New research on circum-Caribbean creoles and language contact

Edited by

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Chapter 1

Introduction

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New research on circum-Caribbean creoles and language contact was first intended as a collection of sociolinguistically and sociohistorically-oriented papers presented at the 2017 Summer conference of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics (SPCL), hosted by the Universities of Tampere and Turku. The contributors have since expanded the content of their original papers substantially, which has contributed to the empirical and analytical depth of their submissions.

The volume is organized as follows: the first section consists of three papers on creolized languages in the traditional, albeit now frequently debated sense (cf. Holm 1989, McWhorter 1998, DeGraff 2020). We do not intend to enter into the debate in the present volume.

The three papers in the second section deal with partially restructured varieties (cf. Holm 2004) of the circum-Caribbean region (Fleischmann 1986).

By comparing the sociohistorical and current sociolinguistic outcomes of language contact in the circum-Caribbean region, the present volume introduces new comparative research and constitutes an invitation to further research, both historical and contemporary, along similar lines. What sets of circumstances, past and present, can be claimed to obtain in contact situations, and how do those circumstances contribute to linguistic outcomes and to the ways in which contact varieties are viewed by their speakers?

In the first paper of Part I, **Kristoffer Friis Bøegh** examines the "African ethnolinguistic diversity in the colonial Caribbean: the case of the eighteenth-century Danish West Indies". In this in-depth and well-documented study, Friis Bøegh reconstructs a profile of the African-origin ethnolinguistic groups present in the eighteenth-century Danish West Indies (now the US Virgin Islands), based on the

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triangulation of four bodies of direct and indirect evidence of African languages in the colony. His findings have implications not only for Creolistics, but Contact Linguistics in general, as they shed new light on the sociohistory of high-contact settings, such as the circum-Caribbean region.

The Danish West Indies constitute an interesting case for the study of African origins and ethnolinguistic diversity in the Caribbean. Overall, there is little direct linguistic evidence in the form of quotes or texts in African languages from the Caribbean during the colonial period. In the case of the Danish West Indies, however, documentation on both the trans-Atlantic and intra-Caribbean slave trade enables the author to trace a detailed picture in the sense of Mufwene's (1996) "Founder Principle". Whereas the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database and its different versions have, at times, been criticized (cf. Inikori 2011), it constitutes an apt tool for reconstructing trans-Atlantic and inter-Caribbean forced population movements.

In addition, Friis Bøegh is able to draw upon materials elaborated by the Moravian mission, also active, for example, on the Nicaraguan Miskito Coast (cf. the establishment of the Herrnhut/Moravian Mission in Bluefields in 1848). These include Seidel's 1753 list of the Christianized Africans of St. Thomas, the Baptismal records for the period 1744–1832 from the Friedensthal Mission of St. Croix, and Oldendorp's work on all islands (Pope 1970, Seidel 1753, Oldendorp 1777, 1996, Oldendorp 2002).

The deep concern of the Moravian mission with language (cf. Holm 1989: 17–20) has provided us with significant data from the creole-speaking (and other linguistic) regions, best recognized in the field of Missionary Linguistics where, however, early language descriptions tend to look at the languages in question through the Greco-Latin grammar tradition.

Summarizing, the quantitative and qualitative data collected by Friis Bøegh point to greater ethnolinguistic variety than was previously assumed to have existed in the Danish West Indies. This scenario is potentially applicable to other Caribbean and high contact regions. The study definitely highlights the importance of the maintenance of both historical and present-day multilingualism as well as lingua francas in the New World context (cf. Álvarez López 2004, Palmié 2006).

In the typology in Talmy (1991), that author distinguished between the ways in which motion events are framed in different languages, with Germanic languages as satellite-framed and Romance languages as verb-framed in their expression of the path of motion (i.e. the English "Mary danced into the room", as opposed to the dispreferred "Mary entered the room dancing" in which the path is conveyed by the verb itself). In her own paper in this volume, **Carolin Ulmer**

investigates how motion events are expressed by a group of native Haitian creole speakers living in Germany. Since Kwa languages and French were component languages in the genesis of Haitian, the fact that the Kwa languages use serial verbs to express not just path, but motion as well, raises the question of what these competing diachronic influences has yielded in the grammar of Haitian and in the Haitian of the group of expatriate speakers that Ulmer worked with. This is an interesting and important question, not just for Haitian, but for the Atlantic creoles generally, including the Circum-Caribbean group, given substrate influences from African languages with serial verbs and superstrate influence from European languages that are not similarly equipollently-framed, the descriptive term employed by Slobin (2004), to characterize this third language type.

In "Postulating Atlantic English Pidgin/Creole as a Pluriareal Language: A Perception Study", **Angela Bartens, Kwaku Owusu Afriyie Osei-Tutu, and Tamirand Nnena De Lisser** explore the idea of mutual intelligibility involving Atlantic English Pidgin/Creole or Atlantic EP/C from the point of view of a pluriareal, as opposed to a pluricentric language. (Note that Atlantic EP/C is distinguished from Atlantic EP/Cs, whereby the authors refer to distinct English-lexifier languages of the Atlantic region.) Despite the fact that some scholars, e.g., Dollinger (2019), find the distinction unnecessary, the authors argue for a hypothetical step from a pluriareal to a pluricentric language.

The latter ones have to comply with certain criteria, e.g. 1) being used in at least two nations or "interacting centers"; 2) having official status at state or regional level; 3) manifesting linguistic distance in the sense of Kloss's (1967) Abstand languages as a symbol of linguistic and cultural identity; 4) enjoying acceptance as a pluricentric, but also national/regional variety; 5) being codified or in the relevant process and thence disseminated, e.g., through formal education (cf. Muhr 2012, Clyne 1992).

The term "pluriareal languages" on the other hand, focuses on linguistic differences in these language varieties independent of national and political borders (Niehaus 2015, Elspaß et al. 2017). The authors argue that Atlantic EP/C might be on its way from a pluriareal to a pluricentric language, a point of view basically shared by Faraclas (2020).

In the first part of this study, 56 Ghanaian, Guyanese, and Nigerian informants were presented with audio samples of Ghanaian, Nigerian, Jamaican, and Sranan EP/C. The second part consisted of 20 interviews of Atlantic EP/C speakers conducted in Guyana. Besides researching mutual intelligibility, the authors were interested in the acceptability of a common writing system.

Part II of the volume starts with **Eliot Raynor**'s paper "A Gbe substrate model for discontinuous negation in Spanish varieties of Chocó, Colombia: Linguistic

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and historical evidence" revisits so-called "double" or discontinuous negation (henceforward NEG2) and the role of African substrate languages, in this case in Chocó Spanish. Chocó is a Colombian department on the northwestern Pacific Coast of Colombia mainly inhabited by Afro-descendants (82.1%). Chocó Spanish differs from other Colombian varieties, e.g., in employing the linguistic structure studied in this contribution. In NEG2, an utterance-final negative element occurs in the proposition in addition to the preverbal negator. It is important to note, however, that the use of this construction is not canonical and actually stigmatized, albeit very commonly used, according to Raynor's informants. Despite the fact that no balanced sociolinguistic corpus of Chocó Spanish exists, Ruíz-García (2001) showed in a previous work that the same pragmatic conditioning found in Brazilian Portuguese, i.e., NEG2 in occurrences of the negation of a proposition activated in prior discourse, does not hold for Chocó Spanish. The discussion of what exactly could constitute a sufficient corpus for this type of research question, a concern raised by Raynor, cannot be tackled here.

Frequently substratist approaches to Atlantic Creole and African-influenced varieties of the Americas ignore local adstrate languages. Raynor nevertheless shows that, at least in the case of NEG2, the indigenous languages of the Chocó are not candidates for its occurrence in Chocó Spanish. The terrain for the discussion of African influence is prepared through a meticulous presentation of the slave groups present in the region during the late 17th and early 18th centuries, the period postulated for the emergence of NEG2 in Chocó Spanish. Based on this data, Raynor considers that Gbe speakers, especially Ewe and Gen, were the key agents in its adoption as *bozales*, i.e., African-born slaves, outnumbered locally born *criollo* slaves up to at least 1778. The robustness of his findings on the African origin of the construction versus an Ibero-Romance one (cf. Sessarego 2017) is important for the discussion of the same in other Afro-American contact varieties. In addition, recalling that the ethnonym *Mina* should not be categorically associated with Elmina Castle in Ghana opens new perspectives in Creolistics.

In "The minutes of the Irmandade Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos in Recife: A case study", **Fernanda M. Ziober** examines 32 nineteenth-century texts, transcribed by herself following paleographic methodology. 13 of the texts were written by Manoel de Barros, a member of the Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary of Black Men, whereas the remaining texts fature three different calligraphies. Written by persons with limited access to formal education, the texts show interesting deviations from the Portuguese orthography of the time. These deviations reveal, for example, phonetic and morphosyntactic phenomena, among them metathesis, shared by other Portuguese varieties, e.g., Angolan and

Mozambican Portuguese (Petter 2009), cf, *pratido < partido* 'broken', and variable agreement within the NP, cf. *dos homem pretos < dos homens pretos* 'two black men'.

As the author points out, this type of text constitute an important source for the historical comparison of writing and, through that lens, Portuguese language as practiced by less literate people both in Brazil and in Africa during the nineteenth century, so crucial for, at least, the formation of Brazilian Portuguese (Noll 1999).

In the third contribution of Part II, **Sally J. Delgado** investigates Puerto Rican English as an emerging contact variety spoken in Puerto Rico, one with which its speakers have come to identify in appreciation of its local character. The author addresses the controversy surrounding the term Spanglish in previous literature as a cover term for language mixing, a term that has sometimes been used to denigrate the linguistic behavior of Spanish-English bilinguals in the Caribbean and beyond. She introduces the component activities of the piloted data collection project, involving the collection of spoken language, written language, and the documentation of language attitudes. She proposed that involving speakers in the creation of data resources on this variety would serve to increase awareness of its value, its status, and function. This goal goes beyond the use of native speakers to guarantee the authenticity of the data for the sake of scientific work, but reaches for an important goal for the long-term benefit of the speech community. The awareness that this work and its dissemination can produce is critical to the emotional health of people with the rich and well-defined array of linguistic resources available to speakers in bilingual cultural communities such as Puerto Rico. This is significant because the use of those resources in a cultural context in which keeping the associated codes (Spanish and English) discrete would be socially and communicatively dysfunctional, whereas the culturally appropriate non-discrete use of these resources is often impeded by internalized stigma surrounding language mixing and the effects of language contact generally. She concludes that speakers would benefit from the increased presence of translanguaging in formal educational contexts, rather than restricting language mixing to informal contexts in which it is conducive to deeper interpersonal communication, social bonds, and the resulting emotional health of the speakers.

The subfield of creolistics has become broader and more inclusive in recent years, so that contact languages that cannot be characterized as pidgins and creoles are of increasing interest to creolists. We are very much in favor of this development. At the same time, we retain an interest in the specific circumstances and linguistic ecologies found in the Caribbean and sociohistorically-related areas in other parts of the Americas, from the period in which these areas were

viewed in a sense as core target areas for research on creolization (and decreolization), based on the features of their contact languages, as well as on perceived cross-linguistic parallels between those languages. Those parallels included features such as similar periphrastic tense, mood, and aspect marking systems, verb serialization, syllable structure, and others that were observed across lexical inventories (i.e. English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch). This interest is not intended a prioritization of the Circum-Caribbean region above other research areas within contact language research, but rather as a validation of the new work that has continued to appear on the fascinating language varieties that developed in the region and that continue to thrive there.

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Brother Nathanael in the Community of the Diligent Workers During his Visitation in St Thomas in the Months of June and July 1753.

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Part I

Creolized languages in the circum-Caribbean region

Chapter 2

African ethnolinguistic diversity in the colonial Caribbean: The case of the eighteenth-century Danish West Indies

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This study reconstructs a profile of the ethnolinguistic groups originating in Africa represented in the eighteenth-century Danish West Indies (the present-day US Virgin Islands), based on triangulation of four bodies of direct and indirect evidence of African languages in the colony. I analyze i) data on the recorded slave trade to the colony; ii) data on 26 African languages collected in peer group interviews conducted in the 1760s by the visitant C. G. A. Oldendorp of the Moravian Brethren missionaries, with an estimated 70 enslaved individuals on St. Thomas and St. Croix; iii) self-reported data on the "nations" (i.e., roughly, ethnic backgrounds) represented in a sample of 418 enslaved Christianized Africans of the Moravian congregation on St. Thomas, recorded in 1753 by the Moravian visitant Nathanael Seidel; iv) baptismal records for the period 1744–1832 collected by the Moravians on St. Croix, featuring systematic information on more than 6,000 baptismal candidates of African descent. The results point to a wide range of languages spoken within the slave population. In addition, a number of differences are identified in the distribution of groups and their proportions between the two main islands, St. Thomas and St. Croix. The findings, I argue, have implications by extension for contact linguistics more generally, casting new light on the sociohistorical settings characterizing high-contact sites in the circum-Caribbean region.

1 Introduction

In the seventeenth century, European colonial powers partitioned the Caribbean island chain known as the Virgin Islands into two geopolitical units, the British

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Virgin Islands and the Danish West Indies. The latter group, which became part of the United States as the US Virgin Islands in 1917, comprises St. Thomas (settled permanently in 1672), St. John (1718), and St. Croix (1734). As with so many other colonies in the circum-Caribbean region, trade, plantation slavery, and contacts between diverse population groups of predominantly African and European origins came to shape the developmental history of the Danish West Indies (see Hall 1992). Although the island group was Danish by name for centuries, the large majority of its population did not hail from Denmark[1] but had African and Afro-Caribbean roots. The enslaved Africans transferred to the Danish West Indies brought with them a large measure of their cultural systems, including, of course, their languages; and because they originated from numerous localities, an ethnolinguistically diverse society formed early on, and continued throughout the period of slavery. The colonizing population was linguistically heterogeneous as well. However, whereas information on the different backgrounds represented in the latter group is readily accessible (e.g. in the form of copious census data, not to mention the secondary literature on Virgin Islands language history), some of the central primary sources on the provenance and linguistic roots of the enslaved population have yet to be brought forth and together in an investigation of the ethnolinguistic diversity of people of African descent represented in the slave society in the Danish West Indies.

This study aims to reconstruct a profile of the ethnolinguistic groups originating in Africa represented in the eighteenth-century Danish West Indies. In addition, it seeks to uncover differences in the distribution of groups and their proportions between the colony's two main islands, St. Thomas and St. Croix, which were settled around half a century apart, and whose demographic profiles, consequently, reflect both differences in local developments and shifting waves in the slave trade. Moreover, because of the general scarcity of documentary evidence of African languages in the context of the colonial-period Caribbean, the study also has a wider relevance, extending beyond the scope of Virgin Islands language history. There is a seemingly unparalleled volume and breadth of documentation from the Danish West Indies relevant to a case study nuancing current notions about the extensiveness of diversity (or lack thereof) represented in the ethnolinguistic composition of "typical"[2] Caribbean plantation slave societies. Seen from a contact linguistics perspective (along the lines of e.g. Kouwenberg

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[1] From 1672 to 1841, the Danish West Indies belonged to the double monarchy of Denmark-Norway, at which time Norway gained independence from Denmark. In the present study, I refer to the double monarchy simply as "Denmark."

[2] In a classic study of the Danish West Indies under Company rule, Westergaard (1917: 121) characterized the colony as a "fairly typical plantation society."

& Singler 2018), tapping into this documentation holds a potential to casting new light on the sociohistorical settings and hence contributions of the agents of creole formation in the region – provided the situation characterizing the Danish West Indies is comparable to that of other islands. This is most likely the case; although slavery and settlement varied considerably across the Caribbean, there are also many parallels from island to island (e.g. Higman 2011). Against this backdrop, the present study can be viewed as a response to calls from within the field for studying language contact phenomena, above all else, from a historically realistic perspective (e.g. Arends 2008).

The Danish colony occupies a special position in the context of documentation of African languages in colonial settings. In addition to data on the recorded slave trade (whose existence are commonplace throughout the region), there is an abundance of direct and indirect evidence of African languages, among others in the form of data recorded *in situ* by the Moravian Brethren, the pietistic missionary movement active in the Danish West Indies since 1732 (cf. §2.3). Focusing on the eighteenth century, I base my analysis on triangulation of the following four bodies of evidence:

- data on the volume and scope of the recorded trans-Atlantic and intra-Caribbean slave trade to the Danish West Indies;

- direct and indirect evidence of 26 African languages collected in peer group interviews conducted in the late 1760s for an ethnographic survey by the Moravian visitant Oldendorp (1777; critically-edited unabridged version: Oldendorp 2002; English edition: Highfield & ladimir Barac 1987) with an estimated 70 or so enslaved individuals on St. Thomas and St. Croix;

- self-reported data on the "nation" (i.e., roughly, meta-ethnic or ethnolinguistic background) represented in a sample of 418 Christianized Africans of the Moravian congregation on St. Thomas, recorded in 1753 by the Moravian visitant Nathanael Seidel;

- baptismal records for the period 1744–1832 from Friedensthal, the oldest of the Moravian mission stations in St. Croix, featuring systematic information on the ethnic backgrounds of over 6,000 baptismal candidates with an African or Afro-Caribbean background.

The study is organized as follows. In §2, I offer background information on the Danish West Indies and discuss the colony's suitability as a case study on African

ethnolinguistic diversity in the colonial Caribbean setting. Moreover, I contextualize the sources of evidence I use to trace members of the African population to specific areas and ethnolinguistic groups. In §3, I examine the recorded slave trade to the Danish West Indies, offering an assessment based on estimates of slave imports via both the trans-Atlantic and intra-Caribbean trade. Based on this exercise, I argue for a need to consider additional sources of evidence so as to be able to qualify the big-picture result which obtains. In §4, accordingly, I shift the perspective to the locally-recorded evidence. I compare linguistic data (as well as other cultural evidence) collected by Oldendorp with modern, carefully transcribed African language data, aiming to identify present-day correlates to the languages documented in the historical material. Extrapolating from the results of the analysis of Oldendorp's data, I then examine Seidel's list over Christianized Africans from St. Thomas (§5) and the baptismal records from St. Croix (§6), looking at similarities and differences in the distribution of the identified ethnolinguistic groups and their proportions between the two islands. In §7, I offer a summary of the ground covered in the study and then present some concluding remarks.

2 The Danish West Indies as a case study on African origins and ethnolinguistic diversity: Background and sources of evidence

Setting the scene, this section presents background information on the Danish West Indies and its enslaved population with focus on the setting in the eighteenth century. It discusses the problem of ethnolinguistic identifications in the colonial Caribbean, and it contextualizes the various sources of evidence drawn upon in the study.

2.1 The slave society in the eighteenth century: Demography and ethnolinguistic diversity

In 1672, the Danish West India and Guinea Company founded a permanent colony on the island of St. Thomas. The aim was to follow the example set by other expansionist European nations that had established plantation colonies overseas in order to gain a part of the wealth associated with the trans-Atlantic trade (for an overview, see Hall 1992; cf. also Olsen 2017, in Danish). St. Thomas is hilly and not particularly well suited for cultivation, but it is endowed with an excellent natural harbor, and it therefore gained importance as a transshipment port

over the course of the eighteenth century. The colony expanded in 1718 with the annexation of the unsettled neighboring island of St. John, and in 1733–34 with the acquisition of the island of St. Croix from the French Crown. The topography of St. Croix was well suited for plantation agriculture. As a result, following its incorporation into the colony, sugar cultivation came to form the economic mainstay of the Danish West Indies. It relied on highly labor-intensive cultivation techniques involving an ever-growing demand for an imported working force – the enslaved Africans and Afro-Caribbeans. The following section will consider the historical demography of the enslaved population of the Danish West Indies.

2.1.1 Slave demography in St. Thomas-St. John and St. Croix

In its first century, the colony was characterized by a rapidly growing slave population. As early as 1686, 14 years after the permanent settlement of St. Thomas, people of African descent exceeded the European population, and that development only continued to accelerate throughout the eighteenth century. Thus, in 1755, when the Danish Crown took over the colony from the Company, there were 1,760 Euro-Caribbeans on the three islands combined, whereas the enslaved numbered 14,409 individuals, or nearly 90% of the total population (Gøbel & Sebro 2017: 58). The demographic development was not the same on the three islands, however.

