histoire de l'Océan Indien, St-Denis de la Réunion.
- Wartburg, W.von. *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch (F.E.W.)* Basel, Zbinden.



# The Linguistic Society of New Zealand

The Linguistic Society of New Zealand was founded in Auckland in 1958, in order to "promote and pursue the scientific description and study of the evolution and structure of languages".

Meetings are held in Auckland and Wellington, at which papers are presented by New Zealand members and overseas visitors. The interests of members have no regional restriction, but particular attention is given to indigenous and European languages in the Pacific.

Papers and other contributed articles are published in the annual journal *Te Reo*. An index appears in every fifth volume.

The Society also publishes a series of Monographs, and a series of Reprints which are corrected editions of material which has already appeared in one or more volumes of *Te Reo*. Xerox copies of Society publications which are out of print can be supplied. There is no subscription rate for these two Series, but standing orders will be noted.

## TE REO MONOGRAPHS

K.J. Hollyman : *A Checklist of Oceanic Languages (Melanesia, Micronesia, New Guinea, Polynesia)*. 1960, 32pp., double columns 4to. o.p.

A. Capell : *The Polynesian Language of Mae (Emwae), New Hebrides*. 1962. 55pp. Crown 4to. o.p.

A.G. Haudricourt : *La Langue des Nenemas et des Nigoumak (Dialectes de Poum et de Koumac, Nlle-Caledonie)*. 1963. 85pp., 5 maps. Crown 4to. \$NZ1.20 (Members \$NZ0.80).

D.S. Walsh and Bruce Biggs : *Proto-Polynesian Word List. I*. 1966. xv. 133 pp., Crown 4to., \$NZ2.10 (Members \$NZ1.40).

Chris Corne : *Essai de grammaire du creole mauricien*. 1970. 59 pp. Medium 4to. \$NZ1.20 (Members \$NZ0.80).

Aubrey Parke : *Rotuman Idioms : Fãeag 'es Fũaga*. 1971. 48 pp. Crown 4to. \$NZ1.20 (Members \$NZ0.80).

Chris Corne: *Grammaire du créole français des Seychelles*, to appear in 1974.

## TE REO REPRINTS

K.J. Hollyman : *Le Français régional de l'Indo-Pacifique. Essais de phonologie*. 1964. 32pp. Crown 4to. \$NZ0.60 (Members \$NZ0.40).

David D. Thomas (ed.) : *Papers on Four Vietnamese Languages*. 1966. 34pp. Crown 4to, reprinted. \$NZ1.00 (Members \$NZ0.70).

Offprints of H.J.J. Hewitt, *Aneityum of the Southern New Hebrides. Anejom Segmental Phonology and Word List*. 1966. 43pp. are available at \$NZ0.50.

All enquiries should be addressed to :

The Secretary,  
Linguistic Society of New Zealand,  
c/o University of Auckland,  
Private Bag,  
Auckland, New Zealand.