# NO CREOLISATION WITHOUT PRIOR PIDGINISATION?

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## 1. Background

Although usually attributed to Hall (1962), the definition of a creole language as a pidgin which has become the native language of a speech community dates back at least as far as Bloomfield (1933) and was the generally accepted view until the 1970s. However, following the publication of Chaudenson (1974) with its emphasis on the importance of the evolutive tendencies within the French language and the contribution of popular and dialectal varieties of French to the formation of creoles, the notion that some, if not all the French Creoles came into being without prior pidginisation met with growing support (Bollée 1977; Valdman 1977). This view soon became the norm within the pages of *Etudes Créoles*, but had little immediate impact on anglophone creolists who continued to assume that creole languages developed out of earlier pidgins. Since the 1980s, however, several creolists who publish wholly or partly in English have rejected this view, but for widely differing reasons.

Bickerton (1981, 1984) was perhaps the first anglophone creolist to reject the view that creoles developed out of earlier pidgins. Although he envisaged a linguistically chaotic initial phase in the earliest years of slave plantation societies, he attributed all the key features of creoles to the innate linguistic capacity of children (the 'bioprogram') and denied that any of these features were inherited from a prior pidgin. Indeed, he even denied the existence of 'a

pidgin' as such, acknowledging only that there was a process of pidginisation. In other words, he claimed that the initial grammar of the creole—the native language of locally-born slaves—derived from the bioprogram with the pidginised speech of their parents merely providing lexical input. He also assumed that creole speakers would thereafter modify their language in the direction of the language of the slave owners (their target language) to the extent that access to the latter enabled them to do so.

Lefebvre's relexification theory (e.g. 1986, 1998) rejects the idea that Haitian Creole derives from an earlier pidgin. In her view, Haitian Creole represents the relexification of Fongbe (and perhaps other African languages) with French vocabulary. She holds that slaves were addressed in varieties of French, rather than in 'foreigner talk' or Pidgin French. In support of this she cites, among other things, the fact that many Haitian nouns have an initial syllable which consists, etymologically, of a French article which is an integral part of the creole word (1998: 64). In her view, this means that slaves were addressed in varieties of French which included normal French articles. However, the great majority of these 'agglutinated' nouns are, in fact, also attested in the Antillais of Guadeloupe and Martinique and it might therefore be argued that all they provide, collectively, is some evidence that a significant proportion of the earliest French settlers and slaves in Haiti were already speakers of Antillais (Baker 1987).

Mufwene (1996) adopts what I have termed (Baker 2000: 43) 'the gradual basilectalisation approach' of Chaudenson (1992) but adapts the latter in ways which make it more acceptable to mainstream American creolist thinking, in particular by attempting to provide an account of how and when African influences could manifest themselves in Atlantic Creoles. The Chaudenson/ Mufwene approach assumes that the earliest African arrivals in slave plant-ation societies acquired the language of slave owners reasonably well but, as the ratio of slaves to slave owners increased rapidly, so later African arrivals progressively acquired their new language from other slaves rather than slave owners with the result that this became increasingly remote from the slave owners' speech (i.e. an approximation of an approximation of an approx-imation of it). However, neither Chaudenson nor Mufwene has yet published any historical linguistic data to illustrate the developmental process they assume to have taken place, and neither provides any explanation as to why, on adjacent Caribbean islands with similar demographic histories, French and Creole French function as separate languages on some whereas a continuum obtains between English and Creole English on others.

Apart from their rejection of a prior pidginisation stage, what all three approaches above have in common is the assumption that the linguistic consequences of introducing Africans as slave labour in plantation societies were not those which anyone wanted, due to the failure of the Africans either to maintain their languages or to acquire fully the language of their owners. By contrast, since Baker (1990) I have argued that contact languages were precisely what people in contact situations needed and wanted, even if unconsciously, and that is what they collectively succeeded in making.