The main population growth on St. Thomas occurred in the first two decades of the 1700s. After that, the number of slaves remained stable for the remainder of the century. Based on an analysis of the colony's extant tax-rolls, Green-Pedersen (1971: 157) reports the following population figures. In 1686, the colonizing population numbered 300 and the colonized 333; by 1720, the numbers were 524 against 4,504; by 1754, they were 228 against 3,481 (this decline in absolute numbers being offset by an increase on St. Croix). The European population segment comprised 7% of the island's total number of souls in 1755, just under 8% in 1775, and some 15% in 1803.

St. John was settled from St. Thomas, and it developed largely as an adjunct of that island. Its colonization proceeded rapidly until 1733, at which time it became the scene of a large-scale slave insurrection. The rebellion was put down only after six months, and the island remained sparsely inhabited thereafter (Hornby 1980: 91–96). There were 2,031 slaves on St. John in 1755, around 10% of the island's population. This number fluctuated a bit in the latter eighteenth century, rising to 2,598 in 1803, after which it remained stable (Green-Pedersen 1971: 157–58; Gøbel & Sebro 2017: 59).

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St. Thomas' economy relied much less on plantation agriculture than that of St. John and especially St. Croix. This is reflected by the fact that, peaking in 1797, as many as 34% of the unfree on St. Thomas worked in the town of Charlotte Amalie (Green-Pedersen 1981: 234). Sebro (2016: 128) notes that society in St. Thomas "was based on the principally racial divide where black meant slave and white meant free." However, as in slave societies elsewhere, this principal divide was not absolute. From the very beginning, a small group of free Afro-Caribbeans was present as well. They managed in different ways to find space for themselves in the slave society, especially in the urban setting, by negotiating ideas of race and social position. However, in the eighteenth century, St. Thomas was still in the early stages of that process. As such, the free Afro-Caribbean population, Sebro (*ibid.*) notes, "was structurally of no great importance." The same was the case on early Danish St. Croix. Urban slavery also became firmly established there early on (Tyson 2011), but by far the largest proportion of enslaved people on St. Croix spent their days on large-scale rural sugar plantations. In 1792, for instance, 86% of the enslaved population on St. Croix was engaged in field labor (Hall 1992: 75).

St. Croix was surveyed, divided into plots, and brought under European cultivation in the course of the 1730s and 1740s, and the island's plantation sector was consolidated in the 1750s (Hopkins 1987). This period was characterized by a rapid growth of the slave population, and by high mortality rates. Approximately 1% more died than were born (Simonsen & Olsen 2018: 150), meaning that a constant inflow of newly imported slaves was needed to maintain existing numbers, not to mention meeting the requirement for absolute growth. In terms of demography, St. Croix thus followed the developmental pattern typical of a Caribbean plantation colony (cf. Higman 2011: 130). In 1736, two years after the island's settlement, there were 137 slaves on St. Croix; six years later, in 1742, there were around 1,700, and in 1755, there were almost 19,000. This growth continued into the 1770s, after which the number stabilized at around 23,000 or 24,000. Between 1793 and 1803, the enslaved population increased again, peaking at approximately 27,000 in 1804 (Simonsen & Olsen 2018: 150–151). After that, the number decreased steadily, until the enslaved claimed their freedom in 1848. In 1847, the last year that a census was taken of the slave population, there remained 16,673 (Holsoe 1994: 33), or some 62% of the all-time high recorded 44 years earlier.

2.1.2 Ethnolinguistic diversity in the Danish West Indies: A tentative orientation

From the outset, Danish colonization in the Caribbean was characterized by a lack of much of an actual Danish colonizing population. This resulted in a *de-facto* policy of "colonization by invitation" (Hall 1992: 6), giving rise to substantial numbers of foreign Europeans being introduced into the population. These people were particularly of Dutch heritage on St. Thomas and St. John (Arends & Muysken 1992: 51), and of British stock on St. Croix (Hall 1992: 13). As for the languages of the European populations, Oldendorp (2002: 357) comments, writing in the 1760s, that at least English, Dutch, Dutch creole, German, Danish, French, and Spanish were in use. However, the diversity of European languages represented in the colony does not match that represented by the African languages. By way of illustration of this point, Johann Gottlieb Miecke, the principal of the Moravian Mission in the latter eighteenth century, wrote in his 1796 letter of resignation (quoted in Lawaetz 1902: 124) about the linguistic diversity characterizing St. Croix. Miecke stated that he was losing faith in the Mission since it would be insufficient, he felt, to know even as many as 20 different languages if one was to effectively reach the enslaved population. As such, the eighteenth-century context in which the colony's economy flourished was clearly one characterized by extensive multilingualism, both within the enslaved and colonizing subsets of the population.

Meanwhile, this sociohistorical setting led to the establishment of creole languages with lexical bases in Dutch and English, respectively, as lingua francas in the colony[3]. The first, Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, most likely formed locally on St. Thomas around 1700 (cf. Sabino 2012: 52–54). Following the 1730s, it gained wide currency in the colony, especially on St. Thomas and St. John. This creole was the first to be described in a grammar book (see Magens 1770), and it is also distinguished for having been documented extensively over a period of 250 years (for an anthology of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole texts, see van Rossem & van der Voort 1996; cf. also van Rossem 2017 and van Sluijs 2017). Next, in the second half of the 1700s, a variety of creolized English – Crucian – had been sufficiently well-established on St. Croix (where English had become established to the virtual exclusion of Dutch, cf. Oldendorp 2002: 358, 682) for contemporary observers to make reference to its existence (e.g. Auerbach 1774 quoted in van Rossem 2017:

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[3]In addition, Highfield (1993: 131–32) conjectures that an undocumented French-lexifier creole was in use in St. Croix prior to the island's abandonment by the French in 1696. Whether or not such a variety did exist, it is not to be confused with the French dialect of Frenchtown, St. Thomas (described in Highfield 1979).

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90). English creole gained ground on St. Thomas-St. John from the early 1800s on, leading to the Dutch creole's eventual decline in the nineteenth century (as observed by e.g. Pontoppidan 1881). For more information on the history of the Virgin Islands creoles, consult e.g. Sabino (2012), with a focus on Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, and Bøegh (forthcoming), on Crucian.

Both the Dutch- and English-related creole varieties incorporated elements from the diverse European (e.g. Bøegh 2018) and African languages (e.g. Parkvall 2016) represented in the Danish West Indies at the time of their consolidation into Virgin Islands society. As for the identities of the African languages, earlier studies supported that most of the Africans brought to St. Thomas during the last part of the seventeenth century spoke Kwa languages such as Gã and Akan. Speakers of Akan, in particular, were estimated to have predominated throughout the peopling of St. Thomas, both by historians and linguists (e.g. Feldbæk & Justesen 1980; Stolz & Stein 1986: 118; Parkvall 2000: 135). Moreover, Sabino (1988) suggested Ewe (Gbe subgroup of Kwa) to have been a main early substrate in the colony. Previous analysis of Danish-African trade relations and data on the trans-Atlantic slave trade to the Danish Antilles (e.g. Sabino 2012: 64–67; van Sluijs 2017: 27–32) indicate, however, that this picture is incomplete, in that a much larger set of languages were spoken in the regions from which slaves were transported to the Danish colony, and from a much wider area of Africa. Sabino (2012: 65) opts to focus on the Danish slaving operations as those that are most likely to have impacted the early demographic development of St. Thomas, but the significance of other sources of trade to the growth of the colony's plantation sector should not be understated. For instance, in 1685, the North German Brandenburg Africa Company gained the right to use St. Thomas as a transshipment port, after which it supplied thousands of slaves to the colony, some of whom were not re-exported, but incorporated into the local slave society (Weindl 2008: 254–257), *pace* Sabino (2012: 65).

The most important previous analysis of slave imports with focus on St. Croix is an unpublished anthropology dissertation by Pope (1970). Its main finding was that the ethnolinguistic diversity represented on the island was greater and somewhat differently composed than that of St. Thomas. The archival data undergirding Pope's study are available for scrutiny in its appendices. In §6, I analyze these unique data anew, hence the short discussion here. Re-evaluation of the data is warranted seeing as how a number of Pope's (1970) conclusions have been subject to revision in later research (as detailed in §6), as more and better data have become available since.

In 1803, the official termination of the Danish slave trade effectively ended the flood of new contingents of native speakers of African languages. Asmussen

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(1983: 48) calculated that 46.9% of the plantation slaves present on St. Croix in 1804 had been born in Africa, whereas only 7.3% had been in 1846. Thus, although the prospects for their maintenance and long-term survival were poor, we can assume that African languages were in (recessive) use well into the nineteenth century. However, despite their longevity, there has been only limited attention in the literature devoted to identifying the African languages. Besides the studies cited above, there are some previous analyses of Oldendorp's material (e.g. Fodor 1975; notes from Peter Stein in Oldendorp 2002: 365–465; Jones 2010). An overview of the ethnolinguistic diversity represented in the colony can be made with new methods and materials.

2.2 The problem of ethnolinguistic identifications in the context of the colonial Caribbean

There is little direct linguistic evidence in the form of quotes or texts in African languages from the Caribbean in the colonial period. Outside of the Virgin Islands, there is some documentation from 1741 of a Gbe language in Brazil (da Costa Peixoto 1944), and from the late 1700s of Kikongo in Haiti (Bakker & Jacobsen forthcoming), but not much else has survived. The lack of direct evidence is a fact commonly acknowledged in creolistics, and one which routinely obstructs what Kouwenberg (2008: 2) has termed "[t]he first task of the substratist creole researcher" – to identify as exactly as possible the input languages involved in a given contact setting so as to be able to apply historical-comparative methods to investigate the origins of the various creole languages as contact phenomena. On the other hand, there is abundant indirect evidence for the use of African languages in the Caribbean, including in the form of lexical Africanisms and other instances of substrate influence in today's creoles (e.g. Parkvall 2000, Bartens & Baker 2012, Muysken et al. 2015). Outside of this, however, evidence for the African input in sociohistorical linguistic research – e.g. in reconstructions of the settlement histories of individual creole-speaking societies – tends to be limited to useful metalinguistic observations coupled with documentation of slave voyages (see e.g. Kouwenberg 2008, on Jamaica; Prescod & Fraser 2015, on St. Vincent; Ballester 2016, on Antigua, to mention but a few studies based primarily on such sources of evidence).

As discussed by Velupillai (2015: 109), archival information on the location of the trade forts and the points of embarkation for the slave ships has often been taken as an indication of the ethnolinguistic origins of substrate populations (cf. also §3). This has become possible because detailed information on the ports of embarkation, the number of slaves shipped out, and where they were taken to

has been collected and made available for the trans-Atlantic slave trade, e.g. in Eltis et al. (1999); consult also the updated online database based on this publication, *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* (henceforth the Voyages Database). On the downside, the location of the forts and the points of embarkation for the ships cannot always be taken to coincide with the origins of the slaves that those forts traded with. These may have been taken from different hinterland sources, or bought from traders from other regions. Instead, Velupillai (2015: 109) notes, we should aim to establish the likely areas that would supply certain forts and ships, and which languages were likely to have been spoken in those areas at the time, yet, critically, "even if we were able to establish those facts, we would have extremely limited access, if any, to the kinds of varieties spoken in the given areas at the time." In a good number of instances, however, this problem can be bypassed in the case of the Danish West Indies, as I will proceed to show in the study.

Meanwhile, metalinguistic comments from contemporary observers – while also useful – likewise present the analyst with a number of challenges. In the context of the Danish West Indies, this can be exemplified by means of the following example of a quote from a police journal sourced from the Danish State Archives (Danish: *Rigsarkivet*, hereafter RA;[4] RA: Sheriff of Christiansted: Police journals, 3 September 1805, my translation):

1. Carolina... Mandungo... She speaks no understandable language, and none of the Blacks in the [police] yard were able to understand her, so no one knew how she had come to the country. The police chief sent out the officers to summon various Blacks from the [West African] coast who were able to speak English, too [in addition to African languages, KFB]. After numerous attempts, a Black boy, Peter, was summoned, who was able to understand the Black woman.

Although this extract does present us with information relevant to the identification of the mentioned person's ethnic background ("Mandungo"), evidence of this kind is too limited to allow researchers to engage with questions pertaining to ethnolinguistic origins more generally. There is a lack of representativeness (in being anecdotal) and contextual information (on what basis did the record keeper reach the conclusion?), and it appears unclear whether there exists any direct evidence of the language used among the "Mandungo," which, if present,

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[4]All records in the RA pertaining to the Danish West Indies can be accessed via https://www.virgin-islands-history.org/en (accessed 30 September 2019). This online repository contains some five million high resolution image files of records from the colony.

could be compared with corresponding data from modern African languages to help establish its identity.[5]

In light of the potential pitfalls linked to working with sources of evidence as those discussed above, Prescod & Fraser (2015: 6), in their study on the settlement history of St. Vincent, sum up the main problem as follows: "The ethnolinguistic tapestry of the African continent is intricate and ascertaining ethnolinguistic origins is an arduous task." Indeed, the African continent is characterized by vast linguistic diversity. The number of African languages is estimated to be over 2,000 in Eberhard et al. (2019), and the lexical diversity is enormous. In addition, typological unity cannot be attributed to the various families and subgroupings (e.g. Bøegh et al. 2016). Importantly, the availability of information on modern African languages for comparative research purposes has increased considerably over the course of the past few decades. African linguistic relationships are not yet fully delineated, though, and the internal structures and/or external affiliations of a number of groupings continue to be subject to regular proposals for revision (see Güldemann 2018). As a point of departure, therefore, the present study adopts the broad classification of the *World Atlas of Language Structures* (Dryer & Haspelmath 2013) into linguistic genera, i.e., groups of languages "whose relatedness is fairly obvious without systematic comparative analysis" (Dryer 2005: 584). Where pertinent, more specialized divisions of groups commonly subsumed under the Niger-Congo phylum or superfamily follow the classification proposed by Williamson & Blench (2000: 18).

2.3 The Moravian witnesses to slavery in the Danish West Indies

In 1732, the Moravian Brethren – missionaries operating from Herrnhut, Germany – established their first overseas mission on St. Thomas, expanding to St. Croix as early as 1734 (for an overview, see Highfield 1994). They recorded the most central of the linguistic sources considered in the present study. This section details their activities in the Danish West Indies. The Moravian presence in the colony was important in several respects. The missionaries were present from early in the colony, arriving 60 years after the settlement of St. Thomas, 14 years after the settlement of St. John, and at the very beginning of the Danish settlement of St. Croix. They were on a mission to Christianize the enslaved African labor force, and they were from the start looking to expand to other locations. The movement subsequently spread to Surinam (1735), Jamaica (1754),

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[5]Oldendorp did in fact record "Mandungo" (or "Mandongo") language data, which I track to either Guthrie's (1948) Bantu Zone B or H, i.e., approximately between southern Gabon and northwestern Angola on the West-Central African coast.

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Antigua (1756), Barbados (1765), and elsewhere in the Caribbean and beyond. As such, and seeing as how they were gathering experience for future expansion, the missionaries had embarked on a project that would periodically require evaluation. Accordingly, as Highfield (1994: 141) notes, they kept detailed records in the form of "[c]hurch books, journals, diaries, registers of all kinds – but especially those relative to baptisms – correspondence, and reports," all of which were carefully copied and preserved. The records were regularly inspected by visitants whose task it was to supervise the progress made and to report back to Herrnhut. Their accounts, of which Oldendorp's (1777) is the best-known representative, and where the present study also considers the report by Seidel (1753), add important supplementary information to that collected on an ongoing basis in the colony, e.g. the baptismal records from St. Croix. All in all, then, the Moravians have left an enormous amount of detailed information about their activities, and about the enslaved population.

Initially, the Moravian effort was concentrated on St. Thomas. Later, that effort was largely redirected to St. Croix. After a difficult beginning in the 1730s and 1740s, the Moravians' work in the islands succeeded remarkably in the second half of the eighteenth century. By 1768, they had baptized some 4,500 Africans and Afro-Caribbeans; by 1794, that number had climbed to 9,300, and by 1815, it reached approximately 15,000 (Highfield 1994: 146–47). In 1804, by comparison, the total (and all-time maximal) number of slaves on St. Croix came to approximately 27,000 (Simonsen & Olsen 2018: 151). In each decade from 1760 to 1800, the Moravians baptized between 8 and 16% of the enslaved African population in St. Croix, Simonsen (2017: 190) estimates. By Highfield's (1994: 147) estimate, the Brethren had in effect enrolled more than half of all the enslaved in the Danish West Indies within approximately 70 years of the onset of their enterprise.[6]

The success of the Mission may be attributed largely to the fact that the enslaved had lost their kinship ties after having been captured, sold, and taken to the Caribbean. Sensbach (2005: 92–95) describes how the Moravians offered an alternative kinship system that appealed to the enslaved, and which afforded the members of the congregation certain opportunities and a chance for social elevation that was otherwise unavailable to those at the bottom of the slave society.

In the following sections, I will first consider quantitative evidence of the slave trade to the Danish West Indies, after which I turn to analyzing the various

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[6]In addition, a second, Danish-operated Lutheran mission was established in the islands, in 1755 (see Larsen 1950). The Lutherans documented their activities less extensively than the Moravians, but they did leave some material relevant to the study of Virgin Islands language history (see Bøegh forthcoming.).

sources of documentation recorded by the Moravian Brethren. In this connection, it is important to note that I assume, though not uncritically, that Seidel's list over Christianized Africans from St. Thomas, the baptismal records from St. Croix, and Oldendorp's account based on slave interviews conducted on both islands are in general alignment with respect to their application of categories such as e.g. "Kongo" and "Amina," and that the connection between such ethnic categories and their correlated languages is extrapolatable from the linguistic data presented by Oldendorp in his ethnographic survey. The assumption, corroborated e.g. by Simonsen (2017: 190–191), rests on the fact that the information considered was obtained directly from the Africans concerned. Oldendorp stated that his information was "based on their own narrations" (Highfield & ladimir Barac 1987: 159), often in the context of peer group interviews, on both St. Thomas and St. Croix.

3 Evidence of the trans-Atlantic and intra-Caribbean slave trade to the Danish West Indies

3.1 The trans-Atlantic slave trade and Danish-African trade relations

Following an unsuccessful experience with indentured labor (Hvid 2016), importation of enslaved people directly from Africa to the Danish West Indies began in the 1670s, most likely in 1673 (Westergaard 1917: 40). In total, the Danish share of the trans-Atlantic slave trade supplied an estimated 100,000+ individuals to the islands (Gøbel 2016: 15). As the Danish slave trading forts were located on the so-called "Gold Coast" (present-day Ghana), and as the Danish West India and Guinea Company had been granted a national monopoly on shipping and trade to Africa and the West Indies (Gøbel 2016: 12), it would at first sight appear reasonable to assume that a preponderance of the enslaved were drawn from the ethnic groups of that region, where especially Akan lects are, and were, widespread (Hair 1967, 1968). From 1661, the Danish headquarters in Africa was Fort Christiansborg at Accra (Nørregaard 1966). Sabino (2012: 66) describes the Danes' trade relations with local groups there. The Danes' first trading partners there were the Gã, who were at war with the expanding Akan-speaking Akwamu. When slave import to St. Thomas commenced, the Gã were thus in a position to sell Akan-speaking prisoners of war from the interior. After defeating the Gã in 1681, the Akwamu began supplying the Danes with Gã prisoners, as well as with captives from western Gbe-speaking areas already dominated by them. The Danes continued to trade with the Akwamu until the 1730s. According to Parkvall

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(2000: 135), the situation sketched out here, "eventually led to an exceptionally heavy Kwa bias in the workforce of the Danish West Indies."

The reality was not as straightforward as that, however, in that yet more slaves in total were drawn from other areas along the West African littoral, from Senegambia in the north to Angola in the south. Also in the early period, many of the captives landed in the colony were not necessarily from the Gold Coast region. That is, Danish ships routinely took onboard captives from ports of call along the way to the forts, and these embarkation points were often not registered anywhere. Moreover, for a variety of reasons, the Company's purported monopoly on shipping and trade was not actually complied with, meaning that other parties than the Danes became involved in the trade (e.g. the earlier - mentioned Brandenburg Company). Thus, a Danish planter (quoted in Nielsen 1981: 83, my translation) wrote around 1740 about the enslaved on St. Croix that there were "as many nations [...] among them as there are landscapes, towns, and places in both America and especially Africa, where most of them hail from."[7]

The quote points to a mixed African-origin population, an observation that can be corroborated by considering data provided by the Voyages Database. A search for records of all ships with the Danish West Indies as the principal place of landing produced 381 records of voyages, representing a total of 89,829 disembarked individuals (105,253 embarked). Gøbel (2016: 15) notes that, despite allowing itself some extrapolation, the Voyages Database's total number of people embarked is in overall alignment with more specialized studies on the volume and composition of the slave trade to the Danish West Indies. Table 1 (page 26) shows an overview of extractable data on these voyages' embarkation regions. The figures are based on arrivals. The regions of origin are those of Eltis et al. (1999). Based on these data, a diversity of embarkation regions for the trade in the Danish West Indies can be observed. The figures are visualized in Figure 1.

