

Ship English

Sailors' speech in the early colonial Caribbean

Sally J. Delgado

Draft
of March 11, 2019, 14:08

Studies in Caribbean Languages 4



Studies in Caribbean Languages

Chief Editor: John R. Rickford

Managing Editor: Joseph T. Farquharson

In this series:

1. Irvine-Sobers, G. Alison. The acrolect in Jamaica: The architecture of phonological variation.
2. Forbes-Barnett, Marsha. Dual aspectual forms and event structure in Caribbean English Creoles.
3. Sherriah, André Ché. A tale of two dialect regions: Sranan's 17th-century English input.
4. Delgado, Sally J. Ship English: Sailors' speech in the early colonial Caribbean.

ISSN: 2627-1893

Ship English

Sailors' speech in the early colonial
Caribbean

Sally J. Delgado


Delgado, Sally J. 2019. *Ship English: Sailors' speech in the early colonial Caribbean* (Studies in Caribbean Languages 4). Berlin: Language Science Press.

This title can be downloaded at:

<http://langsci-press.org/catalog/book/166>

© 2019, Sally J. Delgado

Published under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 Licence (CC BY 4.0):

<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/> 

ISBN: 978-3-96110-151-1 (Digital)

978-3-96110-152-8 (Hardcover)

ISSN: 2627-1893

DOI:[10.5281/zenodo.2589996](https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.2589996)

Source code available from www.github.com/langsci/166

Collaborative reading: paperhive.org/documents/remote?type=langsci&id=166

Cover and concept of design: Ulrike Harbort

Fonts: Linux Libertine, Libertinus Math, Arimo, DejaVu Sans Mono

Typesetting software: Xe_{La}T_EX

Language Science Press

Unter den Linden 6

10099 Berlin, Germany

langsci-press.org

Storage and cataloguing done by FU Berlin

Freie Universität  Berlin

For Mervyn Alleyne 1933-2016

Contents

Acknowledgments	v
Abbreviations	ix
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Background justification	1
1.1.1 The need for research on maritime communities	1
1.1.2 Ship's language as a distinct variety	3
1.1.3 A neglected subject in academia	4
1.2 Scope and purpose of the research	6
1.2.1 Hypothesis, research aims and questions	6
1.2.2 Ideological and academic context	7
1.3 Methodological framework	8
1.3.1 Research design	8
1.3.2 Description of the corpus	9
1.3.3 Outline of each chapter's contents	11
2 Review of the literature	13
2.1 Ship English: The work already done	13
2.1.1 Recognizing the importance of Ship English	13
2.1.2 Studies on Ship English	16
2.2 Selected theoretical framework	20
2.2.1 Dialect change and new dialect formation	20
2.2.2 Formative studies influencing methodology	24
3 Sailors	29
3.1 General considerations	29
3.2 Recruitment	31
3.3 Gender	37
3.4 Age	38
3.5 Health and mortality	42
3.6 Family and marital status	46

Contents

3.7	Social status	51
3.8	Financial standing	53
3.9	Place of origin	57
3.9.1	Difficulties in determining sailors' place of origin	57
3.9.2	Sailors born in the British Isles	58
3.9.3	Sailors not born in the British Isles	61
3.10	Language abilities	65
3.10.1	Monolingualism	65
3.10.2	Plurilingualism	67
3.11	Literacy	75
3.12	Number of sailors on the ships	79
3.13	Summary	81
4	Speech communities	83
4.1	General considerations	83
4.2	Insular ship communities	85
4.2.1	Duration at sea	85
4.2.2	Autonomy and violence	89
4.2.3	Social order and disorder	94
4.2.4	Subgroups and social cohesion	98
4.2.5	The role of alcohol	105
4.2.6	Shared ideologies and leisure activities	112
4.3	Wider maritime communities	118
4.3.1	Profuse maritime activity	118
4.3.2	Convoys and communication	123
4.3.3	The colonial maritime economy	127
4.3.4	Corruption and theft	130
4.3.5	Sailors on land	135
4.3.6	Contact with port communities	139
4.4	Summary	143
5	Noun phrases	147
5.1	General considerations on scope	147
5.2	Bare nouns	149
5.2.1	Morphology and lexicon	149
5.2.2	Genitives	152
5.2.3	Plural inflection	155
5.2.4	Noun head omission	158

5.3	Determiners	162
5.3.1	Deictic function	162
5.3.2	Number marking	162
5.3.3	Sequence marking	165
5.3.4	Quantifying mass nouns	167
5.3.5	Articles	169
5.4	Pronouns	173
5.4.1	Heavy use of pronominal forms	173
5.4.2	Possessive pronouns	175
5.4.3	Expletives	176
5.4.4	Indefinite pronouns	177
5.4.5	Reflexive pronouns	178
5.4.6	Relative pronouns	181
5.5	Noun phrase modification	184
5.5.1	Types and placement of modifiers	184
5.5.2	Present participle phrases	185
5.5.3	Phrases headed with “being”	187
5.6	Summary	191
6	Verb phrases	195
6.1	Verbs in Ship English	196
6.1.1	The [non-specific verb + specifying nominal compli- ment] construction	196
6.1.2	Phrasal verbs	197
6.1.3	Negation	198
6.2	Tense	203
6.2.1	Present tense variation	203
6.2.2	Past tense variation	205
6.2.3	Infinitives	209
6.3	The copula and auxiliary “be”	211
6.3.1	Inflection	211
6.3.2	Usage and omission	214
6.3.3	Aspect using “be” auxiliary	216
6.4	Auxiliaries	218
6.4.1	The auxiliary “have”	218
6.4.2	The auxiliary “do”	222
6.4.3	Modal auxiliaries	226
6.5	Summary	230

Contents

7	Clause, sentence and discourse level phenomena	233
7.1	Syntax within the clause	233
7.1.1	Adverbs	233
7.1.2	Prepositions	237
7.1.3	Variation in SVO order: Verb fronting	241
7.1.4	Direct and indirect objects	243
7.2	Subordination and coordination	246
7.2.1	Syntactic complexity	246
7.2.2	Subordinators	251
7.2.3	Coordinating conjunctions	255
7.3	Swearing as a discourse marker	258
7.3.1	Swearing to mark communicative intent	258
7.3.2	Swearing to mark modality	261
7.3.3	Swearing to mark agency	263
7.3.4	Swearing to mark group identity	266
7.4	Summary	267
8	Conclusions and implications	271
8.1	Conclusions	271
8.1.1	A distinct and stable variety	271
8.1.2	The typology of Ship English	275
8.2	Implications	283
8.2.1	Relevance for dialectology	283
8.2.2	Relevance for contact linguistics	288
8.3	Summary	293
	Appendix: Archival sources	299
	References	303
	Index	315
	Name index	315
	Subject index	319

8 Conclusions and implications

This final chapter will consider the findings of the preceding chapters on sailors' demography, speech communities and linguistic features to respond to the central claim that there is a distinct Ship English that was spoken by British sailors in the early Atlantic colonial period. The first section, Conclusions, will clarify my own position on the distinctiveness, stability and spread of Ship English and address the potential typology of the variety. The second section, Implications, will consider the newly presented baseline data on the linguistic features of Ship English in terms of how this might be integrated into theories and research in dialectology and contact linguistics. Throughout this chapter, I acknowledge the scope of the work that still needs to be done and attempt to clarify some specific areas of study that may hopefully motivate future studies.

8.1 Conclusions

8.1.1 A distinct and stable variety

The central claim of this book is that there is a distinct “Ship English” that was spoken by British sailors in the early colonial context (determined as roughly the period between 1620 and 1750). This claim is substantiated by two chapters dedicated to the socio-historical context of the variety which identify speakers' demographics (Chapter 3) and the characteristics of the speech community (Chapter 4) in addition to three chapters dedicated to linguistic findings which identify salient and repeated markers of sailors' speech during this period in terms of noun phrases (Chapter 5), verb phrases (Chapter 6), and clause, sentence, and discourse level phenomena (Chapter 7). The socio-historical data demonstrate that Ship English of the early Atlantic colonial period developed within a unique maritime demographic and socio-linguistic context which promoted the development of new forms and enabled feature transfer via oral traditions. The linguistic data demonstrate that Ship English has distinctive characteristics with regard to morphosyntactic, syntactic and discourse level variation.

It is pertinent at this point to stress that my claim throughout this book is not that Ship English is a dialect with *unique characteristics* but rather with unique

patterns of frequency and distribution for particular features that marked speakers as members of an extended maritime community. As such, the characteristic features of Ship English here identified are also documented in other varieties of Early Modern English not associated with the maritime community and found in the Early Modern English of authors like Milton, Bunyan, Dryden, Evelyn and Pepys. However, the patterns of frequency in their work are unlikely to correspond consistently with Ship English (unless the author's intention was to represent maritime speech). Dialectologist and specialist in the creation of World Englishes, Schneider, explains that, "frequency shifts are a core property of [the] diffusion process" and that it is not the creation of new forms that indicate the emergence of new World Englishes but changed frequencies that become strengthened by feedback loops and lead to quantitative difference (Schneider 2018). Hence, this book presents morphosyntactic features that were salient among sailors and that were likely to have shifted to a higher frequency of distribution than other contemporary dialects. Thus, when these features are considered together, they mark the emergence of a recognizably distinct variety.

The facts that there are recognizable patterns of frequency among sailors, and that a high distribution of certain morphosyntactic features mark the variety as distinctive to other contemporary varieties (in ways that can be recognized and reproduced), appear to support Bailey and Ross's claim that there is a distinct type of English that was spoken by sailors during the period of early English colonial expansion (1988: 194) upon which my own central hypothesis is based. As such, the data and discussion presented in the linguistic chapters aim to support the central hypothesis of a distinct maritime dialect by identifying the features with the highest frequency that served as salient markers of Ship English, not to document all the features that either do or do not occur in the variety nor to present a comparative analysis between feature frequencies in Ship English and counterparts in other contemporary varieties. Yet, now that descriptive work is available on the most salient features of Ship English, albeit by no means definitive or necessarily complete, future studies might focus on comparative approaches. However, such work is beyond the scope of this book.

This study builds on and extends the few prior studies into variation in sailors' speech and here briefly re-presents this literature to substantiate the claim that Ship English was a comprehensive variety. The unique lexical characteristics of Ship English have been amply documented in the many dictionaries and word-lists published since Captain John Smith's *Sea Grammar* in 1627; indeed, most work on the subject has comprised lexical items that constitute the professional

jargon of the crew intended for circulation among maritime professionals (see Chapter 2: Review of the Literature). Investigations that provide evidence of the unique phonological and morphological characteristics of Ship English are Matthews' (1935) monograph on sailors' pronunciation in the second half of the seventeenth century and Bailey & Ross's (1988) article on the morphosyntactic features of Ship English.¹ This book now offers the first extended compilation of evidence on the sociolinguistic, syntactic and discourse level features that characterize the variety.² Hence, we now have evidence that Ship English of the early English colonial period around the Atlantic had distinctive lexical, morphological, syntactic, and discourse features that support its status as a distinct historical variety of English.

The evidence supports the view that Ship English was stable and diffused in ways comparable to other varieties of English. Sea shanties record language features of Ship English over time and sea-music historian Stan Hugill explains that this demonstrates that the variety had stability. His analysis of two shanty verses published in 1549 concludes: "the form and language of these early shanties, apart from the fact that the English is Chaucerian, are very much like what our sailors of the sail sang three hundred years later" (Hugill 1969: 3). Hugill's reference to "Chaucerian" English is most probably an allusion to archaic vocabulary but the "form and language" that he refers to, described as very much like the speech of sailors three hundred years later, shows that Ship English was established enough to be recognized as a distinct variety for three centuries.³ It is possible that the "language" Hugill refers to incorporates (and potentially derives from) the distinct jargon of the maritime profession, yet his reference to a distinctive "form" suggests a variety with syntactic and discourse-level variation that was stable enough to spread and be identified over time. As discussed in Chapter 3,

¹It should be recognized that Matthews states that his work "should be regarded as a cross-section in the history of pronunciation...[and] It is not pretended that it describes the 'seaman's dialect' of the period" (1935: 196, see full citation in §2.1.2). Hence, although I discuss Matthews' work as one of the two previously published studies on Ship English, it is important to note that he himself did not present his research as a study on any distinct "seaman's dialect".

²Given the limited scope of research to date, I do not propose that this study is definitive or that it will not be subject to subsequent revision, modification, and potential correction as we learn more about Ship English. Yet, the baseline data provided can serve as an entry point for scholars to integrate this variety into their work on language history and change; it will also hopefully prompt continued research.

³It is possible that the stability Hugill observes from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries extends even further back with common origins in Mediterranean Lingua Franca (or Sabir) reportedly used since the thirteenth century among sailors traversing the Mediterranean basin (Parkvall 2005).

this stability was, in part, motivated by the members of a speech community who worked in real and pseudo-kinship groups that regularly included partners, wives and children whose communication was predominantly oral owing, in part, to the high levels of illiteracy among sailors. Shipboard oral cultures were furthermore closely connected and expressed a common identity through oral and performance mediums such as storytelling, music, gaming, and dramatic play as examined in Chapter 4. Owing to the composition of these speech communities, the language features that marked the variety as distinctive, once established, were likely able to spread quickly among those within the community and they were additionally reinforced internally by the oral speech practices and strong affiliations among groups of sailors.⁴

Characteristic features of Ship English were not only diffused and reinforced among the sailors of any one vessel, fleet, or shipping route; they were also transferred to communities on land that were in contact with sailors, e.g., communities of traders in ports and groups of family members and friends in each sailor's country of origin. The effects of language transfer and change might not have been circular as suggested by Schmidt's (1872) Wave Model (discussed in §2.2.1: Dialect change and new dialect formation), instead, transmission would have likely occurred in coastal and estuary locations where recruitment, trade and leisure brought local populations and sailors into close contact.^{5,6} It is also interesting that many linguistic features associated with Ship English occur in wives'

⁴It is possible that there were distinctive sub-community features shared among specific groups of sailors speaking Ship English that marked differences in status (e.g., experienced seamen compared to those appointed through family connections, financial necessity, or impressment). Although the research at this stage is not sufficient to support such a claim, this might be a direction for future study.

