

**AGGLUTINATED FRENCH ARTICLES
IN CREOLE FRENCH : THEIR
EVOLUTIONARY SIGNIFICANCE**

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The (etymological) agglutination found in Creole French languages of both the Indian Ocean and the Americas is of two kinds. First there is agglutination which consists of a single consonant derived from part, or an abbreviated form, of a French article which is the non-deletable initial element of certain Creole nouns which in French are pronounced with an initial vowel. Typical examples from Mauritian Creole (Mau) are: *zom* 'man' <French *les hommes*, *nespes* 'kind' <Fr. *une espèce*, and *lanh*² 'ink' <Fr. *l'encre*. This kind of agglutination is found in all varieties of Creole French in broadly equal measure. It is thus of limited interest and will not be explored further here.

The second kind of agglutination concerns French articles which are the source of the complete, non-deletable, initial syllable of certain Creole nouns. It is this kind of agglutination with which this paper is primarily concerned. Typical examples from Mau are: *dite* 'tea' <Fr. *du thé*, *dilo/delo* 'water' <Fr. *de l'eau*, *dizef* 'egg' <Fr. *des oeufs*, *lera* 'rat' <Fr. *le rat/les rats*, *lizur* 'daylight' <Fr. *le jour*, *lizye* 'eye' <Fr. *les yeux*, and *lamer* 'sea' <Fr. *la mer*. This kind of agglutination is particularly common in Mau and in the other varieties of Isle de France Creole (IdF) spoken in the Seychelles (Sey) and Rodrigues (Rod), rather less common in Haitian (Hai) and other forms of Creole French spoken in the Americas, and very rare in modern Reunion Creole (Reu), as the figures in Table I show.³

The aim of this paper is to provide an explanation for the very unequal distribution of such agglutinated forms among different varieties of Creole French, and to assess its significance for the formation and development of these languages.

Table I

Number of nouns having an initial syllable wholly derived from
a French article attested in Haitian and four Indian Ocean
Creoles

French articles	Creole forms	Number of agglutinated forms attested in:				
		Hai	Mau	Reu	Rod	Sey
<i>du</i>	<i>di-</i>)					
<i>de l'</i>	<i>dil-/del-</i>)	4	34	8	27	29
<i>des</i>	<i>diz-/dez-</i>)					
<i>le</i>	(<i>li-/liz-</i>)					
<i>les</i>	(<i>lez-/le-</i>)	10	62	1	46	45
<i>la</i>	<i>la-</i>	98	375	3	264*	370
Total		<u>112</u>	<u>471</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>337</u>	<u>444</u>

Before examining agglutination in more detail, it may be useful to give some general indication of the degree of lexical affinity between different varieties of Creole French. For this purpose, the Swadesh list of 100 basic words is employed. As considerably more information is available for the Indian Ocean than the Americas, a separate column is allotted in Table II to Mau, Reu, Rod, and Sey while all the principal corresponding forms known to exist in one or other of the American Creoles are given in a single column.

*The principal source of information concerning Rod is Carl Momus who had just left school and come to Mauritius in search of employment when these data were collected in early 1983. It may be noted that he was familiar with fewer *la-* forms than are listed for Mau and Sey. This is probably without significance in the present context. The *la-* forms of Mau and Sey with which he was not familiar are almost all low frequency items, many of them abstract nouns such as *labonte* 'goodness', *lagwar* 'glory', *lavikwar* 'victory' etc. It may be added that there is no high frequency Mau or Sey agglutinated form which was not also known to this Rodrigues informant.

Table II

Current Mau, Reu, Rod and Sey terms corresponding to the 100 basic lexical items of the Swadesh list, together with the principal equivalents noted in varieties of American Creole French

No.	English	French	Mau	Reu	Rod	Sey	American Creole French ^a
1.	all	tout	tu	tu tut	tu	tu	tu tut Hai, Lou... Dom, Hai...
2.	ash	cendre	lasan	san	lasan	lasan	san lasan Hai, Mar... Lou
3.	bark	écorce [peau]	lekore lapo	po	lapo	lapo	ekə lekə lekə əgkə p lapo Hai Lou Tri Tri
4.	belly	ventre [boudin]	vaht	vaht	vaht	vaht	vaht budeh Dom, Hai... Hai, SLu...
5.	big	gros grand [bel(le)]	gro grah bel	gro grah bel	gro grah bel	gro grah bel ø	Dom, Hai... Dom, Hai...
6.	bird	oiseau [gibier]	zwazo zozo	zwazo zozo	zwazo zozo	zwazo zozo	zwazo/zwezo zozo zibye/zibye Hai... Hai, Lou... Mar...
7.	bite	mordre	mord/e	mord/e	mord/e	mord/e	məde məd Hai, Mar... Lou, Tri...
8.	black	noir	nwar	nwar	nwar	nwar	nwa nwε Hai, Lou... Dom, Mar...
9.	blood	sang	disah	sañ	disah	disah	sañ disah Gua, Hai... Lou
10.	bone	os	lezo	zo	lezo	lezo	zo ø dezo Gua, Hai... Lou
11.	breasts	seins [tétés]	tete	tete	tete	tete	seh tete Hai Hai, Mar...
12.	burn	brûler [flamber]	bril/e	bril/e	bril/e	bril/e	brile brule bule ? Hai, Lou... Dom Hai
13.	claw	griffe [ongle]	grif	?	grif	grif	grif soñg Hai Mar
14.	cloud	nuage	nyaz	nyaz	nyaz	nyaz	nwa3 Dom, Hai
15.	cold	froid	fre	fre	fre	fre	ø fret fwet Hai, Lou Hai, Mar
16.	come	venir	vin/i vnir		vin/i	vin/i	vini ø Dom, Hai...

<u>No.</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Mau</u>	<u>Reu</u>	<u>Rod</u>	<u>Sey</u>	<u>American Creole French</u>	
17.	die	mourir	mor	mor	mor	mor	muri mɔ	Hai, Lou Gua, Mar...
18.	dog	chien		syen			iyen sen lisyen lisyen Ø	Gua, Lou...
19.	drink	boire	bwar	bwar	bwar	bwar	bwa bwe	Lou Gua, Hai...
20.	dry	sec	sek	sek	sek	sek	sek ʃɛʃ ʃɛs	Gua, Mar Hai Dom, Tri
21.	ear	oreille	zorey	zorey	zorey	zorey	zorey	Hai, Mar...
22.	earth	terre	later	ter	later	later	te late	Gua, Hai... Hai, Lou...
23.	eat	manger	maɪz/e	maɪz/e	maɪz/e	maɪz/e	maɪze moɪze	Gua, Hai... Lou
24.	egg	oeuf		zef			ze Ø dexe dizef dizef Ø	Hai, Gua... Lou
25.	eye	oeil		zye			zye ze lizye lizye Ø	Lou, Tri... Hai
26.	feather	plume	plim	plim	plim	plim	plim	Hai, Mar...
27.	fire	feu		dife	dife	dife	fe Ø dife	Lou Gua, Hai...
28.	fish	poisson	pwason	pwason	pwason	pwason	pwason pwason Ø	Hai, Lou... Dom, Hai...
29.	flesh	chair [viande]	laser	ser vyan	laser	lavyan lavyan Ø	ʃɛ laʃɛ vyan lavyon	Hai Gua, Hai Lou Hai, Mar...
30.	fly	voler [envoler]	awol/e	vol/e	awol/e	awol/e	awol/e	Lou Hai, Mar...
31.	foot	pied		pye			pye Ø	Hai, Mar...
32.	full	plein	pleh	pleh	pleh	pleh	pleh	Hai, Tri...
33.	give	donner [bailler]	don/e	don/e	don/e	don/e	done ba(y)	Lou Gua, Hai...
34.	good	bon	boh	boh	boh	boh	boh	Hai, Lou...
35.	grease	graisse	lagres	gres	lagres	lagres	gres Ø	Hai, Tri...

No.	English	French	Mau	Reu	Rod	Sey	American Creola	French
36.	green	vert	ver	ver	ver	ver	ve vet	Lou, Mar... Hai, SLu...
37.	hair	cheveu	seve	seve	seve	seve	seve-sive	Hai
38.	hand	main	lame	meh	lame (h)	lameh	meh lameh	Gua Hai, Lou...
39.	head	tête	latet	tet latet	latet	latet	tet latet	Gua, Hai... Lou
40.	hear	entendre	antah tarf' de	antah	antah	antah	antah tarf' de tarf' de tan tahd ton/de	Hai Gua Tri Lou
41.	heart	coeur	leker	ker	leker	leker	ke-ce ø	Hai, Tri...
42.	horn	corne	korn	korn	korn	korn	kon	Hai, Lou...
43.	hot	chaud	so	so	so	so	so	Hai, Lou...
44.	I	je [moi]	mo	m/weh	mo	mo	ø m/weh mo mah ah	Hai Gua, Lou Gua, Mar Gua
45.	kill	tuer	tuy/e	tye	tuy/e	tuy/e	ø tuye cue-cue	Hai Lou...
46.	knee	genou	zenu zunu zonu	zenu	zenu	zenu	zenu zunu	Hai Gua, Tri
47.	know	connaître [savoir]	kon/e	kon/e	kon/e	kon/e	konet kone sav	Gua, Tri Hai, Lou... Gua, Tri
48.	leaf	feuille	fey	fey	fey	fey	fey-fey	Hai...
49.	lie	coucher [allonger]	aloha/e	kuh/e	aloha/e	aloha/e	kuh/e ø	Hai, Lou...
50.	liver	foie	fwa	fwa	fwa	fwa	fwa	Gua, Hai...
51.	long	long (ue)	long	lohq	long	long	loh lohq ø	Hai, SLu... Hai, SLu...
52.	louse	pou	lipu	pu	lipu	lipu	pu ø	Gua, Hai...
53.	man	homme	zom	zom	zom	zom	nom ø	Gua, Lou...