Who were transported, from where they were transported, and by whom, was contingent on numerous factors, and it is evident from the slave trade data that these factors varied over time. There would appear, indeed, to have been an early dominance of groups from the Gold Coast and the Bight of Benin – Akan, Gã, and Gbe speakers – and of individuals with unknown embarkation points, who, consequently, are subsumed under "Other Africa." West-Central Africa, where Bantu languages predominate, was a major embarkation region in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, after which the numbers dropped to zero, bouncing back only in the 1790s. The captives who landed in the later period came from a more

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[7]This text is traditionally attributed to the plantation owner J. L. Carstens (1705–1747), but there is "plenty of evidence that Carstens [...] did not write it," Sebro (2016: 219) cautions.

2 *African ethnolinguistic diversity in the colonial Caribbean*
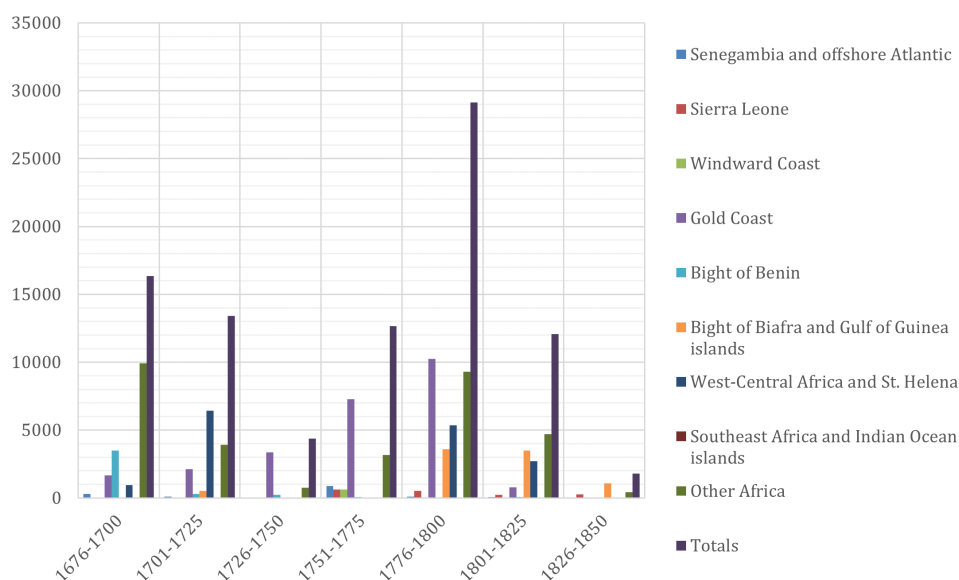
Figure 1: Proportions of slaves from the different embarkation regions.

diverse set of ethnic backgrounds, reflecting that the slave trade spread to a wider range of regions in the latter eighteenth century. The Gold Coast still supplied the most slaves to the colony, whereas the Bight of Benin evidently was of much less relevance in this later phase. Moreover, between the mid-1770s and 1800, the Bight of Biafra, which is home to a different group of languages (especially different Benue-Congo subgroups), contributed about 12% of the captives landed in the Danish West Indies. In addition, Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and the Windward Coast, which likewise are representative of a different range of languages (Mande, North-Atlantic, Kru, etc.), continuously supplied smaller quantities of human cargo, which, as noted, can be presumed to have been larger than the recorded trade indicates.

In evaluation, it would appear plausible, based on these data, that "substantial 'ethnic diversification' did not occur until the latter part of the eighteenth century" (Sabino 2012: 66). Importantly, however, the trans-Atlantic trade was not the only source of slave imports to the islands. When factoring in other sources of evidence, it becomes difficult to uphold what might be termed the "heavy Kwa bias"-hypothesis, at least in its strong form. The remainder of the study corroborates this view.

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Table 1: Estimates of slave imports to the Danish West Indies via the trans-Atlantic trade in 25-year periods, arranged by embarkation regions (based on the Voyages Database, accessed 30 September 2019). Absolute numbers in plain font, percentages for each period in italics.

Year Range	Senegambia and offshore Atlantic	Sierra Leone	Windward Coast	Gold Coast	Bight of Benin	Bight of Biafra and Gulf of Guinea islands	West-Central Africa and St. Helena	Southeast Africa and Indian Ocean islands	Other Africa[a]	Totals
1676–1700	299	0	0	1,658	3,508	0	938	0	9,937	16,34
Percentage	*1.8*	*0.0*	*0.0*	*10.1*	*21.5*	*0.0*	*5.7*	*0.0*	*60.8*	*100.0*
1701–1725	97	0	0	2,124	295	536	6,433	0	3,918	13,403
Percentage	*0.7*	*0.0*	*0.0*	*15.8*	*2.2*	*4.0*	*48.0*	*0.0*	*29.2*	*100.0*
1726–1750	0	0	0	3,368	242	0	0	21	742	4,373
Percentage	*0.0*	*0.0*	*0.0*	*77.0*	*5.5*	*0.0*	*0.0*	*0.5*	*17.0*	*100.0*
1751–1775	883	639	636	7,284	62	0	0	0	3,172	12,676
Percentage	*7.0*	*5.0*	*5.0*	*57.5*	*0.5*	*0.0*	*0.0*	*0.0*	*25.0*	*100.0*
1776–1800	99	543	0	10,251	0	3,602	5,346	0	9,312	29,153
Percentage	*0.3*	*1.9*	*0.0*	*35.2*	*0.0*	*12.4*	*18.3*	*0.0*	*31.9*	*100.0*
1801–1825	58	220	53	780	61	3,485	2,724	0	4,695	12,076
Percentage	*0.5*	*1.8*	*0.4*	*6.5*	*0.5*	*28.9*	*22.6*	*0.0*	*38.9*	*100.0*
1826–1850	0	277	0	0	0	1,087	0	0	444	1,808
Percentage	*0.0*	*15.3*	*0.0*	*0.0*	*0.0*	*60.1*	*0.0*	*0.0*	*24.6*	*100.0*
Totals	1,436	1,679	689	25,465	4,168	8,71	15,441	21	32,22	89,829
Percentage	*1.6*	*1.9*	*0.8*	*28.3*	*4.6*	*9.7*	*17.2*	*0.0*	*35.9*	*100.0*

[a]"Other Africa" is for the most part used for slaves whose point of embarkation is unknown, i.e., 31,052 (35%) of the individuals accounted for in Table 1 (the remaining 1,150 persons of the 32,220 subsumed under this category were tracked to more specific locations). According to Borges (2013: 19, citing p.c. with the database compilers D. Eltis and J. Vos), the category is in practice often used for voyages that acquired slaves along the Windward Coast. This required several stops, as only small numbers of slaves could be negotiated at the different ports of call (see also Vos 2010).

3.2 The intra-Caribbean slave trade

In the eighteenth century, Simonsen & Olsen (2018: 150) note, "[i]t was the import of slaves from Africa and, secondarily, the import of slaves from the surrounding Caribbean islands, inter alia St. Christopher [i.e., St. Kitts, KFB], Anguilla, and Tortola, which created the population growth in the Danish West Indies" (my translation). I will not aim to account for the local trade in its totality, part of which is unrecorded and hence unquantifiable, but I will offer an example that can illustrate what it implies in terms of modifying and nuancing the picture based solely on the trans-Atlantic slave trade data.

Between 1766 and 1802, based on the years for which we have reliable figures (cf. Green-Pedersen 1975: 208–209), some 30,150 enslaved people were imported into St. Croix, both directly from Africa and via the local intra-Caribbean trade. Of these people, 8,444 were landed via the local trade, i.e., at least some 28% of the total number. As these figures do not take into account the unrecorded and illicit trade (see Gøbel 2016: 174 and the references therein), the actual share was larger. Moreover, when looking into individual years, this percentage was often higher yet. This was especially so prior to the 10 year grace period following 1792, the year that the proclamation abolishing the Danish slave trade 10 years hence went into effect, which prompted a significant increase in the trans-Atlantic trade to the Danish West Indies (Gøbel 2008). Based on inspection of tax rolls for the period 1767–1776 in the RA, Olsen (1988: 229) calculated the percentages of slaves landed on St. Croix from Africa and other, i.e., Caribbean, locations during this period. Table 2 summarizes these results.

For half of the years accounted for by Olsen (1768, 1770–1772, 1776), the majority of the slaves landed via the recorded trade did not actually arrive at the islands on vessels directly from Africa. For the total period, slightly more than half of the slaves hailed from other parts of the world, many of them from other Caribbean islands. Some of the slaves landed via this trade did in fact come from Africa but had been re-exported via other islands (cf. Olsen 1988: 233–235), which either complicates the picture or renders impossible the task of tracing them to specific embarkation points.

Due to the extensive local trade, it follows that it is necessary, in addition, to consider other sources of evidence for the origins of the enslaved population in the Danish West Indies. Accordingly, the remainder of the study will focus on the language and ethnicity documentation provided by the Moravian Brethren.

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Table 2: Slave imports to St. Croix landed via the trans-Atlantic trade, 1767–1776 (based on Olsen 1988: 229).

Year	Slave imports	Directly from Africa	
		n	%
1767	1,962	468	23.8
1768	1,686	1,163	70.1
1769	–	(68)	–
1770	1,862	1,131	60.7
1771	1,157	835	72.1
1772	850	588	69.1
1773	241	0	0.0
1774	1,017	321	31.5
1775	1,67	743	44.4
1776	1,08	706	65.3
1767–1776	11,525	6,023/5,955	52.0

4 Oldendorp's (1767–1768) interview data

"Ideally," Kouwenberg (2008: 2) states, the substratist researcher "hope[s] to find clear and incontrovertible linguistic evidence" for the presence of particular African languages, "supported by the historical record." Following this lead, this section aims to establish credible links between the African languages documented in the historical material from the Danish West Indies with modern-day correlate languages and language groups. To this end, I analyze data recorded by the Moravian visitant C. G. A. Oldendorp who stayed in the Danish West Indies in 1767 to 1768. Oldendorp's visit resulted in a highly influential account of the islands and the Mission's history up to that point in time, which also included a detailed description of the life and cultural affinities of the enslaved in the colony (for background information on Oldendorp's account, see Meier et al. 2010)[8]. Oldendorp completed his massive report in 1776, and it was published in abridged form the following year (Oldendorp 1777). In 1987, an English translation of the 1777 edition appeared (Highfield & ladimir Barac 1987), which was then followed by a critically edited multi-volume version of the original manuscript in its entirety (Oldendorp 2002). Note that I quote from the English translation below, in addition to the critically edited German version.

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[8]Oldendorp also compiled his *Criolisches Wörterbuch* (1996) during the stay.

An essential part of Oldendorp's account is an ethnographic survey, based on interviews with approximately 70 informants. Oldendorp's study was to provide insights into the conditions of the enslaved by mapping the various "nations" represented in the colony, and by providing an overview of the various religious ideas represented among them. Oldendorp was well aware that there were cultural differences among the enslaved, remarking that "[t]he Negroes are divided into many nations, among which greater or lesser differences can be found in regard to language, as well as morals, customs, and religion" (Highfield & ladimir Barac 1987: 160). Oldendorp describes how he gathered his informants into peer groups according to their diverse origins, and he then asked them about their (ancestral) religious customs and practices, the geographical location of their homelands, neighboring groups (both allies and enemies), trade relations, etc. There is reason to highlight the importance of the fact that Oldendorp based his description on information from groups that agreed that they belonged to the same ethnic category, and on that basis shared information. When several people agreed to accept each other as peers, there is good reason to believe that the information that came out of it also reflected real notions of a community, or at least cultural commonalities.

Moreover, Oldendorp collected linguistic data from his interviewees. He recorded label-meaning correlations of the numerals 'one' to 'ten' (and select higher values) across 22 languages (cf. Oldendorp 2002: 458–460), as well as a set of 13 "basic" meanings, such as e.g. 'head' and 'sun', across 26 languages (pp. 460–463), with some gaps in the distribution. There is, in addition, a single sentence translated into the various languages: *Christus hat uns geliebet und gewaschen von den Sünden mit seinem Blut* 'Christ has loved us and has washed away our sins with his blood' (pp. 464–465). By Jones' (2010: 181) estimate, the full corpus consists of 667 words in the different African languages.

Ahlbäck (2016: 194) notes that the publication of Oldendorp's original manuscript in 2000–2002 "has been welcomed as providing an outstanding source to eighteenth-century African Caribbean cultures, languages and identities." As of yet, however, no actual language-by-language examination of Oldendorp's linguistic data as found in this version of the account has appeared. The two previous analyses, namely Peter Stein's editorial notes in Oldendorp (2002) and Jones' (2010) useful overview, constitute valuable contributions to such an end, as does the examination by Fodor (1975) of the 1777 edition. In the following, I consider, in a concise analysis, the information collected by Oldendorp, identifying the languages (or, alternatively, the closest matches found) with present-day correlates organized by affiliation, on the basis of the linguistic data. I compare Oldendorp's collected numerals from 'one' to 'ten' with precisely transcribed modern lists of

numerals of African languages. Unless otherwise noted, the modern numerals are extracted from the database *Numeral Systems of the World's Languages* – an on-line repository of basic data on more than 4,000 languages, hosted at the former Department of Linguistics at the MPI for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig[9]. Where available and where relevant (i.e., in practice, where the numerals data are either lacking or inconclusive), I refer also to some of the other linguistic data recorded by Oldendorp. I refer also to cultural and geographic clues offered in the account. Moreover, I refer to previous work within the Africanist literature (e.g. Koelle 1854, Migeod 1913, Westermann & Bryan 1952), as well as to the aforementioned previous analyses of Oldendorp's material.

4.1 Identification of languages in Oldendorp's account

The sets of numerals referred to in the following analysis are presented collectively in Table 3. The presentation of languages is based on the order in which they are discussed below. All modern languages are identified by their three-letter ISO 639-3 codes, marked by square brackets. The designations used by Oldendorp (which may represent ethnonyms or glossonyms, or both) are presented within scare quotes. All languages which Oldendorp recorded direct evidence on are represented in the discussion.

4.1.1 "Fula": Fula, North Atlantic

As can be seen above, Oldendorp's "Fula" numerals match those of varieties in the Fula cluster [inclusive ISO code: ful], except for the forms for 'eight' and 'nine'. This discrepancy is most likely due to Oldendorp, or his informant, having switched the forms *jenai* and *jädet* around. In addition, the "Fula" informant reported to have travelled for two months to reach the ocean from his homeland, located along a great river (Oldendorp 2002: 373), which was probably the Senegal or Gambia River. Pulaar [fuc] is included in Table 3 as the perhaps closest-matching candidate lect.

4.1.2 "Mandinga": Mandinka, Mande

Oldendorp described the "Mandinga" (or "Mandingo") as a neighboring tribe of the "Fula" and "Jalunkan" (see below), a people related to them but differing in

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[9]https://mpi-lingweb.shh.mpg.de/numeral/ (last accessed 30 September 2019). The database forms the basis for the "Numeralbank" project currently in progress under the Glottobank research consortium: https://glottobank.org/ (accessed 30 September 2019).

Table 3: Numerals from 'one' to 'ten' across 23 languages recorded by Oldendorp compared with data on 26 modern African (Niger-Congo) languages and their subgroups

"Nation"/language	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
North Atlantic (region: Senegambia)										
"Fula"	go	didi	taddi	nei	djoi	djego	tjedidi	jenai	jädet	sappoi
Pulaar [fuc]	goo	didi	tati	naj	dʒoj	dʒeegom	dʒeedidi	dʒeetati	dʒeenaj	sappo
Mande (region: interior Windward Coast)										
"Jalunkan"	keling	filla	saba	nani	lolu	worro	orwila	sagi	kononto	tan
Yalunka [yal]	kèdé	firiŋ	sákáŋ	náni	sùlù	sèni	fòlòfèré	fòlòmàsákáŋ	fòlòmànáni	fú
Dyula [dyu]	kelen	filà	sàbà	náánin	diùrù	wɔ̀rɔ̀	wolon filà	siegi	kɔ̀nɔ̀ndon	tan
Jalkunan [bxl]	dúli	fīlà	sìg̀bù	nɑ̄nī	sō:lō	mi:lu	màdlà	màsìgbū	mánáni	tā
"Sokko"	küille	felaa	sauaa	nani	duli	woro	ornala	setti	konundo	tang
Gur (region: North Ghana, South Burkina Faso)										
"Tembu"	kuddum	noalee	nodosoo	nonasaa	nonoaa	lodo	lubbe	lütoso	kandilee	figuh
Tem [kdh]	kàɔ̀ɖe	sìíɛ̀	tóózo	náaza	nsɔ̌wa	loɖo	lɔbɛ	lutoozo	kéénìré	fuú
Lukpa [dop]	kèɖèm	naalɛ̀	tòòsó	naasá	kàkpàsí	náátòsò	nàátòsò mpɔ̀yɔ̀layá	pàlé fɛ̀jì	pɔ̀yɔ̀làyáfɛ̀jì	náánčǎ
"Tjamba"	obaa	illee	ittaa	inna	immu	iloop	illelee	imenn	üwäh	piek
Kasem [xsm]	kàtɔ̀	ǹlè	ǹtɔ̀	ǹnā	nnū	ǹdɩ̀n	ǹpɛ̀	nánā	nòɡɔ̄	fúgɔ́
Konkomba [xon]	-bàa	-lèe	-táa	-nāa	-nmúu	-lúub	-lílé	-nìín	-wɛ́ɛ	pììk
Kru (region: Liberia, Ivory Coast)										
"Gien"	do	sung	ta	nje	mu	medu	mesong	medda	menje	wo
Krahn [krw]	tòò	sɔ̀ǹ	táàn	nyìɛ́	ǹ̀m̀	mèò	mɛ̀sɔ̀n	mètáàn	mɛ̀nyìɛ̀	púèè
"Kanga"	aniandu	aniasson	anietan	ananje	aneamu	–	–	–	–	aniepun
Kyanga [tye]	dúú	fʸáá	ˀáà:	fĩ̀	sɔ̀ɔ̀rù	sɔ̀ɔ̀dū	sʷàhʸáā	sòòwà	sòòfĩ	kòòrì
Grebo [grj]	do	sõ	tā̃	hɛ̃	hmu	hmunɛdʒ	hmunɛsɔ̃	behɛ́ behɛ̃	siedo	pu
Potou-Tano, Kwa (region: Ivory Coast, Ghana)										
"Amina"	akkun	ennu	essa	ananni	anum	eschee	essun	auquee	akkrun	edu
"Akkim"	biakkung	miennu	biansang	anann	num	mischiang	song	noaqui	onkonnung	edu
Twi [aka]	baakõ	ɔ̀bìéñ	ɔ̀bìèsã̀	ánáñ	ɔ̀núm̀	ɔ̀sià̃	ɔ̀sɔ̀ñ	àwɔ̀tcɥé	àkrõñ	dú
Fante [aka]	kor	ebien	ebiasa	anan	enum	esia	esuon	awotwe	akron	du
"Akripon"	ekoo	emmo	issan	ne	unu	ischenn	ischnoo	üquee	ebnoo	üdu
Larteh [lar]	kɔ́	ɲ̀yɔ́	sá	nɛ́	nú	sìɛ̀	sùnɔ́	tcɥí	kp̂ǹɔ́	dú