⁵It is likely that feature transfer was also occurring from the port community into the ships thus giving rise to the possibility of regional variations among the fleets that sourced their crews from specific locations. For example because London-born sailors were most heavily represented in naval vessels, coastal northerners in the merchant service, and coastal southerners and westerners in privateering and piracy, it may be that those maritime communities incorporated more linguistic features from the home-regions of their crew majority. Furthermore, these potential sub-distinctions may have served to identify sailors as belonging to a particular fleet or service.

⁶To illustrate some evidence of such transfer, a joint letter drafted by the residents of one harbor town (presumed to be Edinburgh) in testimony against Lt. Lilburne [SP 42/6 c.1700] includes zero inflection on third person indicative verbs, emphatic use of the auxiliary "do", prepositional "for" with an infinitive complement, possessive pronominal forms without anterior nominal markers, and accusative-case pronouns in genitive phrases—all of which are identified as characteristic features of Ship English.

letters to mariner-husbands.⁷ Thus, evidence suggests that salient linguistic features associated with Ship English were transferred among port communities and family networks in contact with sailors and these features may have been consciously expressed in order to identify with the sailors or/and subconsciously acquired through regular contact with speakers of the variety.

8.1.2 The typology of Ship English

Having provided detailed evidence for Ship English as a distinct variety in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, the problem remains as to how we intend to classify this variety. Some historical and non-academic publications use the word “language” to refer to Ship English, e.g., Russell’s descriptions of “the language of the sea” (1883: viii), and “Sailor’s language... compounded of the terms referring to the various parts of ships ...[with] a mass of rough sayings into the forecastle, many of which are sanctified by touches of rude poetry” (Russell 1883: ix) and the claim in the introductory comments to Smith’s *Sea Grammar* that the work gives explanations and translations for “the language both of ships and Seas” (Smith 1627 [1968]). Choundas likewise claims that there is a sub-category of this “language of the sea” that could be classified as “a freestanding pirate language” (2007: 2). Furthermore, it appears that writers who describe the “language” of sailors do not intend to imply that their system of communication is distinct enough to be unintelligible to speakers of other varieties of English, for example, but rather to stress the differences in their speech in which “meaning is really so subtle as utterly to defy translation” (Russell 1883: xv) and highlight the internal systemic coherence that provides a “uniform way of talking” (Choundas 2007: 2). Indeed, the term “Ship English” (coined by Hancock 1976: 33) already classifies the variety as a type of English. However, the question remains as to what sub-classification of the English language Ship English constitutes. The internal systemic cohesion among speakers disqualifies it as a manifestation of any one individual’s idiolect and the phonological, morphological, syntactic and discourse features attested in the variety show that it is more than professional jargon. The remaining potential typological classifications with which we might classify this variety are as a dialect, a sociolect, or a koine, each of which are discussed in the following paragraphs.

⁷Examples of Ship English features in wives’ letters include the omission of articles [HCA 1/9/22], the idiomatic post-nominal phrase “last past” as a marker of temporal sequence [HCA 1/14/76], and the use of “that” at the head of an independent clause as a formal discourse marker to index status with no apparent syntactic function [HCA 1/98/118].

Ship English is a dialect, commonly defined as a manner of speech characteristic of a group of people (*Oxford Eng. Dict.* 1989, Vol 4: 599) and more specifically defined by linguists in terms of three classifications: regional dialects, social dialects (sociolects), and ethnic dialects (ethnolects) (Wolfram & Schilling 2016). In addition to describing sailors' speech as a language (discussed above), Russell (1883) also uses the word "dialect" to describe Ship English: "sailor's talk is a dialect [...] [in which] English words are used, but their signification is utterly remote from the meaning they have in shore parlance" (Russell 1883: ix).⁸ The suggestion that there is a "sea dialect" (Russell 1883: xiii) is entirely logical given the general definition of the word as characteristic to group of people and the fact that the variety is characteristic to sailors. Yet Russell's classification was also a product of trends in nineteenth-century London among scholars with an increased interest in dialect studies. Interest in regional and socially stigmatized varieties in the late nineteenth century gave rise to a host of dialect glossaries and motivated comparative studies and dialect theory (Petyt 1980: 35–38). Indeed, it was at that time that the term "dialect" came to be explicitly associated with a regional sub-standard variety in comparison to the variety that was championed as the national standard.⁹ Görlach describes how the speech of sailors was stigmatized in a period of increasing standardization, as "the speech of those who cannot do any better" at best (1999: 484), or "the gibberish of the uneducated" at worst (p.532). Such commonplace beliefs about the lack of social value associated with sailors and their speech explains how Ship English might have been classified as a dialect in contemporary studies and in popular opinion as this term would have explicitly marked the variety as substandard and stigmatized.

Scholars who have written on sailors' speech accept that each individual sailor would have entered the community with a dialect reflective of the region in which that person was raised. Even though the possibility of babies being born aboard ships is covered in §4.2.4, it is unlikely that the vessel was a permanent home to infants learning their native language. Instead, §3.4 presents data at-

⁸This citation additionally suggests the possibility of creolization through the process of relexification, yet given the wider context of the comments, it is unlikely that this was what the author intended to propose.

⁹Although, by modern standards, regional dialects might be classified as "regiolects" comparable to "sociolects" and "ethnolects", the general term "dialect" was originally associated with regional speech patterns as sociolinguistics and ethnolinguistics had yet to become established fields of study. Furthermore, it is worth noting that modern linguists universally recognize that everyone speaks a dialect and that dialects are not inherently sub-standard although the word "dialect" was traditionally associated with social stigmatization and popular notions of inferiority (Wolfram & Schilling 2016: 2–17).

testing to the fact that most sailors went to sea between the ages of 12 and 16 and would therefore already have established the characteristic speech patterns of their home region. Matthews makes this point explicit in his monograph on sailors' pronunciation in the second half of the seventeenth century. His final comments in the introductory section stress the relevance of regional influence with the assertion that the writers of the logbooks "must have come from almost every shire's end of England" (p.195) and thus the findings represent many local dialects. He states "This study, therefore, should be regarded as a cross-section in the history of pronunciation, an account of the various pronunciations in use among the tarpaulin seamen" (p.196). He goes on to state that "It is not pretended that it describes the 'seaman's dialect' of the period" (p.196), thus explicitly foregrounding the variation of dialects aboard ships in contrast to a potential seaman's dialect.¹⁰ The fact that each sailor would have entered the community with an existing regional dialect makes the classification of any potential "seaman's dialect" problematic not only as it implies competition between dialects,¹¹ but also because it suggests a process of acquiring native language forms at a young age in a way that did not apply to maritime recruits. Moreover, the historical association of the word "dialect" with regional distinctness is problematic as ships' communities were transient and potentially overlapped with existing geographical dialect areas (but without the suggestion that language forms were necessarily transferred). Further research may even attest to regional variations of Ship English such as Mediterranean, Atlantic, and Pacific Ship English, influenced by specific regional variations of the languages their crews encountered. In short, Ship English is understandably classified as a dialect in general terms given the broad scope of the term to describe a variety characteristic to one group of people coupled with its working-class stigma of inferiority with respect to the standard. However, for linguists, the sub-classification of the variety demands more specific attention.

Of the three possible dialect classifications available to modern linguists (i.e., regional dialect, sociolect, and ethnolect) the classification of Ship English as an ethnolect is the least probable given the data presented in Chapter 2 on re-

¹⁰ Although whether Matthews' comments imply that there was a "seaman's dialect" of the period (but that his work did not aim to represent it) or that he does not believe that a "seaman's dialect" existed is uncertain.

¹¹ A modern understanding of diglossia might help to mitigate the suggested conflict between dialects in this context, but this term still carries with it the suggestion that one of the dialects is a standard and the other is a regional dialect or sociolect, whereas in the context of sailors, neither of the two dialects of English were necessarily the standard (indeed, Standard English might have been additionally acquired in a context of pluri-dialectalism).

cruitment practices and sailors' places of origin and associated language abilities. Some linguists might argue that the regional dialect classification is valid given that the data reflects an Atlantic variety of Ship English, yet the transient nature of ships' speech communities at sea coupled with the notion that maritime communities in ports span five continents might frustrate efforts to define a unified region that underpins the variety. Furthermore, the regional dialect classification might also be perceived as problematic given the assumption that regional dialects are learned during native language acquisition (Chambers & Trudgill 1998: 5). This leaves only one other potential classification.

The classification of Ship English as a sociolect, characteristic of a group that shares a social identity rather than an ethnic or regional identity (Trudgill 2003: 122), eliminates the problematic associations of ethnic homogeneity and regional unity that are associated with regional dialects and ethnolects and instead promotes focus on the social factors that unified diverse crews. In addition, the problematic suggestion of native language acquisition that a dialect classification implies is also mitigated as sociolects are often acquired after native fluency through conscious choice to demonstrate group affiliation and passive acquisition of group-specific language features (Durrell 2004: 200–205).¹² Furthermore, these socially-conditioned varieties of speech often consciously demonstrate social and professional identification, socioeconomic class, age group and/or ethnic and political affiliation. The term “sociolect” is therefore well suited to the classification of Ship English, a variety that is acquired after native fluency among predominantly young working-class men who share a professional context, maritime folklore, and solidarity in the face of hardships at sea. Hancock appears to support a sociolect classification in his definition of “a situation-specific register of English, which I call *Ship English*” (1986: 85, author's italics). Schultz (2010) also takes this position, talking about Ship English as a “sociolect” in his unpublished Master's thesis.¹³ Yet, one caveat remains in that the classification of Ship English as a sociolect may suggest social homogeneity among its speakers.¹⁴ This book

¹²It is important to recognize that although certain sociolects can be acquired as additional varieties later in life (e.g., Instant Messenger and Internet varieties), they can also be coded into native language acquisition, particularly when they are associated with social status derived from economic class divisions or regional variation (e.g., Labov's (1966) research based on the Lower East Side of New York City that showed systemic social stratification).

¹³Hancock served as the academic supervisor on Shultz's committee at the University of Texas at Austin in 2010 and so may have influenced Shultz's position in this respect.

¹⁴Although I accept that some definitions of “sociolect” do not demand social homogeneity as a defining factor of the speech community, most specify that speakers belong to the same social stratum and have comparable ages, incomes, and experiences in addition to frequent contact with one another.

explicitly aims to dispel the popular stereotype that all British mariners were monolingual, lower-class, Caucasian men in their mid-twenties who performed manual labor and led a profligate single life. Indeed, the data in Chapter 3 demonstrates the diversity of maritime communities and this diversity is in danger of being overlooked if their variety of language is classified in such a way as to suggest uniformity in social grouping. Thus, Ship English might reasonably be classified as a sociolect given the general scope of the term to apply to a variety characteristic of a group of people connected by social factors such as age, profession, and ideology, yet this classification should not suggest that all speakers shared social homogeneity.

The problems of assuming social homogeneity if we define Ship English as a sociolect or implying regional origins if we define Ship English as a regional dialect are resolved if we classify Ship English by its process of formation and not the characteristics of its speakers. As such, Ship English might be classified as a koine, defined as a stabilized contact variety that develops when mutually intelligible varieties (either regional dialects or sociolects) come into contact. After a period of interaction or integration among the speakers of these contact varieties, variant linguistic features mix and become levelled among the group (Siegel 2001: 175).¹⁵ Trudgill's theory of new dialect formation through koineization in colonial territories (discussed in more detail in Chapter 2) specifies a three-stage process of mixing, leveling and simplification that results in "a single unitary variety" (Trudgill 1986: 27). Le Page's theory on linguistic focusing explains how such a process can result from social conformity and group identification; "the emergence of a closeknit group, a sense of solidarity and a feeling of shared territory are all conditions favouring focusing" (Milroy 1986: 378). In Chapter 2, I propose that the mixing, leveling, and simplification process of koineization was potentially happening on board international sailing vessels of the Atlantic because of social conformity and group identification among sailors. Schultz's Master's thesis on the sociolinguistic context of Ship English similarly claims that the development of a unitary ship's variety of English was made possible by maritime communities of practice, in which "linguistically, strong networks act as a norm enforcement mechanism" (2010: 7–8). The data presented in Chapters 3 and 4 serve to support the claim that linguistic focusing, leading to koineiza-

¹⁵The term "koine" (or "koiné") is the Greek word for "common", and was originally applied to a common Greek dialect that developed among the regionally-diverse armies of Alexander the Great in the 4th century BC (Andriotis 1995). The term has been more recently applied in contact linguistics as a levelled variety when mutually intelligible dialects come into contact, it has also been used more specifically in terms of creole genesis theory (Siegel 2001) and the phenomena of new regional and immigrant varieties (Trudgill 1986, Kerswill 2004).

tion, was likely happening in maritime communities as a result of the practices that sailors used to reinforce group identity. In Chapter 3, the data on sailors illustrates the hardships that likely increased social dependence, including harsh recruitment measures, lack of pay, high mortality rates, and the dangers of ship-board work, disciplinary action and conflict. This chapter also explains how many lower-ranking sailors and unpaid workers were denied shore leave for fear of desertion, thus forcing their speech communities to become even more insular. The data presented in Chapter 4 regarding speech communities shows how social cohesion among crews was facilitated by kinship bonds in mess groups and that collective agency and resistance were often a form of protection against brutal discipline by tyrannous commanding officers and perpetual subordination. Among sailors, collective activism was a necessity for survival and the ritual consumption of alcohol bound sailors' insular communities in trade, conflict, and times of spiritual distress. Group identity was reinforced through shared beliefs in ancient maritime folklore and expressed orally in these communities, thus providing the context necessary to focus linguistic diversity and derive a single unitary variety that expressed shared experience.