No.	English	French	Mau	Reu	Rod	Sey	American Creole French	
54.	many	beaucoup [pile] [charge] [tas]	boku buku	boku	buku	boku	boku an-pil oh-lay ta	SLu Gua, Hai... SLu Lou
55.	moon	lune	lalin	lin	lalin	lalin	Ø lalin	Hai, Mar...
56.	mountain	montagne [?]	mohtany	mohtany	mohtany	mohtany	mohtany mon	Gua, Mar... Hai, SLu...
57.	mouth	bouche	labus	bus	labus	labus	bus Ø	Hai, SLu...
58.	name	nom	nom	nom	nom	nom	nom	Dom, Hai...
59.	neck	cou	liku	ku	liku	liku	ku Ø	Gua, Hai...
60.	new	neuf nouveau	nef nuvo	nev nuvel ^c	nef nuvo	nef nuwo	nef Ø nuwo Ø	Gua, Hai... Hai, Lou...
61.	night	nuit	nwit lanwit	nwit	lanwit	lanwit	nwit lanwit	Hai, Tri... Gua, Hai...
62.	nose	nez	nene	ne	nene	nene	ne Ø	Dom, Hai...
63.	not	ne...pas	pa	pa ^d	pa	pa	pa	Dom, Hai...
64.	one	un(e)	en	en ^e en	en	en ^e en	en Ø yon yon yon on	Lou Hai Gua, Mar... Dom, SLu... Gua, Hai...
65.	path	chemin [sentier]	semeñ sime	semeñ	simeñ	semeñ	semeñ simeñ sachtye	Hai Gua, Lou... Mar
66.	person	personne [du monde]	dimon	dimon	dimon	dimon	Ø Ø Ø Ø dimon mun	Gua, Hai...
67.	rain	pluie	lapli	pli lapli	lapli	lapli	pli lapli	Hai Gua, Hai...
68.	red	rouge	rus	rus	rus	rus	ru3	Gua, Hai...
69.	root	racine	rasin	rasin	rasin	rasin	rasin	Gua, Hai...
70.	round	rond	roh	roh	roh	roh	roh	Gua, Hai...
71.	sand	sable	disab	sab	disab	disab	sab Ø	Gua, Hai...

<u>No.</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Mau</u>	<u>Reu</u>	<u>Rod</u>	<u>Sey</u>	<u>American Creole French</u>
72.	say	dire	dir	dir	dir	dir	dt Gua, Hai...
73.	see	voir		uwar			Ø UWE-UWS Lou Hai, Slu...
		[trouver]	truv/e		truv/e	truv/e	Ø
74.	seed	graine		gren lagren		lagren	gren Ø Ø Gua, Hai...
75.	sit	asseoir	asia/e size	asia/e	asia/e	asia/e	asia size asit asid sita-sita Mar, Tri Gua Lou Slu Hai
76.	skin	peau		po lapo	lapo	lapo	po lapo Gua, Hai... Guy, Lou...
77.	sleep	dormir	dormi	dormi	dormi	dormi	dormi dromi Gua, Hai... Lou
78.	small	petit	ti	ti	ti	ti	ti Gua, Hai...
79.	smoke	fumée		fime lafime	lafime	lafime	Ø lafime Gua, Hai...
80.	stand	être/se mettre debout		dəbut/e dibut/e	dibut/ə	dibut	Ø Ø dubut kampe Hai
		[camper?]					
81.	star	étoile	setwal	setwal	setwal	setwal	setwal setwel Gua, Hai... Mar, Tri
82.	stone	pierre roche	ros	ros	ros	ros	pye roʃ-roʃ Hai Gua, Hai...
83.	sun	soleil	soley	soley	soley	soley	soley-soley Hai...
84.	swim	nager	naz/e	naz/e	naz/e	naz/e	naze nəʒe Gua, Hai Lou
85.	tail	queue		ke lake	lake	lake	ke-oe lake-lace Gua, Hai... Lou...
86.	that	cela, ça	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa sila sila Gua, Hai... Hai Tri
87.	this	ça, ceci	sa	sa	sa	sa	sa sala-slala sila Hai, Slu... Tri Hai

No.	English	French	Mau	Reu	Rod	Sey	American Creole French	
88.	thou ^f	tu [toi] [vous]	to twa u	t/we v-vw u	to twa u	-s -s u	Ø to Ø Ø u	Guy, Lou Dom, Hai...
89.	tongue	langue	lalang	laing	lalang	lalang	Ø laing	Gua, Hai...
90.	tooth	dent	ledah	dañ	ledah	ledah	Ø dañ	Gua, Hai...
91.	tree	arbre [pied] [bois]	-h pye	pye	pye	pye	nab pye bwa	Lou Gua, Hai Dom, Tri
92.	two	deux	de	de	de	de	de	Dom, Hai
93.	walk	marcher	mars/e	mars/e	mars/e	mars/e	mas/e	Gua, Hai...
94.	water	eau	dilo delo	dalo	dilo	dilo delo	Ø dlo glo Ø Ø dolo	Gua, Hai... SLu Lou
95.	we	nous	nu	nu	nu	nu	nu	Gua, Hai...
96.	what	que, quoi	ki	kosa kuk	ki	ki	ki ki sa Ø Ø sa ka	Dom, Hai... Dom, Hai... Gua, Lou... Gua
97.	white	blanc	blañ	blañ	blañ	blañ	blañ	Gua, Hai...
98.	who	qui	ki ki senla ki sanla	ki sa ki sak ki sek	ki	ki	ki ki sa Ø Ø ki sella Ø ki senla Ø Ø sila ki ki mun ka sa sa ki a ki	Gua, Tri... Dom Lou Dom, Hai... Gua Dom Tri Tri
99.	woman	femme	fam	fam	fam	fam	fam fam	Dom, Hai... Lou
100.	yellow	jaune	son	son	son	son	zon	Gua, Hai...

Notes:

- ^a Abbreviations used in this column are: *Dominica, Guadeloupe, Guyane Française, Haiti, Louisiana, Martinique, Saint Lucia, Trinidad.*
- ^b ∅ indicates that no corresponding form appears to be attested in an American Creole, i.e. in this particular case, no American Creole appears to have **po* 'bark' deriving from French *peau* 'skin' (though Tri does have the agglutinated form *lapo* in this sense as indicated below).
- ^c Papen 1978:318.
- ^d In Reu *pa* must necessarily follow a verb whereas in the other Creoles *pa* obligatorily occurs as the first element of the predicate, thus preceding any verb in the predicate.
- ^e In Reu and Sey, *en* occurs in counting aloud, i.e. is equivalent to 'one' in English, whereas *en* corresponds to English 'a, an'.
- ^f 'Thou' is interpreted simply as 2nd person singular (rather than as the familiar form of the 2nd person singular pronoun).
- ^g Both *to* and *twa* occur in Sey today but in such restricted circumstances that it would be misleading to include them in the table. (Cf. also Young, 1983.)
- ^h *Zarb* occurs in Mau but is very rare and is thus excluded from the table.
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Before attempting to interpret Table II, three points require clarification:

- (a) In the case of number 13, it has not been possible to determine the Reu form. In calculating figures for the number of shared forms (below), it will be assumed that *grif* exists in Reu (as in other Indian Ocean Creoles).
- (b) Verbs in Mau, Rod, and Sey have a maximum of two forms, termed 'short' and 'long'. The short form is generally derivable from the long by the deletion of the final vowel. In Table II, the latter is marked off from the short form by a slash, e.g. *mord/e* = short form *mord*, long form *morde*. In some cases the short form is further altered by the application of a number of phonological rules. For example, the short form of *tahde* (no.40) is *tan*. The conventions of *lortograf-linite* allow this to be represented in linear fashion as *tan/'de*.

Verbs in Reu have up to five distinct forms (Corne 1982:27). Where two of these correspond phonologically to the short and long forms in the Isle de France Creoles, the Reu verb is entered in Table II in exactly the same way. This inevitably suggests that Reu verbs are more similar to those of IdeFC than is in fact the case. It should also be made clear that the distribution of Reu forms resembling the short and long forms of IdeF differs from their distribution in the latter.

(c) In Sey, any vowel adjacent to a nasal consonant is liable to be nasalized (Corne 1977:102-105). Such nasalization, where not also etymological, is regarded as nonphonemic and is thus not indicated in Table II. For example, Sey [kõñē] is entered as *kon/e*. There is early textual evidence to indicate that such nasalization was not uncommon in Mau but the overwhelming evolutionary tendency in Mau has been for vowels adjacent to nasal consonants to denasalize, especially in word-final position, with the consequence that certain etymologically nasal vowels are today generally pronounced orally. This tendency affects two of the items in the Swadesh list: *lame* 'hand' <Fr. *la main* and *sime* 'path' <Fr. *chemin*. For the purposes of comparison below, these Mau forms will be considered phonologically identical to *lameñ* and *simeñ* of other Creoles.

Table II shows that there are very few items shared by all the Indian Ocean Creoles which are not also found in one or more of American Creoles. Indeed, if allowance is made for the regular correspondences between the Creoles of these two zones,⁴ there appear to be only two phonologically identical forms shared by all the Indian Ocean Creoles for which corresponding forms are not attested in one or more of the American Creoles. These are:

no.15 *fre* (American *fret*, *fwet*...)
no.53 *zom* (American *nom*)

These two provide remarkably little support for what has been the widely-held view - not shared by myself - that all Indian Ocean Creoles are derived from a single 'ancestor', 'Bourbonnais', spoken in Reunion in the early part of the 18th century and which developed independently of American Creole French (cf. Chaudenson 1974).

With regard to the degree of lexical affinity between the different Creoles of the Indian Ocean, the findings of Table II are summarized in Table III.

Table III

A summary of the principal findings of Table II concerning the degree of lexical affinity between Mau, Reu, Rod, and Sey

	Mau + Reu + Rod + Sey	Mau + Reu + Rod + Sey	Mau + Rod + Sey	Reu + Rod + Sey	Mau + Reu	Mau + Rod	Mau + Sey	Reu + Rod	Reu + Sey	Rod + Sey
47	47	49	80	49	48	86	85	49	54	86
9	9	9	16	7	11	13	15	7	5	10
56	56	58	96	56	59	99	100	56	59	96
40	40	38	3	40	38	1	0	41	37	4
96	96	96	99	96	97	100	100	97	96	100
4	4	4	1	4	3	0	0	3	4	0
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Identical entries in Table II*

At least one phonologically identical shared form within the entry

Entries containing phonologically dissimilar forms: derived from/including some etymon

derived from different etyma

*Where the difference between any pair of Creoles consists only of V₀ vs. V̄g they are counted as identical. Comment on the treatment of *lame(h)* and *sims(h)* is given in the text (above). In all other cases, 'identical' is interpreted literally.