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"Nation"/language	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Gbe, Kwa; Yoruboid, Benue-Congo (region: Togo, Benin)										
"Papaa"	depoo	auwi	ottong	enne	attong	attugo	atjuwe	attiatong	atjenne	awo
"Wavu"	depoo	awee	etong	enne	attong	a-isee	djaui	tiatong	tienee	wo
anders 'different' (= Fodor's 1975 "Wavu II")	baba	bauli	janna	tofla	guena	brong	jegra	khiboa	boafri	magro
"Watje"	de	ewee	etong	enne	attong	andee	anderee	enni	enjidee	owoo
Fon [fon]	ɖĕ	we	atɔn	ɛnɛ̀	atɔ̃n	ayizɛ́n	tɛ́nwe	tántɔn	tɛ́nne	wɔ̀
Aja [ajg]	eɖĕ, ɖeka	èɖĕ, amɛ̃ve	etɔ̂, amɛ̃tɔ̃	enɛ̀, amɛ̃nɛ̃	atɔ̀, amãtɔ̃	adɛ̀, amãdɛ	adrɛ, amãdɛ	eɲí, amɛ̃ɲí	piɖe, aʃiɖeke, amãʃiɖeke	ewó
Ewe [ewe]	eɖĕ	ève, amɛ̃ve	etɔ̃	ènè	àtɔ̃	àdé	adrɛ́	eɲí	aʃĩeké	èwó
Gã-Dangme, Kwa (region: coastal Ghana)										
"Tambi"	kaki	ennu	ette	ewe	enu	ekba	pagu	panjo	ne	njomma
"Akkran"	eaku	eenjo	ette	eedjee	ennumo	epa	paggu	paniu	nehung	jungma
Gã [gaa]	ekòmé	éjɔ̀	étɛ̃	éʒwè	énùmɔ̃	ékpàa	kpàwo	kpáaɲɔ̃	nɛ̀hũ	nɔ̃ŋmá
Dangme [ada]	kákĕ	éjɔ̃	étɛ̃́	éʒwɛ̀, éwiɛ̀	énũɔ̃̄	ékpã	kpáagɔ̃	kpáaɲɔ̃	nɛ̃̂	nɔ̃ŋmá
Cross-River, Benue-Congo; Igboid, Benue-Congo (region: Nigeria)										
"Karabari"	otuh	abolam	attoo	abanna	abisee	abisih	abassa	abassatto	abitollu	abilli
"Ibo"	otuh	aboa	attoo	anoo	issee	issih, tschi	assaa	assatto	itlelite	ili
Ijo Kalabari [ijn]	ìgĕì	mã̀	tere	ineí	sɔnɔ	sonio	sɔnɔmɛ̀	ninè	esenie	oji, àtèì
Igbo [ibo]	òtù	àbɔ̌ɔ̌	àtɔ̀	ànɔ̂	isé	isii	àsáà	àsátɔ̀	ìtòlú	iri
"Mokko"	kiä	iba	itta	inan	üttin	itʃüekee	ittiaba	itteiata	huschukiet	büb
Efik [efi]	kíét	ibá	ítá	ínáŋ	ítíón	ítíókíét	ítíábá	ítíáítá	úsúk-kíét	dúóp
Bantu, Benue-Congo (region: coastal and interior West-Central Africa)										
"Loango"	bosse	quari	tattu	ena	tanu	sambaan	sambueri	nane	iwoa	kumi
"Congo"	moschi	sole	sitattu	sija	sittan	issamban	samboari	sinaan	siwoa	sikumi
"Camba"	moschi	soli	tattu	ja	tanu	saman	sambari	nane	wa	komi
Kikongo [kng]	mɔ̀si	zòòlè	tátù	yá	tánù	sámbánù	nsàmbwádì	nànà	vwà	kùmì
"Mandongo"	omma	meere	metutu	mina	metaan	schiauno	entschewine	ennane	woa	kumi
Kimbundu [kmb]	mòxì	yádì	tátù	wànà	tánù	sámánù	sámbwádì	(dì)nákè	(dì)vwà	(dì)kwìnyì
Ndumu [nmd]	-mɔ	-ɛɛlɛ, -ɔɔlɔ	-tati	-na	-taami	-sameni	tsaami	pwɔmɔ	wua	kumu
Mbere [mdt]	-mɔ	-ele	-tare	-na	-taani	-syaami	ntsaami	mpfuɔmɔ	wa	kuomi

language (Oldendorp 2002: 376). Oldendorp recorded no "Mandinga" numerals, but he did include word forms for some of the other basic meanings. Table 4 shows that correspondences with the Mande language Mandinka [mnk] can be found for four of six of these (Mandinka data adapted from Peace Corps The Gambia 1995). Thus, Oldendorp's "Mandinga" most likely corresponds to a Mandinka lect, but the linguistic evidence is too scanty to allow any precise identification.

Table 4: Oldendorp's "Mandinga" compared with Mandinka [mnk]

	'God'	'Sun'	'Mouth'	'Hand'	'Father'	'Mother'
"Mandinga"	*Allah, Kanniba*	*tille*	*pandintee*	*bulla*	*ba*	*jem*
Mandinka [mnk]	*Ala*	*tìli*	*dáa*	*búlu*	*baaba*	*baa, naa*

4.1.3 "Jalunkan" and "Sokko": Dyula-Bambara, Mande

It is suggested by Peter Stein (in Oldendorp 2002: 376, fn. 54) that Oldendorp's "Jalunkan" refers to the Yalunka language [yal] of Guinea and Sierra Leone. Conversely, Fodor (1975: 104) suggested that the language could be Dyula [dyu], which is mutually intelligible with the West African lingua franca Bambara [bam]. In addition, "Jalunkan" could also refer to Jalkunan [bxl] of Burkina Faso. Note that the modern Yalunka numerals 'seven' through 'nine' are compounds based on a unit 'five'. The collected numerals display closest alignment with those of modern Dyula.

Oldendorp noted about the "Sokko" (or "Asokko") that they were Islamic, and that it took them from six to seven weeks to reach the coast from their home region, neighboring the "Amina" (Oldendorp 2002: 407–408), i.e., peoples of the Gold Coast (cf. Law 2005: 247–248). "Sokko" may well refer to the Dyula town Begho-Nsoko in interior Ghana, close to the Ivory Coast border (Jones 2010; Oldendorp 2002: 407, fn. 84; Stahl 2001: 124). Migeod (1913) linked the area's people, whom Koelle (1854) called "Jalonke," with the Dyula, like I do, and he wrote that they self-identified as the "Sako" (Migeod 1913: 346). Indeed, the "Sokko" numerals recorded by Oldendorp show close similarity to those of Dyula-Bambara. Moreover, nine out of 13 of the "Jalunkan" and "Sokko" lexical items in (Oldendorp 2002: 460–461) show close similarity, corroborating further that also the "Sokko" used a Dyula-Bambara lect.

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4.1.4 "Tembu": Tem, Gur

The "Tembu" were noted to live further inland than the "Amina," four day's travel from the land of the coastal "Akkran" (Oldendorp 2002: 399–400). The "Tembu" numerals match those of the interior Gur language Tem [kdh] closely, except for the form for 'two'. The related language Lukpa [dop] has a form corresponding to that for 'two' given by Oldendorp, but this language does not otherwise match the "Tembu" numerals closely. Overall, the "Tembu" data recorded by Oldendorp are closest to Tem.

4.1.5 "Tjamba": Konkomba, Gurma, Gur

Oldendorp reported that his "Tjamba" informants had travelled for as long as six months to reach the Gold Coast from their homeland, and that their king had his residence in the city of "Gambaak" (Oldendorp 2002: 403–404), i.e., Gambaga in the North East Region of Ghana. Jones (2010: 186) suggested that Oldendorp's "Tjamba" (also called "Kassenti" – supposedly meaning 'I do not understand you') refers to the Kasem, or Chamba, language [xsm] of southern Burkina Faso of the Gur group, but the linguistic data do not lend support to this view. Instead, the "Tjamba" numerals match those of Konkomba [xon] of the Gurma cluster, also a Gur language, spoken in Northern Ghana.

4.1.6 "Gien" and "Kanga": Kru lects

According to Westermann & Bryan (1952: 50–51), the name "Gien" was used in reference to the Southern Wee language Krahn [krw] of the Ivory Coast and Liberia. Indeed, the collected numerals match closely between Oldendorp's "Gien" and Krahn. Another candidate language is the closely related lect Grebo [grj] (Grebo numerals adapted from Innes 1967). As for the "Kanga," although there is a Mande language called Kyanga [tye], the numerals (of which Oldendorp did not record 'six' to 'nine') indicate it was a Kru lect, too. However, note that none of the modern Kru lects considered retains the (presumed) prefix *ania-*, or *anie-*, included by Oldendorp. Some additional clues given by Oldendorp indicate that these languages were varieties of Kru, and not e.g. Mande. That is, Oldendorp informed that the ocean formed the western border of the "Kanga" territory, and that they often traded with Europeans. With their land bounded to the west by the sea, they otherwise shared borders with the "Mandinga" and "Fula" – but they did not understand their languages Oldendorp (2002: 378). Mandinga and Fula are Mande and North Atlantic, indeed very different from Kru languages.

4.1.7 "Mangree": another Kru language?

Oldendorp (2002: 382) noted that a great river, which must be either the Sassandra or Bandama (cf. Fodor 1975: 162), constituted the border between the "Gien" and the "Mangree," and that their languages "[did] not differ much from one another" (Highfield & ladimir Barac 1987: 162). Oldendorp recorded no "Mangree" numerals (for which reason the language does not figure in Table 3), but he noted that the "Mangree" people understood the "Kanga" (2002: 378), and that they lived deep in the interior. In addition to the "Gien," the "Mangree" lived near the "Mandinga" and "Amina" (2002: 381–82). As such, the "Mangree" could correspond to the Ngere (or Wee) of the Ivory Coast (cf. Jones 2010: 186; Oldendorp 2002: 381, fn. 58) who spoke a Wee lect (close to that of the Krahn-speaking "Gien"). Oldendorp did record some basic "Mangree" lexicon. There are few correspondences, however, between the "Mangree" and, respectively, "Gien" and "Kanga" items (cf. Oldendorp 2002: 460–461).

4.1.8 "Amina" and "Akkim": Akan, Potou-Tano, Kwa

The "Amina" were described by Oldendorp as the most powerful "nation" east of the Gold Coast. Their land extended from close to the coast and well into the interior, and they waged war on their various neighbors (Oldendorp 2002: 383). The "Amina" numerals recorded by Oldendorp correspond closely to those of the Akan [aka] lects Twi and Fante (Fante numerals adapted from Bureau of Ghana Languages 1986), except for the form for 'two' – and in the case of Fante, 'one'. Moreover, the language of the "Amina" was described as being the same as that of the "Akkim" tribe, which is corroborated by the linguistic data. Oldendorp (2002: 392) noted about the "Akkim" that they lived close to the sea, a day's journey from Danish Fort Christiansborg.

4.1.9 "Okwa"

In addition, Oldendorp (2002: 396) noted having spoken with one person from the same region as the two aforementioned groups who self-identified as an "Okwa" (or "Okwoi"). However, as only the word *Tschabee* 'God' was recorded in this person's language, it has not been possible to establish its identity.

4.1.10 "Akripon": Larteh, South Guang, Potou-Tano, Kwa

Oldendorp (2002: 395) noted that the "Akripon" shared a common border with the "Amina," but they constituted a separate kingdom. They also used the same

language (*ibid.*), but this characterization could be more precise; that is, "Akripon" is a toponym referring to Akropon in southern Ghana. The South Guang language Larteh [lar] is spoken there (Bello 2013); it matches Oldendorp's "Akripon" numerals data closely. Also some North Guang lects match for the most part, but forms resembling Oldendorp's *ebnoo* 'nine' are only found in the South Guang cluster.

4.1.11 "Papaa" and "Wavu": Fon, Gbe, Kwa

Both the "Papaa" and "Wavu" numerals match those of modern Fon [fon] (Fon numerals extracted from Lefebvre & Brousseau 2002). Some other differences can, however, be noted between the two seemingly distinct groups. Oldendorp (2002: 411–412) stated that the "Affong" were the rulers of the "Papaa" kingdom, and that his "Papaa" informants were familiar with both the Danes and other Europeans, as well as with the "Akkran" and "Amina" (whom they suffered from raids by). Their land extended to the sea on one side. The "Wavu" likewise lived in part on the coast, but also in part deep within the interior where they comprised a populous nation "throughout which the same language is not spoken uniformly" (Highfield & ladimir Barac 1987: 166).

4.2 "Wavu II"

Fodor (1975: 132–137) presents an in-depth discussion of Oldendorp's "Wavu", which he argues actually referred to two distinct languages. The first of these is the Gbe variety identified above; the second – labelled *anders* 'different (*viz.* "Wavu")' by Oldendorp and "Wavu II" by Fodor – remains obscure (cf. *Glottolog*: wavu1234). I have not been able to link "Wavu II" to any modern language.

4.2.1 "Watje" and "Atje": Aja/Ewe, Gbe, Kwa

Oldendorp (2002: 413, 419) noted that the "Watje" were the rulers of a separate kingdom, their territory extending far inland from the sea. Their neighbors included the "Amina" (whom they were at war with), the "Tjamba" (or "Kassenti"), and the "Sokko." The "Watje" and "Atje" were described as closely related groups, with languages that were "almost identical" (Oldendorp in Highfield & ladimir Barac 1987: 166). Oldendorp recorded no "Atje" numerals, but the modern Gbe lects Aja [ajg] and Ewe [ewe] match the "Watje" numerals closely.

4.2.2 "Tambi" and "Akkran": Gã-Dangme, Kwa

The "Tambi" and "Akkran" groups were described as living next to the Danish fort. They were reported to understand the language of the neighboring war-like "Amina," although they did have a language of their own (Oldendorp 2002: 396, 399, 411). The "Akkran" and "Tambi" numerals show alignment with the two closely related Kwa languages Gã [gaa] and Dangme [ada], spoken in and near Accra.

4.2.3 "Karabari" and "Ibo": Igbo, Benue-Congo

Oldendorp (2002: 426) described the "Karabari" as living on the Calabar River, far from the sea. The "Ibo," a numerous people who lived in a vast land in the interior, were their neighbors, and were noted to use the same language. Peter Stein (Oldendorp 2002: 426, fn. 108) suggest that the "Karabari" were speakers of Ijo Kalabari [ijn] (Ijoid), but the collected numerals resemble those of modern Igbo [ibo], not any of the Ijoid languages. Indeed, "Karabari" was a generic term used about peoples living along the Calabar (cf. Fodor 1975: 138). Also the "Ibo" numerals match those of modern Igbo.

4.2.4 "Mokko": Efik, Cross-River, Benue-Congo

Also the "Mokko" shared a border with the "Karabari" (Oldendorp 2002: 434). The "Mokko" designation is not unproblematic, in that it was used for several peoples (Oldendorp 2002: 434, fn. 115), but in this context it is most likely to refer to the Efik-speaking Ibibio of Nigeria (Hair 1967: 263). Indeed, the "Mokko" numerals recorded by Oldendorp correspond to those of modern-day Efik [efi].

4.2.5 "Loango," "Congo," and "Camba": Kongo, Bantu, Benue-Congo

Oldendorp (2002: 436–445) noted that the "Loango" lived about a month's journey from the West-Central African coast, which can presumably be identified with present-day Gabon. The "Congo" lived close to the coast, and one of them knew the Portuguese-founded city Luanda, the capital of present-day Angola. The "Camba" lived near the "Loango," not far from the "Sundi" (or "Nsundi"). According to Dalby (1978: 85), the group described as "Sundi" by Koelle (1854) lived in Guthrie's (1948) Bantu Zone H.16c. The numerals of Oldendorp's "Camba" and "Congo" match those of Kikongo [kng], except that Oldendorp's "Congo" takes what may be a concord prefix, *si-*, for 'three' to 'six' and 'eight' to 'ten'. The "Loango" numerals are similar to those of Kongo, with the exception of the

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"Loango" form *quari* 'two'. Moreover, 11 out of 13 of the "Loango" and "Congo" lexical items show close similarity, and the same is the case for 10 out of 13 "Camba" and "Loango" items. Thus, the three groups all spoke varieties of Kikongo.

4.2.6 "Mandongo": A language of Bantu Zone B or H

Finally, Oldendorp described the "Mandongo" as a widely dispersed people consisting of three scattered groups, "bound to one another by a common language" (Highfield & ladimir Barac 1987: 168). Some of Oldendorp's "Mandongo" interviewees indicated that it took an entire year for the journey from their homeland to the land of the "Loango," and from there it took approximately one month to reach the sea (Oldendorp 2002: 442). It is suggested by Peter Stein (Oldendorp 2002: 441, fn. 123, citing Birmingham 1966) that the "Mandongo" designation corresponds to Ndongo, a Mbundu chiefdom near Luanda, in Guthrie's (1948) Bantu Zone H (roughly, northwestern Angola to western Congo). However, there is only partial alignment between Oldendorp's "Mandongo" and the then expected correlate language Kimbundu [kmb]. Fodor (1975: 152) suggested that the "Mandongo" language belonged in the Mbete (or Mbere) cluster of Bantu Zone B (roughly, southern Gabon over western Congo), same as e.g. Ndumu [nmd] or Mbere [mdt]. Its precise identity remains uncertain, however. The collected numerals show closest similarity with various Zone B and H Bantu languages, but no one modern Bantu language emerges as a surefire match.

4.3 Summary and short assessment

Whereas early African language materials (where available) often suffer from imprecise transcription (Jones 1991: 95–97), Oldendorp's reporting has been commended for its accuracy (Herskovits 1958: 44). Corroborating this view, the above analysis has shown that the linguistic material of Oldendorp's account for the most part is readily comparable with data on modern African languages. Differences could be due to dialectal varieties, or language changes in the past two and a half centuries. Only Oldendorp's "Mangree" and "Okwa" could not be identified with any present-day language; neither could the language Fodor (1975) labelled "Wavu II." These cannot be ruled out to have been spurious. Further, the Bantu language "Mandongo" was only tracked to an approximate location on the West-Central African coast. Besides these, however, it was possible to link the remainder of Oldendorp's languages confidently with modern-day correlates (see Table 5).

Table 5: Modern-day correlates to the African languages documented by Oldendorp.

Language in Oldendorp's account	Modern-day African language(s)	Affiliation
"Fula"	A language of the Fula cluster [ful], perhaps Pulaar [fuc]	North Atlantic
"Mandinga"	Presumably Mandinka [mnk]	Mande
"Jalunkan" and "Sokko"	Dyula-Bambara [dyu]	Mande
"Tembu"	Tem [kdh]	Gur
"Tjamba"	Konkomba [xon]	Gur
"Gien" and "Kanga"	Kru lects, presumably Krahn [krw] and/or Grebo [grj]	Kru
"Mangree"	–	Kru, presumably
"Amina" and "Akkim"	Akan [aka] lects	Kwa
"Okwa"	–	–
"Akripon"	Larteh [lar]	Kwa
"Papaa" and "Wavu"	Fon [fon], Gbe	Kwa
"Watje" and "Atje"	Aja [ajg] and/or Ewe [ewe], Gbe	Kwa
"Tambi" and "Akkran"	Gã [gaa] and/or Dangme [ada]	Kwa
"Karabari" and "Ibo"	Igbo [ibo], Igboid	Benue-Congo
"Mokko"	Efik [efi], Cross-River	Benue-Congo
"Loango," "Congo," and "Camba"	Kikongo [kng], Bantu	Benue-Congo
"Mandongo"	A Bantu anguage of Zone B or H	Benue-Congo

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Map on Figure 2 shows the approximate geographic distribution of the African languages found to be represented in the Danish West Indies based on the analysis of Oldendorp's material.
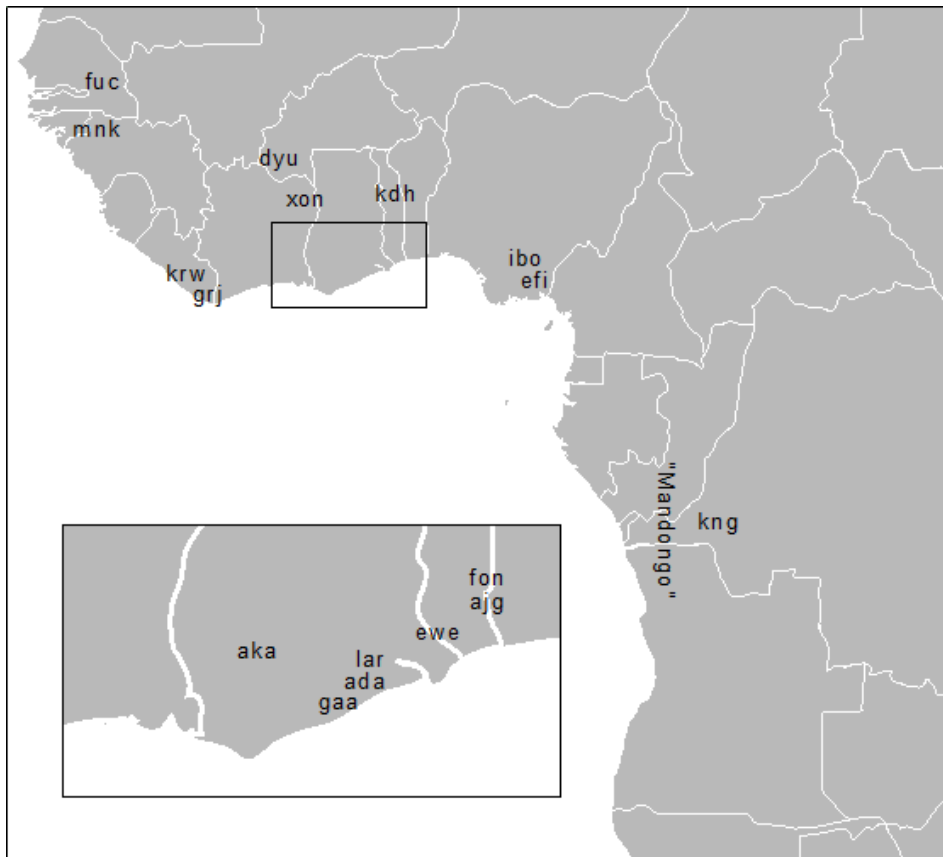

Figure 2: Approximate locations of the identifiable languages listed in Table 5, represented by ISO 639-3 codes (excepting the imprecisely identified "Mandongo" Bantu language).