## 2. Definitions

So far as I am aware, it was Mufwene (1986) who first proclaimed that creole languages cannot be defined in purely linguistic terms. This view has since become very widely accepted among creolists of diverse theoretical tendencies. In fact McWhorter (1998, 2000) is possibly the only person to have argued in print against this in recent years. McWhorter seeks to demonstrate that 'creole languages can be distinguished [from other, older languages - PB] on a purely synchronic basis' (2000: 85). To this end, he identifies three features 'which are known to arise only over time' (2000: 86) and claims that the lack of all three of these is a combination unique to creoles, reflecting the fact that they are young languages. The three features are lack of: (a) inflectional affixation; (b) tone (tonal contrasts beyond the phonological level); and (c) derivational noncompositionality (2000: 86).[1] Detailed discussion of McWhorter (1998) by DeGraff and several other authors can be found in *Linguistic Typology* 5 (2001).

My purpose in what follows is not to argue for or against the positions of either Mufwene (1986) or McWhorter (1998, 2000) because I am interested primarily in investigating the origin and evolution of the languages generally termed 'creoles' rather than in defining the precise meaning of that word in linguistic and/or socio-historical terms. More precisely, the aims in this article are:

(i)  to argue that, even if 'there are no features that are exclusive to, or universal in, languages generally thought to be creoles' (Thomason 1997: 73),[2] the identification of features typically found in creoles is a useful exercise;

(ii)  to demonstrate that many features typical of creoles are also typical of pidgins;

    (iii)  to claim that this is evidence that they developed, wholly or partially, from an earlier pidgin; and

    (iv)  to relate the proportion of 'typical pidgin' features in these creoles to socio-historical factors.

With regard to (i), discussions about, for example, whether Reunionnais is a 'true creole' or Afrikaans a 'semi-creole' have been, and continue to be, largely based on the fact that such languages possess some 'typical creole features' and lack others. Such features are widely considered to be indicative of their social history. The provenance of such 'typical creole features' thus merits investigation. As pointed out forcibly by Parkvall (CreoList posting of 17 March 1999), most 'typical creole features' are also 'typical pidgin features' (as will be demonstrated below). Indeed, for some years, I have held the view that there is no clear distinction to be made between pidgins and creoles on linguistic grounds, because the latter are generally elaborations of the former (see Baker 1995).[3]

    Given that Chaudenson and a number of other, mainly French, linguists limit the word 'pidgin' to highly restricted trade jargons in bi or multilingual contexts, I should make it clear that the considerably wider definition of 'pidgin' I use throughout this article is:

> a form of language created by members of two or more linguistic groups in contact as a means of inter-communication, the most basic grammatical rules of which are common to all its habitual users regardless of their own primary language, while at least one and perhaps all of the participating groups recognise that this means of inter-communication is not the primary language of any other (Baker 1993: 6).

## 3. Other considerations

Failure or reluctance to accept that pidgins and creoles have a great deal in common stems in part from the paucity of truly early data which exists on contact languages in the Caribbean area. But, in contrast to most other parts of the world, written pidgin data are available almost from the start of contact in the southwestern Pacific. Early pidgin data from Australia show a high proportion of Aboriginal vocabulary which gradually declines during the course of the 19th century as the proportion of English words increases. When

Aboriginal people and anglophones first came into contact in the Sydney area, neither party had any reason to aspire to speak the other's language fluently but both needed to communicate with each other in some circumstances, leading to an embryonic pidgin drawing on the languages of both parties. As other British settlements were established at increasing distances from Sydney, anglophones encountered Aboriginal people who understood fewer and fewer of the words from the indigenous languages of the Sydney area. The fact that the diverse Aboriginal languages were largely mutually unintelligible and each spoken within a relatively small area gradually led to diminishing use of Aboriginal words in the pidgin by Europeans and Aboriginal people alike. I strongly suspect that, if abundant early pidgin data were available for other areas, a similar increase in European vocabulary and decrease in non-European vocabulary over the early decades would be found.