Table III reveals a very close relationship between Mau, Rod, and Sey. So close, indeed, that they must be considered to form a single language (cf. Baker and Corne 1982). By contrast, the relationship between each of these three and Reu is shown to be rather distant. These findings are broadly what might be expected from the study of the peopling of Mauritius, Rodrigues, and the Seychelles (Baker 1982a, 1982b). Although the continuous habitation of Mauritius dates from the arrival of a group of Réunionnais in 1721, these people were temporary visitors, not settlers. Neither they nor a few later visitors from Réunion were in a position to transmit 'Bourbonnais' to the more than 2,000 immigrants from Africa (including Madagascar), Europe and Asia who became established in Mauritius in the period 1722-35. Two young women are the only Réunion-born people definitely known to have settled in Mauritius by the end of 1735, and there is nothing to suggest that the Réunionnais contribution to the Mauritian gene pool was more than absolutely minimal in any later period of Mauritian history. Mau cannot, therefore, derive from 'Bourbonnais' (early Reu) and must instead result from an independent development.

Rodrigues appears to have been settled exclusively from Mauritius, by people who were first or second language speakers of Mau (Baker 1982a:207-8, 1982b:857-8). Rod cannot thus be other than a continuation of early Mau.

Full details of the early peopling of the Seychelles, which dates from ca.1770, remain to be established but it is known that early settlers and slaves included some from both Mauritius and Réunion (Baker 1982b:845-6). While there are clear signs of Reu in some grammatical and lexical items of Sey (Corne 1982:114-5, Baker 1982b:749-52), such influence is not apparent in the most basic vocabulary of Sey (cf. Tables II and III).

In all the columns in Table III which relate to Reu, there are between 37 and 41 phonologically dissimilar items which are derived from, or include, the same etyma. Most of these are nouns which have an (etymologically) agglutinated French article as their initial syllable in Mau, Rod, and Sey, and which are attested without such agglutination in Reu. This would seem strong evidence, in addition to that of the early demographic history of the territories concerned which was mentioned above, for supposing that Mau, Rod, and Sey had a common origin independent of Reu. However, Chaudenson holds that such agglutination formerly occurred in Reu and could, therefore, be the source of the

forms in other Indian Ocean Creoles (in line with his 'Bourbonnais' theory). It is thus important to examine his evidence.

Chaudenson begins a brief discussion of agglutination in Indian Ocean Creoles as follows: 'L'agglutination de l'article au nom. Cette agglutination n'est généralement pas réalisée dans la graphie en raison des habitudes graphiques françaises mais l'antéposition de déterminants spécifiques du nom ne laisse aucun doute sur sa réalité' (1981:175). The first part of this statement cannot be applied to Mauritius. From two texts collected by Freycinet in 1818 onwards, agglutinated articles in Mau have generally been shown graphically to be part of Creole nouns, either by use of a hyphen, as in *lê-rein* (<les reins, in a text written in 1818), or by the absence of both a hyphen and a space, as in *liziês* (<les yeux, Chrestien 1831). However, there is no case of an apparently agglutinated article in Reu being graphically marked as such in the various works of Héry; nor am I aware of any examples in later Reu texts. As Héry was undoubtedly inspired to publish in Creole (from 1828) by the success of the Mauritian author François Chrestien (from 1822; cf. also Chaudenson 1981:9), and as Héry adopted most of Chrestien's orthographic conventions (including redundant use of apostrophes, ç for [s] corresponding to orthographic *ch* in French etc.), his failure to adopt the hyphen to mark agglutinated articles is, at first sight, curious. However, as will be demonstrated, below, it appears that all Reu nouns which included a complete, 'agglutinated' French article could also occur, at that time, without that article. It thus seems that Héry had good reason not to adopt the Mauritian conventions in this case.

Chaudenson's passage, quoted above, continues as follows (new paragraph): 'Les exemples sont très nombreux dans l'oeuvre de Héry: "son la bec... son la guèle... son la panse... mon di riz... l'autre li rat..." (1981:176; these and all other such examples in Héry's works will be examined below). After giving a few later examples from other authors, Chaudenson devotes a separate subsection to *li*, a 19th century form of one of the Reu definite articles. While not commenting directly on agglutination, he implies with the sentence 'Toujours est-il que "li" se retrouve dans les autres créoles de l'Océan Indien: "lipyé" =pied; "léra" =rat; "licou" =cou; "lésyin" [sic]⁵ =chien; "lizyé" =oeil...' (1981:176) that the initial syllable of these IdeF nouns is derived from a 'Bourbonnais' article.

Modern Reu, in contrast to all other varieties of Creole French, retains gender to the extent that there are two preposed definite articles, *la* and *lə*. *La* occurs with singular nouns which are feminine in French, while *lə* occurs with singular nouns which are masculine in French as well as with all plural nouns regardless of their French gender. The only definite article in IdeF is postposed *-la* (from the French demonstrative particle *là*; this latter also occurs in Reu, but as it functions as a demonstrative (Chaudenson 1974:359) rather than as a definite article, it is not discussed here). Compare the following (in which the singular indefinite article is *eh* in Reu and Sey, and *en* in Mau and Rod):

<u>Mau + Rod</u>	<u>Reu</u>	<u>Sey</u>	<u>French gloss</u>
<i>en lakaz</i>	<i>eh kaz</i>	<i>eh lakaz</i>	une maison
<i>lakaz-la</i>	<i>la kaz</i>	<i>lakaz-la</i>	la maison
<i>lakaz-la</i>	<i>lə kaz</i>	<i>lakaz-la</i>	les maisons
<i>en lisyeh</i>	<i>eh syeh</i>	<i>eh lisyeh</i>	un chien
<i>lisyeh-la</i>	<i>lə syeh</i>	<i>lisyeh-la</i>	le chien
<i>lisyeh-la</i>	<i>lə syeh</i>	<i>lisyeh-la</i>	les chiens

(In all these Creoles, plurality may be made specific or emphasized by the use of preposed *ban*: Reu *lə ban syeh*, Mau/Rod/Sey *ban lisyeh-la* 'les chiens'.)

Throughout the works of Héry, published between 1828 and 1856, the distribution of the two definite articles is essentially the same as in modern Reu except that, instead of 'le' ([lə]), he writes 'li' as the plural and masculine singular definite article. A few examples: *la fourmi* 'la fourmi' (f., sing., (1883):17), *li bout* 'le bout' (m., sing., (1883):19), *li tabl' tout' pleines* 'les tables...' (f., plur., (1883):26), *li zoeufs* 'les oeufs' (m., plur., (1883):22). Héry was not born in Réunion and the quality of his Creole (i.e. Reu) has been severely criticized by Focard 1884 (cf. Corne 1982:64-5). Focard finds fault in particular with Héry's use of *li* (cf. Chaudenson 1981:176) saying, in effect, that Reu *li* is a third person singular pronoun, not an article. However, Focard himself employs *li* on one occasion. He illustrates the different ways in which (1) 'bons blancs' (Whites), (2) 'noirs indigènes' (locally-born Blacks), and (3) 'cafres' (foreign-born Africans) speak Reu with three versions of a short conversation concerning a dog. In (1), *cien* occurs only following a possessive pronoun and an adjective. In (2), there is *le cien* while at the corresponding point in (3) there is *li cien là* (1884:183-4). Thus, while seeming to

cast doubt on the authenticity of Héry's language, Focard's real objection to *li* as an article is that this pronunciation was associated with Africans (foreign-born and thus not mother-tongue speakers of Reu) in contrast to the *lə* (graphic 'le') of the locally-born population. (Héry's book is in fact subtitled 'Esquisses africaines'.)

There are 35 examples in the whole of Héry's output where a syllable wholly derived from an article is found between an adjective or a determiner and a word which, in modern Reu, is itself a complete noun. These 35 examples involve 23 nouns. The same texts include 42 examples of these same 23 nouns without a preceding 'article'. The details are set out in Table IV.

Numbers 1-4 are found only with the feminine singular article in Héry and correspond to the early Mau and modern IdeF forms rather than to those of modern Reu.

Numbers 5-8 are also found only with an article in Héry but corresponding agglutinated forms are not attested in IdeF at any time. No.7 is feminine in French but occurs in Héry in what is clearly a plural context. Here *li* corresponds to French *les* or modern Reu *lə*. In other words, if I interpret Chaudenson 1974 correctly, the modern Reu forms corresponding to French 'la corne' and 'les cornes' are *la korn* and *lə korn*, respectively.

No.9 corresponds to an agglutinated form attested once in Mau in the 19th century. It seems that *trip* and *latrip* may formerly have been competing variants.

No.10 is attested both as *di bois* and as *bois* in Héry. The contexts in which they occur leave no doubt that they are to be glossed 'wood (timber)' rather than 'wood (forest)'. In Mau, Rod, and Sey, *dibwa* 'timber' contrasts with *bwa* 'forest' and this distinction is found from the earliest Mau texts. (D'Offay and Lionnet 1982 gloss *bwa* 'arbre' and *dibwa* 'bois', but Bollée (1977:92, 156) has examples which show that Sey conforms to Mau and Rod.)