In line with the analysis in §3, the languages can be seen to come from a stretch that extends from present-day Senegal to Angola – over more than 4,000 km. Most languages are spoken off the coastline from Ghana to Benin, but also Nigerian and West-Central African languages have a clear representation, as do languages from the continent's westernmost coast. Strikingly, several languages are from far into the interior, months of travel from the coast.

Building on the above analysis, the following two sections will examine Seidel's list over Christianized Africans from St. Thomas and the baptismal records

from St. Croix, looking at similarities and differences in the distribution of the identified ethnolinguistic groups and their proportions between the two islands.

5 St. Thomas: Seidel's (1753) list over Christianized Africans

In 1753, some 14 years before Oldendorp, the Moravian missionary Nathanael Seidel visited the Danish West Indies for a duration of two months. During his time there, he recorded observations for a report on the status of the Mission. As part of his report, Seidel (1753) compiled a list over the different African "nations" represented among the communicants of the Moravian congregation on St. Thomas, i.e., those of the enslaved who were entitled to receive communion. The report was unearthed from the Moravian Archives in Herrnhut, Germany, by the Danish historian Louise Sebro, in connection with her archival research for Sebro (2010), in which the information pertaining to the interviewees' various origins was tabulated (Sebro 2010: Appendix I, 215–16). Seidel interviewed 418 slaves present on St. Thomas, representing some 12% of the island's total enslaved population at the time (estimated on the basis of data from the RA in Green-Pedersen 1971: 157). All but 36 (8.6%) of Seidel's informants stated ethnic groups/places of origin, which are potentially identifiable and indicative of the range of ethnolinguistic groups represented on St. Thomas. Expanding on Sebro's work on the list, the present analysis is the first to make its contents available to a wider, English-reading audience (although see Bakker 2016b: 226 for a brief characterization).

Along with Oldendorp's slave interviews (§4) and the baptismal records from St. Croix (§6), Seidel's work is unique as a source on African origins. According to (Sebro 2010: 67–68), Seidel kept a journal[10] in which he detailed how he was in sustained contact with the enslaved, so as to obtain a good overview of them, and he described how he interviewed each member of the congregation separately, presumably with the aid of an interpreter. Nothing indicates that Seidel knew Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, not to mention any African languages, so he would have required the assistance from someone who did. At any rate, Seidel's approach yielded good results. While it would have been possible for the informants to supply only vague information on their ethnic identities, such as e.g. "Guinea," the large majority of them opted to self-identify using more salient, lower-level descriptive categories, such as e.g. "Allada" or "Watje," which can be linked to modern-day African groups and, by extension, languages.

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[10]I have not personally reviewed the journal but rely on Sebro's (2010) discussion of its contents.

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The information in Seidel's list as tabulated in (Sebro 2010: 125–126) is sum-marized in Table 6 below. All entries are presented as originally recorded by Seidel. Sebro also includes a number of variant spellings in parentheses, which I have not included. Note that the 36 individuals who did not state an identifiable group are omitted from the table. Of those whose ethnic self-designations are obscure or lack altogether, two indicated to have been born during the crossing of the Middle Passage; one simply self-identified as being from "Guinea"; and 33 apparently did not provide an answer to the question, or the answer was not recorded by Seidel. In Sebro's tabulation, a number of individuals can be seen to have used ethnonyms relating to their parents rather than to themselves (e.g. as *geb. St. Thomas Eltern Aja* 'born on St. Thomas to Aja parents'), indicating that they themselves were locally born but continued to identify with their African heritage (*vis-à-vis* the 125 persons who self-identified as being "Criol," i.e., locally-born Creoles). Drawing on secondary sources (e.g. Thornton 1998, Hall 2005, Law 2005), adding useful information complementary to that presented in §4, Sebro tentatively identified some of the languages/language groups presumed to corre-late with the attested ethnonyms. Others are added by me in Table 6, informed primarily by the analysis of Oldendorp's data. 13 designations in the list have not been traced to any specific group.

Table 6: Seidel's list (1753) summarized, arranged alphabetically

"Nation"	N	%	Presumed correlate language (group)	Region
Aja	13	3.1	Gbe, Kwa	Bight of Benin
Ajonga	1	<1	–	–
Akrum	1	<1	–	–
Allada	4	<1	Gbe, Kwa	Bight of Benin
Amina	34	8.1	Akan, Kwa	Gold Coast
Amombamba	1	<1	Mbamba dialect of Kimbundu, Bantu	West-Central Africa
Angkrang	1	<1	Gã-Dangme, Kwa	Gold Coast
Bundu	1	<1	– (Mandinka, Mande? Kim-bundu, Bantu?)	–
Chamba	13	3.1	Gurma, Gur	Interior West Africa
Comba	1	<1	– (Kikongo, Bantu, Benue-Congo? Gur? Kru?)	–

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"Nation"	N	%	Presumed correlate language (group)	Region
Criol	125	29.9	Virgin Islands Dutch Creole, and presumably others	Caribbean
Esina	1	<1	–	–
Fanti	2	<1	Akan, Kwa	Gold Coast
Fon	7	1.7	Gbe, Kwa	Bight of Benin
Gango	1	<1	– (Kikongo, Bantu, Benue-Congo? Kru?)	–
Ibo	8	1.9	Igbo, Benue-Congo	Bight of Biafra
Kamba	1	<1	Kikongo, Bantu, Benue-Congo	West-Central Africa
Karabari	5	1.2	Igbo, Benue-Congo	Bight of Biafra
Kongo	19	4.5	Kikongo, Bantu, Benue-Congo	West-Central Africa
Kpesi	2	<1	Gbe, Kwa	Bight of Benin
Lique	1	<1	Likpe [lip], Kwa	Bight of Benin
Loango	28	6.7	Kikongo, Bantu, Benue-Congo	West-Central Africa
Lunda	1	<1	Lunda, Bantu, Benue-Congo	West-Central Africa
Mandinga	12	2.9	Mandinka, Mande	Senegambia
Mandongo	5	1.2	Kimbundu(?), Bantu, Benue-Congo	West-Central Africa
Nago	5	1.2	Yoruba, Benue-Congo	Bight of Benin
Ongokalla	1	<1	–	–
Ouidah	12	2.9	Gbe, Kwa	Bight of Benin
Popo	15	3.6	Gbe, Kwa	Bight of Benin
Poshee	1	<1	–	–
Rentha	1	<1	–	–
Rüba	1	<1	–	–
Soko	3	<1	Bambara, Mande	Gold Coast
Sundi	1	<1	Kikongo, Bantu, Benue-Congo	West-Central Africa
Tem	6	1.4	Tem, Gur	Interior West Africa
Tori	4	1	Gbe, Kwa	Bight of Benin
Vuningah	1	<1	–	–
Watje	41	9.8	Gbe, Kwa	Bight of Benin
Wenwig	1	<1	–	–
Wungsoko	1	<1	–	–

Figures 3 and 4 summarize the distributions in terms of the ethnolinguistic correlate groups and regions of provenance, respectively.
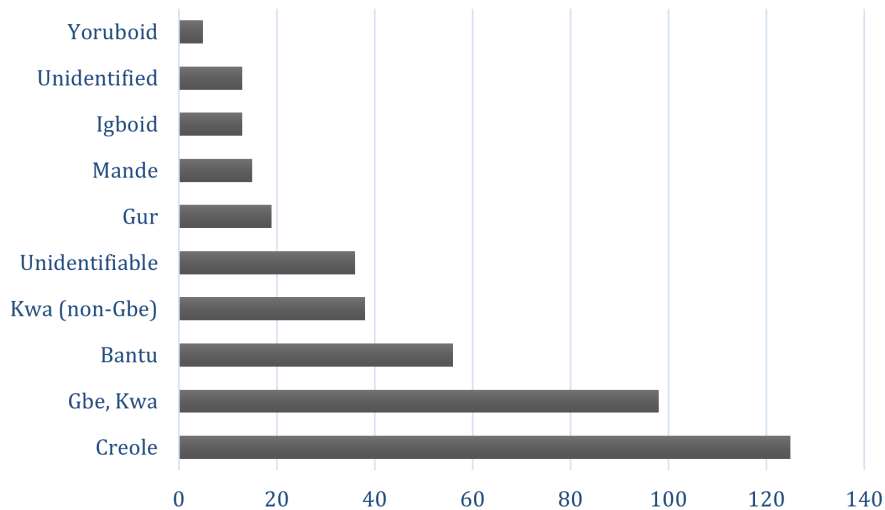
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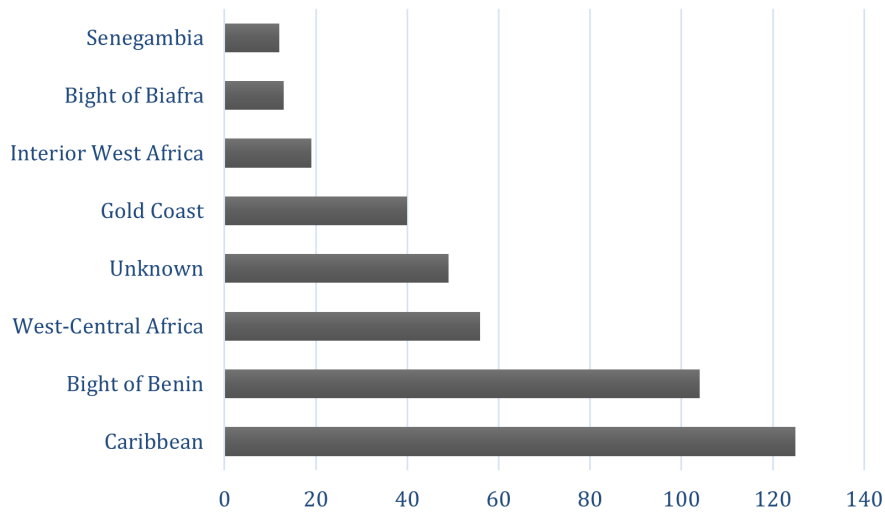Figure 3: The distribution of language groups summarized.

Figure 4: The geographic distribution of the groups summarized.

The two charts highlight the fact that the locally-born Creoles (N = 125 out of 418, 29.9%) comprise the largest group in Seidel's list, which can be seen to reflect a difference between St. Thomas and St. Croix in terms of the proportion

of Creole to African slaves at this point in time. This is a consequence of the fact that St. Thomas had been colonized more than half a century before St. Croix, and that the population on St. Thomas had better conditions for reproduction. Moreover, the actual share of locally borns was in fact higher than reflected in these figures, as some opted to identity with their African heritage, as discussed above.

Turning to the African groups, note that all of the unidentified "groups" consist of just one person, which means that they are marginal, only 13 persons out of 418 people, i.e., 3.1%.

104 persons (24.9%) were seemingly related to the Bight of Benin, and 98 of these can be presumed to have been (heritage) speakers of Gbe lects. Thus, based on its representation in Seidel's list, it would appear Sabino (e.g. 1988) is correct in considering Gbe a likely main substrate of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole.

The second largest African group was that of West-Central Africa ($N = 56$, 13.4%), which undoubtedly would have principally included speakers of Bantu languages. A roughly comparable proportion of at least eight (more than 10%) of Oldendorp's informants were Bantu speakers. This point is noteworthy in the light of the documented absence of slaves originating from Bantu-speaking regions via the trans-Atlantic slave trade between 1725 and the 1790s. However, it has to be kept in mind that slaves who came to the Danish West Indies from within the Caribbean, e.g. from Curaçao or other transshipment ports, could well have been Bantu speakers. A supposition that Bantu languages played a prominent role in the early language history of Danish St. Thomas can be backed up by means of linguistic evidence. Palmié (2006) investigated the etymology of 44 African-derived words in the twentieth-century Virgin Islands Dutch Creole basilect as recorded by de Josselin de Jong (1926). He found that 35% of the lexical Africanisms under consideration could be traced to a Bantu source, which must be viewed as a high percentage; by comparison, only 29% had a Kwa (including Gbe) source. These figures are particularly instructive if one supposes that early substrate influences would have been those to manifest themselves most clearly in the creole (e.g. Mufwene 1996). When based on figures from the trans-Atlantic trade, the percentage of Bantu-derived lexical items appears disproportional to the number of early slaves on St. Thomas taken from Bantu-speaking areas. Based on those data, "we would only expect Bantu languages to have had a decisive impact [in] the two decades between 1700 and 1720," Parkvall (2000: 153) notes. Here, Seidel's list would appear to offer a more realistic reflection of a continued presence of Bantu speakers on St. Thomas.

Coming in third, if we disregard the more numerous "Unknown" category, is the Gold Coast ($N = 40$, 9.6%), which supplied especially non-Gbe Kwa speak-

ers. As such, Seidel's list does not support the idea of (at least a continued) Akan predominance on St. Thomas. The idea of a strong early Akan presence can, however, be backed by linguistic evidence, in the form of substrate features in Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (Parkvall 2000: 153). This potential discrepancy between demographic and linguistic data can be viewed as weakening the "heavy Kwa bias"-hypothesis – especially the form of it assuming a bias in favor of non-Gbe lects. It could be read as pointing to the Akan influence having occurred elsewhere than on St. Thomas, e.g. along the lines of Goodman (1985) who speculated that the earliest slaves on St. Thomas brought a Dutch pidgin with them. Although such a scenario would go against the mainstream view on the genesis of Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (cf. Sabino 2012: 199), it cannot at present be ruled out with certainty.

Finally, Mande-, Igboid-, Gur-, and Yoruboid-speaking slaves from Senegambia, the Bight of Biafra, and the West African interior all appear to have made up comparatively small groups on St. Thomas anno 1753, yet when these smaller groups are considered in addition to the more prominent ones discussed above, the overall picture that obtains is one of a varied population.

In the end, it would appear that there was a (small) preponderance of people originating in Gbe-speaking areas in West Africa on St. Thomas in 1753, provided we disregard the locally-born subset of the population. However, there was no single dominant group or African language. The Bantu presence was stronger than hitherto assumed in the literature (cf. also Bakker 2016a for a discussion of underestimated numbers of Bantus in the Caribbean). It is especially striking that there were more Bantu than non-Gbe Kwa speakers – which was the group traditionally thought to have predominated in the colony. Two caveats have to be mentioned in connection with this assessment. First, it is unknown to what degree Seidel's sample was representative of the island's enslaved population as a whole; for instance, they were all converted Christians. Second, it cannot be taken for granted that the 1753 snapshot of the substrate population is indicative of the half century or so that came before it. In the next section, I discuss ethnic information over a 90-year period.

6 St. Croix: Baptismal records for the period 1744–1832 from the Friedensthal Mission

After having been acquired from the French Crown in 1733 (detailed e.g. by Georg H. Høst [1791] in Highfield & Bøegh 2018), St. Croix was settled from 1734 onward, from St. Thomas-St. John, and from elsewhere in the Leeward Islands.

St. Croix soon began to take on the role of the colony's most important sugar-producing island. This meant that new slaves increasingly were sent to St. Croix rather than St. Thomas and St. John. As such, St. Croix was a demographically volatile society characterized by a high rate of immigration in the eighteenth century. The enslaved population on St. Croix did not only grow much larger in number than those on St. Thomas and St. John, it also became more diversified in terms of its members' ethnolinguistic origins. This conclusion follows in part from the fact that the slave trade to the Danish West Indies spread to a wider range of West African regions in the later eighteenth century, with the main area of trade shifting eastwards and southwards in the continent (cf. §3). Even more tellingly, however, it can be corroborated on the basis of data on the origins of the enslaved population collected and stored by the Moravian missionaries in St. Croix.

The Moravians established two mission stations on St. Croix in the eighteenth century. In 1734, they built Friedensthal 'The Valley of Peace' at the western end of Christiansted town. In 1771, they opened a second station, Friedensberg 'Hill of Peace', overlooking the newly established town of Frederiksted. Between 1744 and 1832, the Moravians at Friedensthal baptized a total of 6,783 Africans and Afro-Caribbeans[11]. In the 1960s, the anthropologist Pauline H. Pope carried out archival research on St. Croix for her dissertation, Pope (1970), in which she tabulated data copied directly from the baptismal records stored at the island's Moravian mission stations. The records have since been moved to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, Simonsen (2007: 181) reports. Parallel to Seidel in St. Thomas, the missionaries in St. Croix included as part of the record for each candidate for baptism the name of their "nation." However, whereas Seidel's approach was detailed in his journal, the exact method for obtaining this information on St. Croix is unknown. It may be assumed that most missionaries took down information directly from the candidates in question, but, inevitably, many people were involved in this work, so the information may not have as clear an origin in the people it concerned as in the cases of Seidel's list and Oldendorp's account (although cf. Simonsen 2007: 190–91). On the other hand, despite these uncertainties, the scope and volume of the records are both exceptional.

Pope's (1970) tabulations show that 757 individuals gave no identifiable "nation" or other meaningful designation for the records, or that this information was not taken down. This means that 6,026 (or nearly 90%) of the total number of

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[11]In addition to the baptismal records from Friedensthal, we also have data kept at Friedensberg. I focus on the Friedensthal data, which extend further back in time than those recorded at Friedensberg.

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baptismal candidates did. About 50 different groups figure in the records. Pope attempted to identify these with geographical locations and modern-day African peoples, basing her analysis largely on secondary sources. According to Holsoe (1994: 35), she was for the most part successful, albeit with some exceptions. In subsequent research, Simonsen (2007) and Sebro (2010) have, accordingly, revised a number of Pope's conclusions. Summarizing their results, it has turned out that the records, in a number of instances, actually reflect a greater diversity than Pope recognized. Accordingly, since it is possible to work directly with the source material as tabulated in Pope (1970), I present my own analysis of the baptismal records below, incorporating the mentioned revisions in the process, and adding some of my own.

The data in Table 7 show a distribution by decade[12] for a subsample of the 15 African "nations" that had the largest representation in the Friedensthal records. Figure 5 visualizes changes in the distribution over time.

Table 7: Distribution by decade of 15 major African "nations" represented in the Friedensthal mission records, 1744–1832 (source: Pope 1970: 70–79)

1760–1769	1770–1779	1780–1789	1790–1799	1800–1809	1810–1819	1820–1832	Totals
56	182	165	179	73	19	11	691
78	156	112	53	53	23	4	489
36	79	91	122	97	35	10	486
84	88	83	67	40	17	1	446
37	72	61	33	97	51	21	389
42	58	96	70	53	18	0	358
56	62	36	15	12	4	0	214
14	43	51	24	32	17	8	192
13	38	32	50	18	9	0	160
31	40	48	9	16	3	0	147
34	28	4	3	1	1	1	84
18	13	12	9	2	0	0	58
7	18	19	8	2	2	0	60
3	1	3	16	2	2	0	43
9	3	8	0	4	0	0	27

Notwithstanding the issue of representativeness, the data point in the direction of a predominance of people identified as belonging to the "Mandingo" (i.e.,

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[12]Note the columns for 1744 through 1759 have been conflated in the table since there was only a single individual recorded in the 1744–1749 column. Likewise, the 1830–1832 column only recorded two individuals, and it was therefore merged with the column for 1829–1829. The data in Table 9 (see below) are arranged the same way.