The few modern scholars who have published research on Ship English or features of sailors' speech appear to support the interpretation that koineization was happening in maritime communities. Matthews (1935) and Bailey & Ross (1988) describe common linguistic features among divergent crews, and both acknowledge the role of professional or social identification although neither use the term koineization or classify the resulting variety as a koine or new dialect. Matthews presents the phonology of sailors as a shared paradigm motivated by the technical jargon of professional association. He explains in his introductory notes, "a craft imposes certain traditional pronunciations upon those who engage in it. For sailors, whatever their early dialect and education, there must have been certain conventions of pronunciation for words used exclusively in the sea-trade" (1935: 193). Matthews falls short of claiming that his findings show a leveled pronunciation system, yet his explanation of how sailors, regardless of their own dialect, were obliged by their craft to observe certain conventions of pronunciation certainly suggests the stages of mixing and leveling that occur in koineization with the motivational force of professional association serving to provide linguistic focusing. Bailey & Ross's (1988) article on morphosyntactic variation of Ship English similarly describes stages of mixing and leveling. In the conclusion to their paper they explain:

variation and change were certainly no greater than in most nonstandard varieties of English, and in the process of its formation Ship English seems

to have eliminated the most aberrant features of British dialects, as [Hancock \(1976\)](#) suggested. As a result, it shares many of its morpho-syntactic structures with other British regional and social dialects; in fact, it is not at all clear that *grammatically* Ship English is a unique sociolect, although its lexical uniqueness is apparent. At least in its morpho-syntax, Ship English represents a kind of ‘levelled’ variety similar to those discussed by [Trudgill \(1986\)](#), with the most widespread nonstandard features preserved and the most restricted ones apparently lost. ([Bailey & Ross 1988](#): 207, authors’ italics)

The wording of Bailey and Ross’s paper appears to echo Matthews’ suggestion that “whatever their early dialect and education, there must have been certain conventions...used exclusively in the sea-trade” (1935: 193) and might thus be seen as an elaboration of Matthews’ earlier position that Ship English is a variety resulting from mixing dialects and deriving leveled features as a result of professional association. Thus, both [Matthews \(1935\)](#) and [Bailey & Ross \(1988\)](#) support the interpretation of mixing and leveling with linguistic focusing. My own position may be interpreted as taking their claims one step further by suggesting that the result of the mixing and leveling led to default paradigms (i.e. simplification) and resulted in a shared unitary koine that follows all the stages of [Trudgill’s \(1986\)](#) theory of koineization. However, although some linguistic features identified in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 attest to linguistic simplification (e.g., zero inflection, default pronominal forms, negative concord, leveling of the present and past tense copula forms, overt auxiliaries in all modalities, multiple functionality of specific lexemes, and the use of coordinating conjunctions to build super-structures regardless of parallelism requirements) other features suggest complexity (e.g., linguistic conditioning of feature omission and placement, subordination marked by present-participle phrases, [non-specific verb + specifying nominal complement] constructions, fronting of intransitive verbs before a noun phrase subject, and swearing to mark realis and imperative modalities).¹⁶

¹⁶It is worth noting that some features analysed can be presented as evidence of simplification and as evidence of linguistic complexity, e.g., the verb “to do”. On one hand, “do support” may have been a simplified default in all affirmative verb phrases to aid the process of acquisition for language learners, yet it also potentially functions to mark aspectual and/or subordinating meaning in affirmative clauses in the indicative mood when used in conjunction with preterit forms (see full discussion in Chapter 6 on the auxiliary “to do”). I have purposely presented both interpretations as I think that they are not mutually exclusive. Instead, the use of “do” may have changed with any individual speaker’s fluency in the language. Learners might have defaulted to a universal use of “do support” without aspectual or subordinating meaning, and native/fluent speakers might have used the verb “do” to mark subtle distinctions in meaning between verb phrases.

Yet it is important to recognize that the term “simplification” in Trudgill’s framework does not necessarily suggest linguistic simplification, but a determinism of the new dialect formation that is marked by the manifestation of a “final, stable, relatively uniform outcome...[when] the new dialect appears as a stable, crystallised variety” (Trudgill 2004: 113). The “simplification” is represented in the emergence of default paradigms and not a suggested linguistic simplification that we might associated with pidgin varieties. The data presented on Ship English indicates that there was still significant free variation with respect to certain features (e.g., the omission of articles, the selection of regular weak or unmarked preterit forms, and the placement of adverbial constituents) yet there were also clear default paradigms that marked the variety (e.g., marking genitive case with prepositional phrases rather than nominal inflection, post-nominal placement of present participle phrases, overt use of the auxiliary “to do” in constructions with affirmative indicative modality, fronting verbs if they can function as auxiliaries, and the use of a stative present participle in progressive structures). Therefore, Ship English might be reasonably classified as a koine owing to its formation through a process of mixing and leveling regional dialects and its emergence as a stable uniform variety with default linguistic paradigms determined from a variety of input features, however, this interpretation necessarily also classifies the variety as a new world dialect and therefore alludes back to the problematic assumptions of geographical containment and native language acquisition once the variety achieves a uniform outcome.

In summary, the various potential classifications with which we might categorize Ship English all have their merits, yet none are without problematic assumptions about the nature of the language variety or the people who spoke it. I believe that although the variety was undoubtedly influenced by the idiolects, regional dialects and professional jargon of those within the maritime community, it constitutes a unitary system of morpho-syntactic and discourse variation that extends well beyond individual speakers, occupational lexicon, or the influence of any one regional dialect. Taking into consideration the analysis and opinions of previous researchers working on Ship English and the socio-historical and linguistic evidence presented in these chapters, I believe that although sailors’ speech has been historically associated with a professional jargon and more recently conceptualized as an occupational sociolect, the most appropriate classification we can assign is that Ship English of the early colonial period was a new dialect of English that was formed through the mixing, leveling and simplification processes of koineization. This conclusion is presented in the full knowledge that research into Ship English is in its early stages and further work on the shared

linguistic systems of sailors may lead to modifications and amendments of this claim as we learn more about the process of language transfer and the extent of linguistic simplification in the variety. We should also bear in mind that like any linguistic system, Ship English manifests itself on a continuum of localized and individual variation and there are also likely sub-categories of Ship English according to sailing region, crew composition, and the type of vessel or voyage. Furthermore, I do not propose that there was one type of Ship English as a monolithic variety, but instead that there were core linguistic features that identified speakers as sailors. These linguistic features, like any others, were “transmitted by normal social and cultural forces” (McDavid 1979: 129) and were therefore prone to idiolectal and systemic change in addition to adaption and replacement over time.

8.2 Implications

One of the aims of this study was to generate a baseline of linguistic data that describe common features of Ship English with the hope that this variety might be integrated into the discourse, the theories and the research on dialect variation and language contact in the early colonial period. As such, the implications of findings presented in the chapters of this book are discussed in terms of how they relate to our understanding of dialectology in the discipline of historical linguistics and the theories of pidgin and creole genesis in the discipline of contact linguistics. This section on the implications of Ship English also includes some general observations on recovering the agency of sailors and advocating for future work that integrates data on sociolinguistics and emulates the multidisciplinary approaches of Atlantic Studies.

8.2.1 Relevance for dialectology

The recognition of Ship English as a distinct historical dialect of British English prompts a reconceptualization of dialect change and feature transfer in the British Isles. Despite the traditional models of dialect diffusion that emphasize central geographical focal points with concentric waves of influence, this study focuses on a dialect that was formed without a common center and drew influences from various locations that were not regionally adjacent. Rather than being defined by a central geographical focal point with rivers and seas serving only to limit the extent of dialect expansion, the genesis of Ship English refutes assumptions about the obstructive nature of waterways in dialect diffusion and instead encour-

ages scholars to envision rivers as conduits of communication and seas as fertile spaces where new forms of speech could incubate and stabilize. The reconceptualization of waterways as potential spaces for dialect change and expansion is perhaps particularly relevant to scholars of historical dialectology, and although maritime communities may have served as agents of language change with respect to English as far back as Anglo-Saxon times, the agency of sailors in dialect change might particularly interest scholars whose research interests coincide with the era of expanding maritime technology, trade and exploration that converted the seas in the early modern period into busy spaces of transit and imperial regulation. Scholars interested in the Early Modern English period of dialect change in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries might particularly focus on the potential internal changes that were driven by increasing coastal transportation services of wheat, cloth, and coal (Willan 1967). The sailors who worked in these trades were likely to have acquired and transported dialect features from port to port, particularly as their profession may have carried the type of covert prestige that is often associated with working-class regional speech and occupations associated with masculinity and toughness (Petyt 1980: 160). Indeed, their agency may have derived the kind of “pan-variety parallelism” that Tagliamonte claims occurred among northern British regions and crossed the Irish Sea in which “all communities share the same (variable) system in each case and it is only in the subtle weights and constraint of variation that the differences emerge” (2013: 192). If, indeed, maritime workers had an influence in transmitting and leveling dialect features among ports of the British Isles, then this process was also potentially happening on a larger scale given that “[t]he combination of ocean and river routes defined the shape of the Atlantic zone” (Thornton 2000: 56). Consequently, it is possible that maritime speech communities also leveled linguistic features around the Atlantic and established the type of supra-regional varieties that are still evident in pan-Caribbean English usage (Allsopp 2003).

The data presented here on Ship English and the idea that leveled features composed a stable variety may help to refine what “dialect” implies for the continued effective use of this term in the new information age. To echo a statement from the introduction, we live in a world so interconnected by air travel, media and online networks that we rarely consider the importance of maritime travel or those who depended upon it in an age before we physically and digitally took to the skies. Yet, studying the speech communities of people who sailed the waters that connected the edges of the known world may ironically give us some insight into how supra-regional varieties are formed in a modern world where global networks connect distant places and incubate varieties of language that

neither adhere to any standard regional norms nor diffuse via regional adjacency. As [Darvin](#) explains in his paper on language and identity in the digital age, technology has revolutionized the way we communicate; increased travel, mobile communication and online connectivity have blurred the boundaries of space “leading to new identifications, allegiances, and relations” (2016: 523). As a result, new digital technologies necessitate concepts of dialect formation and research methodologies that can trace what [Stornaiuolo & Hall](#) describe as the “echoing of ideas across spaces, people and texts” (2014: 28).

This book likewise attempts to trace the echoing of sailors’ language features across the space, people and texts of the early colonial period. It presents Ship English as a language variety with no regional origin that is defined by its medium of transmission; this definition creates parallels between non-regional, technology-mediated varieties such as Instant Messaging (IM) and texting varieties of English ([Warschauer & Matuchniak 2010](#)) in addition to translingual varieties that evolve online ([Canagarajah 2013](#)). Like many of these new varieties emerging via technology, Ship English is not a traditional dialect defined by regional parameters nor is it a sociolect shared by a single stratum of society, instead, it is a poorly-understood variety derived from the mixing and leveling of distinct regional features with influence from other languages. It furthermore demonstrates a type of simplification that facilitates learner acquisition but also permits the complex syntactic variation that enables fluent speakers to express subtlety and complexity in meaning. Thus, perhaps a variety such as Ship English could provide an impetus to refine models of dialect genesis for the digital age in which mediums of communication and high-levels of non-native acquisition are more important than identifying a single geographical origin, social class or ethnic group in which native speakers acquire fluency. In short, if we can re-conceptualize the term “dialect” in a way that especially de-emphasizes its regional restrictions and instead highlights its potential range through the medium by which it is transmitted, then Ship English might help us understand the processes through which newly emerging global varieties are developing.

If we accept that Ship English was formed through a process of dialect mixing, leveling, and simplification in the same way that [Trudgill \(1986\)](#) describes the formation of immigrant koines, then the data on Ship English also serve to expand our understanding of the contexts in which koineization can take place. Since he first proposed his three-stage theory of new dialect formation in 1986, Trudgill envisioned the process of koineization as one connected with language developments in colonial territories where immigrants with different varieties of mutually intelligible regional dialects gathered and their language

features blended. Trudgill's more recent book published in 2004, *New Dialect Formation: The Inevitability of Colonial Englishes*, explicitly connects the process of koineization with immigrant and settler forms of English. However, his evidence on Southern Hemisphere varieties are prefaced by the claim that all colonial varieties derive from a combination of comparable factors: adaptation to a new physical environment, different linguistic changes in the mother country and the colony, language contact with indigenous languages and with other European languages, and internal dialect contact (2004: 1–7). The relevance of these factors become clear when we envision the ship itself as a microcosm of the colonial state, as Linebaugh & Rediker propose in their history of the revolutionary Atlantic (2000). Their chapter entitled “Hydrarchy: Sailors, Pirates, and the Maritime State” explores how the ship itself represented one critical process in which capitalists organized and united the exploitation of human labor. They explain:

The consolidation of the maritime state took place in the 1690s, by which time the Royal Navy had become England's greatest employer of labor, its greatest consumer of material, and its greatest industrial enterprise...Here were Braithwaite's “walls of the State”, an enclosure built around a new field of property whose value and appreciation were expressed in a congeries of changes in the 1690s. (Linebaugh & Rediker 2000: 148)

Rediker continues to explore the idea of the maritime nation state, and specifically the renegade colony of the pirate ship in *Villains of all Nations* (2004). His analogy is made explicit in the chapter entitled “The New Government of the Ship” that explores how pirates established a new social order: “It's hallmark was a rough, improvised, but effective egalitarianism” (2004: 61). Thus, not only can we envision the ship itself as a microcosm of the colonial state, but also a space in which revolution against colonial control was expressed prior to any American colonial declaration of independence from British control. Given such circumstances, the idea that processes of koineization occurred comparable to the developments in the immigrant communities of colonial territories and concurrent with the establishment of new governments is reasonable. Linebaugh & Rediker acknowledge the likelihood of language change aboard ships in their observation “European imperialism also created the conditions for the circulation of experience within the huge masses of labor that it had set in motion...[and] The circulation of experience depended in part on the fashioning of new languages” (2000: 152). I propose that these “new languages” (i.e., new dialects of English) were forged through the same three-stage process of kionization that Trudgill explains happened in colonial spaces where immigrants worked and lived to-

gether, giving their mutually-intelligible language features the opportunity to mix, level and simplify into a new variety specific to that space. In short, evaluating Ship English as a koine permits scholars in dialectology to expand the scope of koineization and apply Trudgill's theories to varieties of English that develop in transient colonial spaces that are not necessarily defined by geographical parameters or international treaties. Indeed, this interpretation of the term reclaims the transient context of its origins referring to the common Greek dialect spoken among the mobilized armies of Alexander the Great in the 4th century BC.