All three examples of no.11 occur in singular contexts. Two of these correspond to the IdeF form while the other has *li* rather than *la*. Though *bec* is masculine in standard French, it is feminine in some dialects (Baker 1982b:785). The IdeF form might thus be of dialectal origin. The fact that Héry writes both *la bec* and *li bec* may suggest hesitation between dialectal and standard forms. (It should perhaps also be

Table IV

Apparent examples of agglutination of complete French articles in Reu, as attested in the work of Héry (1828, 1849, 1856), compared with the corresponding forms in IdeF

No.	Reu attestations	Modern Reu form	Modern IdeF forms	Early Mau attestations
1.	*lapo son la peau (19) ^x	po	lapo	la peau 1818a ^{xx} la-peau -1831
2.	*lagel s'aut' la guël (29), son la guèle (41)	gel	lagel	la-guël' -1822
3.	*laont ein la honte (29), grand la honte (39)	ont	laont	la honte 1828
4.	*lakrut gros la croûte (21)	?	lakrut	Ø
5.	*lapañs son la panse (41)	pañs	Sey pañs	Ø
6.	*lagid ein la guide (30)	?	Ø	Ø
7.	*lagut son la goutte (48), (54)	gut	gut	goutte 1888
8.	*likorn son li corn' (49)	korn	korn	cornes 1880
9.	*latrip mon la tripe (49)	trip	trip	tripes 1880 latripe 1888
10.	*dibwa gros di bois (42) BUT ein bois (53)	bwa	diwa	di-bois 1818a
11.	*labek son la bec (36), son grand la bec (37) BUT frèm' li bec (26)	bek	labek	la bec 1855
12.	*lazel s'aut' la saile (27), vout' la s'aile (32) vout' la s'ail' (32), son la s'ail' (33) BUT son saile (52)	sel	lezal	lè-saile -1831
13.	*lalañg nout' la langue (28), son la langue (39) ton la lang' (39), s'aut' la lang' (49) mon la langu' (49). BUT s'aut' lang' (38), son langue (54) qa langue là (60)	lang	lalang	la langue 1828 lalangue 1880
14.	*lizye son li sië (35) BUT toi n'a bons sië (26)	aye	lizye	li-sië -1822 liziës -1831
15.	*lidañ mon li dents (35) BUT vout' dents (25), son dents (41) son dent (52), (54), nout' dents (55)	dah	ledah	lè-dents -1822
16.	*lireñ son li reïn (39) BUT mon reïns (38)	reh	lereh	lè-reïn -1822 lërin 1867
17.	*labus son la bouq (41) BUT son bouq' (20), mon bouq' (34) son bouq' (44)	bus	labus	la-bousse -1822 labouce 1850
18.	*lafeh mon la faim (44) BUT grand faim (17), nana toujours faim (41)	?	Mau feh Mau lafeh Sey lafeh	faim -1822 la faim 1855

No.	<u>Reu attestations</u>	<u>Modern Reu form</u>	<u>Modern IdeF forms</u>	<u>Early Mau attestations</u>
19.	*latet son la tête (29), mon la tête (48) BUT son tât (21), son tête (22), (28), son tât' (27), vout' tête (39), mon tête (40), bon tât' (46)	tet	latet	la-tât' -1822 latête 1880
20.	*lapat s'aut' la patte (47) BUT son patte (20), (28), (37), (46), son patt' (43), (52), son patt (45), trois pattes (60)	pat	lapat	la patte 1855 lapattes 1880
21.	*diri mon di ris (51) BUT son ris (51)	deri	diri	du ris -1822 di-ris 1835 dou ris 1855 douri 1867
22.	*lira l'aut' li rat (54) BUT ein rat (53), (53), rat d'Salazi (53), dê rats (55)	ra	lera	lâ-rat -1822 lêrat 1867
23.	*lakaz ein p'tit la case (60) BUT mon case (20), son cas' (27), mon cas' (44), son case (53)	kaz	lakaz	case 1805 la-case 1818a

Notes

^x Numbers in brackets refer to pages in the combined 1883 edition of Héry's works. Where a cited form is attested in graphically identical form on more than one occasion, only the page reference(s) to any subsequent attestations are given, as in the case of no.7 where *son la goutte* is found on page 48 and on page 54.

^{ix} Dates in this column refer to particular 19th century publications. With one exception, the texts can be identified by referring to the Chronological list (Baker and Corne 1982:273-4) and bibliography of the latter publication. The exception is '1850' which refers to a text published for the first time in Chaudenson 1981:121-4.

remembered that Héry was not born in Reunion and that one or other form might conceivably be an error.)

No.12 is curious. In that wings occur in pairs, the contexts here are predictably plural. However, Reu possesses a 'dual' (Chaudenson 1974:358-9). While modern Reu *lə zye* may be glossed 'the eye(s)', the Reu form for referring to just one eye is *lə kote d zye*, lit. 'the side of the eye(s)' (Chaudenson 1974:359). This suggests that *zye* might really mean 'pair of eyes'. If so, Reu *zəl* might similarly mean 'pair of wings' which could account for the feminine singular article *la* rather than the plural *lə* here. Whatever the case, Héry's 'la zaille' corresponds to Reu article + *zəl* and cannot derive directly from French 'les ailes' (which is clearly the source of the IdeF form).

Numbers 10-23 inclusive provide twenty-three examples of agglutinated forms and forty-two examples of the same nouns without any trace of an article. The number of the latter is so great as to suggest that non-agglutinated forms of numbers 1-9 inclusive were also current at that time (if it is accepted that Héry's texts reflect, reasonably faithfully, at least one variety of Reu then spoken). There will be further comment on this below.

Numbers 13, 14, 17 and 18 have agglutinated forms corresponding to the only forms of these attested in IdeF.

Numbers 15, 16 and 22 have agglutinated forms which resemble those of IdeF but which have different first vowels, *i* in Reu and *e* in IdeF. In the Reu words, the agglutinated article appears to be the Reu article *li* whereas the IdeF forms appear to derive directly from French *les dents*, *les reins* and *les rats*, respectively.

Number 18 has both agglutinated and non-agglutinated forms corresponding to agglutinated and non-agglutinated forms in Mau, whereas Sey apparently has only an agglutinated form.

Number 21 has an agglutinated form corresponding to one of the two forms current in IdeF. In this case, an agglutinated form is also current in Reu.

Number 23 has an agglutinated form which corresponds to that of IdeF. (The single attestation of *case* in 1805 is curious. *Lakas* is clearly indicated in all subsequent texts.)

The significance of the thirteen nouns (numbers 10 and 12 to 23 inclusive) of which both agglutinated and non-agglutinated forms are attested in Héry must now be considered. There are 21 such attestations of agglutinated forms and 41 of the corresponding non-agglutinated forms. In spite of Focard's criticism of a handful of individual examples of agglutination in Héry's work, it seems most unlikely that Héry wrote *li* and *la* in positions where they never actually occurred in the Reu spoken at that time. It must be assumed, therefore, that both *aye* and *lizye*, for example, were current in the period covered by Héry's publications (1828-56). However, it does not necessarily follow that individual speakers of Reu in that period employed, indifferently, both agglutinated and non-agglutinated forms of the same nouns - indeed it seems most unlikely that such could have been the case. Put another way, Héry's Reu could well be consistent with the varieties of that language he heard without corresponding to the usage of any single speakers of Reu. (Chaudenson's footnote [1981:250] suggests that he would share this view.)

Of the twenty-three Reu nouns attested with agglutinated articles which are set out in Table IV, fourteen correspond to modern IdeF forms,⁶ one (no.9) corresponds to a form attested in Mau in 1888 only, five (nos.4, 6, 7, 8 and 10) are not attested in IdeF at any time while three (15, 16 and 22) bear a superficial resemblance to forms consistently attested in Mau from ca.1820 to date but differ in that the first vowel is *i* in Reu but *e* in Mau (and Rod and Sey). However, the latter three IdeF forms, as well as no.12, clearly derive from French *les dents*, *les reins*, *le(s) rat(s)* and *les ailes* respectively, whereas the Héry forms consist of the Reu definite articles *la* and *li* (the 'cafre' form of *lə*) plus the corresponding modern Reu forms. In fact, apart from no.21 *diri* and no.6 (for which no modern form is attested), all the agglutinated Héry forms in Table IV consist of a Reu article - *la* or *li* according to gender and/or plurality - and the modern Reu form of the corresponding noun. In other words, the agglutination noted by Héry seems to result not from non-Francophones attempting to acquire French in the 17th and 18th century but from later immigrants attempting to acquire Reu at a time when Reu already existed as such. This is an important point and one to which I will return to below.

Before going further, the causes of agglutination should be considered. On this subject, Chaudenson has written: '... en mauricien, par exemple, ce phénomène [d'agglutination]

se manifeste surtout pour des termes d'usage courant qui ont été à l'origine acquis par les esclaves avant que ceux-ci aient pu percevoir le rôle de l'article. Les autres mots, de fréquence moindre, se sont intégrés par la suite aux lexiques créoles alors que les locuteurs percevaient déjà avec plus de netteté les structures grammaticales du français. Cependant, bien entendu, l'intégration au lexique créole d'emprunts français nouveaux n'a pas entraîné (sauf en réunionnais) la perte de l'élément initial dans les cas anciens d'agglutination' (1981:175).

At first reading, the above passage seems to suggest that agglutination in Mau results from newly arrived slaves in Mauritius acquiring lexical items from Francophones prior to having grasped the function of articles in French. This appears to be largely, though not entirely, correct. However, as the suggestion that this took place in Mauritius would appear to conflict with Chaudenson's "Bourbonnais" theory (whereby the Creole spoken in Reunion prior to 1721 is held to have been taught to newly arrived slaves in Mauritius; cf. Chaudenson 1979), it must be assumed that this is not the author's intended meaning. As agglutination in Mau is later identified as something which Mau had 'retained' from 'Bourbonnais', a feature 'still' found in Reu at the time Héry was writing but which has since virtually disappeared from Reu (1981:175-6), it seems likely that Chaudenson's words '... ont été à l'origine acquis par les esclaves ...' refer to slaves in Reunion before the settlement of Mauritius began.

Chaudenson is no doubt right to suggest that agglutination of complete French articles must result from non-Francophones acquiring French lexical items before appreciating the role of articles in that language. However, if that were the only reason, some kind of correlation might be expected between the number of agglutinated items in individual Creole languages and the ratio of Francophones to non-Francophones during the early settlement of the territories concerned (with allowance being made for the effects of possible subsequent 'decreolization' in Reu). A comparison of the early peopling of Haiti, Mauritius and Reunion is given elsewhere (Baker 1982a:249-51). The composition of their respective populations about half a century from the start of settlement in each is given in Table V.