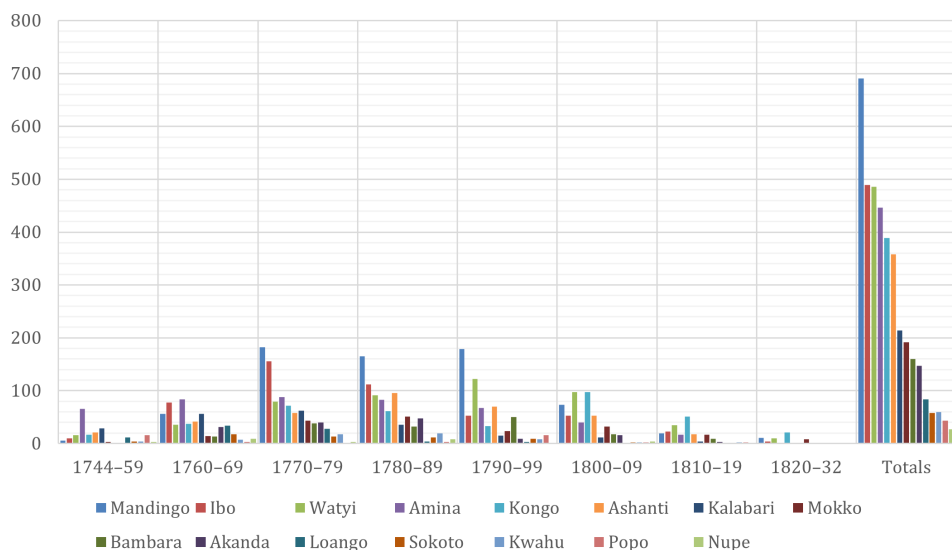2 African ethnolinguistic diversity in the colonial Caribbean

Figure 5: Decade-by-decade and total distribution of 15 major African "nations" present on St. Croix, 1744–1832, based on their representation in the baptismal records from Friedensthal.

presumably, speakers of the Mande language Mandinka or a closely related lect), "Ibo" (language group: Igboid, Benue-Congo, of Nigeria), "Watyi" (Gbe, Kwa), "Amina" (Akan, Kwa), "Kongo" (Kikongo, Bantu, Benue-Congo), and "Ashanti" (Akan, Kwa) groups. There were likewise concentrations of people identified as "Kalabari" (Igboid, Benue-Congo), "Mokko" (Efik, Cross River, Benue-Congo), "Bambara" (Bambara, Mande, of Mali), and "Akanda," as well as more modestly sized groups of "Loango" (Kikongo, Bantu, Benue-Congo), "Sokoto" (or "Sokko": Bambara, Mande), "Kwahu", "Popo" (Gbe, Kwa), and "Nupe" (presumably Nupoid, Benue-Congo, of Nigeria) people.

The identity of 13 of the 15 groups is straightforward. Only the identification of the aforementioned "Akanda" and "Kwahu" groups is problematic. Pope (1970: 25) prefers to link the "Akanda" with Oldendorp's Kru-speaking "Kanga," but she also considers the possibility that the "Akanda" were a Yoruboid-speaking group of coastal Nigeria. Alternatively, the group could be traced to an eponymous topynom in Gabon, just as it may refer to e.g. Akan or Nupoid groups. In the absence of direct linguistic evidence, I opt not to specify a group. It is likewise not possible to ascertain whether the "Kwahu" group should be counted among the Gbe (i.e., corresponding to Oldendorp's "Wavu") or not (cf. Fodor 1975 "Wavu II"). In addition, the term might refer to the Twi-speaking Kwahu group of Ghana. Thus, both terms are ambiguous.

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A preponderance of "Amina" people (*N* = 66, 32%) can be identified early on (1744–1759), but a shift can be seen from the 1760s onwards, in the direction of a more heterogeneous population. Incidentally, the point about early "Amina" (Akan) dominance is in line with yet another source on the demographic composition of early Danish St. Croix, namely a roster of Company-owned slaves in Christiansted, 1740–1755, sourced from the RA (presented in Tyson 2011: 45–48). Conversely, the "Amina" are absent from later tallies of a similar kind (e.g. Holsoe 1994: 36).

A summary of the African language groups which, with reference to the analysis in §4, may be tentatively identified as being most prominently represented on St. Croix between 1744 and 1832 is offered in Table 8.

Table 8: Tentative identification of modern language groups associated with the 15 major African "nations" on St. Croix, 1744–1832.

Language group	"Nation(s)"	*N*	%
Mande	Mandingo, Bambara, Sokoto	909	24
Akan, Kwa	Amina, Ashanti	804	21
Igboid, Benue-Congo	Ibo, Kalabari	703	18
Gbe, Kwa	Watyi, Popo	529	14
Bantu, Benue-Congo	Kongo, Loango	473	12
–	Akanda, Kwahu	207	5
Cross River, Benue-Congo	Mokko	192	5
Nupoid, Benue-Congo	Nupe	27	1

The subsample considered above offers no insights as regards the Caribbean-born subset of the population, comprising 2,014 (or 33% of 6,026) persons. The African "nations" identified thus far account for 3,844 individuals (64%) out of 6,026 possible. As such, the distribution seen above cannot be generalized to the full sample. Moreover, it renders invisible the many groups that were only represented by a few individuals, such as e.g. the "Bulom" (*N* = 2) or the "Pu" (*N* = 1), to take but two examples, as well as a number of more notable groups, numerically speaking. Such groups include the "Fulani" (*N* = 24), i.e., speakers of Fula lects (North Atlantic, interior Senegambia and West Africa); the "Kissi" (*N* = 15) and "Timne" (*N* = 20), speakers of Mel lects (Sierra Leone and environs); the "Akkran" (*N* = 19), Gã-Dangme speakers of Ghana; and the "Kamba" (*N* = 19) and "Mondonga" (*N* = 10), both presumably speakers of Bantu languages. The remaining African groups all number less than 10 individuals, and for the most

part less than three. Factoring in these smaller groups only adds further detail to the overall picture of a society characterized by considerable ethnolinguistic diversity.

Next, considering the full sample (N = 6,026), the data in Table 9 show the distribution of the Friedensthal baptismal candidates' regional origins. Note that I essentially retain Pope's (1970) geographical categories, albeit with an updated terminology, and with certain changes in terms of the composition of the groups. For instance, one of Sebro's (2010: 90) objections to Pope's analysis is that the "Gold Coast" category was used in a way where it extended further into the West African interior than this label would otherwise be used to denote. As such, it encompassed also predominantly Gur-speaking areas in the interior, thus reflecting a larger diversity than first assessed. Moreover, Pope placed a number of groups that presumably were Yoruboid-speaking in her "Nigerian-Cameroon" (or Bight of Biafra) category, where it would be more accurate to trace these to the Bight of Benin (Pope's "Slave Coast"). In my analysis, the Gold Coast category has been retained (with the implication that it extends further into the interior than is customary in the literature), but the Yoruboid-speaking groups (comprising 159 individuals) have been counted among the ones originating in the Bight of Benin. Figure 6 offers a visualization of changes in the distribution over time.

Table 9: Regional origins of the enslaved population on St. Croix, 1744–1832, based on representations in the baptismal records from Friedensthal (source: Pope 1970: 59–69)

Region	1744–1759	1760–1769	1770–1779	1780–1789	1790–1799	1800–1809	1810–1819	1820–1832	Totals
Danish West Indies	91	48	221	222	283	245	182	119	1,445
Nigeria-Cameroon	49	178	277	220	101	104	44	12	985
Gold Coast	98	143	173	204	150	100	35	1	904
Senegambia	6	71	227	203	238	96	30	13	884
Bight of Benin	23	87	122	140	136	129	40	13	690
West Indies (elsewhere)	25	153	224	111	40	8	5	3	569
West-Central Africa	26	85	106	72	44	100	52	24	509
Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ivory Coast	0	0	2	3	11	17	5	3	41

Based on these data, the single largest group for the full period covered is the Caribbean-born subset of the population, which includes those born in the Danish West Indies (N = 1,445, 24%), as well as individuals taken to St. Croix from elsewhere in the West Indies/Caribbean region (N = 569, 12%). Nigeria-Cameroon emerges as the African region most clearly represented in the baptismal records (N = 985, 16%), followed closely by the Gold Coast (N = 904, 15%)
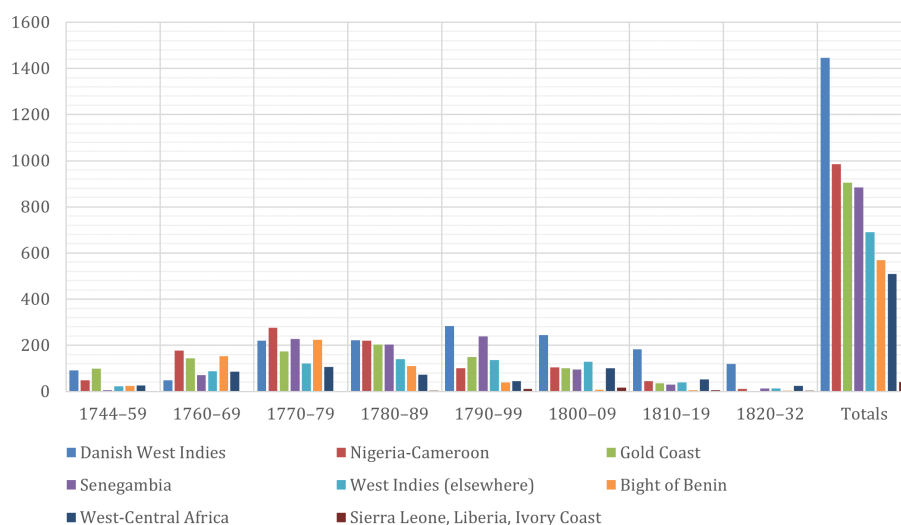
Kristoffer Friis Bøegh

Figure 6: Decade-by-decade and total distribution of the regional origins of Africans and Afro-Caribbeans baptized at Friedensthal, 1744–1832.

and Senegambia ($N = 884$, 15%). Next in line are the Bight of Benin ($N = 690$, 9%), West-Central Africa ($N = 509$, 8%), and the coastal stretch along Sierra Leone, Liberia, and the Ivory Coast ($N = 41$, 1%). These numbers reflect an enormous diversity (even disregarding the diversity within these regions), with no groups getting close to a majority.

If one considers diachronic developments in the distribution, it is noteworthy that the locally-born population has a strong presence mainly from the 1770s onward, and a predominance only from the 1790s. This indicates that the overall population became more and more locally born, but also that this development took place later and at a slower pace than on St. Thomas. Alongside the locally-born population, individuals originating in Africa continued to be baptized in large numbers throughout the eighteenth century, and, to a lesser degree, well into the nineteenth century. This is in line with the conclusion of Simonsen & Olsen (2018: 151) who, writing on overall tendencies in terms of demographic developments in the Danish West Indies, state the following: "For St. Croix, thus, there was a marked Africanization of the island, understood in the sense that the meeting of Africans with different linguistic, ethnic, and religious affiliations came to permeate life on the island" (my translation).

7 Summary and concluding remarks

This study has sought to reconstruct a profile of the African ethnolinguistic groups represented in the eighteenth-century Danish West Indies. I examined quantitative data on the trans-Atlantic and intra-Caribbean slave trade to the colony, as well as qualitative and quantitative documentation collected by Moravian missionaries active in the islands. I compared the linguistic data recorded by Oldendorp with modern data on hundreds of languages spoken in West and West-Central Africa, and linked the "nations" identified on this basis with independent data on ethnic origins of the enslaved people on the islands. Those ethnic data are represented in the list of Christianized slaves from St. Thomas and baptismal records from St. Croix, while also factoring in the slave trade data. I found that it was altogether possible to set out the sources of slaves and their languages or language groups represented in the colony.

The different pieces of the puzzle consistently point in the direction of a greater ethnolinguistic diversity than had been assumed to be the case for the Danish West Indies in previous research. The view that a single ethnolinguistic group (Kwa speakers) predominated in the colony in the eighteenth century could not be upheld, at least not categorically. Slaves were taken from multiple localities, including from far into the interior. Many of the languages identified are not coastal, hence shipment ports are potentially misleading. In addition to Kwa languages, it appears that Bantu and Nigerian languages – and others yet – had a solid representation in the enslaved population. This entails, among other things, that the sociohistorical context in which creole languages were consolidated into Virgin Islands society in the colonial period was one of extensive linguistic diversity within the slave population. This indicates that the set of potential substrate languages for Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (and, in a more limited, adstratal way, the English-based varieties of the islands) should be expanded. With respect to the question of ethnolinguistic diversity, it makes sense to ask whether the Danish colony was in any way exceptional – besides the fact that a large amount of data has survived. If indeed the overall tendencies discerned for the Danish West Indies apply to other Caribbean islands that share a similar history, then it follows that a number of other societies can look to the Virgin Islands for a realistic view of the extensiveness of their ethnolinguistic diversity throughout the colonial period.

An important caveat to the conclusions presented here is that the enslaved Africans were generally multilingual, speaking one or more regional lingua francas as well (e.g. Heine 1970). The study has not addressed this central issue, mainly because the data considered offer few insights into it. Another limitation

concerns potential underrepresentation of certain groups in the sources considered, which cannot be ruled out. For instance, some African groups may have resisted Christianization, and those would be underrepresented.

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Chapter 3

The expression of motion events in Haitian Creole

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This paper investigates the expression of motion events in Haitian Creole. A bipartite typology has been proposed by Talmy (1991) sorting languages into verb-framed and satellite-framed languages depending on where they express the Path component of motion events. Slobin (2004) expanded the typology by a third type, equipollently-framed languages, to include verb serializing languages which can express the Path as well as the Manner component in a serial verb construction. Creole languages have so far received little to no attention in regard to this typology. Creole languages are especially interesting because they were formed in a situation of language contact. The investigation of their morphosyntactic features can shed light on the question which features of the languages involved are passed on and which aren't. This can in turn offer clues in the study of the markedness of these features. The languages which were relevant to the formation of Haitian Creole, French and Kwa languages, present different patterns here. In French, verb-framed patterns are predominantly used, but in some cases, Manner verbs constitute the main verb of the sentence (Pourcel & Kopecka 2005). In contrast, Kwa languages can use verb serializations to encode motion events (Ameka & Essegbey 2013, Lambert-Brétière 2009), a pattern not found in French. In this paper, I describe a small study conducted in Berlin, Germany in 2017, investigating the expression of Motion events by four native speakers of Haitian Creole. They narrated a picture and described drawings depicting different combinations of Manner and Path components. A wide range of different morphosyntactic structures encoding motion events was elicited. Verb-framed patterns were frequently used, as well as different Manner-Path verb serializations. Only a few satellite-framed constructions were elicited but using different Manner verbs and Path-PPs. Further research will need to test the acceptability of different Manner and Path elements in the particular structures.

Keywords: Haitian Creole, motion events, verb-framed, satellite-framed, equipollently - framed, serial verb constructions

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1 Introduction

The expression of motion events in different languages has been of great interest to many linguists since Talmy (1991) proposed his typology of motion events, sorting languages into two types depending on whether they typically express the Path of motion in the main verb or a so-called satellite, some other element that is closely associated with the main verb. Romance languages are often cited as typical members of the first group, called verb-framed languages, whereas Germanic languages represent the second group, named satellite-framed languages. Later, Slobin (2004) proposed a third type that he calls equipollently-framed languages to describe languages expressing both the Path and the Manner component in a verb serialization, a structure that is found e.g. in Mandarin Chinese. Even though many languages have been investigated with regard to the morphosyntactic structures used to encode the different components of motion events, there is still no research on this question for Romance-based Creole languages. As Creole languages were formed in a situation of language contact, their investigation can show which features of the languages involved were passed on. The present paper looks at the morphosyntactic expression of Motion events in Haitian Creole. A small pilot study was conducted with four native speakers of Haitian Creole in Berlin, Germany. After a short sociolinguistic interview to determine their language ideologies and habits of language use (which were deemed necessary as the speakers all lived away from their home country and in a multilingual environment), the speakers completed two different tasks. First, they narrated a picture story about a little bird flying out of its cage and house to explore the outside world. After that, they provided descriptions for single pictures which were assembled in order to control for several combinations of Manner and Path components of motion events. The results show that Haitian Creole possesses a rich inventory of morphosyntactic structures to express motion events. A preference exists for the use of verb-framed constructions, but Manner-Path verb serializations were also used frequently. Satellite-framed constructions were rare, but do not seem to be totally ungrammatical.

The structure of the paper is as follows. Section 2 first gives a definition of motion events and then describes the three types of motion event encoding mentioned above. Then, the concept of Manner salience, which describes the frequency with which Manner elements are used in different languages, is introduced. Sections 2.3 and 2.4 provide an insight into the expression of motion events in French and some African languages which were relevant to the formation of Haitian Creole. After that, a first light is shed on motion event encoding

in Haitian Creole from previous works on the Haitian Creole language. Section 3 then outlines the study conducted by the author and explains how the data was classified. Section 4 gives a broad overview over the different structures that were elicited, which are then discussed in Section 5.

2 Motion events

In this study, a motion event is understood as defined by Talmy (1991: 60–61):

> The basic motion event consists of one object (the "Figure") moving or located with respect to another object (the reference object or "Ground"). It is analyzed as having four components: besides "Figure" and "Ground", there are "Path" and "Motion". The "Path" [...] is the course followed or site occupied by the Figure object with respect to the Ground object. [...] In addition to these internal components a Motion event can have a "Manner" or a "Cause", which we analyze as constituting a distinct external event.

In the sentence in (1), the components of the motion event are distributed as follows.

(1)   Tom is running down the stairs.
               Manner Path

Tom represents the Figure, *running* the Manner, *down* the Path, and *the stairs* the Ground of the motion event described.

Different lexicalization patterns are found in the languages of the world concerning the motion event component expressed in the verb. A first type encodes Motion and Manner in the verb, which is typical e.g. in English, as seen in sentence (1). A second type, which is typically found in Romance languages like French or Spanish, encodes Motion and Path in verbs, such as *descendre/bajar* ('go.down') (Talmy 1985: 62–68). These differences lead to different patterns of encoding motion events described in the following.

2.1 Motion event typology

In his 1991 paper, Talmy develops a typology of motion event encodings sorting the languages of the world into two types depending on the morphosyntactic element in which they express the Path component: verb-framed and satellite-framed languages (Talmy 1985: 486–487). Verb-framed languages, such as Romance languages, express the Path component in the main verb of the sentence.

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(2) Spanish (Talmy 1985: 69)
　　La　botella salió　　de la　cueva flotando.
　　The bottle　went.out of the cave　floating
　　　　　　　　　　Path　　　　　　Manner

　Other languages, such as English or German, express the Path component in a so-called satellite, a term defined by Talmy (1985: 102) as "immediate constituents of a verb root other than inflections, auxiliaries, or nominal arguments, [related] to the verb root as periphery (or modifiers) to a head". These languages are therefore named satellite-framed languages. The English counterpart to the example in (2) can be seen in (3).

(3) The bottle floated　out of the cave.
　　　　　　　Manner Path

　Slobin (2004) revises this binary typology by adding a third type, equipollently-framed languages, suited to describe languages with serial verb constructions where both Path and Manner can be expressed in a verb, as illustrated by the Mandarin Chinese example in (4).

(4) Mandarin Chinese
　　Hǎiōu　cóng dòng lǐ　fēi　　chū.
　　seagull from hole　in fly　　exit
　　　　　　　　　　Manner Path
　　'The seagull flew out of the hole.'

　Much work has followed the papers of Talmy (1991) and Slobin (2004) sorting many different languages into the different patterns. Many of these works have used the so-called "Frog Stories" also used in Slobin (2004). In the following two sections, a short overview will be given on the work on motion event encoding in Kwa languages as well as French, which have been relevant to the formation of Haitian Creole.

2.2 Manner salience

Slobin (2004) takes a more detailed look at the expression of Manner, that is to say the frequency with which it is expressed in different languages. To this end, he compares the encoding of one certain event in the Frog Stories, namely an owl flying out of a knothole (Slobin 2004: 224–225). In the verb-framed languages Spanish, French, Italian, Turkish and Hebrew, virtually no Manner verbs are used, see (5) for French.