In territories where plantations were established using non-indigenous slave labour, I suspect that a pidgin would have developed very quickly even before slaves outnumbered whites, and that this would have had an overwhelmingly European vocabulary from the start. Slave owners may have been less inclined than European traders in West Africa or the Pacific to acquire non-European vocabulary but they nevertheless had to communicate with slaves in order to get any work done and, to achieve that, they would surely have drawn on whatever prior experience they had of communicating with non-anglophones. Ongoing research by Baker and Huber (2001) has already identified a substantial number of features likely to have been known to some of them. As for the slaves, they certainly had no choice but to acquire the European vocabulary of their working environment. And since there were probably several mutually unintelligible languages represented among them, the work vocabulary to which everyone was exposed would present the most promising starting point for communication with someone whose language they did not speak. Furthermore, having travelled so far from their homeland to a totally different world, slaves were not equipped with a vocabulary of their own for naming their new environment. Thus the vocabulary of pidgins which developed in slave plantation societies was likely to be overwhelmingly of European origin from the start.

The fact that slaves acquired the European vocabulary of the workplace does not necessarily mean that they aspired to mastery of that language—nor even that the Europeans would have wanted them to do so. This last point is not widely appreciated. From the European standpoint, having a pidginised variety of one's own language as the means of communication with slaves had

its advantages, providing a linguistic register to match the legal and social divide. In the earliest years it may also have enabled whites to converse with each other in their own language with little risk of being fully understood by slaves. In any case, all the pre-1800 evidence from both anglophone and francophone slave plantation societies of which I am aware suggests that whites chose to address field slaves in the contact language rather than in the European language, thereby reducing opportunities for slaves to acquire the latter had they wanted to do so. All of this seems to be overlooked by the 'superstratists'—that is, those who emphasise the contribution of the European language to the resulting creole.

While on the subject of superstratism, let me add a few remarks about what Chaudenson has termed the *société d'habitation*, since this name has now become established in the vocabulary of numerous anglophone creolists. The *société d'habitation* refers to the very early period in the settlement of such islands as Guadeloupe, Martinique and Réunion when whites outnumbered blacks, and when whites typically ran small farms. In other words, this is the period which predated the plantation era. During the *société d'habitation* period, it is generally assumed that blacks would have had far greater exposure to the European language than was the case for those who arrived in the plantation era. However, ratios of blacks to whites can only give a very crude indication of the degree of exposure of blacks to the European language. One reason for this is that there were always whites who did not own any slaves, and this was particularly the case in the earliest years. Thus, in a newly established colony (i.e. a *société d'habitation*) with 100 blacks and 100 whites of whom one third owned no slaves, slaves would actually outnumber whites 3:2 in most working environments. Another reason is that if, as I believe, most whites addressed slaves in the emergent contact language (i.e. pidgin) rather than the European language, the ratio would tell us about black exposure to European vocabulary rather than exposure to the European language as such.

A further point is that these *habitations*—small farms—were not situated in isolation but tended to be grouped together, with the consequence that slaves would have frequent communication with a far greater number of other slaves than merely those attached to their particular farm. Overall, slaves would tend to spend far more time conversing with each other than with whites, and would have a wider range of topics to discuss than merely work-related matters. Thus slaves rather than whites would be instrumental in 'expanding' the pidgin. This does not mean that no slaves would acquire the European language of their owners. But, importantly, it does mean that even

those slaves—particularly those in domestic service—who did acquire fluency in the European language, would *also* need to be able to speak pidgin and to use this with newly arrived field slaves just as whites did.

## 4. Pidgin features in Creoles

In Table 1, 24 features I consider to be typical of pidgins are listed under ten headings. The presence of each of these, *at any time during their recorded history,* was checked in the data available to me of 16 languages, most of which are considered creoles by most creolists and all of which are regarded as creoles by at least some creolists. These 16 languages all have a vocabulary drawn overwhelmingly from one of four European languages (English, French, Portuguese, or Spanish). Wherever the data consulted on one of these languages indicates the lack of a particular pidgin feature, its name is listed in the column on the right. The sixteen languages are, in alphabetical order: Antillais (of Guadeloupe and Martinique, collectively), Caribbean English Creoles (collectively), Guyanais, Haitian, Hawai'i Creole English, Indo-Portuguese, Louisianais, Mauritian, Papiamentu, Pitcairnese, Réunionnais, Sãotomense, Sranan, Tayo, Tok Pisin, and Zamboangueño. Note that Tok Pisin differs from all the others in being the first language of only a minority of its speakers—that is, by Hall's (1962) criteria it is simultaneously a pidgin and a creole. The principal sources of data consulted are as follows.