Earlier it was stated that there are at least 471 agglutinated items in Mau, 112 in Hai and 12 in modern Reu. The

Table V

<u>Territory</u>	<u>Year of census</u>	<u>Years after start of settlement</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Free population</u>	<u>Numerical total</u>
Haiti	1715	48	79%	21%	38,723
Mauritius	1767	46	80%	20%	18,777
Reunion	1713	50	46%	54%	1,171

significance of these two sets of figures depends in part on one's view of the origin of Mau. From the point of view of Chaudenson's 'Bourbonnais' theory, the number of agglutinated forms in modern Reu is small as the result of 'decreolisation' and is thus not a reflection of the former situation. If this were so, the number of such items in Mau would be some guide to the number formerly to have been found in 'Bourbonnais'. One would then expect to find more agglutination in Hai than in 'Bourbonnais' (as evidenced by Mau) because the opportunities for slaves to learn the role of the French article must have been far less in Haiti, where Francophones had declined to a fifth of the population within 50 years, than in Reunion, where Francophones consistently outnumbered slaves during the same period. However, such a correlation is not found, there being four times as many agglutinated items in Mau as in Hai.

The position taken in Baker (1982a) is that there is no reason to suppose that the language spoken by locally-born slaves in Reunion in ca.1720 (= Chaudenson's 'bourbonnais') was radically different from modern Reu, and thus that Reu is an adequate label for that language from 1720 to date. As indicated above, I consider Mau to be a language which originated and evolved essentially in isolation from Reu, due to the lack of Reu-speaking settlers in Mauritius (discussed in detail in Baker 1982a, sections 2.1 and 2.2). From this point of view, the prediction is that there would be few cases of agglutination in Reu and substantial, roughly equal, numbers of such cases in both Mau and Hai. This prediction is partially fulfilled⁷ but there is no explanation for why there should be four times as many such cases in Mau as in Hai. Thus, while relative lack of access to Francophones in the early years of settlement may have been a factor favouring the agglutination of complete French articles, it would appear not to have been the only factor involved. Other factors might, therefore, be found in the mother tongues of those taken as slaves to the

territories concerned.

Of all the languages spoken by slaves taken to Mauritius, there is one group, the Bantu languages, which share a feature which might lead their speakers to relate the preposed articles of French to the noun class prefixes of their mother tongues - morphemes which occur in precisely the same positions as French articles.

All Bantu languages have a dozen or more noun classes, each with its associated prefix. For example, there are fourteen such classes in Makuwa.⁸ Nouns are distributed somewhat unevenly among these classes, some containing many hundreds of nouns and others containing only a handful. For the purposes of illustration, the 54 nouns in the Swadesh list may be used. Of these, 20 have singulars in the class marked by the prefix *ni-* in Makuwa and plurals which usually⁹ belong to the class having the prefix *ma-*, 16 have singulars in the *e-* class and plurals in the *i-* class, 11 have singulars in one of the two *mu-* classes and plurals in the *mi-* class, 6 have singulars in the other *mu-* class and plurals in the *a-* class, and 1, for which there is no corresponding plural, has the prefix *o-*. The remaining five classes are not represented in this sample. In the present context, it is important to appreciate that nouns in Bantu languages effectively do not occur without class prefixes. Thus the prefixes of the major noun classes are among the most recurrent morphemes of Bantu languages. It is also important to emphasise that most Bantu languages do not have morphemes directly comparable to definite and indefinite articles in French (and European languages generally). The words of a popular manual of Swahili could be applied to many other Bantu languages:

There is no word in Swahili for *a* or *the*; *kiti* can be *a* chair, or *the* chair; *viti*, chairs, *some* chairs, or *the* chairs; the sense [sic; = context] must decide (Perrot 1957:7).

Given the above, it can be appreciated that slaves knowing only Bantu languages on arrival in Mauritius might relate the highly recurrent syllables [la], [lə], [le], [dy], [de] and [dø], found in noun phrase initial position in French, to the class prefixes occurring in noun phrase initial position in their own Bantu languages. By this, I do not mean that they would necessarily have analysed French articles, consciously, as noun class prefixes,

rather I am claiming the following:¹⁰

(1) that a number of high frequency French words which almost always occur following the same article - for example *du feu* 'fire' (Mau *dife*), *la fumée* 'smoke' (Mau *lafime*), and *de l'eau* 'water' (Mau *dilo/delo*) - were liable to be interpreted as single morphemes and thus acquired in an agglutinated form by slaves of any background in any slave society where slave-owners spoke French;

(2) that slaves in whose mother tongues there were morphemes corresponding broadly to French articles would rapidly identify the more obvious phonetic representations of the latter - i.e. [lə], [la], and [le] - and would thereafter tend to acquire French lexical items without an agglutinated initial syllable derived wholly from a French article. (Identifying [l] alone in e.g. *l'île* or *l'oeuf* as an article would have been a very much more difficult task.);

(3) that, in contrast to other slaves, Bantuphone immigrants, lacking the very concept of 'article', would not have had any motivation for seeking to identify French articles as such and would in consequence have been liable to interpret any syllable occurring noun-phrase initially as merely the first syllable of the following French noun. Bantuphone slaves would thus have tended to acquire far more agglutinated forms in which the initial syllable was wholly derived from a French article than non-Bantuphone slaves;

(4) that, as a result of (3), Bantuphone slaves would have acquired many items sharing one of a small number of initial syllables such as *la-*, *di-*, *le-* etc. but would not have seen in this anything unusual, being familiar only with the situation in their own mother tongues in which groups of several hundred nouns all share the same initial syllable, the latter being noun class prefixes.

If (1)-(4) are basically correct, it is to be expected that a Creole which stabilized at a time when most foreign-born slaves were Bantuphone would be likely to have far more agglutinated forms (in which the initial syllable was wholly derived from a French article) than one which stabilized in other circumstances.

Before going further, three points concerning agglutination need to be clarified. First, there is what may be called the 'frequency of collocation' principle, according

to which the more often a French noun occurs immediately following one particular French article, the more likely that the sequence of article + noun would have been interpreted as a single morpheme. Three examples which would score high on any scale of the frequency of collocation were given in (1) above. Sequences scoring low on such a scale would probably include nouns typically found in twos, threes or fours. For example, the typical white, slave-owning household is likely to have had several chairs and sheets, cups and saucers, knives and forks etc. The French words for these items are likely to have been encountered following a range of articles (singular and plural, definite and indefinite) and any low cardinal number. In other words, it is most improbable that any slave heard any of these nouns with sufficient frequency following just one of these possible determiners to have concluded that the latter and the following noun formed a single morpheme. It is thus not surprising that these six nouns have non-agglutinated forms in all varieties of Creole French. The basic principle of frequency of collocation would not preclude the possibility that certain French nouns might be acquired in two different forms, one agglutinated and the other not, if these correlated with two different semantic concepts in the slaves' languages and if French usage favoured the use of a particular article in connection with just one of these concepts. There are some twenty pairs of the following kind in Mau:

French <i>bois</i>	= Mau <i>dibwa</i> '(piece of) wood', and <i>bwa</i> 'forest'
<i>piéd</i>	= Mau <i>lipye</i> 'foot', and <i>pye</i> 'tree/plant'
<i>langue</i>	= Mau <i>lalang</i> 'tongue', and <i>lang</i> 'language'
<i>jour</i>	= Mau <i>lizur</i> 'daylight', and <i>zur</i> 'day'

It is perhaps of interest to note that in Hai, as in French, there is only one term - *bwa*, *pye*, *lang* and *zu* - corresponding to each Mau pair.¹¹

The second point concerns the number of syllables in French and Mau nouns. As only one of the Mau nouns in the Swadesh list which have an initial syllable wholly derived from a French article concerns a French disyllabic noun - *fumée* - and all the others are monosyllabic in French, it might appear that such agglutination was primarily motivated by a desire to avoid monosyllabic nouns. In fact, more than a quarter of all such agglutinated nouns in Mau have two, three or four syllables in French, such as *labutik* 'shop', *lasemine* 'chimney', *lapusyer* 'dust', *lekohtrer* 'opposite', *liaufler* 'cauliflower', etc. It

should also be borne in mind that a very large proportion of the most common French nouns are monosyllabic, including 42 of the 54 French nouns in the Swadesh 100 list, for example. Furthermore, Mau does have many very common monosyllabic nouns. Three were alluded to in the preceding paragraph - *tas* 'cup', *sez* 'chair', *dra* 'sheet'. Others include *ros* 'stone', *sat* 'cat', *fler* 'flower', *pul* 'chicken', *sak* 'bag', etc. When all the above-mentioned factors are considered, it will be seen that it is the frequency of collocation of a particular article and a particular noun which favoured the creation of agglutinated forms rather than the frequency of the noun alone or the number of its syllables.