Ship English, here presented as a newly-recognized dialect of English, impacts the field of World Englishes and historical dialectology in the sense that the theories and approaches specific to these disciplines must now incorporate and account for this variety and its speakers in its theories of dialect formation and usage. The fact that Ship English does not fit neatly into any one geographical territory prompts a revision of how we understand internal dialect change in and around the British Isles and compels us to reconsider the scope of what constitutes a global variety of English. It also encourages scholars to advocate for the type of interdisciplinary perspective central to scholars of Atlantic Studies, expressed by the editors of the journal *Atlantic Studies* as a discipline that:

explores transnational, transhistorical, and transdisciplinary intersections, but also addresses global flows and perspectives beyond the Atlantic as a closed or self-contained space...[and] considers the Atlantic as part of wider networks, a space of exchange, and an expanding paradigm beyond the limits of its own geography, moving beyond national, regional, and continental divides by examining entangled histories and cultures...[and therefore] challenges critical orthodoxies that have drawn sharp lines between the experiences and representations of the Atlantic world and its wider global context. (Taylor and Francis Group 2016, *Atlantic Studies* §Aims and Scope)

Embracing interdisciplinary approaches necessarily means embracing complexity in dialect studies, and this only becomes more complex when we aim to centralize the human agency integral to dialect contact. Recovering the human stories that explain dialect change is particularly important to dialect research methodologies in order to challenge trends which produce sterile and monolithic explanations of dialect change in which human stories are either ignored completely or relegated to a footnote. The focus of this book, by foregrounding demographic data, aims to recover the agency of ordinary people who motivated

extraordinary change. There is no doubt that ships' communities bred unique language practices because of the unique composition of those who worked within them. Therefore, throughout this book, I have attempted to acknowledge and respect the complex realities and the linguistic agency of all the people who lived and worked in maritime communities. Furthermore, I offer the findings presented here as testimony to the undocumented, undervalued, and often unnamed majority of workers aboard sailing vessels of the early colonial period and I encourage other scholars of dialectology and historical linguistics to likewise consider the agency of marginalized people who may have only left behind ambiguous traces on the palimpsest of the official historical record. These marginalized peoples may not have played a major role in imperial history; yet, they potentially helped shape and direct the incremental changes that characterized their oral cultures. As Daniels expressed so eloquently in the abstract for his paper on the Atlantic marketplace at a conference on the emergence of the maritime nation in England:

If we abandon the idea of centrality of the mother countries, their rulers, and their institutions, we might imagine a grittier and more organic Atlantic world constructed from the strands of individual lives and the repercussions of their actions rather than an Atlantic world engineered from above the heads of constitute parts. (Daniels 2015)

Complex, contradictory, and confusing data in dialect studies reflects the realities of the individuals who motivated dialect change and who were driven by self-preservation and pulled by the local and inter-imperial regulation that shaped the spaces in which they lived. This research and the complexities of the data it presents in order to advocate for the recognition of Ship English as a comprehensive dialect is anticipated to contribute to a growing movement in modern scholarship that challenges traditional models of dialect diffusion, embraces interdisciplinary perspectives, and foregrounds the humanity of dialect change in methodological approaches.

8.2.2 **Relevance for contact linguistics**

One of the aims of this study was to outline the socio-demographics of the maritime communities and examine how variant linguistic features may have developed and spread among these communities. As I explained in the introduction, my principal focus is to present baseline data that substantiates the fundamental claim that Ship English of the early colonial period was a distinct variety. It is

not intended to support of any one school of creole linguistics, nor is it intended to present Ship English as a formative variety in creole genesis, however, the findings relate to contact linguistics and particularly to theories of how pidgins and creoles emerged in colonial regions around the Atlantic. More specifically, the findings substantiate claims by Reinecke (1938) and Hancock 1972 Hancock 1976 Hancock 1986 and Hancock 1988 that a potential type of language spoken on ships may have influenced creole development.¹⁷ The central premise of integrating Ship English into creole studies is based on the proposition that seamen are the most logical connection between ports of the Atlantic and the creoles that demonstrate common origins but are spoken over 12,000 nautical miles apart in places such as the Caribbean, Suriname, and the Guinea Coast (Hancock 1976; Faraclos et al. 2012). It is reasonable to suggest that Ship English was the variety of English used for coastal trade and therefore the most logical language in contact, particularly considering sailors' roles in settling and maintaining many of the colonies where creole languages arose (Bailey & Ross 1988; Holm 1988). Another possible theory to explain the influence of Ship English during the early colonial period is that the dialect was introduced along the coast of Africa and fed into emerging local varieties which were more functional for coastal trade than any one of the regional African languages. When sailors established domestic relationships with African women in multilingual enclaves of settlement, these local varieties of coastal English then became influenced by African features and conditioned by language universals to form a coastal pidgin continuum. This pidgin was subsequently creolized by the generations born to these multilingual communities who then transmitted their varieties of speech to the slaves they were employed to manage and the regions they were sent to labor in. Future studies that apply such theories can now compare the features of English-lexifier Atlantic Creoles with the features of Ship English to determine if significant similarities support these theoretical claims.

The suggestion that a coastal pidgin developed off the coasts of West Africa has echoes in Reinecke's (1938) claim that pidgin English was developed on the colonial plantations from the trade jargon of the ports. Reinecke, like many of his contemporaries, belittled trading pidgins as "makeshift language...[and] mangled little dialects" (Reinecke 1938: 107) whilst at the same time realizing the impor-

¹⁷Because of this connection between my own research and Ian Hancock's formative theories on creole genesis, we collaborated on a paper for the Society of Pidgin and Creole Linguistics' conference in January 2017. This paper makes the connections between Hancock's work and my own explicit in a theory of how maritime workers established a coastal English on the Upper Guinea coast that was later transferred to the Caribbean (Delgado & Hancock 2017, January 7).

tance of mariners' contributions to intercultural communication. More recently, scholars have recognized the importance of pidgin varieties and placed more value on the role of maritime communities in the contentious pidgin-creole continuum debate (Holm 1988: 7), for example: Hancock (1976) has long championed the influence of maritime vocabulary on Krio, a creole of Sierra Leone; Holm (1981) identifies the importance of sailors as the agents of language change in his extensive work on Nicaragua's Miskito Coast Creole; and Dillard (1992) has proposed that the most authentic American varieties of English derived from a pidgin formed from sailors' language. Although scholars such as these have often alluded to the role of a potential pidgin derived from sailors' speech, none have supported a claim that such pidgins were already in use throughout maritime communities. Yet this was also potentially the case, particularly given the extensive international language contact that certain crews regularly experienced, not only as a natural consequence of their trading activities but also because of their international recruitment practices that created multinational crews with high levels of linguistic diversity. Consequently, and given that we now have a more comprehensive idea of what Ship English was owing to the findings presented here, future work can now engage with the question of whether Ship English gave rise to a distinct nautical pidgin on the high seas in addition to potential coastal and plantation pidgins after language contact occurred in colonial contexts.

The new data on Ship English and the emerging possibility that we can linguistically support a claim that sailors spoke a nautical pidgin owing to their trade and recruitment practices around the Atlantic might have a major impact in theories of creole genesis. Scholars who advocate for a theory of creole genesis in which the new stabilized creoles developed when earlier pidgin forms were expanded for the use of native speakers (Holm 1988) could now consider the possibility of a potential Ship Pidgin as one of the pre-existing forms that were available to the transported workers of plantation and port speech communities. Scholars who support a monogenesis theory, in which — in its most radical interpretation — all creoles have a single proto-pidgin that developed out of Portuguese contact in the West African gold trade in the 15th century might now consider the possibility that this proto-pidgin developed in a nautical context. This idea is additionally plausible if we consider the role of the slave trade as an industry that motivated language contact situations and remember the key role of maritime traffic in this trade and thus the potential of mariners as agents of language change. Scholars who argue for founder theories and processes of competition and selection (Mufwene 1996) could now consider Ship English (or a related Ship Pidgin) as potential sources of features that competed for selec-

tion in new regional forms. The likelihood of Ship English influencing regional language developments would be significant in a theory in which “structural features of creoles have been predetermined to a large extent (but not exclusively) by characteristics of the vernaculars spoken by the populations that founded the colonies in which they developed” (Mufwene 1996: 84). If we consider sailors as one of the “populations that founded the colonies” then this theory of language ecology not only incorporates Ship English, but also prompts debate about the very nature of what scholars perceive to be the prestigious superstrate varieties available in the colonial setting. In short, scholars who subscribe to theories of pidgin-creole genesis, monogenesis theory, and founder principles of competition and selection might begin to work in new directions given this new linguistic data on Ship English that provides a baseline for comparison with regional creoles and motivates the potential for future research on Ship Pidgins.

The suggestion that the existence of Ship English might prompt debate about the nature of the superstrate is explicit in Bailey & Ross’s (1988) article on “The Shape of the Superstrate: Morphosyntactic Features of Ship English”.¹⁸ Nearly thirty years after their article was published, this book now presents substantial data on the syntactic features of Ship English and permits scholars to revisit and revise concepts of the superstrate with the advantage of access to new empirical data. If the syntactic features of certain creoles compare with Ship English, then the data presented here may prompt revision of the simplified binary model of African substrates (with phonological, syntactic, and semantic influences) opposed to a unitary European superstrate (with lexical influence).¹⁹ Furthermore, the over-simplification that all varieties of English were prestigious in dichotomy with West African languages fails to acknowledge the stigmatized varieties spoken by people from low socio-economic backgrounds who were exported to work in the early colonial system, living in outcast communities, or escaping political hegemony in the British Isles. Dismissive of such complexity, the use of “substrate” and “superstrate” alludes to the origins of the terms in Romance linguistics as referents of power yet also suggests their linguistic contribution to creoles as a direct result of the imbalance of power in language contact situations. For example, Holm explains how superstrates contribute lexical fea-

¹⁸Bailey and Ross propose that Ship English should be recognized as the proto-typical variety of the superstrate, illustrated in their description of “what seems to be the earliest component of the superstrate—the ‘Ship English’ spoken by British sailors during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries” (1988: 194–195).

¹⁹The lesser-used term “adstrate” refers to a language that is considered (reflecting the status of its speakers) to be neither superior nor subordinate, but present in the contact situation as a potential source of feature transfer or borrowing.

tures because, “usually those with less power (speakers of *substrate* languages) are more accommodating and use words from the language of those with more power (the *superstrate*)” (1988: 5, author’s italics). The substrate-superstrate binary model is perpetuated in creole theories even though “the concepts are still largely used intuitively” (Selbach 2008: 55) and “there has been no satisfactory answer to the perennial question of the degree to which the structure of superstrate and substrate languages influence that of creoles” (Holm 2009: 218). Yet equating the status of the speaker to the influence of their language in an emerging creole context might prove to be overly deterministic as we learn more about the subtleties of language contact and the complexities of feature transfer. This determinism is compounded by the term “lexifier” which is used synonymously with “superstrate” and has no equivalent form that pairs with the term “substrate” to signify phonological, syntactic, and semantic contributions. Scholars who cross-match the social referent “substrate” with the functional referent “lexifier” as though they refer to the same paradigm compound this confusion. For example, McWhorter’s *Defining Creole* (2005) that explains the “traditional emphasis in creole studies on transfer from *substrate* languages rather than *lexifier*” (p.85, my italics).²⁰ The effect is to suggest that a substrate language cannot *be* the lexifier although it has been demonstrated that substrate lexical transfer has played a key role in the configuration of many creole grammars (Kihm 1989; Migge 1998). The parallel assumption that prestigious superstrates determine the lexical features of creole languages has been challenged by scholars such as Selbach in her paper: “The Superstrate is not always the Lexifier” (2008). Yet these presumptions will continue if the terms “superstrate” and “lexifier” continue to be treated as synonyms referring to both social status and lexical contribution. Challenging these presumptions in a way that permits us to approach the processes of language change in contact situations without prejudgment will happen as more scholars appreciate the potential contributions (beyond lexicon) of non-standard varieties such as Ship English. In short, the syntactic focus of this study offers a baseline of data that might be used in comparative studies to investigate the potential syntactic influence of Ship English in the creoles that developed around the colonial territories of the Atlantic region and thus challenge any restrictive assumptions that prestigious superstrates contributed only lexical features and syntactic variation can be entirely explained by substrate influence.

²⁰ Although here criticized for his equivalency of the terms “substrate” and “lexifier”, McWhorter also acknowledges that simplified interpretations of a unitary and prestigious superstrate are flawed. He states, “*superstratists* have rightly criticized the tendency to compare creoles with standard varieties of their lexifiers, calling attention to the models for creole constructions in now-obscure regional dialects spoken by the white colonists” (McWhorter 2005: 143).

8.3 Summary

The data presented in the chapters of this book support the central claim that there is a distinct Ship English that was spoken by British sailors in the early colonial context with a unique socio-historical context and characteristic linguistic features. The sociolinguistic, syntactic and discourse-level features presented in this study add to the existing data on lexicon, phonology and morphosyntax attested to in prior scholarship to provide a comprehensive baseline of data for this newly-recognized historical variety of English. Furthermore, we can assert that Ship English stabilized and spread in maritime communities through predominantly oral speech practices and strong affiliations among groups of sailors. The variety was also transferred to port communities and sailors' home regions through regular contact with speakers, a process that was also potentially intensified by covert prestige. The variety was not monolithic, however, and its features likely existed on a continuum of localized and individual variation and were prone to idiolectal and systemic change in addition to adaption and replacement over time just like the features of any other variety.

Ship English was a historical dialect of English and although varied linguistic sub-classifications of this dialect are possible, none are without problematic assumptions about the nature of the variety or its speakers. The classification of the dialect as an ethnolect is the least probable given the data available on global recruitment practices. The classification of Ship English as a regional dialect has validity in that it indexes contemporary assumptions about substandard and stigmatized usage and acknowledges that the variety was used in specific geographical regions, specifically Atlantic trade routes and the trading ports of their coastal zones. Yet, this classification is problematic as it suggests geographical unity and transmission through either geographical adjacency or generational language acquisition. The most convincing classification of Ship English is that it was a soci-lect that was formed through the mixing, leveling and simplification processes of koineization. This classification is furthermore supported by the implicit recognition of mixing, leveling, and simplification processes in the limited scholarship on the variety.