(5) French (Slobin 2004: 224)
D'un trou de   l'arbre sort un   hibou.
from a   hole in   the tree exits   an owl
                                Path

Between different satellite-framed languages, more variation can be found regarding the expression of Manner. In German and English, Manner verbs are not used very frequently (only by about 17–32% of the speakers) to express the motion event in question. This is due to the fact that often deictic verbs are used with Path satellites, as in the German example in (6).

(6) German
Aus dem   Astloch   kommt eine   Eule raus.
from ART.DEF.DAT knothole comes ART.INDEF owl out
                                                Path

In the equipollently-framed languages Mandarin Chinese and Thai, Manner is expressed more frequently (by 40% of the Mandarin and 59% of the Thai speakers). In the SF language Russian, the Manner component of this event is expressed by 100% of the speakers. In all these cases, either a deictic (*pri-letet* 'fly here') or a Path-prefix (*vy-letet* 'fly out') is added to the Manner verb *letet* 'to fly'.

Slobin comes to the conclusion that the frequency with which the Manner component is expressed depends on the language type as well as the morphosyntactic possibilities to encode Manner. He proposes to align languages along a scale of Manner salience, where languages expressing Manner in the main verb typically have a high Manner salience, whereas languages where Manner is subordinate to Path typically have a low Manner salience (Slobin 2004: 250).

2.3 Motion events in French

As already mentioned above, French is classified as a verb-framed language, encoding Path in the main verb and Manner in a gerund.

(7) French
Elle   entrait à   la   maison en courant.
3SG.F entered PREP.ART.DEF house run.GER
      Path   Manner

An extensive study of motion event encoding in French can be found in Pourcel & Kopecka (2005). They analyze a total of 1800 written and 594 oral descriptions of motion events and, on this basis, describe five different patterns frequently found in French (Pourcel & Kopecka 2005: 145–149). The most frequent

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is the verb-framed type, as already shown in (7). Another frequent pattern is the coordination of two verb phrases, one containing a Manner verb and the other containing a Path verb.[1]

(8) French (Pourcel & Kopecka 2005: 145)
 Il court dans une rue puis rentre dans une maison.
 He runs on a street then enters into a house
  Manner Path

The authors find a third pattern which they call "reverse verb-framed pattern" because it is structurally identical with a verb-framed pattern but Manner and Path "switch places", so that the Manner component is expressed in the main verb and the Path component in a gerund, see (9). The fourth type, in which Manner is expressed in the verb and Path in a PP, is also called reverse verb-framed pattern by the authors. This fourth type can also be described as a satellite-framed construction, see (10).

(9) French (Pourcel & Kopecka 2005: 145)
 Il court en traversant la rue.
 He runs crossing the street
  Manner Path

(10) French (Pourcel & Kopecka 2005: 145)
 Il court dans le jardin.
 He runs into the garden
  Manner Path

The fifth pattern is a hybrid type because the verbs here encode Path as well as Manner. There are two subtypes to this pattern: In the first, both elements are expressed in the verb, as in (11); in the second, Path is expressed in an incorporated prefix of the verb, as in (12).

(11) French (Pourcel & Kopecka 2005: 146)
 Marc a plongé dans le lac.
 Marc dived into the lake
  Manner.Path

(12) French (Pourcel & Kopecka 2005: 149)
 L'oiseau s'est en-volé du nid.
 The bird has away-flown from the nest
  Path-Manner

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[1]Motion events expressed in a single phrase are the main interest of the study, but because the coordinated pattern is so frequent in the data, it is nevertheless listed here.

Besides the description of these five patterns, the authors show by using acceptability judgments that in French it is dispreferred to express the Manner component of a motion event as long as it is inferable from the context. Only when the Manner of motion is not typical for the Figure or Ground of the event, it is acceptable to express it (Pourcel & Kopecka 2005: 148). This finding is in line with the observation of Berthele (2013) that Manner is seldomly expressed in French motion event encodings.

2.4 Motion events in Kwa languages

Kwa languages form part of the Niger-Congo language family, members of which show a general tendency to lexicalize Path in verbs, such as *enter*, *pass*, or *ascend* (Schaefer & Gaines 1997: 200–202). As for the expression of Manner, much variation is found between the members of this language family (Schaefer & Gaines 1997: 209).

A more detailed study on the expression of motion events has been carried out for two different Kwa languages, Ewe (Ameka & Essegbey 2013) and Fon (Lambert-Brétière 2009).

In Ewe, serial verb constructions combining a Path verb and a Manner verb can be used to express motion events, see (13).

(13) Ewe (Ameka & Essegbey 2013: 24)
Devi-a   tá   yi xɔ-a   me.
child-DEF crawl go room-DEF in
'The child crawled into the room.'

It is possible to combine a Manner verb with more than one Path verb, each indicating movement in respect to a different ground object, see (14).

(14) Ewe (Ameka & Essegbey 2013: 30–31)
Kofi tá   tó   ve-a   me do yi kpó-á   dzí.
Kofi crawl pass ditch-DEF in exit go hill-DEF top
'Kofi crawled through the ditch and emerged at the top of the hill.'

In Fon, motion events can also be expressed using verb serializations, as in (15).

(15) Fon (Lambert-Brétière 2009: 14)
xὲví ɔ̀   zɔ̀n gbɔ̀ tá   nǔ é
bird DEF fly pass head for 3SG
'The bird flew over his head.'

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As in Ewe, a Manner verb can be combined with more than one Path verb, as in (16).

(16) Fon (Lambert-Brétière 2009: 22)
      Cùkú ɔ́ lǒn tɔ́n sín xɔ̀ mɛ̀ gbɔ̀n flétɛ́ ɔ́ nù.
      dog DEF jump exit from room in pass window DEF edge
      'The dog jumped out of the room through the window.'

Available for motion event verb serialization is a closed class of ten Path verbs (Lambert-Brétière 2009: 9). All of these can also be used outside of verb serializations, but not all Path verbs are available for serialization, like e.g. *xá* 'go.up' (Lambert-Brétière 2009: 16). Similarly, not all Manner verbs are available for serialization, see (17).

(17) Fon (Lambert-Brétière 2009: 15)
      * yě dǔ-wè   tɔ́n sìn xwé ɔ́ mɛ̀
        3PL move-dance exit from house DEF in
      'They danced out of the house.'

Whereas Ameka & Essegbey (2013: 36) classify Manner-Path verb serializations in Ewe as equipollently-framed constructions, Lambert-Brétière (2009: 19) argues that the Fon Manner-Path verb serializations are satellite-framed constructions with the Path verbs acting as satellites. She comes to that conclusion because certain inflectional elements can only appear in front of the Manner verb, which marks them, in her point of view, as the main verb of the sentence.

In fact, the question how Manner-Path verb serializations should be classified in the typology described above is controversial. It depends mainly on the question whether the verbs are co- or subordinated. The discussion of this problem is outside of the scope of the present study. More details on the topic can be found in Talmy (2009).

2.5 Motion events in Haitian Creole

To my knowledge, no study has aimed at investigating the expression of motion events in Haitian Creole until now. Nonetheless, some insights can be obtained from the literature on Haitian Creole. The language disposes of an inventory of Path verbs, many of French origin, like in the example in (18).

(18) Haitian Creole[2] (Fattier 20120133: 203)

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[2]In the following, all examples are from Haitian Creole, so this will not be indicated in the rest of the paper.

Dlo   antre anndan kay.
water enter LOC   house
'Water came into the house.'

Besides that, of all French-based Creole languages, Haitian Creole is the one that exhibits the most serial verb constructions (Mutz 2017: 44). Many of those constructions found in the literature do not express motion events, but few examples of Manner-Path verb serializations can be found, as the one in (19).

(19)   (Valdman 2015: 244)
        Tidjo kouri ale lakay li.
        Tidjo run   go home POSS.PRON
        'Tidjo ran over to his house.'

The dissertation on Haitian Creole verb serializations by Bucheli Berger (2009) does not offer examples for Manner-Path verb serializations, but lists the possible combinations of Manner and Path verbs, a shortened version of which is reproduced here in Table 1.[3]

Table 1: Manner of Motion V1 + Path of Motion V2 in Haitian Creole after Bucheli Berger (2009: 202)

	al(e) 'go'	*vin(i)* 'come'	*sòt(i)/ sot(i)* 'go out'	*antre* 'go in'	*rive* 'arrive'	*monte/ moute* 'go up'	*desann* 'go down'	*(re-) tounen* 'come back'
kouri 'run'	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
mache 'march'	+	+	+	+	+			
naje 'schwimmen'	+		+					
woule 'roll'	+	+	+				+	
koule 'flow'			+				+	
vole 'fliegen'	+	+	+				+	
glise 'glide'			+				+	
tonbè 'fallen'			+		+			

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[3]Her results are derived from online research. Marked as possible are those combinations for which she could find examples online. If a combination is not marked as possible, this does not necessarily mean that it is impossible but simply that the author could not find an example for it during her research. No acceptability study was carried out. An anonymous review of this paper notes that some combinations, especially the ones with *tonbe*, sound strange to them.

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3 Study design

The present study investigates the expression of motion events as presented above in Haitian Creole. The main interest is to describe the morphosyntactic elements used to express the components Manner and Path and the preferences of their use. For this purpose, four Haitian Creole speakers living in Berlin, Germany, took part in interviews that consisted of three parts: an interview on their habits of language use and attitudes towards all their languages, a narration of a picture story, and descriptions of single pictures representing different motion events that were drawn by the author of this study. The entire interviews were held in Creole. One of the participants, P1, helped realize the other three interviews as well as transcribe and translate the language data recorded. She will henceforth be referred to as the main participant. More information on participants and tasks is given in the following sections.

3.1 Participants

The four participants were aged between 34 and 56. P1 is female; P2, P3 and P4 are male. P1 is a BA student, P2 is a mechanical engineer, P3 is a salesperson and photographer and P4 is a political scientist and educationist in development cooperation. They were all born in Haiti and completed most of their education there. P1, P2 and P3 come from the area of Port-au-Prince, P4 moved there from the North of the country when he was ten years old. All four emigrated between 20 and 30 years of age. P2 and P4 regularly work in Haiti. The four participants all speak Haitian Creole, French, German, Spanish, and English. They learned Haitian Creole as their first language from their parents and later learned French in school. They received education almost entirely in French, only P1 had Creole language classes for one year. All four report they are able to converse fluently in Creole but have problems with writing, as they have never learned a norm. As the four participants all live in Germany, they speak German on a daily basis[4]. P1, P3 and P4 report that they speak French often, mostly with their family, especially with their children. P4 also speaks French (as well as Creole) at work. Creole is spoken with friends and family in Haiti and abroad, e.g. with their parents and siblings. P2 is the only participant that reports that he speaks Creole often, mainly

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[4]Of course, the fact that the four participants all live in a non-Creole-speaking country and use other languages on a daily basis could influence the Creole they speak causing it to be different from the Creole spoken in Haiti. Because the present study was carried out as a M.A. thesis, getting fieldwork data was not possible. Possible contact phenomena will not be investigated in the present study, but this has to be kept in mind when interpreting the results.

with his children but also the rest of the family, as well as when working in Haiti. He is also the only one to name Creole as the language he finds most elegant; for the three others that language is French. When asked what the Creole language means to them, all four replied that it is an important part of their identity and their origin. P3 and P4 also say that they feel that Creole is the most important one of their languages.

3.2 Tasks

There were two tasks aiming at eliciting motion events, the narration of a picture story and the description of single pictures drawn for the purpose of this study. The picture story selected was *Die Geschichte vom Vogel* ('The bird story') (from Rettich & Rettich 1972). Even though the Frog Stories have been used to elicit motion events in many previous studies, they were not used here, first because they were considered difficult to narrate by the author of this study and her supervisor, and second because many of the Frog Story pictures do not contain motion events. The bird story is about a bird that flies out of its cage and then out of its house. Outside, he meets different animals that all chase him away. Finally, he flies back to his house and into his cage. The story was chosen because it contains many different motion events which could help determine how frequent the Manner component would be expressed in order to investigate the Manner salience of Haitian Creole.

The description of single pictures aimed at exploring the morphosyntactic elements that could be used to express different Manner-Path combinations. Therefore, seven Manner elements (*run, swim, fly, jump, crawl, dance, roll*) and ten Path elements (*out, away, to, into, up, down, along, past, after somebody, through*) were used to create a total of 48 motion events, as in (20), which were then portrayed in simple pictures by the author of this study.

(20) He runs   out of the burning house.
          Manner   Path

The combination of the 17 motion event components would have yielded more than 48 events, but it was decided not to overwhelm the participants with too many pictures. The 48 drawings were divided into to groups of 24, which were presented to two participants each. When dividing the pictures, the different Manner and Path components were divided as equally as possible between the two groups. Withing the two groups, the pictures were arranged in such a way that two following pictures never contained a component already depicted in

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Figure 1: Depiction of the motion event 'to run out of'.

the previous picture. During the interview, the participants were told to describe what the person in the picture was doing.

3.3 Data analysis

The interviews were transcribed and translated into German by the main participant. Transcriptions and translations were later checked by the author of this paper and revised together.

At the beginning of the data analysis, the number of sentences was counted for the picture story narrations. Every unit containing a subject and (at least) one verb was counted as one sentence. Coordinated clauses were counted as two sentences, but subordinated clauses like complement clauses, relative clauses, causal clauses, temporal clauses and the like were counted as part of the matrix clause.

P1's narration contains 26 sentences, P2's contains 46 sentences, P3's contains 55, and P4's narration contains 42 sentences. In total, 169 sentences were elicited.

After counting the number of sentences, the number of motion events encoded was determined. Every sentence expressing directional motion was analyzed as a motion event encoding.

P1's narration contains 18, P2's 20, P3's 29, and P4's 27 motion event encodings. Altogether, the four participants encoded 94 motion events in their picture story narrations. With a total of 169 sentences, more than 50% of the sentences contained a motion event encoding.

The motion events were then sorted by means of the morphosyntactic structure they used to encode different motion event components. They were sorted into six different categories: Path verbs only, see (21), Path verbs with Ground-PP/NP, see (22), Manner verbs only, see (23), Manner verbs with path elements, see (24), serial verb constructions, see (25), and motion events without a motion verb, see (26). The remaining cases were classified as "Other".

(21) Li   rantre.
      3SG enter.again
      'He goes back in.'

(22) Epi l   antre nan kay   la.
      and 3SG enter LOC house DEF
      'He enters the house.'

(23) E zwazo a kouri.
      and bird DEF RUN
      'And the bird runs/flies fast.'

(24) [...] zwazo a   vole sou do   yon   erison.
            bird   DEF fly   LOC back INDEF hedgehog
      'The bird flies onto the back of a hedgehog.'

(25) Li kouri retounen nan kay [kote li te ye a.]
      3SG run return LOC house [REL.PRON 3SG PST COP DEF]
      'He goes back into the house where he was before.'

(26) Epi li   kraze   rak.
      then 3SG destroy forest
      'Then he beats loose.'

The results of the analysis will be given in the following section.

The first step of the picture description analysis was to determine the number of descriptions. As 48 pictures were described by two participants each, 96 descriptions should have been elicited, but as one of the participants failed to describe two of the pictures, only 94 descriptions were elicited. Some of the descriptions consist of a simple sentence, whereas others consist of a complex or even more than one sentence. In total, a number of 119 sentences was elicited.

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If more than one sentence was used for the description of a picture, they were counted and analyzed separately. The same holds for complex sentences if they contained more than one motion event, e.g. a sequence of two relative clauses, see (27), or sentences with *pou* 'in order to', see (28).

(27) Yon   zwazo k   ap   vole k   ap   pase bò   kot yon
     INDEF bird   REL.PRON PROG fly   REL.PRON PROG PASS beside side INDEF
     pyebwa.
     tree
     'A bird which is flying, who is passing next to a tree.'[5]

(28) Yon   mesye k   ap   naje sòti nan plaj pou l   ale bò
     INDEF man   REL.PRON PROG swim exit LOC beach for 3SG go beside
     rivaj.
     coast
     'A man who is swimming away from the beach in order to swim to the coast.'

Sentences which did not express motion (13 of 119) were not analyzed.

In a few cases, modal verbs were used, see (29) and (30). These were ignored for the analysis and the motions event encodings were treated as if they were occurring without a modal verb.

(29) Yon   gason ki   vle   monte sou yon   tab.
     INDEF boy   REL.PRON want ascend LOC INDEF table
     'A boy who wants to go up onto a table.'

(30) Yon   mesye ki   dwe travèse dyagonal yon   chanm.
     INDEF man   REL.PRON must cross   diagonal INDEF room
     'A man who has to cross a room diagonally.'

The motion events expressed in the picture descriptions were then sorted into eight categories, seven of which are equivalent to those for the picture story. A new category was established for this part of the data: Manner verbs with Ground elements, see (31).

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[5]Mostly P2, but also P4, described several of the pictures with utterances of the form NP + relative clause. Even though those do not constitute regular sentences, it is possible to analyze them as elliptic versions of sentences like *This is [NP] who is moving* which are also found in some descriptions. They were therefore included in the analysis.

(31) Yon moun k   ap rale kote yon mi.
     INDEF person REL.PRON PROG crawl beside INDEF wall
     'A person who is crawling next to a wall.'

The results of the analysis are given in the following section.

4 Results

An overview of the results is given in Table 2. In the following subsections, the results are discussed in detail.

Table 2: Motion event expressions in picture story narrations and single picture descriptions

	Picture story		Single pictures		Total	
Path verb only	10	10.6%	4	3.4%	14	6.6%
Path verb + ground PP/NP	25	26.6%	29	24.4%	54	25.4%
Manner verb only	18	19.1%	19	16.0%	37	17.4%
Manner verb + ground	0	0.0%	13	10.9%	13	6.1%
manner verb + path element	2	2.1%	5	4.2%	7	3.2%
SVC	16	17.0%	36	30.3%	52	24.4%
Motion event without motion verb	7	7.4%	1	0.8%	8	3.8%
Other	16	17.0%	12	10.1%	28	13.1%
Total	94		119		213	

Path verbs only were used ten times in the picture story narrations (10.6% of all occurrences). In most cases, the Ground was mentioned in the precedent or following context but not the same clause, see (32) and (33).

(32) E   li ouvri pòt kalòj la pou li kapab sòti.
     and 3SG open door cage DEF for 3SG able.to exit
     'And she opens the door of the cage so that he can go out.'

(33) Epi zwazo a   tounen. L   al nan menm kay la […]
     and bird DEF return 3SG go LOC same house DEF
     'And he returns. He goes into the same house.'

In one case, no ground is mentioned at all, see (34).

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(34) Papiyon an ale.
butterfly DEF go
'The butterfly goes/flies away.'

At this point, the picture story shows a butterfly flying away from the bird. Therefore, ale seems to express not simply 'go' but 'go away' here.

In the single picture descriptions, Path verbs only occurred in four motion events (3.4%). As in the narrations, the Ground was usually mentioned in the context, see (35).

(35) Yon moun k ap rale kote yon mi. L ap pase
INDEF person beside REL.PRON PROG crawl beside INDEF wall 3SG PROG
[…]
pass
'A person is crawling next to a wall. He is passing [it]…'

Again, there was one case where no Ground was mentioned at all, again with the verb ale, which seems to express 'go away', see (36).

(36) Yon zwazo ki sòti nan kalòj pou ale.
INDEF bird REL.PRON exit LOC cage for go
'A bird who leaves the cage in order to go/fly away.'

4.1 Path verb + Ground NP/PP

The most frequent pattern used to express motion events in the picture story is a Path verb with a Ground NP or PP, which was used in 25 cases (26.6%). The verbs *antre* 'enter', *pase* 'pass', *atèri* 'land', *tonbe* 'fall', *ale* 'go', *poze* 'sit down', and *sòti* 'go out' were used with PPs, like in (37).

(37) Li atèri sou flè a.
3SG land LOC flower DEF
'He lands on the flower.'

The verbs *jwenn* 'reach', *suiv* 'follow', *kite* 'leave', *tounen* 'come back' were used with object NPs, like in (38).

(38) Li kite do erison an.
3SG leave back hedgehog DEF
'He leaves the back of the hedgehog.'

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The verb *rive* 'arrive' was used with a PP three times (by P2 and P3) and with an object NP once (by P1), see (39) and (40). Because of the small number of occurrences, nothing can be said whether this is simply due to individual preferences.