The third point concerns the retention of agglutinated forms. Assuming that the reasons given earlier for supposing that Bantuphone slaves would have adopted considerably more agglutinated forms than those from other backgrounds are accepted, it might nevertheless be felt that their descendants would aspire to acquire French and, to that end, would eschew such agglutinated forms. As the considerable evidence of early Mau texts shows very clearly that the agglutinated forms in current usage are essentially the same as those employed at the beginning of the 19th century, it is obvious that the descendants of Bantuphone immigrants adopted and perpetuated the agglutinated forms of their parents. The reasons for this are, I think, twofold. First, by the time there were many locally-born slaves, there would also have been many locally-born slave-owners capable of speaking both Mau and French. As instructions given in Mau would tend to be better understood than instructions given in French, it would make good sense for them to address their field slaves in Mau. (Different conventions may have applied within the French-speaking home.) If so, opportunities for field slaves to acquire French would effectively be blocked. The second but perhaps more important reason is that a Creole language which stabilized would necessarily have been an essentially complete system and agglutinated articles were part of that system. Furthermore, such agglutinated articles would also have served to disambiguate many words which would otherwise be homophones, as the following examples show:

Mau *dimal* 'pain' (Fr. (*du*) *mal*), *lamal* 'trunk' (Fr. (*la*) *malle*), *mal* 'male' (Fr. *mâle*)
 Mau *disel* 'salt' (Fr. (*du*) *sel*), *lasel* 'saddle' (Fr. (*la*) *selle*), *sel* 'alone, only' (Fr. *seul*); also contrasting

with *lesel* 'ladder' (Fr. (*l'*)*échelle*)
 Mau *lever* 'worm' (Fr. (*le/les*) *ver(s)*), *ver* 'glass' (Fr. *verre*); also contrasting with *laver* 'washer (wo)man' (Fr. *laveur*) and *liver* 'winter' (Fr. (*l'*)*hiver*)
 Mau *lefwa* 'liver' (Fr. (*le*) *foie*), *fwa* 'time(s)' (Fr. *fois*)
 Mau *lawal* 'sail' (Fr. (*la*) *voile*), *wal* 'veil' (Fr. *voile*)
 Mau *lasante* 'health' (Fr. (*la*) *santé*), *sante* 'song' (Fr. 'chanson', <Fr. *chanter* (v))

If the unusually large number of agglutinated forms in Mau can be attributed to the influence of Bantuphone slaves, the implication is that the precise form of a great many Mau nouns was determined at a time when East African slaves were particularly numerous. Arrivals of Bantuphone immigrants in Mauritius date from 1737 (Baker 1982b:11-13). They are thought to have outstripped arrivals from Madagascar from about 1762 and, in the period 1773-94, there are known to have been about nine East African arrivals for every one from Madagascar (Baker 1982b:41, 49). This suggests that Mau may have 'jelled'¹² in the last third of the 18th century. This is consistent with the first known reference to 'la langue créole' in Mauritius in 1773 (Baker 1982a:248) but it implies that the role of the first locally-born slaves - the first such slave was born on the island in 1727 - in the development of Mau from earlier pidginized forms of speech may have been less crucial than was suggested in Baker (1982a:247-49) or, indeed, than has often been assumed in works dealing with the origins of Creole languages which have been published in the past twenty years. For this reason, the timetable of the emergence of Mau needs to be reconsidered, as will be done below. However, attention must first be given to the immediate implications of this for Reu and Hai.

While six of the 311 slaves in Reunion in 1704 were from Mozambique (Chaudenson 1974:458), there is no clear indication that there were any others from this territory before the 1730s. As the free population also outnumbered slaves in Reunion until some time after 1713, it seems unlikely that agglutination of the kind and on the scale found in Mau would have been a feature of the Reu spoken by locally-born slaves in the early decades of the 18th century. Towards the end of that century, however, the proportion of Bantuphone slaves in Reunion was probably almost as great as was then found in Mauritius. If the Reu of the locally-born population had at that time the two preposed articles - *la* (feminine singular) and *le-li* (plural and masculine singular) - attested from 1828, Bantuphone

immigrants would have been liable to interpret these as merely the initial syllable of the following noun, for the same reasons as in Mau (see above). Agglutinated forms produced by Bantuphone slaves in Reunion would differ from those in Mauritius in that the former would consist of a Reu article and a Reu noun whereas the latter would consist of a French article and a French noun. Thus the Reu of Bantuphone immigrants might include such forms as **lazel* 'wing(s)' (<Reu *la* 'feminine singular definite article' + Reu *zel* 'wing(s)') and **lidañ* 'tooth/teeth' (<Reu *lə-li* 'plural definite article' + Reu *dañ* 'tooth/teeth') whereas the corresponding Mau forms *lezal* and *ledañ* derive directly from French *les ailes* and *les dents* respectively.

The Héry texts do indeed provide clear evidence of such agglutination in Reu. However, the same texts also include attestations of some of the same nouns without an agglutinated article. The latter, taken together with the scarcity of such agglutinated forms in later 19th century texts (Chaudenson 1981: 175-76, 180-81), suggests that such forms may well have become obsolete at about the same time as the last Bantuphone immigrant died. The inference is clearly that agglutination of articles was a feature of the imperfectly acquired Reu of Bantuphone immigrants which was not adopted by the locally-born population (including their own descendants). If the agglutination of French articles and nouns, an entrenched feature of Mau, is attributable to Bantu influence, an explanation must be found for why the agglutinated forms derived from Reu articles and nouns, attested in Héry's works, failed to become an established feature of Reu. This question will be examined below.

With regard to Haiti, there is no detailed account of its peopling yet available. Nevertheless, some useful information concerning the proportion of Bantuphone immigrants among slave arrivals in Haiti is to be found in Curtin (1969). Figures he cites indicate that slaves from the Congo/Angola area accounted for only 6.3% of arrivals in 1715-20 but that this had increased to 48.9% in the decade 1791-1800. There was thus the potential for Bantu influence in Haiti but its extent would clearly depend on how early its Creole stabilized, a matter to which I will return after examining the timetable of the emergence of Mau and of Reu.

As indicated above (paragraphs following Table III), the study of the peopling of Mauritius leads me to the view that Indian Ocean Creoles have two starting points, one in Réunion (settled from ca.1663) and the other in Mauritius (continuously inhabited from 1721). Rod is without doubt a

continuation of Mau as spoken in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Sey is also basically a continuation of late 18th century Mau but with some lexical influence from Reu due to the presence at an early stage of some Réunionnais settlers. Of the Indian Ocean Creoles, it is thus the origins and development of Reu and Mau which are of particular interest.

A detailed examination of the contrasting circumstances in which Reu and Mau emerged (Baker 1982b:806-44) suggests that differences in timing of three demographic events played a key role in their evolution. These events are:

1. when the number of slaves, who included several different ethnic groups speaking unrelated languages, surpassed the number of members of the 'ruling class';¹³
2. when the number of locally-born slaves surpassed the total number of members of the 'ruling class' (both foreign- and locally-born);
3. when the regular supply of slave immigrants came to an end.

The significance of these three events is interpreted in (i)-(iv) below:

(i) Prior to there being any locally-born, Creole-speaking adults, foreign-born slaves would have used pidginized varieties¹⁴ of the language of the 'ruling class' in order to communicate with those who did not speak their own, or a closely related, ancestral language. (The 'ruling class' spoke the only language to which all slaves were subjected.) Children born to slaves at this time would initially have had exposure to such varieties of pidginized speech, especially where their own parents had no other means of communicating with one another. Those exposed to more pidginized than other forms of speech in their earliest years would have acquired lexical items from this and would, following Bickerton's theory (1981), have sought to 'expand' this (into a Creole language) with features derived from the bioprogram (cf. Bickerton 1981). However, as such children grew older and less subject to immediate maternal supervision, they would increasingly have been exposed to the language of the majority 'ruling class'. If the 'innovations' (bioprogram-derived features) of the locally-born slaves' language were not adopted or readily understood by the rest of the population, alternatives might have been

found in the (adequate) language of the 'ruling class' but not in the (inadequate) pidginized speech of foreign-born slaves. Added to this, there was no pre-existing, adult, Creole-speaking community with which locally-born slaves could identify. However, the 'ruling class', whose members had the power to determine the fate of individual slave children, spoke a language which included much of the vocabulary of Creole. All of these are seen as reasons likely to have contributed towards motivating locally-born slaves to adapt their speech in the direction of the language of the 'ruling class'. So long as the 'ruling class' was numerically dominant, as it was prior to Event 1, exposure to their language is assumed to have been sufficiently extensive to ensure that these children would have reached adulthood as competent speakers of the language of the 'ruling class', though perhaps retaining some Creole features. It is thus not envisaged that a locally-born, Creole-speaking community would have emerged as long as the 'ruling class' outnumbered the slave population, i.e. not until after Event 1.

Event 1 can be dated ca.1715 in the case of Reu (some 50 years after the start of settlement) and ca.1730 in the case of Mauritius (less than 10 years after the start of settlement).¹⁵ One implication of this is that the well-known first Reu text dating from ca.1722 (Chaudenson 1974: 444; Baker and Corne 1982:4), which resembles modern Reu closely in some respects, is likely to have been fairly representative of the speech of much of the 'ruling class' as well as of locally-born slaves at that time, rather than the latter alone. (Cf. Corne [1982:106-7] who also reaches this view although for somewhat different reasons.)

(ii) If the growing proportion of slaves within the total population, which had led to Event 1, continued thereafter, as was the case in both Reunion and Mauritius, there would have been a steady decline in the amount of exposure to the language of the 'ruling class' available on average to each locally-born slave. In consequence, locally-born slaves would increasingly have tended to reach adulthood with a less competent knowledge of the language of the 'ruling class' and to have spoken varieties of the latter in which more Creole features were retained. The speech of locally-born slaves would thereafter have been influenced in part by that of locally-born adult slaves as well as by that of the 'ruling class'. Similarly, the pidginized speech of foreign-born slaves would increasingly have been based on the range of speech forms used by locally-born

adult slaves as well as by the 'ruling class', rather than on the latter alone. The overall effect of these gradual changes between Events 1 and 2 is that a continuum of speech forms linking Creole to the language of the 'ruling class' would have emerged, with the section of the continuum controlled by individual, locally-born slaves being determined in part by their age and degree of access both to members of the 'ruling class' and to locally-born adult slaves. Furthermore, as this situation developed, locally-born slaves would increasingly have reached adulthood having 'progressed' less far along the continuum in the direction of the language of the 'ruling class', leading to a growing 'bulge' at the Creole end of that continuum.

Event 2 can be dated ca.1805 in the case of Reu (about 140 years after the start of settlement and about 90 years after Event 1). By contrast, Event 2 can be dated ca.1774 in the case of Mau (about 53 years from the start of settlement and about 44 years after Event 1).

(iii) Following Event 2, newly-introduced slaves would have been exposed more and more to the speech of locally-born slaves than to that of slave-owners (on average). Due to the growing 'bulge' mentioned above, the speech of locally-born slaves would have become progressively more representative of the Creole end of the continuum with the result that the pidginized speech of foreign-born slaves would have been based increasingly on Creole rather than on the speech of the 'ruling class'. If foreign-born slaves continued to arrive in substantial numbers for some years following Event 2, all the trends noted above would have continued leading inexorably towards a homogeneous Creole language and a consequent break in the continuum.

One implication of the above is that, in a slave plantation society, a continuum necessarily preceded a situation in which a Creole language, and the language from which most of the vocabulary of that Creole is drawn, functioned as two distinct linguistic codes.