The recognition of Ship English as a distinct historical dialect of British English challenges traditional models of dialect diffusion and prompts a reconceptualization of dialect change and feature transfer in the British Isles by specifically recognizing the potential of supra-regional varieties formed by the leveling of mutually intelligible linguistic features. It also serves to expand our understanding of the contexts in which koineization can take place. Consequently, it prompts

us to re-conceptualize the term “dialect” in a way that de-emphasizes its traditional regional restrictions and instead highlights its potential range through the medium by which it is transmitted. Such approaches might influence thinking on language change in the new information age and prompt us to reevaluate what we consider a native, a secondary and a world variety of English. My own methodology and approach also advocate for interdisciplinary perspectives and the recovery of the complex human stories critical to understanding linguistic change.

Data on Ship English is necessarily relevant to contact linguistics and specifically theories on pidgins and creoles because maritime workers connected the diverse ports around the Atlantic and helped to found and settle the regions that developed creoles. New data on Ship English provide a baseline for comparison with regional creoles and motivate the potential for future research on Ship Pidgins which, in turn, impact theories of pidgin-creole genesis, monogenesis theory, and founder principles of competition and selection in regions that saw the emergence of creole languages. Furthermore, the recognition of a stigmatized variety of English prevalent in the contact situation of the early colonial Atlantic prompts discourse about the nature of the superstrate and challenges our assumptions relating to the lexical, phonological, syntactic, and semantic influences of different languages and varieties in the contact situation. Although the data presented have clear implications in the field of contact linguistics, there is still considerable work to be done to verify its significance in historical dialectology. It is my hope that future research might compare the Ship English features identified here to the features of contemporary varieties used in the Early Modern English period to clarify the extent to which these features were marked in sailors’ speech. Future studies might also explore the possibilities of parallel developments in the languages of other sea-going nations to determine if levelled nautical varieties commonly developed in situations comparable to the speech communities that derived Ship English. Studies might also explore the potential variation between Mediterranean, Atlantic, and Pacific varieties of Ship English. Such work might help us achieve a more comprehensive understanding of the linguistic processes that occurred during times of rapid colonial expansion and may also shed light on how levelled varieties develop among transient communities.

References

- Adkins, Roy & Lesley Adkins. 2008. *Jack Tar: The extraordinary lives of ordinary seamen in Nelson's navy*. London, England: Abacus.
- Alleyne, Mervyn C. 1980. *Comparative Afro-American: An historical-comparative study of English-based Afro-American dialects of the New World*. Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers.
- Alleyne, Mervyn C. 1996. *Syntaxe historique créole*. Paris, France: Karthala.
- Allsopp, Richard (ed.). 2003. *Dictionary of Caribbean English usage*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press.
- Ammon, Matthias. 2013. The functions of oath and pledge in Anglo-Saxon legal culture. *Historical Research* 86(233). 515–535.
- Andriotis, Nikolaos. 1995. *History of the Greek language: Four studies*. Thessaloniki, Greece: Triantafyllidi Foundation.
- Auer, Peter, Frans Hinskens & Paul Kerswill (eds.). 2005. *Dialect change: Convergence and divergence in European languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Awbery, G. M. 1988. Slander and defamation as a source for historical dialectology. In Alan R. Thomas (ed.), *Methods in dialectology: Proceedings of the sixth international conference held at the University College of North Wales, 3rd–7th August 1987*, 164–174. Clevedon, PA: Multilingual Matters.
- Bailey, Guy & Garry Ross. 1988. The shape of the superstrate. *English World-Wide* 9(2). 193–212.
- Baker, Philip & Magnus Huber. 2001. Atlantic, Pacific, and world-wide features in English-lexicon contact languages. *English World-Wide* 22(2). 157–208.
- Bassett, Fletcher S. 1885. *Legends and superstitions of the sea and of sailors in all lands and at all times*. Chicago, IL: Belford, Clarke & Co.
- Bicheno, Hugh. 2012. *Elizabeth's sea dogs: How the English became the scourge of the seas*. London, England: Conway, Bloomsbury.
- Blake, N. F. 2002. *A grammar of Shakespeare's language*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

References

- Boukman Barima, Kofi. 2016. Cutting across space and time: Obeah's service to Afro-Jamaica's freedom struggle in slavery and emancipation. *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 9(4). 16–31.
- Bronner, Simon J. 2006. *Crossing the line: Violence, play, and drama in naval equator traditions*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Brown, Kevin. 2011. *Poxed & scurried: The story of sickness and health at sea*. Barnsley, England: Seaforth Publishing.
- Bruzelius, Lars. 1996. *17th century maritime and naval dictionaries*. http://www.bruzelius.info/Nautica/Bibliography/Dictionaries_1600.html.
- Bruzelius, Lars. 1999. *19th century maritime and naval dictionaries*. http://www.bruzelius.info/Nautica/Bibliography/Dictionaries_1800.html.
- Bruzelius, Lars. 2006. *18th century maritime and naval dictionaries*. http://www.bruzelius.info/Nautica/Bibliography/Dictionaries_1700.html.
- Burg, Barry R. 2001. The buccaneer community. In C. R. Pennell (ed.), *Bandits at sea: A pirate reader*, vol. i, 211–243. New York: New York University Press.
- Burg, Barry R. 2007. *Boys at sea*. New York: Palgrave.
- Canagarajah, Suresh. 2013. Negotiating translingual literacy: An enactment. *Research in the Teaching of English* 48(1). 40–67.
- Carlisle, Rodney P. (ed.). 2009. *Handbook to life in America: Postwar America 1950 to 1969*. New York: Infobase Publishing.
- Cassidy, Frederic G. & Robert B. Le Page. 2002. *Dictionary of Jamaican English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chambers, J. K. & Peter Trudgill. 1998. *Dialectology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cheshire, Jenny. 1994. Standardization and the English irregular verbs. In Dieter Stein & Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade (eds.), *Towards a Standard English 1600–1800*, 115–134. Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Choundas, George. 2007. *The pirate primer: Mastering the language of swashbucklers and rogues*. Georgetown, Canada: Fraser Direct Publications.
- Claridge, Claudia & Leslie Arnovick. 2010. Pragmaticalisation and discursisation. In Andreas H. Jucker & Irma Taavitsainen (eds.), *Historical pragmatics*, 165–192. Berlin, Germany: Walter de Gruyter.
- Cook, Bronwen. 2005. 'a true, faire and just account': Charles Huggett and the content of Maldon in the English coastal shipping trade 1679–1684. *The Journal of Transport History* 26(1). 1–18.
- Creswell, John W. & Vicki L. Plano Clark. 2007. *Designing and conducting mixed methods research*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

- Daniels, Jason. 2015. Atlantic contingency: Negotiating the uncertainties of the Atlantic marketplace at the turn of the 18th century. Paper presented at the conference The Emergence of a Maritime Nation: Britain in the Tudor and Stuart Age, 1485–1714, Greenwich, England, 24–25 July 2015.
- Darvin, Ron. 2016. Language and identity in the digital age. In Sian Preece (ed.), *The Routledge handbook of language and identity*, 523–540. London, England: Routledge.
- de Haas, Nynke. 2006. The origins of the Northern Subject Rule. *English historical linguistics*. 3: Geo-Historical Variation in English. 111–130.
- Defoe, Daniel. 1998. *The life and strange surprising adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, mariner: Who lives eight and twenty years all alone in an uninhabited island on the coast of America*. London, England: W. Taylor.
- Delgado, Sally J. 2013. Pirate English of the Caribbean and Atlantic trade routes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: Linguistic hypotheses based on socio-historical data. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia: International Journal of Linguistics* 45(2). 151–169.
- Delgado, Sally J. 2015. *The reconstructed phonology of seventeenth century sailors' speech*. Paper presented at the Summer meeting of the Society of Pidgin and Creole Linguistics. Graz, Austria, 7–9 July 2015.
- Delgado, Sally J. & Ian Hancock. 2017. *New routes to creolization: The importance of ship english*. Paper presented at the Winter meeting of the Society of Pidgin and Creole Linguistics. Austin, Texas, 5–7 January 2017.
- Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edn. 1989. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Dillard, Joey Lee. 1992. *A history of American English*. London & New York: Longman.
- Dobson, E. J. 1955. Early Modern Standard English. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 54(1). 25–54.
- Draper, Mary. 2016. Forging and maintaining the maritime hinterlands of Barbados and Jamaica. <http://www.associationofcaribbeanhistorians.org/conferencepapers2016/index.htm>, accessed 2016-8-10. Paper presented at 48th Annual Association of Caribbean Historians, Havana, 6–10 June 2016.
- Durrell, Martin. 2004. Sociolect. In Ulrich Ammon (ed.), *Sociolinguistics: An international handbook of the science of language and society*, 200–205. Berlin, Germany: Walter de Gruyter.
- Earle, Peter. 1993. English sailors 1570–1775. In Paul C. van Royen, J. R. Bruijn & Jan Lucassen (eds.), *'those emblems of hell?' European sailors and the maritime labour market, 1570–1870*, 75–95. St. John's, Newfoundland: International Maritime Economic History Association.

References

- Earle, Peter. 1998. *Sailors: English merchant seamen 1650–1775*. London, England: Methuen.
- Esquemelin, John. 1678. *The buccaneers of America: A true account of the most remarkable assaults committed of late years upon the coasts of the West Indies by the buccaneers of Jamaica and Tortuga (both English and French)*. New York, NY: Dover Publications. (Reprinted 1967.)
- Eyers, Jonathan. 2011. *Don't shoot the albatross!: Nautical myths and superstitions*. London, England: A & C Black.
- Faraclas, Nicholas, Micah Corum, Rhoda Arrindell & Jean Ourdy Pierre. 2012. Sociétés de cohabitation and the similarities between the English lexifier creoles of the Atlantic and the Pacific: The case for diffusion from the Afro-Atlantic to the Pacific. In Nicholas Faraclas (ed.), *Agency in the emergence of creole languages: The role of women, renegades, and people of African and indigenous descent in the emergence of the colonial era creoles*, 149–184. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Faraclas, Nicholas, Jenny Lozano-Cosme, Gabriel Mejía, Roberto Olmeda Rosario, Cristal Heffelfinger Nieves, Mayra Cardona Durán, Mayra Cortes, Carlos Rodríguez Iglesias, Francis S. Rivera Cornier, Adriana Mulero Claudio, Susana DeJesús, Aida Vergne, John Paul Muñoz, Pier Angeli Le Compte Zambrana, Sarah Brock, Marisol Joseph Haynes, Melissa Angus Baboun & Javier Enrique Arus. 2016. Recovering African agency: a re-analysis of tense, modality and aspect in Stadian and other Afro-Caribbean English lexifier contact varieties. Paper presented at the 21st Biennial Conference of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics. Kingston, Jamaica 1–6 August 2016.
- Fox Smith, Cicely. 1924. *Sailor town days*. 2nd edn. London, England: Methuen.
- Fury, Cheryl. 2015. Rocking the boat: Shipboard disturbances in the early voyages of the English East India Company 1601–1611. Unpublished manuscript. Copy shared by the author via personal email Aug 20 2015.
- Fusaro, Maria. 2015. Public service and private trade: Northern seamen in seventeenth-century Venetian courts of justice. *The International Journal of Maritime History* 27(1). 3–25.
- Gage, Thomas. 1648. *New survey of the West-Indies, or the English-American, his travail by sea and land....* London, England: R. Cotes. Facsimile. Courtesy of The Merseyside Maritime Museum's digitized holdings. (Ref 792.1.8.)
- Gehweiler, Elke. 2010. Interjection and expletives. In Andreas H. Jucker & Irma Taavitsainen (eds.), *Historical pragmatics*, 315–349. Berlin, Germany: Walter de Gruyter.

- Gilje, Paul A. 2016. *To swear like a sailor: Maritime culture in America 1750–1850*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Givón, Talmy. 2001. *Syntax: An introduction*. Vol. II. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Görlach, Manfred. 1999. Regional and social variation. In Roger Lass (ed.), *The Cambridge history of the English language, vol III 1476–1776*, 459–538. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hancock, Ian. 1972. A domestic origin for the English-derived Atlantic Creoles. *The Florida Foreign Language Reporter* 10(1–2). 7–8, 52.
- Hancock, Ian. 1976. Nautical sources of Krio vocabulary. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 7. 26–36.
- Hancock, Ian. 1986. The domestic hypothesis, diffusion and componentiality: An account of Atlantic anglophone creole origin. In Pieter Muysken & Norval Smith (eds.), *Substrate versus universals in creole genesis*, 71–102. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Hancock, Ian. 1988. Componentiality and the origins of Gullah. In James L. Peacock & James C. Sabella (eds.), *Sea and land: Cultural and biological adaptation in the Southern Coastal Plain*, 13–24. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Hatfield, April. 2016. ‘English pirates’ illegal slave trading, as described in Spanish sanctuary records. <http://www.associationofcaribbeanhistorians.org/conferencepapers2016/index.html>, accessed 2016-8-10. Paper presented at 48th Annual Association of Caribbean Historians, Havana, 6–10 June 2016.
- Hattendorf, John. J. (ed.). 2007. *The Oxford encyclopedia of maritime history*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Hawkins, John A. 1978. *Definiteness and indefiniteness*. London, England: Routledge.
- Hendery, Rachel. 2013. Early documents from Palmerston Island and their implications for the origins of Palmerston English. *Journal of Pacific History* 48(3). 309–322.
- Hickey, Raymond (ed.). 2004. *Legacies of colonial English: Studies in transported dialects*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hill, Isabella. 2013. *Bristol and piracy in the late sixteenth century* Undergraduate dissertation. <http://www.bristol.ac.uk/media-library/sites/history/migrated/documents/2013hill.pdf>, accessed 2015-11-6. Bristol, Department of Historical Studies, University of Bristol.
- Hogendorn, Jan & Marion Johnson. 2003. *The shell money of the slave trade* (African Study Series 49). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