a)   Antillais: All the early Antillais texts mentioned by Hazaēl-Massieux (1999), Jourdain (1956a,b), Turiault (1873-76), and Bernabé (1983).

b)   Caribbean English Creoles, Hawaiian Creole English, Pitcairnese, Sranan, and Tok Pisin: All the sources consulted can be found within the list of more than 2000 references prepared for Baker and Huber (2001) which can be consulted at the Creolist Archives, <Creole.ling. su.se/creole>.

c)   Guyanais: St-Quentin (1887) only.[4]

d)   Haitian: All the pre-1900 Haitian sources listed in Baker and Corne (1982: 273-274) plus Sylvain (1936) and Faine (1939).

e)   Indo-Portuguese: All the publications by Schuchardt and Dalgado on Indian varieties of Indo-Portuguese, as listed in Reinecke et al. (1975).[5]

f)   Louisianais: Neumann (1985).

g)   Mauritian: All the sources listed in Baker and Hookoomsing (1987).

   h) Papiamentu: Kouwenberg and Murray (1994) and Grant (1996).
   i) Réunionnais: All the Réunionnais sources listed in Baker and Corne (1982: 273-274) plus Armand (1987), Chaudenson (1974), and Corne (1999).
   j) Sãotomense: Ferraz (1979).
   k) Tayo: Ehrhart (1993) and Corne (1999).
   l) Zamboangueño: Whinnom (1956), Forman (1972), McKaughan (1954), Grant (1996).

Table 1 is followed by Table 2 in which the 16 languages are listed according to how many of the 24 pidgin features they lack.

**Table 1. Pidgin features**

| PIDGIN FEATURES ATTESTED | SOME CREOLES IN WHICH THESE ARE NOT (IN EARLY DATA, AT LEAST) |
| --- | --- |
| **1. Gender** | |
| 1a. Nouns are not subdivided into masculine and feminine (or any other broadly comparable categories). | Réunionnais[6] |
| 1b. Adjectives do not vary their form according to gender.[7] | |
| 1c. Verbs do not vary their form according to gender. | |
| 1d. Definite articles which are inherently marked for gender in the source language no longer function as articles. | Réunionnais[8] Zamboangueño[9] |
| 1e. No gender distinction in pronouns. | Pitcairnese |
| **2. Number** | |
| 2a. Major word classes have a single invariable form which is unmarked for number; number can only be determined by context or by a numeral (or another morpheme which is unambiguously singular or plural).[10] | Indo-Portuguese |
| 2b. Wherever the lexical source language has a pronoun which is ambiguously singular or plural, this exclusively singular in the pidgin, some other form being adopted or constructed as the corresponding unambiguous plural pronoun. | |

### 3. Tense, modality or aspect

3a. Tense, modality and aspect are expressed by
   independent morphemes, not by inflections.

Indo-Portuguese
(Louisianais)[11]
(Pitcairnese)
(Réunionnais)[12]
(Sãotomense)

### 4. Absence of case inflections

4a. Major word classes lack inflections for case.

4b. Where pronouns have contrasting nominative oblique
   forms in the source language, only the forms used by
   the speaker when pointing to the person(s) represented
   by the pronoun will be found in the pidgin.[13]

(Hawai'i CE)
Pitcairnese
Indo-Portuguese
Zamboangeño[14]

### 5. Copula

5a. Zero copula in declarative equative sentences.[15]

(Indo-Portuguese)
Pitcairnese
Réunionnais
Sãotomense

5b. Zero copula in declarative locative sentences

Caribbean ECs
Hawai'i CE
Indo-Portuguese
Pitcairnese
Réunionnais
Sranan
Tayo

### 6. Articles

6a. The definite article(s) of the lexical source language is
   replaced by the demonstrative(s) from the latter.[16]

(Indo-Portuguese)[17]
Pitcairnese
Réunionnais
Zamboangueño

6b. If the lexical source language distinguishes between
   the indefinite article and the numeral 'one', the latter
   is adopted as the indefinite article.