(iv) Event 3, the cessation of frequent arrivals of foreign-born slaves in substantial numbers, would have led to a gradual reduction in the proportion of pidgin-speaking members in the population. The effect of this on Creole and/or a continuum linking Creole to the language of the 'ruling class' must have depended on the chronological relationship of Event 3 to Event 2. If Event 3 had occurred at about the same time as Event 2, a gradual but steady fall in the

numbers of pidgin-speakers could have reversed the trend towards the development of a homogeneous Creole language, allowing a continuum to survive indefinitely. Such may well have been the case in Reunion where Event 3 can be dated not later than 1810, a mere five years after Event 2. However, if Event 3 took place a generation or so after Event 2, it is to be expected that a homogeneous Creole language would by then have become firmly established, and that the ending of large-scale slave immigration could not have reversed that situation. The latter may well have been the position in Mauritius where Event 3 also took place not later than 1810 but where this was ca.35 years after Event 2.

The significance of agglutinated forms in the various French-based Creoles mentioned above can now be assessed in the light of the hypothesis sketched in the preceding paragraphs, in which the period identified as favouring the 'jelling' of a homogeneous Creole is that between Events 2 and 3.

In the case of Mauritius, it was stated earlier that speakers of Bantu languages totally dominated slave immigration from 1773 until the abolition of the slave trade in 1810. This span of time coincides with the period between Events 2 and 3. Bantuphone slaves, numerically dominant among new arrivals from ca.1762, had strong reasons, set out earlier, for acquiring far more agglutinated forms (in which the initial syllable of the noun was wholly derived from a French article) than slaves of other linguistic backgrounds. That they formed the overwhelming majority of arrivals in the period between Events 2 and 3 in Mauritius would cause many such forms to become established in the Creole which 'jelled' during that time. The timing of these Mauritian events is relevant to Sey and Rod in that the peopling of both from Mauritius began on a small scale in the last third of the 18th century and this explains why almost all of the agglutinated forms in question are common to Mau, Sey, and Rod. (As noted above, there were also early settlers from Reunion in the Seychelles but such people appear to have influenced the lexicon of Sey only marginally.)

The introduction of Bantuphone slaves into Reunion took place during the same period as, and on a similar scale to, Mauritius. In other respects, however, the situation in Reunion was very different. First, the peopling had begun there far earlier than in Mauritius and its population

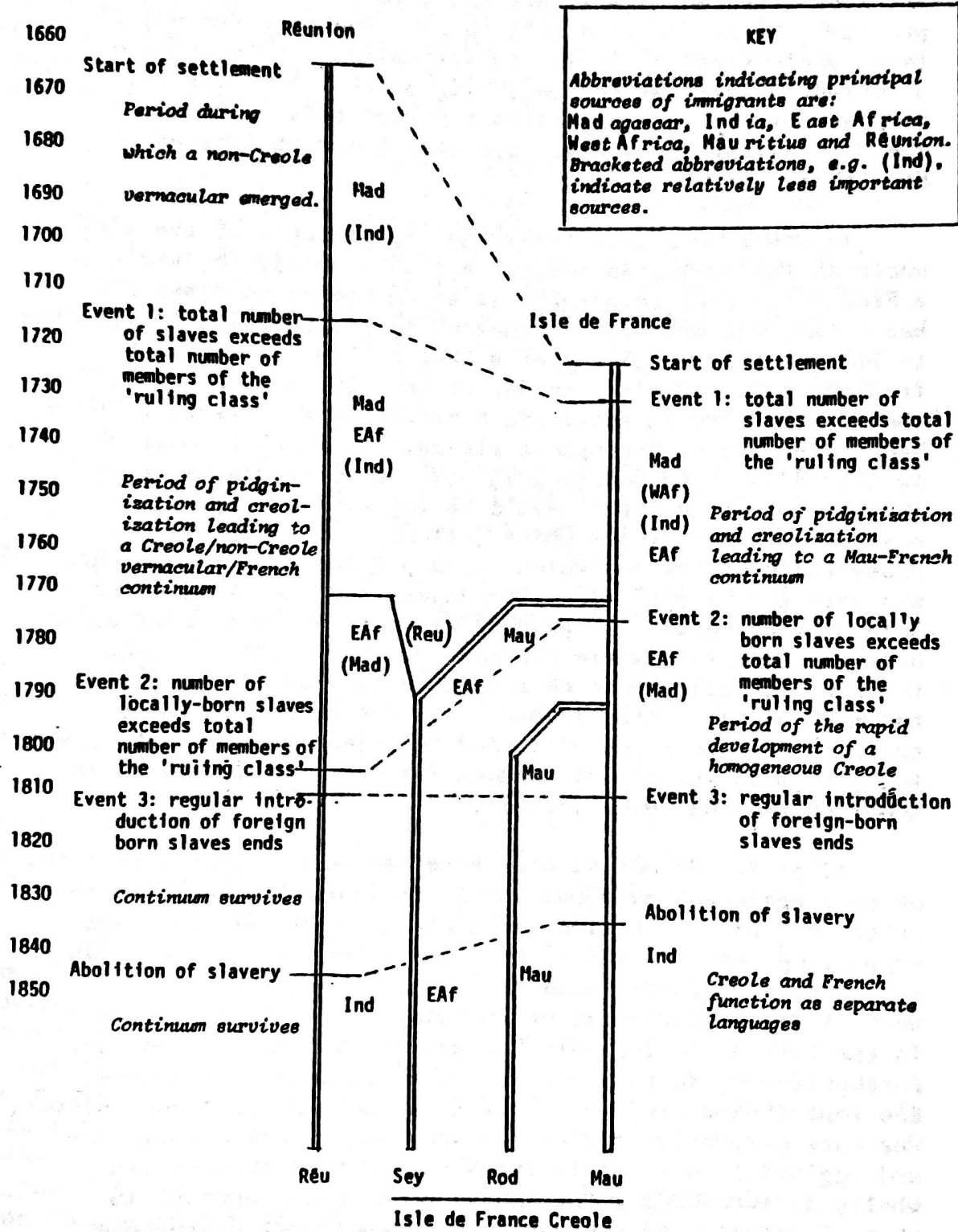
increased at a very slow rate, compared with Mauritius or Haiti for example, until the 1730s. Early and very fragmentary textual evidence dating from ca.1722 (see above) suggest the emergence of a specifically Reunionnais non-Creole resulting from the simplification and levelling of regional varieties of French (cf. Corne 1982:104-7). Both Corne and myself believe this to have been the first language of much of the white population of Reunion (just as Reu is the first language of an important proportion of the white population there today). If this view is basically correct, many slave immigrants there would have been exposed to this Reunionnais form of speech to a greater extent than metropolitan varieties of French, and agglutinated forms heard from Bantuphone (in particular) immigrants would thus have consisted of Reunionnais articles and nouns, like those in Héry's work, rather than French articles and nouns. Another, particularly important, difference is that Event 2 did not take place in Reunion until ca.1805, only five years before the end of regular slave immigration. This is seen as too short a period for a homogeneous creole to have 'jelled', with the result that a continuum situation has survived ever since. Agglutinated forms would have continued to be heard as long as there were foreign-born, former slaves of East African origin in the island. There would have been many such people at the time of the appearance of Héry's first publication in 1828. However, the survival of the continuum would have meant that their descendants would have had access to more prestigious forms of speech and that agglutinated forms associated with East African slave immigrants would have become obsolete as the last such people died in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The evolution of the Indian Ocean Creoles, as sketched in the preceding paragraphs, is summarized graphically in Figure 1.

With regard to Haiti, there is insufficient data available to enable the dates of Events 1, 2 and 3 to be determined with much accuracy. Nevertheless, the 1715 census figures given earlier indicate that Event 1 took place well before that year. As the ratio of slaves to free population in Haiti in 1715, 46 years from the beginning of settlement, is almost the same as that found in Mauritius in 1767, 48 years from the start of settlement and only a few years before Event 2, it is reasonable to assume that Event 2 in Haiti dates from within a decade or so of the 1715 census, say not later than 1730. (The relevant figures are given earlier in this paper.) The indications from Curtin (1969)

FIGURE 1

A SUMMARY OF THE EVOLUTION OF INDIAN OCEAN CREOLES



are that Bantuphone slaves would have formed only a small, though increasing, minority of foreign-born slaves at the latter date. It is thus to be expected that Bantu influence in Hai would be far less than in Mau and that Hai would have fewer agglutinated forms in consequence. (The sharp increase in Bantuphone immigrants at the end of the 18th century could not have affected this if Hai had already 'jelled' without preposed, French-derived articles.) Event 3, the end of large-scale slave arrivals, is virtually certain to have occurred in Haiti at the beginning of the 19th century, as elsewhere. This indicates a period between Events 2 and 3 of perhaps 80 years, more than twice as long as in Mauritius.

In order to assess fully the significance of the 100+ words in Hai having an initial syllable wholly derived from a French article, comparable data are needed on other French-based American Creoles. Research in progress (to be reported in Baker *forthcoming*) suggests that both Martinique and Trinidad have a similar number of such forms, and that all the (former) French Antillean territories are likely to have had a minority of Bantuphone slaves.¹⁶ Further research is needed on their peopling in order to determine whether 100+ agglutinated forms should be regarded as typical of any French-based Creole which jelled, or typical only of those which jelled and which had a proportion of immigrants who were speakers of Bantu languages (and, possibly other 'class' languages).¹⁷ Nevertheless, this can be contrasted usefully with Reu, where the much smaller number of such forms can be attributed to a failure to 'jell',¹⁸ and with the much higher number in Mau which can be attributed to the fact that Bantuphones formed the great majority of slave immigrants in the period between Events 2 and 3 when it is hypothesized that Mau 'jelled'.