References

- Holm, John. 1981. Sociolinguistic history and the creolist. In Arnold R. Highfield & Albert Valdman (eds.), *Historicity and variation in creole studies*, 40–51. Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers.
- Holm, John. 1988. *Pidgins and creoles I: Theory and structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Holm, John. 2009. Quantifying superstrate and substrate influence. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 24(2). 218–274.
- Holm, John & Alison Watt Schilling. 1982. *Dictionary of Bahamian English*. New York: Lexik House Publications.
- Hughes, Geoffrey. 1991. *Swearing: A social history of foul language, oaths and profanity in English*. Oxford, England: Blackwell.
- Hugill, Stan. 1969. *Shanties and sailors' songs*. London, England: Herbert Jenkins.
- Hymes, Dell (ed.). 1971. *Pidginization and creolization of languages*. London, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Jarvis, Michael J. 2010. *In the eye of all trade: Bermuda, Bermudians, and the maritime Atlantic world 1680–1783*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Johnson, Charles. 1713. *The successful pyrate: a play. as it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury lane, by Her Majesty's servants. Written by Mr. Cha. Johnson. 2nd edn*. London, England: Bernard Lintott. Reproduction courtesy of the British Library, ECCO Print Editions.
- Kelly, James. 2006. Bordering on fact in early eighteenth-century sea journals. In Dan Doll & Jessica Munns (eds.), *Recording and reordering: Essays on the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century diary and journal*, 158–184. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press.
- Kerswill, Paul. 2004. Koineization and accommodation. In J. K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill & Natalie Schilling-Estes (eds.), *The handbook of language variation and change*, 669–702. Oxford, England: Blackwell Publishing.
- Kihm, Alain. 1989. Lexical conflation as a basis for relexification. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 34(3). 351–376.
- Klara, Robert. 2013. Perspective: hey, sailor: a look at how the romance and sexuality of the swabby has been tapped to sell. *Adweek*. <http://www.adweek.com/news/advertising-branding/perspective-hey-sailor-146271>, accessed 2015-11-7.
- Feature #154: Multiple negation/negative concord. 2013. *The electronic world atlas of varieties of English*. <http://ewave-atlas.org>, accessed 2014-12-2.
- Labov, William. 1966. *The social stratification of English in New York City*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

- Labov, William. 2007. Transmission and diffusion. *Language* 83. 344–387.
DOI:[10.1353/lan.2007.0082](https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2007.0082)
- Laing, Margaret & Roger Lass. 2006. Early Middle English dialectology: Problems and prospects. In Ans van Kemenade & Bettelou Los (eds.), *Handbook of the history of English*, 417–451. Oxford, England: Blackwell Publishing.
- Lavery, Brian. 2009. *Empire of the seas: The remarkable story of how the navy forged the modern world*. London, England: Conway.
- Leeson, Peter T. 2007. *Journal of Political Economy* 115(6). 1049–1094.
- Leeson, Peter T. 2008. Pirational choice. http://www.peterleeson.com/Pirational_Choice.pdf, accessed 2014-3-10.
- Lefebvre, Claire. 1986. Relexification in creole genesis revisited. In Pieter Muysken & Norval Smith (eds.), *Universals versus substrata in creole genesis*, 279–300. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Lefebvre, Claire. 1998. *Creole genesis and the acquisition of grammar: The case for Haitian Creole*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lincoln, Margarette (ed.). 2015. *Samuel pepys: Plague, fire, revolution*. London, England: Thames & Hudson.
- Linebaugh, Peter & Marcus Rediker. 2000. *The many-headed hydra: Slaves, sailors, commoners, and the hidden history of the revolutionary Atlantic*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Lipski, John M. 2005. *A history of Afro-Hispanic language: Five centuries, five continents*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Litter, Dawn (ed.). 1999. *Guide to the records of the Merseyside Maritime Museum*. Vol. II. St. John's: AGMV Marquis.
- Lucas, Christopher & David Willis. 2012. Never again: The multiple grammaticalization of *never* as a marker of negation in English. *English Language and Linguistics* 16. 459–485.
- MacKenzie, Mike. 2005. *Seatalk: The dictionary of English nautical language*. Nova Scotia, Canada: Mike MacKenzie. <http://www.seatalk.info>, accessed 2014-3-10.
- Manwayring, Henry. 1672[1644]. *The sea-mans dictionary: Or, an exposition and demonstration of all the parts and things belonging to a shippe*. Menston: Scholar Press.
- Matthews, William. 1935. Sailors' pronunciation in the second half of the 17th century. *Anglia* 59. 192–251.
- Maynor, Natalie. 1988. Written records of spoken language: How reliable are they? In Alan R. Thomas (ed.), *Methods in dialectology: Proceedings of the sixth international conference held at the University College of North Wales, 3rd–7th August 1987*, 109–120. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

References

- McDavid, Raven. I. 1979. *Dialects in culture: Essays in general dialectology*. Alabama: The University of Alabama Press.
- McDonald, Kevin. 2016. 'Sailors of the woods': Logwood and the spectrum of piracy. [http : / / www . associationofcaribbeanhistorians . org / conferencepapers2016/index.htm](http://www.associationofcaribbeanhistorians.org/conferencepapers2016/index.htm), accessed 2016-8-10. Paper presented at 48th Annual Association of Caribbean Historians, Havana, 6–10 June 2016.
- McEnery, Tony. 2006. *Swearing in English: Bad language, purity and power from 1586 to the present*. London, England: Routledge.
- McLoughlin, Claire. 2013. The control of trade in Scotland during the reigns of James VI and Charles. *Northern Studies* 45. 46–67.
- McWhorter, John. 2011. *Diachronica* 28(1). 82–117.
- McWhorter, John. H. 2005. *Defining creole*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Migge, Bettina. 1998. *Substrate influence in the formation of the Suriname plantation creole: A consideration of the sociohistorical data and linguistic data from Ndyuka and Gbe*. Ohio: Ohio State University dissertation. https://linguistics.osu.edu/sites/linguistics.osu.edu/files/Migge_dissertation_1998.pdf, accessed 2015-10-7.
- Millward, C. M. & Mary Hayes. 2012. *A biography of the English language*. 3rd edn. Boston: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.
- Milroy, Lesley. 1986. Social network and linguistic focusing. In Harold B. Allen & Michael D. Linn (eds.), *Dialect and language variation*, 367–380. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Mitchell, Linda C. 2007. Letter-writing instruction manuals in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England. In Carol Poster & Linda C. Mitchell (eds.), *Letter-writing manuals and instruction: From antiquity to the present*, 178–199. Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press.
- Montgomery, Michael. 2001. British and Irish antecedents of American English. In John Algeo (ed.), *The Cambridge history of the English language*, vol. 6, 89–152. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Morenberg, Max. 2010. *Doing grammar*. 4th edn. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mufwene, Salikoko S. 1996. The founder principle in creole genesis. *Diachronica* 13(1). 83–134.
- Murphy, Elaine. 2015. 'a water bawdy house': Women and the navy in the British civil wars. Paper presented at the conference The Emergence of a Maritime Nation: Britain in the Tudor and Stuart Age, 1485–1714. Greenwich, England. 24–25 July 2015.

- Muysken, Pieter & Norval Smith (eds.). 1986. *Substrate versus universals in creole genesis: Papers from the Amsterdam Creole workshop, April 1985*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- O'Malley, Gregory. 2016. Intra-Caribbean slave smuggling and tangled lines of migration in the African diaspora. <http://www.associationofcaribbeanhistorians.org/conferencepapers2016/index.htm>, accessed 2016-10-7. Paper presented at 48th Annual Association of Caribbean Historians, Havana, 6–10 June 2016.
- Palmer, Roy (ed.). 1986. *The Oxford book of sea songs*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Parkvall, Mikael. 2000. *Out of Africa: African influences in Atlantic creoles*. London, England: Battlebridge Publications.
- Parkvall, Mikael. 2005. Foreword. In Alan D. Corré (ed.), *A glossary of lingua franca*. <https://www.loc.gov/item/lcwa00095722/>, accessed 2016-10-7.
- Petyt, K. M. 1980. *The study of dialect: An introduction to dialectology*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Rediker, Marcus. 1987. *Between the devil and the deep blue sea: Merchant seamen, pirates, and the Anglo-American maritime worlds 1700–1726*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rediker, Marcus. 2004. *Villains of all nations: Atlantic pirates in the golden age*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Reinecke, John E. 1938. Trade jargons and creole dialects as marginal languages. *Social Forces* 17(1). 107–118.
- Römer, Ute. 2005. *Progressives, patterns, pedagogy: A corpus-driven approach to English progressive forms, functions, contexts and didactics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Russell, William. C. 1883. *Sailor's language: A collection of sea terms and their definitions*. London, England: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington.
- Salzman, James. 2013. *Drinking water: A history*. New York: Overlook Press.
- Schmidt, Johannes. 1872. *Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der indogermanischen Sprachen*. Weimar: H. Böhlau.
- Schneider, Edgar. 2004. The English dialect heritage of the southern United States. In Raymond Hickey (ed.), *Legacies of colonial English: Studies in transported dialects*, 262–309. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schneider, Edgar. 2018. World Englishes as complex systems. Paper presented at The 5th International Conference of the International Society for the Linguistics of English, London, July 17, 2018.

References

- Schnitzer, Marc. L. 1997. *Spanish – English contrastive phonology*. San Juan: Piedras Press.
- Schultz, Patrick. 2010. *Ship English*. Austin: The University of Texas at Austin MA thesis.
- Selbach, Rachel. 2008. The superstrate is not always the lexifier: Lingua franca in the Barbary Coast 1530–1830. In Susanne Michaelis (ed.), *Roots of creole structures: Weighing the contribution of substrate and superstrates*, 29–58. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Shaw, Jenny. 2013. *Everyday life in the early English Caribbean: Irish, Africans, and the construction of difference*. Athens & London: The University of Georgia Press.
- Siegel, Jeff. 2001. Koine formation and creole genesis. In Norval Smith & Tonjes Veenstra (eds.), *Creolization and contact*, 175–199. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- SIL International. 2005. *What is progressive aspect?* <http://www-01.sil.org/linguistics/GlossaryOfLinguisticTerms/WhatIsProgressiveAspect.htm>, accessed 2016-2-12.
- Smith, John. 1627 [1968]. *A sea grammar*. London: John Haviland. Reprint Amsterdam and New York: De Capo Press.
- Snell, Hannah, Mary Lacy & Mary Anne Talbot. 2008. *The lady tars: The autobiographies of Hannah Snell, Mary Lacy and Mary Anne Talbot*. Tucson: Fireship Press.
- Sotirova, Violeta. 2016. Dismantling narrative modes: Authorial revisions in the opening of Mrs. Dalloway. In Anita Auer, Victorina González-Díaz, Jane Hodson & Violeta Sotirova (eds.), *Linguistics and literary history: In honor of Sylvia Adamson*, 171–194. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Souhami, Diana. 2013. *Selkirk's island*. London, England: Quercus.
- Stapleton, Karyn. 2010. Swearing. In Miriam A. Locher & Sage L. Graham (eds.), *Interpersonal pragmatics*, 289–306. Berlin, Germany: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Stevenson, R. L. 1883. *Treasure island*. London: Cassell & Co. <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/120/120-h/120-h.html>, accessed 2014-3-10.
- Stornaiuolo, Amy & Matthew Hall. 2014. Tracing resonance: Qualitative research in a networked world. In Greta B. Gudmundsdottir & Kristin B. Vasbo (eds.), *Methodological challenges when exploring digital learning spaces in education*, 29–43. Rotterdam: Sense.
- Tacitus, Cornelius. 1913. *The life of Agricola and the Germania*. Boston, MA: Ginn & Company. <https://archive.org/stream/gb0mSkJzPCuzoC#page/n7/mode/2up>, accessed 2016-1-11.

- Tagliamonte, Sali A. 2013. *Roots of English: Exploring the history of dialects*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor and Francis Group. 2016. *Aims and scope*. <http://www.tandfonline.com/action/journalInformation?show=aimsScope&journalCode=rjas20>, accessed 2016-11-1. In *Atlantic Studies*.
- Thornton, John. 2000. The birth of an Atlantic world. In Verene Shepherd & Hilary McD. Beckles (eds.), *Caribbean slavery in the Atlantic world: A student reader*, 55–73. Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle.
- Traven, B. 1962. *The death ship: The story of an american sailor*. New York: Collier.
- Trudgill, Peter. 1986. *Dialects in contact*. Oxford, England: Blackwell Publishers.
- Trudgill, Peter. 2003. *A glossary of sociolinguistics*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Trudgill, Peter. 2004. *New dialect formation: The inevitability of colonial Englishes*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Turley, Hans. 2001. *Rum, sodomy and the lash: Piracy, sexuality, and masculine identity*. New York: New York University Press.
- van der Auwera, Johan. 2016. Negative indefinites in Caribbean creoles. Paper presented at the 21st Biennial Conference of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics. Kingston, Jamaica 1–6 August 2016.
- Wakelin, Martyn F. 1977. *English dialects: An introduction*. London, England: The Athlone Press.
- Walsh, Vince. 1994. Recruitment and promotion: The merchant fleet of Salem, Massachusetts 1670–1765. *Research in Maritime History* 7. 27–46.
- Warschauer, Mark & Tina Matuchniak. 2010. New technology and digital worlds: Analyzing evidence of equity in access, use and outcomes. *Review of Research in Education* 34(1). 179–225.
- Webster Newbold, W. 2007. Letter writing and vernacular literacy in sixteenth-century England. In Carol Poster & Linda C. Mitchell (eds.), *Letter-writing manuals and instruction: From antiquity to the present*, 127–140. Columbia, SC: The University of South Carolina Press.
- Wennerstrom, Ann. 2001. *The music of everyday speech: Prosody and discourse analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Willan, Thomas S. 1967. *The English coasting trade 1600–1750*. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press.
- Winschooten, Wigardus à. 1681. *À winschootens seeman: behelsende een grondige uitlegging van de neederlandse konst, en spreekwoorden, voor soo veel die uit de seevaart zijn ontleend, en bij de beste schrijvers deeser eeuw gevonden*. Leiden: Johannes de Vivie.

References

- Wolfram, Walt & Natalie Schilling-Estes. 2004. Remnant dialects in the coastal United States. In Raymond Hickey (ed.), *Legacies of colonial English: Studies in transported dialects*, 172–202. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wolfram, Walt & Natalie Schilling. 2016. *American English: Dialects and variation*. 3rd edn. West Sussex, England: John Wiley & Sons.
- Wright, Thomas. 1967. *Dictionary of obsolete and provincial English*. Detroit: Gale Research Company.