### 7. Adjectival intensifier

If the usual adjectival intensifier in the lexical source
language does not also mean 'a large quantity' it is
replaced by a word meaning the latter.[18]

Guyanais
Louisianais
Pitcairnese
Tayo

**8. Negator**

The negator can only occur predicate initially.[19]
 Réunionnais

Louisianais,

(Sãotomense)[20]
Tayo

**9. Interrogatives**

Monomorphemic interrogatives in the lexical source
language are replaced by bimorphemic structures with
literal meanings as indicated below:[21]

9a. Who = 'which/what person/body'

Hawai'i CE
Indo-Portuguese
Louisianais
Pitcairnese
Réunionnais
Tayo
Zamboangueño

9b. What = 'which/what thing'

Guyanais
Haitian
Hawai'i CE
Louisianais
Mauritian
Réunionnais
Tayo
Zamboangueño

9c. Where = 'which/what side/place/part'

Hawai'i CE
Indo-Portuguese
Louisianais
Papiamentu
Réunionnais
Tayo
Zamboangueño

9d. When = 'which/what hour/time'

Guyanais
Hawai'i CE
Réunionnais
Tayo
Zamboangueño

9e. How = 'which/what manner/way'

Guyanais
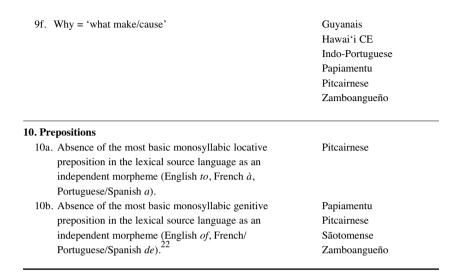Hawai'i CE
Papiamentu

 Réunionnais

| 9f. Why = 'what make/cause' | Guyanais |
| | Hawai'i CE |
| | Indo-Portuguese |
| | Papiamentu |
| | Pitcairnese |
| | Zamboangueño |

**10. Prepositions**

| 10a. Absence of the most basic monosyllabic locative preposition in the lexical source language as an independent morpheme (English *to*, French *à*, Portuguese/Spanish *a*). | Pitcairnese |
| 10b. Absence of the most basic monosyllabic genitive preposition in the lexical source language as an independent morpheme (English *of*, French/Portuguese/Spanish *de*).[22] | Papiamentu |
| | Pitcairnese |
| | Sãotomense |
| | Zamboangueño |

**Table 2. Number of pidgin features NOT attested in particular Creoles (in early data)**

| | |
|---|---|
| Réunionnais | 12 |
| Pitcairnese | 11 |
| Indo-Portuguese | 10 |
| Zamboangueño | 9 |
| Hawai'i Creole English | 8 |
| Tayo | 7 |
| Louisianais | 6 |
| *Average for all 16 languages* | 5 |
| Guyanais | 4 |
| Papiamentu | 4 |
| Sãotomense | 4 |
| Caribbean English Creoles | 1 |
| Haitian | 1 |
| Mauritian | 1 |
| Sranan | 1 |
| Antillais | 0 |
| Tok Pisin | 0 |

## 5. Results

As indicated above, 24 Pidgin features in all are listed in Table 1 under ten headings. All 24 are found only in Antillais and Tok Pisin but none of the other languages has fewer than 12 of these. Five of the features are common to all 16 languages (1b, 1c, 2b, 4a, 6b).

The three languages which lack the largest number of Pidgin features are Réunionnais (12), Pitcairnese (11) and Indo-Portuguese (10). A common factor in the socio-historical circumstances in which these originated is that the first European male settlers had non-European consorts. In such circumstances, it seems likely that considerably more effort would be made by both parties to ensure that the non-Europeans acquired the European language than would have been the case if the non-Europeans had been slaves (even if, as Chaudenson (1992) supposes, slaves had been almost members of the family in the early days). In other words, I would not expect these European males to allow anything as far removed as a pidgin from their European language to develop among or be used by their womenfolk. In contrast to what I consider to be the norm for all the languages I have hitherto regarded as creoles, I willingly acknowledge that, in these three cases, the European language was the genuine target language of the women concerned.