If it is correct to attribute the much higher proportion of such agglutinated forms in Mau to Bantu influence at the critical 'jelling' period, it might be expected that some supporting evidence was to be found in other Creoles. Just such a case is to be found in the Portuguese Creoles of West Africa. Varieties of Portuguese Creole are spoken in the Cape Verde islands, Casamance and Guiné-Bissau and, further south, in the Gulf of Guinea islands of Príncipe, São Tomé (two varieties, São Tomense and Angolar) and Annobon. The more northerly territories are without Bantu influence and agglutinated forms in which the initial syllable is wholly derived from a Portuguese article are unknown in those Creoles. By contrast, the presence of Bantuphone

slaves in São Tomé, the first of the Gulf of Guinea islands to be settled, is well documented (cf. Ferraz 1979:15-19) and all of these Creoles include such agglutinated forms on a scale seemingly comparable with that of Mau. (I am grateful to Alain Kihm for having first drawn this matter to my attention.) It is of interest to note that many of the lexical items concerned in the Gulf of Guinea Creoles also have agglutinated forms in Mau, including all the following from Principense (taken from a long list of such forms kindly sent to me by Luiz Ferraz):

<i>udɛdu</i>	'finger'	(<Port. <i>o dedo</i> ; cf. Mau <i>ledwa</i> id.)
<i>ɔpɛ</i>	'foot'	(<Port. <i>o pé</i> ; cf. Mau <i>lipye</i> id.)
<i>umã</i>	'hand'	(<Port. <i>a mão</i> ; cf. Mau <i>lame</i> id.)
<i>ubuka</i>	'mouth'	(<Port. <i>a boca</i> ; cf. Mau <i>labus</i> id.)
<i>usuba</i>	'rain'	(<Port. <i>a chuva</i> ; cf. Mau <i>lapli</i> id.)
<i>uratu</i>	'rat'	(<Port. <i>o rato</i> ; cf. Mau <i>lera</i> id.)
<i>usalu</i>	'salt'	(<Port. <i>o sal</i> ; cf. Mau <i>disel</i> id.)
<i>ɔsɛ</i>	'sky'	(<Port. <i>o céu</i> ; cf. Mau <i>lesyel</i> id.)
<i>uventu</i>	'wind'	(<Port. <i>o vento</i> ; cf. Mau <i>divah</i> id.)

(It should be noted that the Portuguese articles written *o* and *a* are normally pronounced in that language as [u] and [ə] respectively.) The hypothesis that the large number of agglutinated forms having an initial syllable wholly derived from a French article in Mau is to be attributed to the presence of large numbers of Bantuphone slave immigrants thus finds support in this Principense data, while also providing an explanation for an important difference between the Gulf and Guinea and more northerly varieties of Portuguese Creole which has hitherto remained unexplained.

The stated aim of this paper was to provide an explanation for the very unequal distribution of nouns which, etymologically, have an initial syllable wholly derived from a French article, in a number of French-based Creoles, and to assess the evolutionary significance of this. In the course of providing such an explanation, the outline of a theory has been sketched concerning the circumstances responsible for the fact that some Creoles 'jelled' and became substantially homogeneous languages while others remained at one end of a continuum which also included the language which was the principal source of that Creole's lexicon. This theory will no doubt require a good deal of further refinement as data on the peopling of Creolophone territories are examined. It may also be worth drawing attention to two of its implications. The first is that, in

a slave plantation society, a continuum situation had to exist before a Creole language could 'jell'. The second is that it was the composition of the slave population at the time a Creole 'jelled', rather than during the earliest years of settlement, which determined the dominant substrate influence in that Creole, in areas other than the lexicon.^{19,20}

NOTES

¹Nouns in Mau are invariable and may have a singular or plural reading according to context. To save space, only a singular gloss is given in English.

²Creole words are written in the Baker/Hookoomsing *lortograf-linite*. *c* and *j* are affricates. *ng* is generally realized as [ŋ] finally and [ŋg] medially. *ny* is generally realized as [ɲ] finally and [ny] medially. Otherwise *n* (without a diacritic) is [n] but nasal vowels are written as sequences of corresponding oral vowel + *ñ* or *ṁ* according to etymological criteria. Word-finally or preceding a consonant, the sequences *ir*, *er*, *ar*, *or*, *ur* are variously realized as long vowels or diphthongs in Indian Ocean Creoles. *Lortograf-linite* is designed specifically for Isle de France Creole (Mau, Rod, Sey) and Mauritian Bhojpuri, but is also suitable for the transcription of other Indian languages spoken in Mauritius. Some additional characters are needed for the transcription of American Creoles (in Table II) and for these, IPA symbols are employed.

³The principal sources on which the information in Table I is based are Valdman 1981 (Hai), Baker and Hookoomsing forthcoming (Mau), Chaudenson 1974 (Reu), Karl Momus (Rod; see note at foot of Table I) and D'Offay and Lionnet 1982 (Sey).

⁴These regular correspondences include:

word-finally/
pre-consonantly

Indian Ocean:Americas

ir:i, er:ɛ,
ar:a, or:ɔ,
ur:u

in any position

Americas:Indian Ocean

ʃ:s, ʒ:z,
ɛ:e(r), ɔ:o(r)

⁵This may perhaps be a printing error for *lisyin*. (The Mau word for 'dog' is consistently attested in spellings indicating the pronunciation *lisyeñ* in all known texts from 1818 to date.)

⁶These fourteen include one Reu word for which two different agglutinated forms are attested in Reu, only one of which corresponds to a modern IdeF form - see no.11 in Table IV.

⁷The existence of rather more cases of agglutination in Héry's works than in modern Reu is not seen as evidence that such agglutination was a feature of Reu in ca.1720. As indicated in the text, the agglutination in Héry's works appears to result from later immigrants acquiring Reu (rather than French) lexical items prior to having understood the roles of Reu (rather than French) articles.

⁸Makuwa ('Macoua') is the mother tongue of the great majority of the inhabitants of the northern half of Mozambique. While slaves of East African origin were drawn from a very wide geographical area (see Baker 1982b:98-106), the available information suggests that speakers of Makuwa are likely to have been particularly well represented.

⁹In each singular class, there is a minority of nouns which have plurals formed with a prefix more often associated with one of the other classes.

¹⁰The following few paragraphs are considerably more detailed than in an earlier, French version of this paper presented at the 4th *Colloque des Etudes Créoles* in Lafayette (LA) in May 1983. This elaboration is in response to a provisional version of a paper by Gabriel Manessy (1983), *Bantou et créole: l'agglutination de l'article français*, kindly sent to me by its author. Manessy's paper brought to my attention that I had not set out in sufficient detail my reasons for supposing that Bantuphone slaves would have a greater tendency to adopt agglutinated forms than slaves of other backgrounds.

¹¹It is worth emphasizing that each member of these Mau pairs refers to a semantically distinct concept. They are thus altogether different from such pairs as Hai *kizin* 'cuisine' vs. *lakizin* 'à la cuisine' (cited by Manessy 1983) or Mau *fwa* (*kat fwa* 'quatre fois') vs. *lafwa* 'à la fois'. In both these pairs, the agglutinated form is an adverb not a count noun.

¹²I owe the use of this word to Derek Bickerton (p.c.). It seems an appropriate verb to suggest the emergence of a comparatively stable form of speech with many of the characteristics of modern Mau but without implying that this was not to undergo many further changes subsequently.

¹³'Ruling class' is preferred here to 'European', 'Francophone' or 'free population' because the non-slave population included in time both Indian traders and some former slaves who may not have been Francophones, and because many of the earliest French settlers in Reunion had Malagasy or Indo-Portuguese spouses.

¹⁴It must be emphasized that each person's pidginized speech would have been unique, i.e., each foreign-born slave would have spoken such amount of the 'ruling class' language as he had grasped, heavily influenced in phonology and syntax by his own mother tongue (cf. Bickerton 1977:54). (As indicated later in the text, the pidginized speech of slaves born abroad would also have been based on the speech of locally-born adult slaves as soon as there were any of the latter.)

¹⁵Full details of how the dates of Events 1, 2 and 3 are calculated are given in Baker 1982b:806-59.

¹⁶Trinidad was never a French territory but French planters were allowed to settle there and to bring slaves from other islands in the French Antilles. Such slaves would probably have been Creolophone prior to their arrival in Trinidad.

Information on Martinique is derived from Jourdain 1956. For Trinidad Creole French, Gertrud Büscher has kindly supplied me with a list of all the agglutinated items in the draft of her dictionary of Trinidad Creole French, a total of 115.

¹⁷Noun classes are a feature of Niger-Congo languages generally and not merely of Bantu languages. However, whereas all 'orthodox' Bantu languages have very similar class systems, the position in other Niger-Congo languages varies considerably. While a few such languages of West Africa (such as Fulfulde or Temne) have class systems as elaborate as, though different from, Bantu languages, in rather more of them class markers either have a greatly reduced role (as in Wolof) or are effectively functionless (as in 'Kwa' languages).

¹⁸Of the 12 Reu agglutinated forms listed in Table I and attested in Chaudenson 1974, one (*lɔpye*) was used with an agglutinated article by only one informant and three others (*latet*, *lakas* and *lapli*) were described as rare, being more often heard without initial *la-* (Chaudenson 1974:349). Three items attested with initial *də-* in Chaudenson are also found elsewhere in the same publication without this syllable. It appears that few if any nouns are consistently heard with agglutinated forms in modern Reu.

¹⁹The study of some 2,000 words of non-French origin in Indian Ocean Creoles seems to indicate that each 'non-ruling class' ethnolinguistic group of immigrants contributed to the lexicon in more-or-less direct proportion to their numbers, regardless of their time of arrival (Baker 1982b: 758-9).

²⁰I would like to thank all of those who commented on earlier drafts of this paper and/or who provided information on subjects relevant to its content (as indicated in brackets), including: Abdulaay Bari (Crioulo of Casamance), Derek Bickerton, Annegret Bollée, Gertrud Büscher (Trinidad Creole French), Frank Byrne, Hazel Carter (Bantu), Chris Corne, David Dalby (African languages), Luiz Ivens Ferraz (Gulf of Guinea Creoles), Mateus Katupha (Makuwa), Alain Kihm (Crioulo), Michael Mann (Bantu), Karl Momus (Rodrigues Creole French).

As this article goes to press, the paper by Gabriel Manessy referred to above as 'a provisional version' (see note 10) has been published unchanged in *Afrique et langage* 20 (1983):17-28 (Paris).

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