Name index

- Adkins, Lesley, 5, 29, 30, 33, 37–40, 44, 45, 51, 54, 55, 67, 71, 76, 88, 95, 99, 101–103, 116, 118–120, 127, 130, 133, 140, 239, 265
- Adkins, Roy, 5, 29, 30, 33, 37–40, 44, 45, 51, 54, 55, 67, 71, 76, 88, 95, 99, 101–103, 116, 118–120, 127, 130, 133, 140, 239, 265
- Alleyne, Mervyn C., 16
- Allsopp, Richard, 7, 16, 290
- Ammon, Matthias, 265
- Andriotis, Nikolaos, 285
- Arnovick, Leslie, 264, 271
- Auer, Peter, 21
- Awbery, G. M., 25
- Bailey, Guy, 6, 13, 15, 17, 19, 150, 209, 215, 279, 286, 287, 295, 297
- Baker, Philip, 245
- Bassett, Fletcher S., 113
- Bicheno, Hugh, 2, 32, 44, 52, 58, 63, 70, 71, 79–81, 87, 90, 96, 99, 101, 106, 109, 117, 119, 124, 132, 133, 135, 138, 141, 143
- Blake, N. F., 208
- Boukman Barima, Kofi, 112
- Bronner, Simon J., 114
- Brown, Kevin, 31, 37, 43, 45–47, 49, 50, 85, 127, 128, 136, 137, 174, 182, 191, 223, 238–240
- Bruzeliuss, Lars, 13
- Burg, Barry R., 39, 101, 115
- Canagarajah, Suresh, 291
- Carlisle, Rodney P., 272
- Cassidy, Frederic G., 16
- Chambers, J. K., 284
- Cheshire, Jenny, 208
- Choundas, George, 4, 281
- Claridge, Claudia, 264, 271
- Cook, Bronwen, 5, 83
- Creswell, John W., 8
- Daniels, Jason, 294
- Darvin, Ron, 291
- De Haas, Nynke, 197, 205
- Defoe, Daniel, 216
- Delgado, Sally J., 23, 24, 70, 150
- Delgado, Sally. J., 128, 295
- Dillard, Joey Lee, 296
- Draper, Mary, 138, 144
- Durrell, Martin, 284
- Earle, Peter, 39–41, 44, 53, 54, 59–61, 63, 66, 76, 77
- Esquemelin, John, 124
- Eyers, Jonathan, 113
- Faraclas, Nicholas, 7, 268, 295
- Fox Smith, Cicely, 66
- Fury, Cheryl, 39, 47, 91, 94, 98, 103, 105, 110, 112, 118
- Fusaro, Maria, 5, 31, 72, 91, 131

Name index

- Gage, Thomas, 45, 96, 106, 114, 118,
121, 124–126, 140, 143, 264,
267, 269
- Gehweiler, Elke, 266
- Gilje, Paul A., 271
- Givón, Talmy, 256
- Görlach, Manfred, 282
- Hall, Matthew, 291
- Hancock, Ian, vi, 3, 8, 14, 15, 128, 281,
286, 295, 296
- Hatfield, April, 44, 111
- Hattendorf, John. J., 13
- Hawkins, John A., 174
- Hayes, Mary, 151, 154, 155, 158, 160,
166, 177, 181, 182, 239, 240,
243, 251–254
- Hendery, Rachel, 139
- Hickey, Raymond, 14, 22, 23, 150
- Hill, Isabella, 260
- Hogendorn, Jan, 130
- Holm, John, 15, 16, 295, 296, 298
- Huber, Magnus, 245
- Hughes, Geoffrey, 266, 267
- Hugill, Stan, 140, 198, 227, 229, 279
- Hymes, Dell, 15
- Jarvis, Michael J., 2, 27, 28, 30, 31, 44,
47, 49, 58, 59, 62, 66, 69, 70,
81, 84, 86, 100, 104, 107, 111,
121, 130–132, 138, 140, 142
- Johnson, Charles, 26
- Johnson, Marion, 130
- Kelly, James, 5
- Kerswill, Paul, 285
- Kihm, Alain, 298
- Klara, Robert, 101
- Kortmann, Bernd, 204
- Labov, William, 21, 284
- Lavery, Brian, 44, 91, 138
- Le Page, Robert B., 16
- Leeson, Peter T., 135, 268
- Lefebvre, Claire, 16
- Lincoln, Margarette, 14, 43, 55, 56,
133
- Linebaugh, Peter, 96, 97, 120, 292
- Lipski, John M., 26
- Litter, Dawn, 5, 50, 79, 100
- Lucas, Christopher, 203
- Lunkenheimer, Kerstin, 204
- MacKenzie, Mike, 4
- Matthews, William, 6, 13, 17, 18, 149,
279, 283, 286, 287
- Matuchniak, Tina, 291
- Maynor, Natalie, 25
- McDavid, Raven. I., 289
- McDonald, Kevin, 139
- McEnery, Tony, 266
- McLoughlin, Claire, 61
- McWhorter, John, 7
- McWhorter, John. H., 298
- Migge, Bettina, 298
- Millward, C. M., 151, 154, 155, 158, 160,
166, 177, 181, 182, 239, 240,
243, 251–254
- Milroy, Lesley, 285
- Mitchell, Linda C., 253
- Montgomery, Michael, 150
- Morenberg, Max, 159
- Mufwene, Salikoko S., 296, 297
- Muysken, Pieter, 7
- O'Malley, Gregory, 130, 131
- Palmer, Roy, 32, 43, 55, 95, 102, 106,
117, 159, 166, 172, 181, 183,

- 185, 204, 206, 215, 219, 220,
222, 225, 227, 245, 247, 249,
250, 264
- Parkvall, Mikael, 16, 279
- Petyt, K. M., 21, 282, 290
- Plano Clark, Vicki L., 8
- Rediker, Marcus, 38, 96, 97, 104, 115,
116, 120, 124, 271, 292
- Reinecke, John E., 8, 14, 15, 295
- Römer, Ute, 219
- Ross, Garry, 6, 13, 15, 17, 19, 150, 209,
215, 279, 286, 287, 295, 297
- Russell, William. C., 25, 281, 282
- Salzman, James, 106
- Schilling, Natalie, 282
- Schmidt, Johannes, 21, 280
- Schneider, Edgar, 23, 278
- Schnitzer, Marc. L., 153
- Schultz, Patrick, 17, 284, 285
- Selbach, Rachel, 298
- Shaw, Jenny, 27
- Siegel, Jeff, 285
- SIL International, 218, 219
- Smith, John, 3, 25, 281
- Smith, Norval, 7
- Snell, Hannah, 38
- Sotirova, Violeta, 257
- Souhami, Diana, 101, 136
- Stapleton, Karyn, 272
- Stevenson, R. L., 61, 116, 216
- Stornaiuolo, Amy, 291
- Tacitus, Cornelius, 119
- Tagliamonte, Sali A., 21, 22, 25, 290
- Taylor and Francis Group, 293
- Thornton, John, 290
- Traven, B., 14
- Trudgill, Peter, 23, 24, 67, 116, 284,
285, 287, 288, 291
- Turley, Hans, 101
- Van der Auwera, Johan, 204
- Wakelin, Martyn F., 21
- Walsh, Vince, 41, 46, 62, 102
- Warschauer, Mark, 291
- Watt Schilling, Alison, 16
- Webster Newbold, W., 253
- Wennerstrom, Ann, 262
- Willan, Thomas S., 290
- Willis, David, 203
- Winschooten, Wigardus à, 3
- Wolfram, Walt, 282
- Wright, Thomas, 25

Subject index

- accusative, 163, 164, 164¹⁶, 175, 176, 181, 194
- accusative case, 155⁸, 156, 176²³
- adjectival, 150¹, 163, 180, 186, 187, 189–191, 194, 195
- adjective, 153, 163, 171, 172, 179, 180, 185²⁷, 190, 191, 195, 216, 250
- adverb, 201, 203, 216, 228, 237, 239, 241, 243, 248–250, 255, 262–264, 273
- adverbial constituent, 242, 247, 250
- adverbial function, 188, 195, 237–240, 264
- adverbial phrase, 194, 198, 232, 253, 255
- aspectual, 197, 203⁶, 220, 228, 228²⁷, 234, 287¹⁶
- aspectual meaning, 197, 201, 221, 223²³, 231–233
- auxiliary verb, 186, 209, 222, 223, 223²¹, 225–227, 229, 230, 232, 234, 239, 239¹, 240, 241², 242, 250, 273
- Bahama, 47, 73, 78, 97, 108, 113, 125, 134, 153, 172, 175, 179²⁵, 202, 205, 210, 223, 224, 228, 232, 303
- Barbados, 10, 46, 91, 112¹⁴, 121, 128, 129, 137, 144, 213, 247, 303
- bare noun, 149, 157, 158, 190
- barter, 68, 99, 107, 129, 130
- cardinal number, 157, 159, 160, 165, 165¹⁷, 170
- colonial expansion, 5, 7, 27, 28, 30, 145, 146, 278, 300
- colonial period, 1, 6–8, 26, 28, 36, 58, 61, 62, 64, 78⁷, 79, 81, 85, 94, 95, 99, 106, 107, 113, 114, 124, 129, 130, 135, 184, 225, 229, 265, 277, 279, 288, 289, 291, 294, 295
- common placement, 238–240, 273
- common sailor, 42, 55, 68, 96, 105, 106, 108, 134, 144
- completive aspect, 228, 232
- contraband, 73, 90, 111, 121, 128, 129, 131, 135, 138
- convoy, 60, 99, 123–125, 144, 159
- copula, 6, 12, 150, 150¹, 152, 164, 191, 191³⁰, 192, 195, 216, 218, 219, 234, 239, 241, 242, 248–250, 257, 287
- corpus, 1, 6, 9–11, 18, 25–27, 149–151, 152⁴, 154–159, 163–166, 166¹⁸, 167, 170–172, 175, 176, 178, 179, 179²⁵, 180, 181, 183–191, 193–195, 199, 200, 200⁴, 201, 201⁵, 202, 204, 205, 207, 207⁷, 208–210, 212¹¹, 213, 215–219, 221, 225, 226, 229, 231, 233–235, 242, 243, 245, 247–250, 252, 252⁶, 254,

Subject index

- 256, 256⁸, 257, 258, 263, 264,
266, 267¹⁴, 269, 274, 301
- count noun, 157, 169–171, 194, 222¹⁹
- court clerk, 9, 11, 76, 111, 161, 205, 252,
255⁷, 258
- court testimony, 100, 105, 108, 188,
226²⁴, 256, 258, 263, 264,
274
- Creole, vi, 9, 15, 26, 150, 275, 295¹⁷,
296
- creole, 4, 7, 8, 14–16, 19, 268, 294–296,
298, 298²⁰, 300
- creole genesis, 3, 15, 28, 289, 294,
295¹⁷, 296, 297, 300
- creole genesis theory, vi, 15, 16, 285¹⁵
- crew, 2, 9, 11, 14, 31, 32, 35, 36, 36²,
38–41, 43, 51–56, 61–65, 67,
69, 70, 72, 73, 79–82, 84, 87,
88, 90, 90³, 99, 100⁶, 101, 102,
102⁹, 103–107, 109, 110, 112–
115, 117, 118, 127, 130, 133,
135, 140–143, 145, 152, 160–
162, 162¹⁵, 163, 179, 183, 214,
218, 219, 229, 251, 258, 265,
271–273, 278, 280⁵, 289
- definite article, 151, 167, 172–175, 184
- deictic function, 164, 164¹⁶, 194
- demonstrative, 164, 167, 170, 185, 195
- deponent, 30, 34, 35, 37, 41, 47, 51, 62,
64, 65, 76, 80, 86, 117, 159¹¹,
176, 187, 212, 260¹⁰, 264, 267,
269, 270, 272
- dialect, 5, 7, 8, 13, 14, 17, 19, 21, 22, 24–
26, 28, 66, 67, 78, 277, 278,
279¹, 281, 282, 282⁹, 283,
283¹⁰, 284, 285¹⁵, 286–295,
299, 300
- dialect diffusion, 289, 294, 299
- dialect formation, 8, 13, 291, 293
- direct object, 163, 182, 186, 198–201,
233, 241, 249, 249³, 250, 251,
251⁴, 252, 253, 258, 274
- direct object position, 163, 194, 197,
198, 233
- discourse level, 237, 277, 279
- discourse marker, 12, 237, 259, 265,
269, 271, 274, 275, 281⁷
- double genitive marking, 155, 156
- Drake, 52, 71, 90, 90³, 96, 132, 132²¹,
137, 141, 245
- durative aspect, 150, 201, 203, 203⁶
- eighteenth century, 5, 68, 71, 78⁷, 79,
101, 132, 137, 145, 146, 157,
178, 180, 225
- emphatic, 182, 183, 195, 226, 227,
227²⁵, 234, 249³, 265, 273,
280⁶
- Essex, 35, 56, 58, 62, 70, 125, 138, 173,
181
- expletive, 178, 179, 185, 186, 248, 249,
265, 274
- feature transfer, 22, 23, 28, 193, 277,
280⁵, 289, 297¹⁹, 298, 299
- finite copula, 193, 217, 218, 218¹⁶
- finite verb, 189, 191³⁰, 195, 200, 204,
233
- free variation, 18, 157, 173, 174, 180,
193, 194, 208, 209, 211, 215,
225, 233, 234, 242, 288
- genitive, 149, 154, 155, 155⁸, 156, 157,
176, 187, 192, 193, 195, 246,
273, 280⁶
- genitive case, 154–156, 175, 177, 181,
193–195, 288