It is worth noting that the creole status of Réunionnais has been denied by some creolists, starting with Corne (1982). Conversely, as Mühlhäusler (1998) reminds us, Pitcairnese has not traditionally been considered a creole at all and, if some creolists have recently termed it such, this is not as a consequence of their having done any research on the language. However, no one seems previously to have cast doubt on the 'true creole' nature of Indo-Portuguese. Possible contributory reasons for this is that the studies available until comparatively recently were fairly sketchy and not written in English or French, while more modern work has dealt with varieties heavily influenced by indigenous languages.

Zamboangueño lacks 9 pidgin features—only one less than Indo-Portuguese—yet its 'true creole' status has never been questioned. With plural pronouns and a number of other key grammatical items adopted from Philippine languages, it has even attracted the approving attention of substratists. Its early history is not well established but it is certainly possible that Spanish soldiers and their Filipina consorts played a key initial role in the process, a situation somewhat similar to those in which Indo-Portuguese,

Pitcairnese and Réunionnais originated. Note also that three of these four languages developed in places which did not experience slave plantations and that in the exception—Réunion—slavery of any kind postdates the arrival of the Frenchmen with Malagasy consorts by quite a margin while nothing conforming to Chaudenson's (1992) definition of a plantation was to exist there for a further half century.

One feature which only these four languages lack is feature (6a), the replacement of the European definite article by a demonstrative. In initial encounters between Europeans and non-Europeans lacking a common language, it is easy to imagine how, accompanied by pointing gestures, Europeans would have tended to use demonstratives in indicating goods to be traded or work to be performed but such circumstances would not have applied in the case of any of these four languages.

Two other languages which lack rather more than the average number of Pidgin features are Hawai'i Creole English (8) and Tayo (7). Although it was his work on Hawai'i Creole English which led Bickerton to his language bioprogram hypothesis, one important thing he did not tell us about that language is that the Americans established special schools to educate the children born to immigrants working on the plantations in Hawai'i. In other words, they were subjected to English-medium education several hours per day, five days per week. The people involved in the construction of Tayo were similarly exposed to education in a European language, but in this case French. In both cases children appear to have acquired the vocabulary but ignored much of the grammar of the language in which they were educated and this might well reflect a somewhat ambivalent attitude to their medium of instruction. I think it would be fair to suggest that the European language was what their teachers wanted the children's target to be rather than the children's own target.

In Table 2, four languages cluster around the average score—Guyanais, Lousianais, Papiamentu, and Sãotomense. There is no obvious shared socio-historical factor here. Nevertheless they do share one thing in common—there is almost no linguistic data for all of these prior to the latter part of the 19th century. It could well be that, if and when more early data comes to light for these creoles, they will reveal a few more pidgin features.

The last six languages listed in Table 2 include the five which are probably the best known and most studied creole languages: the Caribbean English Creoles, Haitian, Mauritian, Sranan, and Antillais. All these languages lack no more than one of the 24 pidgin features. None of them has any inflections for

gender, number, tense, modality, aspect, or case, nor do they have any reflex of the European copula in declarative sentences. All the latter features are among the most widely recognised characteristics of pidgins. If pidginisation had not taken place, and if these languages had evolved as approximations of approximations of approximations of a European language, as the gradual basilectalisation approach of Chaudenson and Mufwene would have us believe, some traces of these features would surely survive, as they do in Réunionnais, Pitcairnese, Indo-Portuguese and, to a lesser extent, Zamboangueño.

The final language, Tok Pisin, has all 24 pidgin features. This is to be expected because Tok Pisin has a well recorded history as a pidgin and, even now, is the first language of only a small, but steadily increasing, proportion of its speakers. It is thus technically a creole for just a small minority of Papua New Guineans and remains a pidgin, as a second or additional language, for the vast majority of its users.

## 6. Conclusions

The answer to the question of the title of this article depends crucially on the meanings assigned to the terms 'pidginisation' and 'creolisation', and these in turn depend on how the words 'pidgin' and 'creole' are defined. If one takes the view that any language termed 'creole' by its speakers and/or by at least some linguists can legitimately be considered a creole, then the answer to the question has to be 'no' with respect to Réunionnais, Pitcairnese, and Indo-Portuguese. These languages can indeed be accounted for by the approach advocated by Chaudenson and Mufwene (although that would not necessarily imply a complete absence of pidginisation in the areas concerned). That said, few people would consider these to be typical representatives of the languages known as 'creoles'. I feel that they should be regarded as a special category of contact languages and, given their social history, perhaps termed 'homestead creoles'. (Historical research is needed on Zamboangueño to determine whether this also belongs to this category.)

Another special category of contact languages is formed by those in which formal education played a major role—Hawai'i Creole English and Tayo. These might be termed 'school creoles'. One sign of the effects of early exposure to formal education could be the use of interrogatives from the European language rather than the bimorphemic forms which are found in most pidgins and creoles.

All the other creoles listed in Table 2 have, or formerly had, between at least 75% and up to 100% of the pidgin features listed in Table 1. I consider all of these to be 'true creoles' in that they developed out of an earlier pidgin in conformity with the 'classic' theory—that is, they were pidgins which subsequently became the first language of a community.

The three categories identified above may be contrasted with regard to the notion of 'target language'. For the 'homestead creoles' (Réunionnais, Pitcairnese, Indo-Portuguese, and perhaps Zamboangueño), it seems likely that both Europeans and non-Europeans involved in the initial contact situation were agreed that the European language was the target of the non-Europeans. For Hawai'i Creole English and Tayo, Europeans decided that the European language  should be the target of the non-Europeans and made arrangements to achieve that, but the non-Europeans appear to have been less enthusiastic about this, and to have strayed from the imposed target, drawing on other features and strategies at their disposal[23] in order to create a new form of speech which was, in some sense, 'their own thing'. For all the other languages, the 'true creoles', it is my view that the initial target for all parties was the construction of a medium for interethnic communication. All parties, including Europeans (see Baker and Huber 2000, 2001), brought whatever prior experience they had of communicating with people who did not speak their own language to this task. Thereafter this co-existed with the European and diverse non-European languages, becoming in most cases the first language of the non-European population only after the abolition of the slave trade as knowledge of non-European languages faded.

Finally, it must be emphasised that the three categories of contact languages I have identified above are not meant to be exhaustive. Afrikaans and Michif—to mention but two other contact languages with rather different social histories—probably do not belong to any of these three categories.

### Notes

1  Many of the Pidgin features listed in Table 1 below are examples of (a). However, (b) is ignored in that table because it is absent both from all the creoles considered as well as from the European languages from which they derive most of their vocabulary. Furthermore, (c) is ignored because, although there are some apparent counter-examples, these could well turn out to be calques.

2  Five of the 24 pidgin features set out in Table 1 below are in fact shared by all 16 creoles which feature in that table.

3   Combinations of two or more preverbal TMA markers appear to occur only in creoles. (The Pidgin Englishes of Nigeria and Cameroon do now have such combinations but this appears to be due to comparatively recent influence from Krio.)

4   Since the publication of St-Quentin's book there has been significant immigration by speakers of Antillais, and this has had a major impact on Guyanais.

5   Modern publications on Korlai Creole Portuguese and all works on Sri Lankan Indo-Portuguese were excluded from consideration. These varieties are today heavily influenced by indigenous languages but it is unclear how much of this influence is a relatively recent development.

6   Nouns in Réunionnais have gender insofar as nouns which are masculine in French co-occur with the masculine singular definite article *lo* (variant: *l´*) while those which are feminine in French co-occur with the feminine singular definite article *la*. However, no other word class has gender so there is no kind of gender agreement in Réunionnais.