- gerund, 174, 175, 177, 192, 194
- gerund phrase, 262
- grammatical subject, 248, 249
- group identity, 108, 145, 237, 272, 273, 275, 285
- historical dialectology, 7, 25, 26, 28, 290, 293, 300
- Ian Hancock, vi
- idiomatic usage, 173, 199, 210, 233, 245
- imperative modality, 216, 250, 269, 273, 275
- indefinite, 56, 149, 164, 165, 165¹⁷, 166, 170–172, 176, 179, 179²⁵, 180, 194
- indenture, 36, 53, 136, 137
- indicative modality, 170, 171, 194, 205, 227, 229, 233, 239, 240, 288
- indicative mood, 200, 201, 223, 226, 227, 228²⁷, 234, 287¹⁶
- indicative verb, 220, 227, 232, 233, 235
- infinitive, 120, 192³¹, 197, 212, 212¹¹, 212¹², 218, 234, 240, 241, 245, 249³, 262, 273, 280⁶
- inflectional paradigm, 197, 213¹³, 217, 222²⁰, 224, 234
- interrogative modality, 171, 180, 227, 229, 230, 234
- Jamaica, 39, 70, 86, 88, 103, 129, 138, 246, 259, 261, 262, 302, 303
- language acquisition, 68, 72, 82, 284, 284¹², 288, 299
- language change, 4, 17, 21–23, 26, 139, 146, 147, 154, 169, 249, 290, 292, 296, 298, 300
- language contact, 7, 15, 26, 45, 46, 66, 73, 82, 123, 128, 138, 140, 154, 186, 289, 292, 296–298
- language transfer, 8, 12, 16, 72, 83, 127, 141, 146, 147, 280, 289
- language use, 9, 11, 15, 58, 144, 167
- late seventeenth century, 3, 43, 51, 111, 114, 117, 123, 225
- late sixteenth century, 87, 90, 101, 117, 124
- leveling, 23, 24, 28, 66, 115, 217, 230, 234, 285–288, 290, 291, 299
- lexeme, 151, 152, 152⁴, 159, 160, 165, 165¹⁷, 179²⁵, 180, 203, 247, 257–259, 263, 264
- linguistic conditioning, 186, 212, 213, 230, 241, 242, 247, 273, 287
- linking verb, 190–192, 195, 216, 248
- Liverpool, 10, 50, 58, 59, 62, 84, 84², 128, 128¹⁸, 302
- logical subject, 185, 217, 248
- long boat, 162, 174
- longboat, 241, 244
- main clause, 193, 238, 253, 255, 260, 273
- Marcus Rediker, vi
- mariner, 40, 52, 90, 104, 113, 206, 209, 220, 302
- maritime communities, 1, 2
- maritime economy, 83, 99, 145, 146
- maritime language, 3, 4, 22, 75, 146, 147
- maritime speech, 22, 83, 84, 100, 123, 278, 290
- mass noun, 170, 171
- Mate, 155, 166, 173, 238, 240, 266, 270
- matrix clause, 163, 185, 189, 195, 221

Subject index

- merchant, 2, 17, 32, 35, 37, 38, 41, 42, 45, 53, 54, 59, 61–64, 72, 90, 98, 99, 105, 119, 123, 124, 130, 133, 138, 139, 159, 200³, 209, 221, 302
- merchant service, 60, 61, 63, 82, 270, 271¹⁸, 280⁵
- Merseyside, 10, 39
- modern usage, 29, 176²³, 200, 201, 233, 251
- mutiny, 56, 82, 95, 105, 145
- negation marker, 201, 203, 233
- negative concord, 204, 232, 233, 287
- new dialect, 70, 286, 288
- new dialect formation, 22, 23, 25, 115, 280, 285, 288, 291
- nominal form, 152, 180, 186, 187, 197–199, 233
- nominal omission, 162, 163
- nominal subject, 161, 162¹⁵, 181, 190, 192, 194, 250, 253
- non-specific verb, 197–199, 287
- noun, 6, 12, 20, 149, 150¹, 151–154, 157–165, 167, 170–172, 174, 174²¹, 177, 177²⁴, 179, 180, 184–187, 187²⁹, 189, 191, 193–195, 205, 213, 215, 216, 222¹⁹, 234, 246, 247, 252⁶, 277
- noun head, 149, 184, 185, 195
- noun phrase, 12, 149, 157, 160, 161, 161¹⁴, 162–164, 175–177, 179, 180, 183–190, 195, 199, 200, 206, 212¹¹, 213–215, 220, 232, 247, 248, 250, 253, 258, 261, 262, 287
- object noun, 199, 233
- object position, 163, 181, 195
- participle, 149, 162, 163, 186, 187, 187²⁹, 188–190, 191³⁰, 194, 195, 211, 212, 217, 219, 220, 222, 223, 223²¹, 239, 240, 242, 257, 273, 287
- participle phrase, 162, 188–193, 195, 216, 255
- past participle, 20, 188, 191, 222–225, 234, 239¹, 241²
- past tense, 19, 202, 203, 206–208, 208⁸, 209–211, 213, 213¹³, 215, 221, 223²², 228, 233, 234, 269, 287
- past tense marking, 20, 207–210, 233
- perfect aspect, 202, 221, 223, 223²², 224, 225, 232, 234, 239, 241
- phonology, 9, 16, 17, 149, 150, 286, 299
- phrasal verb, 199, 200, 210, 211, 247
- physical violence, 92, 267¹⁵, 269, 270, 275
- Pidgin, vi, 9, 26, 150, 216, 216¹⁴, 295¹⁷, 296
- pidgin, 4, 15, 25, 288, 289, 295, 296
- piracy trial, 47, 57, 111, 129
- pirate, 16, 32, 35, 36, 38, 45, 53, 54, 60, 61, 64, 65, 70, 79, 94, 103, 104, 109, 110, 112, 115, 117, 123, 124, 129, 132, 135, 138, 231, 254, 255, 265¹³, 267, 268, 270, 271, 271¹⁸, 271¹⁹, 272, 273, 275, 281, 303
- pirate ship, 38, 47, 53, 70, 266, 292
- plural, 20, 156–159, 159¹¹, 160, 164, 165, 170, 175, 193, 194, 205, 206, 213, 215, 222, 222¹⁹, 222²⁰, 234
- plural form, 19, 158, 160, 222²⁰
- plural inflection, 149, 150, 159, 170

- possessive, 149, 154, 155, 155⁷, 155⁸,
156, 157, 175²², 177, 178, 193,
194, 280⁶
- post-nominal position, 166¹⁸, 169,
183, 189
- post-verbal position, 201, 263
- pre-nominal position, 164, 164¹⁶, 172,
186, 187, 195
- predicate noun, 152, 190, 216, 248,
249
- preposition, 154, 163, 176, 186, 192,
194, 198, 243–246, 251, 252,
263¹², 273
- prepositional phrase, 151, 154, 155,
162¹⁵, 176, 176²³, 177, 183,
193, 199, 217, 239, 241, 245,
251, 253, 255, 262
- present participle, 149, 187–192,
192³¹, 195, 218, 218¹⁶, 219,
219¹⁸, 220, 221, 234, 257,
274, 288
- present tense, 19, 200, 201, 205–207,
215, 221, 222²⁰, 225, 227,
233
- preterit, 19, 20, 202, 203, 206, 207,
207⁷, 208, 208⁸, 208⁹, 209–
211, 213, 215, 219, 220, 223²²,
224–228, 228²⁷, 233, 234,
287¹⁶, 288
- primary clause, 177, 253, 255
- prisoner, 38, 50, 64, 66, 70, 100, 134,
173, 174, 181, 190, 198, 200,
208, 209, 211–214, 218, 219,
224, 246, 256, 259, 260¹⁰,
271, 271¹⁹, 273
- profanity, 237, 264–267, 271, 275
- professional jargon, 14, 152, 278, 281,
288
- progressive aspect, 218–221, 223, 231,
234, 235, 239, 241
- pronominal form, 164, 180, 181, 185,
192, 195, 250
- pronoun, 154, 155⁷, 156, 161, 162¹⁵,
175, 176, 176²³, 177–181, 184,
185, 185²⁷, 195, 198–200, 215,
233, 250, 261, 274
- punctuation, 5, 252⁶, 255⁷, 256, 259,
260, 265
- realis, 268, 268¹⁶, 271, 275, 287
- realis marker, 268, 268¹⁶, 269, 273
- reflexive pronoun, 181–183, 262
- regional dialect, 283, 283¹¹, 284, 285,
288, 299
- relative clause, 177, 183, 184, 185²⁸,
189, 221, 253, 255, 262
- relative pronoun, 20, 177, 183–185,
185²⁸, 186, 195, 257, 258
- research design, 1, 7, 10–13, 26, 27
- sailor, 12–16, 27, 29, 30, 34, 35, 40,
41, 43, 45–51, 53, 57, 64, 66,
71, 73, 76–78, 81, 87–89, 91–
95, 97, 98, 101, 103, 104, 107,
109–111, 115, 117, 118, 125,
126, 134, 136–139, 143, 144,
162, 174, 177, 180, 187, 230³⁰,
258, 264, 267, 268¹⁶, 272,
275, 280, 282, 283, 302
- satellite particle, 199, 200, 210, 218,
233, 247
- seaman, 1, 14, 17, 29, 30, 35, 40–43, 55,
62, 78, 92, 101, 115, 279¹, 283,
283¹⁰, 303
- seamen, 17, 137
- seventeenth century, 3, 6, 9, 13, 17,
18, 22, 23, 26, 30, 31, 35, 38,

- 42, 45–47, 54, 57, 61, 69, 77,
83, 98, 119, 120, 124, 128, 132,
136, 149, 156, 159, 166²⁰, 178,
181, 183, 206, 215, 217, 247,
279, 283
- shanty, 140, 198, 229, 279
- singular third person, 205, 222¹⁹, 233
- sixteenth century, 44, 71, 79, 82, 119,
121, 124, 127, 132, 137, 153
- slave trade, 85, 99, 120, 127, 296, 302
- social cohesion, 27, 83, 103–105, 145,
286
- sociolect, 15, 17, 281, 283, 283¹¹, 284,
284¹⁴, 285, 287, 288, 291,
299
- some term, *see* some other term
see also some other term
also of interest
- specifying nominal complement,
197–199, 287
- speech act, 159¹¹, 161, 173, 194, 203,
211, 267
- speech community, 23, 115, 141, 154,
159, 245, 249, 277, 279, 284¹⁴
- standard usage, 19, 200, 211, 216–
218, 218¹⁶, 219, 219¹⁸, 220,
222–224, 226, 228²⁶, 229–
232, 235, 246, 247, 252, 258,
261, 262
- stative, 188, 190, 192³⁰, 218, 218¹⁶, 219,
219¹⁸, 220, 221, 234, 288
- subject noun, 161, 164, 241, 247, 250
- subordination, 12, 96, 144, 177²⁴, 189,
193, 227, 237, 252–257, 260,
271, 274, 286, 287
- superstrate, 7, 15, 16, 297, 297¹⁸, 298,
298²⁰, 300
- syntactic complexity, 237, 253, 255,
255⁷, 256, 257
- syntactic function, 198, 259, 274, 281⁷
- tense, 12, 19, 20, 197, 206, 208, 212,
215, 219, 220, 234, 268
- tense marking, 6, 150, 208
- tense variation, 19, 197, 211
- third person, 20, 155, 155⁸, 156,
175, 205, 206, 213–215, 222,
222²⁰, 233, 234, 260¹⁰, 280⁶
- third person singular, 19, 150, 164,
200, 222
- transatlantic, 43, 52, 72, 80, 82, 84–
87, 89, 97, 99, 115, 120, 121,
124, 127, 144
- transitive, 182, 199, 242, 248–251, 274
- transitive verb, 182, 183²⁶, 217, 241,
248, 249³, 251, 252, 260
- uninflected, 154, 157–159, 159¹¹, 160,
165, 166, 170, 171, 193, 194,
205, 208, 210, 212, 215, 216,
222, 222²⁰, 224, 227, 233,
234
- verb, 7, 12, 19, 20, 150, 154⁵, 161, 164,
182, 183²⁶, 189, 197, 199–201,
204–207, 209–213, 213¹³,
215–218, 218¹⁶, 219, 219¹⁸,
220–222, 222¹⁹, 222²⁰, 223,
223²², 223²³, 224–228,
228²⁶, 228²⁷, 229, 230,
230²⁹, 231–235, 237, 238,
240–242, 244, 246–252,
252⁶, 257, 258, 261, 262,
274, 277, 287¹⁶
- verb phrase, 12, 152, 197, 218, 219, 222,
223, 223²¹, 223²², 227–229,
231, 234, 238, 240–242, 245,
247, 249³, 250, 261, 273, 274

voyage, 35, 39, 43, 46, 53, 80, 85–88,
105, 106, 110, 118, 129, 135,
144, 221, 243, 272, 289, 302

Williamsburg, 38, 47, 97, 155, 157, 212,
230, 267¹⁴, 269, 270

witness deposition, 69, 156, 164, 173,
177, 205, 211, 220

Ship English

In this thoroughly researched and brilliantly written volume, Sally Delgado opens up vitally important new avenues for the study of the role of marginalized peoples such as sailors and convicts in the emergence of creole languages and other contact varieties of the colonial era. Since the ground-breaking work of Ian Hancock some decades ago, we have been waiting for a coherent and comprehensive work such as this to establish a framework and data base for making the systematic investigation of Ship English a reality. (Nicholas Faraclas, University of Puerto Rico)

The historiography of creole languages has long included frequent references to maritime English with only sketchy indication of just what this kind of speech was like. Sally Delgado has at last provided a comprehensive survey of a dialect that emerged on shipboard among sailors, which became one element in the new Englishes that emerged worldwide amidst the transatlantic slave trade and beyond. Anyone interested in creole languages, as well as those who would like their acquaintance with sailors' speech in the past to get beyond the likes of "Aye, matey", should consult this new volume. (John H. McWhorter, Columbia University)

While classes on "World English" are increasingly being included in university curricula, they provide little on how that language left the shores of Britain in the first place, and what it was like; until now, research in dialect studies on what was spoken on board ship during the early colonial period has been minimal. Dr. Delgado's book is the first full-length study to address this; in addition to examining the distinctive characteristics of Ship English as an occupational register, it proposes that as the earliest contact variety, it provided the input in the formation of the Atlantic English-lexifier creoles. A groundbreaking study, essential reading for dialectologist and creolist alike. (Ian Hancock, The University of Texas)

ISBN 978-3-96110-151-1



9 783961 101511