7   There is marginal evidence of such pairs as *fou/folle, blanc/blanche* in some French Creoles but this has been ignored here. (It is my suspicion that the survival of such contrasts is related to the former and/or continuing existence of such contrasting pairs as nouns, e.g. *fou* 'madman', *folle* 'madwoman' in Mauritian Creole.)

8   As indicated in footnote 4 (above), Réunionnais has contrasting masculine and feminine singular definite articles. Chaudenson (1974: 355-358) makes no mention of *l* as a singular definite article. It is thus not clear whether the initial *l* in a word such as *lavortman*, which Armand (1987) lists alphabetically under A, is a definite article or an integral part of the word. For example, is the Réunionnais for 'an abortion' *ẽ lavortman* or *ẽ avortman*?

   In contrast to French, there is no distinction of gender in the Réunionnais indefinite article which has a single form, *ẽ*.

9   Zamboangueño has the Spanish masculine article *el* as the definite singular article for all count nouns.

10  Note that Zamboangueño nouns with a final *-s* which derive from Spanish plural nouns are in fact unmarked for number in this language and may co-occur with the indefinite article.

11  In Louisianais, verbs distinguish short and long forms and the choice between these forms reflects tense and aspect. However, whether these distinctions have always formed part of the language or are due to more recent influence from Louisiana French and Cajun remains to be determined.

12  Réunionnais verbs have up to four forms: *m i dor* 'I sleep', *mwe la dormi* 'I slept', *alõ dormir* 'let's sleep', *m i dora pa* 'I won't sleep'. Where the corresponding French verbs have infinitive in *-er*, the past participle and infinitive forms fall together in Réunionnais: *m i sãt, mwe la sãte, alõ sãte, m i sãtra pa*. Note that the past participle/infinitive form usually loses its final vowel in non-final position: *m i sãt ẽ pti sega* 'I sing a little *sega* [song]'.

13 In English, the oblique pronouns are normally used when pointing to identify the person(s) concerned with the exception that *we* is generally preferred to *us*. Hawai'i Creole English is almost alone among the English-based contact languages in having *us* rather than *we* (see Baker and Huber 2000).

14 Zamboangueño preserves (modified but suppletive) case systems in its pronouns of both Spanish and Hiligaynon origin (Anthony Grant, p.c.).

15 Although pre-1800 data for Caribbean English Creoles are rare, they suggest that zero copula preceded the use of *da* with nominal predicates, consistent with Arends' (1989) findings for Sranan.

   Modern Zamboangueño offers the choice between zero copula and an overt copula (of Bisayan origin) in equatives: *byeho el ombre or el ombre amo byeho* 'the man is old' (Anthony Grant, p.c.).

16 I am persuaded by Anthony Grant (p.c.) that Papiamentu *e* is an abbreviated form of earlier *es*, from Spanish *este* 'this' (rather than from the Spanish masculine definite article *el*).

17 Taken as a whole, Indo-Portuguese shows a tendency towards use of Portuguese demonstratives for the definite article but some varieties use *o* as the latter (regardless of whether the following noun is masculine or feminine in Portuguese). (Absence of any article, definite or indefinite, is also frequent, probably reflecting the influence of local languages.)

18 This does not apply to Portuguese *muito* and Spanish *mucho* since both also mean 'a lot of'.

19 East Australian Pidgin English originally had an Aboriginal clause initial negator (attested in various spellings: *bael, baal, bail, bel*, etc.) but this was gradually replaced by predicate initial *no*.

20 Sãotomense and the other Gulf of Guinea Creoles have a two-part negator, one part of which occurs predicate-initially, the other predicate-finally.

21 These features are often associated with creoles (e.g. Bickerton 1981) but they occur in Chinese Pidgin English (which never had native speakers) and Melanesian Pidgin English (before it had native speakers) so they are also pidgin features.

22 Corne (1999: 113, 151) mentions marginal use of genitives with forms deriving from French *de* in the creoles of French Guiana and Louisiana. In excluding these here, I am assuming that genitive structures without this preposition are attested earlier in these varieties but this remains to be confirmed.

23 Notably the pre-existing local Pidgin English in Hawai'i, and indigenous languages of New Caledonia in the case of Tayo.

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