(39) Lè   l   rive   sou pyebwa […]
      when 3SG arrive on   tree
      'When he arrives on the tree…'

(40) Zwazo a   rive   lakay li.
      bird   DEF arrive home POSS.PRON
      'The bird arrives at his house.'

In the single picture descriptions, Path verbs with Ground NPs or PPs present the second most frequent pattern with 29 occurrences (24.4%).

Used with an object NP were the verbs *depase, desann*, and *kite*, like in (41).

(41) Tidjo kite   lekòl   la.
      Tidjo leave school DEF
      'Tidjo leaves the school.'

The verbs *antre, rantre, pase* and *al(e)* were used with PPs. *Antre* and *rantre* were used with *nan* 'into', *al(e)* with *bò* 'next to' and *nan direksyon* 'in the direction of', and *pase* also with *bò*, see (42).

(42) L   ap   pase bò   yon   kay.
      3SG PROG pass beside INDEF house
      'He is passing a house.'

The verbs *monte* and *sòti* were used with both NPs and PPs. *Sòti* was used with three different prepositions, *nan, sou* and *a travè*, see (43) for an example with *a travè* and (44) for the use with a NP.

(43) Sa   se yon   moun ki   sòti a   travè yon   fenèt […]
      DEM COP INDEF person REL.PRON exit through INDEF window
      'That is a person who leaves through a window.'

(44) Yon   timoun ki   sòti lekòl.
      INDEF child   REL.PRON exit school
      'A child that leaves school.'

As there are only a few occurrences for each verb, often just once but six at the most, it remains unclear whether the use with NP or PP attested here is a general preference of the verb or whether all verbs can appear with both.

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4.2 Manner verb only

A Manner verb alone can, strictly speaking, not express a motion event as it is defined above but because they occur so frequently in both picture story narrations and single picture descriptions, they are taken into account here.

In the picture story task, in the 18 cases counted for this category (19.1%), only three different Manner verbs were used, *vole* 'fly', *kouri* 'run', and *mache* 'walk'. The latter is used only once where a hedgehog continues walking after the bird has landed on his back. The most frequently used of these verbs is *vole*. This is not surprising when taking into account that the story is about a bird and also features other flying animals like owls or butterflies. *Kouri* was used six times to describe the motion of the bird, see (45).

(45) Lè   chwèt la kouri dèyè zwazo a, sa k   pase,   zwazo
      when owl   DEF run   behind bird   DEF DEF REL.PRON happen bird
      a   kouri.
      DEF run
      'When the owl flies behind/after the bird, the bird runs/flies away fast.'

As the story shows several instances of an animal chasing another animal (mostly the little bird) away, the cases where *vole* and *kouri* are used alone always describe a situation where the animal flees. Apparently, in these cases, a directed motion away from the place of action seems to be described. The Path 'away' seems to be inferable from the context and is therefore left out. *Kouri* obviously doesn't express the Manner 'run' in these cases, but rather an accelerated way of movement.

In the single picture descriptions, Manner verbs were used alone in 19 cases (16% of all occurrences). In seven of these, no further information on the motion event was given, see (46).

(46) Yon   mesye ki   ap   naje.
      INDEF man   REL.PRON PROG swim
      'A man that is swimming.'

These cases do not express a motion event as it is understood here, but an activity.

In the remaining twelve cases, more information on the motion event is given in the preceding or the following context. In five cases, the manner verb is followed by a construction with *pou* 'to' in which Path is expressed, see (47).

(47) Tidjo ap   naje pou l   depase lòt   la.
Tidjo PROG swim for 3SG pass   other DEF
'Tidjo is swimming in order to pass the other.'

In three cases, information on the Path is given in the precedent or following sentence, see (48) and (49). As the translations show, it is possible to interpret these cases as a single complex motion event.

(48) Tidjo ap   naje. Li kite il   la.
Tidjo PROG swim 3SG leave island DEF
'Tidjo is swimming. He leaves the island./Tidjo is swimming away from the island.'

(49) Tidjo antre nan kay.   […] L ap   danse.
Tidjo enter LOC house   3SG PROG dance
'Tidjo enters the house. He is dancing./Tidjo is dancing into the house.'

In two cases, Path and Manner are expressed in two precedent relative clauses, see (50). Again, it is possible to interpret this as a single complex motion event.

(50) Yon zwazo k   ap   vole k   ap   pase bò   yon mi.
INDEF bird REL.PRON PROG fly REL.PRON PROG pass beside INDEF wall
'A bird who is flying, who is passing beside a wall./A bird who is flying past a wall.'

In one case, two main clauses, one containing a Manner and the other a Path verb, are combined with the conjunction *pandan* 'while', see (51).

(51) L   ap   danse pandan l   ap   monte mach eskalye a.
3SG PROG dance while 3SG PROG ascend step stairs   DEF
'He dances while he goes up the stairs./He dances up the stairs.'

All these examples seem to represent complex motion events whose components were not expressed in a single clause, meaning that they were not conflated into one event.

4.3 Manner verb + Ground element

Similar to the precedent category, Manner verbs combined with a Ground element in the same clause do not constitute motion events as defined by Talmy (1985) because the Path element obligatory for motion events is not encoded.

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Such a pattern does not occur in the picture story narrations, but there are 13 such occurrences in the single picture descriptions (10.9%). Six of the seven manner verbs tested in this task were used in this pattern, see (52) for an example with *naje* 'swim'.

(52) Yon   moun   k   ap   naje nan lanmè.
      INDEF person REL.PRON PROG swim LOC sea
      'A person who is swimming in the sea.'

4.4 Manner verb + Path element

The least frequent of the patterns is the use of a Manner verb in combination with a Path element. Such cases constitute instances of the satellite pattern described above.

In the picture story descriptions, two such cases (2.1%) occurred with the verb *vole*, once with the preposition *sou* 'onto', see (53), and once with *deyò* 'out of', see (54).

(53) […] zwazo a   vole sou do   yon   erison.
          bird   DEF fly LOC back INDEF hedgehog
      'A bird flies onto the back of a hedgehog.'

(54) Li   vole deyò.
      3SG fly   outside
      'He flies outside.'

In the single picture descriptions, this satellite-framed pattern is used in five cases (4.2%), three of them with the verb *vole*, see (55), one with *naje*, see (56), and one with *woule* 'roll'.

(55) Yon   zwazo k   ap   vole a   travè nyaj yo.
      INDEF bird   REL.PRON PROG fly   through cloud PL
      'A bird who is flying through the clouds.'

(56) Tidjo ap   naje […] sou lòt   bò   lak la.
      Tidjo PROG swim   LOC other side lake DEF
      'Tidjo is swimming to the other side of the lake.'

4.5 Serial verb constructions

Serial verb constructions are used frequently in both the picture story narrations and the single picture descriptions. As for the story narrations, they present the second most frequent pattern with 16 occurrences (17%). Most of these consist of a serialization of two Path verbs: *sòti kite* 'leave go away', *al(e) poze* 'go sit down', *vin poze* 'come sit down', *al tonbe* 'go fall' and *al antre* 'go enter'. In two cases, a Manner verb is followed by a Path verb: *vole poze* 'fly sit down' and *kouri retounen* 'run return'. One single verb serialization consists of three verbs: *leve pran kouri* 'get up take run'. *Pran* most probably acts as an aspectual marker here, encoding inchoativity (see also Valdman 2015:231). Besides the fact that this serial verb construction consists of three verbs, it is also different from the others because the order of the Path and Manner verb is inverted here in regard to the other cases: the Path verb is the first, the Manner the last verb of the serialization.

The different serial verb constructions occur either with a Ground NP, a Ground PP, or with no Ground element in the same clause. For the latter, Ground is mentioned in the surrounding context.

In four serial verb constructions, *vole poze, vin poze, al(e) poze* and *al tonbe*, the same kind of action is expressed: the bird flying to a certain place and coming to rest. It is not clear whether these are sequential or simultaneous verb serializations, the first meaning 'he flies and then sits down' and the latter meaning 'he flies onto [the tree]'. The same problem exists with *al antre* 'go enter', where it is unclear whether it is said that the bird first goes and then enters or whether he 'goes into'.

The case of *sòti kite* is described by Bucheli Berger (2009: 79–81) as a serialization of two verbs that are close to synonyms which she interprets as a simultaneous serial verb construction expressing one simple motion. It is also possible that the verbs have different meaning here, expressing the Paths 'out of' and 'away', which would make this a sequential serial verb construction.

In *kouri retounen*, which once again describes the motion of the verb, *kouri* cannot be interpreted as expressing the Manner 'to run', but rather a fast way of moving.

Leve pran kouri is probably a sequential serial verb construction, expressing that the bird first gets up and then flies away fast, where the Path away is left unexpressed and to be inferred from the context.

In the single picture descriptions, serial verb constructions were the pattern most frequently used by the participants to encode a motion event. With 36 occurrences in total (30.3% of all occurrences), 31 different verb combinations can

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be described. The different internal structures of these serial verb constructions are summarized in the Table 3.

Table 3: Frequency of different serial verb constructions in the single picture descriptions.

Type of SVC	manner-path	manner-manner	path-path	path-Other	3 verbs		
					MMP	PPP	PMP
Frequency	19	2	1	6	1	1	1

By far the most common verb serializations are those consisting of a Manner and a Path verb. Six different Manner verbs were used in such constructions: *kouri* 'run', *naje* 'swim', *vole* 'fly', *rale* 'crawl', *woule* 'roll', and *glise* 'glide/slide' (used once instead of to roll). Two of the Manner verbs investigated were not used in Manner-Path serializations, *sote* 'jump' and *danse* 'dance'. Table 4 shows the different Path verbs that these Manner verbs were used with. Nothing can be said about the possibility to form serial verb constructions other than the ones attested in the data of this study.[6]

Table 4: MANNER-PATH-SVC in the single picture descriptions.

	sòti	*kite*	*antre*	*monte*	*desann*	*pase*	*travèse*	*ale*	*poze*	*suiv*
kouri	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
naje	+									
vole	+		+					+	+	+
rale	+			+						
woule					+	+				
glise	+				+					

These Manner-Path serial verbs also occur both with NPs and PPs, see (57) and (58).

(57) Tipyè rale monte mòn nan.
Tipyè crawl ascend mountain DEF
'Tipyè crawls up the mountain.'

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[6]An anonymous review of this paper notes that more combinations than the ones attested in this study should be possible, especially with *rale*. Also, all manner verbs should be able to combine with *ale*. Unfortunately, the picture story cannot be reproduced here due to copyright reasons.

(58) Zwazo a   vole antre nan kizin   nan.
     bird   DEF fly   enter LOC kitchen DEF
     'The bird flies into the kitchen.'

In one case, no ground element is given in the same clause, see (59). As the Path verb is ale in this case, the Path can probably again be interpreted as 'away' in this case.

(59) Yon   zwazo [...] k   ap   vole ale.
     INDEF bird   REL.PRON PROG fly   go
     'A bird that is flying away.'

In two cases, two Manner verbs were serialized, see (60) and (61). In (60), it is obvious that again *kouri* cannot be interpreted as 'run', but most probably means that the motion takes place fast. In (61), it is unclear what the exact meaning of *vole* is. It could possibly be interpreted as having a figurative meaning expressing something like jumping into the water in a high arc. This hypothesis cannot be tested here.[7]

(60) Tipyè kouri naje dèyè   yon   lòt.
     Tipyè run   swim behind INDEF other
     'Tipye swims fast behind/after another.'

(61) Li   vole sote nan dlo   a.
     3SG fly   jump LOC water DEF
     'He jumps into the water (in a high arc).'

The only Path-Path serialization in the single picture descriptions is *sòti kite*, which also occurred in the picture story narrations.

In six cases, the participants used serial verb constructions consisting of a Path and a non-motion verb, like in (62).

(62) Yon   moun ki   ap   antre kache nan   yon gwòt.
     INDEF person REL.PRON PROG enter hide INDEF LOC cave
     'A person who is going into a cave in order to hide.'

In three of these six cases, the verb *ale* was used, but cannot be interpreted as a Path verb, see (63). It could be interpreted as an analytical future, but such a structure with this function has not been described for Haitian creole (see f.e. Valdman 2015, DeGraff 2007). This structure cannot be further analyzed at this point.

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[7]An anonymous reviewer suggests that the two verbs act like synonyms here.

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(63) [Sa se Johana k ap kouri] pou l   al pran bis la   nan stasyon an.
                                 for 3sg go take bus def loc station def
      '[That's Johanna who is running] in order to take a bus at the station.'

In three cases, three motion verbs are serialized. The first of them is a Manner-
Manner-Path serialization, see (64). As this sentence is about a swimming person,
kouri probably once again express a fast motion.

(64) Li kouri naje kite il   la.
      3sg run   swim leave island def
      'He swims away from the island fast.'

The second of these serializations consists of three Path verbs, see (65). *Rive*
and *jwenn* are close to synonyms and are therefore interpreted to express the
same meaning here. Together with *avanse* 'move forward' they probably present
a sequential serial verb construction.

(65) Li avanse rive   jwenn demwazèl la.
      3sg advance arrive reach lady   def
      'He advances towards and reaches the lady.'

In the last of the three cases, we find a Path-Manner-Path verb serialization,
see (66). Interestingly, V1 and V3 are the same verb, *sòti*. As this is the only case
where we find such a structure in the data, nothing can be said about whether
this is a common pattern of serial verb constructions in Haitian Creole.

(66) Boul la   sòti woule sòti nan bwàt katon.
      ball def exit roll exit loc box cardboard
      'The ball rolls out of the cardboard box.'

Even though many of the serial verb constructions elicited in this study are
single cases that need to be described separately, there are also some patterns
that can be shown. One frequent strategy to express complex motion events in
Haitian Creole is the use of a Manner-Path verb serialization, which in a few cases
also occurred in serializations of three verbs. In other cases, two Path verbs or a
Path and a non-motion verb were serialized to encode a motion event depicted
in one of the drawings.

4.6 Motion events without a motion verb

In the picture story narrations, seven cases occurred where a motion event was expressed without a motion verb (7.4%). Five of these were uttered by P3, when he used the idiom *kraze rak*, which has the meaning 'to beat loose'. The two other cases were uttered by P2 using *jwenn direksyon* and *pran direksyon* to say that the bird was going into a certain direction, see (67).

(67) […] kounye a la li jwenn direksyon fenèt la
          moment DEF DEM 3SG reach direction window DEF
       'Now he takes the direction of the window.'

In the single picture descriptions, there is only one case where a motion event is expressed without a motion verb (0.8%), also using *direksyon*, see (68).

(68) Li pran nan direksyon machin nan.
       3SG take LOC direction car   DEF
       'He takes the direction of the car.'

4.7 Other

The remaining encodings of motion events had to be sorted into a separate category because it was not possible to analyze them in a way so they could be sorted into one of the other categories.

In case of the picture story narrations, all of the 16 cases sorted into this category (17%) use the preposition *dèyè* 'behind' or 'after', 13 with *kouri*, see (69), and 3 with *pati*, see (70). In all of these cases, an animal is chasing another.

(69) Chwèt la kouri dèyè zwazo a pou l pran l.
       owl   DEF run   behind bird DEF 3SG take 3SG
       'The owl flies behind/after the bird in order to catch him.'

(70) Koukou a pati dèyè zwazo a.
       cuckoo DEF leave behind bird DEF
       'The cuckoo flies behind/after the bird.'

The problem here is the preposition *dèyè*: If it expresses 'behind', the PP can be analyzed to encode the Ground and locate the place where the motion is taking place. If it expresses 'after', it can be analyzed to express the Path of motion.

The main participant translated all of these cases with *chase away*. This could be the implication of flying fast behind someone. In one case, however, P4 uses

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kouri dèyè where the subject isn't moving at all. The picture shows a group of birds sitting in a tree chasing away the little bird by screaming at him, see (71).

(71) Zwazo sa   yo genlè pa renmen li. Yo kouri dèyè   li. E   lè
     bird   DEM PL seem NEG like   3SG PL run   behind 3SG and when
     sa   li vole.
     DEM 3SG fly
     'These birds seem to not like him. They chase him away. And then he flies away.'

Another problem is the semantics of *pati*. P1 uses *kouri dèyè* and *pati dèyè* in a similar way. When the owl is chasing the little bird by flying after him, she uses *pati dèyè*. The semantics of *dèyè* are obscure here, because the Path 'away from X' is not relevant here. It is neither shown in the pictures nor expressed in the narration.

For the single picture descriptions, twelve descriptions had to be sorted into the category "Other" (10.1%). Three cases were equivalent to those in the picture story narrations where *dèyè* was used. In two other cases, hybrid verbs were used which could not be clearly identified as Manner or Path verbs as they contain both components: *plonje* 'dive into' and *tonbe* 'fall'.

In (72), a Path verb is combined with a further description of the Path.

(72) Yon   mesye ki   dwe travèse dyagonal […] yon   chanm.
     INDEF man   REL.PRON must cross   diagonal   INDEF room
     'A man who must cross a room diagonally.'

In (73), the Manner component is expressed in a PP, which is the only occurrence of this type.

(73) Tidjo ap   monte mòn   ak   kat pat.
     Tidjo PROG ascend mountain with four paws
     'Tidjo is crawling up the mountain.'

The four remaining occurrences contain a gerund construction, all used by the same participant, P1. In two of these cases, a structure equivalent to the French structure V *en* V.GER is used, see (74). This structure has not been described for Haitian Creole.

(74) Li desann eskalye a   an   dansan.
     3SG descend stairs   DEF PREP dance.GER
     'He/She goes down the stairs dancing.'

In the other two cases, the Path verb is followed by a gerund form of *to be*, *etan*, and then a full sentence consisting of subject, aspect marker and manner verb, see (75). This structure has also not been described for Haitian Creole.[8]

(75) Tipyè antre etan   l   ap   danse nan chanmnam.
      Tipyè enter be.GER 3SG PROG dance LOC room   DEF
      'Tipyè is dancing into the room.'

5 Discussion

In the previous section, the morphosyntactic patterns used to express motion events in the present study were described. Most commonly used were three different structures: a Path verb with a Ground NP or DP, a serial verb construction, or a Manner verb only. Path verbs with Ground elements are verb-framed structures in the sense of Talmy (1991). In all of those cases, the Manner component of the event was not expressed. Serial verbs often consisted of a Manner and a Path verb, which could be labelled an equipollently-framed construction in the sense of Slobin (2004). Other verb serializations were also found, mostly of two Path verbs, but also combinations of Path and non-motion verbs. These are also verb-framed constructions. The third most frequent pattern is the use of a Manner verb only, with no Path element encoded in the same clause. According to Talmy's (1985) definition, the latter is not a motion event. These cases are nevertheless taken into account here, primarily because of their relatively high frequency. Besides that, it is possible that at least some of them do, contrary to Talmy's definition, express complex motion events, because the Path component is possibly left to be inferred in these cases but implicitly present. This was the case in some examples from the picture story narrations, where the participants uttered sentences like *Zwazo a kouri/vole* 'The bird flies (fast)', meaning that the bird is flying away. Most of the uses of a sole Manner verb in the single picture descriptions are probably due to the fact that the depicted motion event was too difficult to recognize as such, as in *swimming along the coast*. In these cases, the participants simply expressed a motion activity instead of the event.

Besides these three main patterns, three further but marginal patterns were found in the data: a Manner verb with a Path element, a Path verb alone and a motion event without any motion verb. Manner verbs with Path elements constitute satellite-framed constructions in the sense of Talmy (1991), which were

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[8]Both a native speaker present at the talk at the SPCL Meeting in Tampere as well as an anonymous reviewer of this paper noted that this structure is very uncommon in Haitian Creole and most probably due to other language influence.

rare but are still attested in the present data. They occurred with few, but different Manner verbs and also different Path elements. When Path verbs were used alone, information on the Ground was usually given in the context. The expression of motion events with idioms or constructions like *pran nan direksyon* 'take a certain direction' is most probably not typical for Haitian Creole but occurs in many languages.

The different patterns described above show that Haitian Creole possesses a rich inventory of morphosyntactic structures available to express motion events. It is therefore not classified here as a language of one of the three types described above, VF, SF and EF languages. All of these three patterns are found in the Haitian Creole data, VF and EF patterns being more frequent than SF patterns.

Some problematic cases were also described above which need further investigation. In the cases where *dèyè* was used, it was not clear whether it expresses 'behind' or 'after' and it could therefore not be decided whether it constitutes a Ground or a Path element. This shows that clear semantic criteria to identify the components of motion events are needed. Such criteria could also help to further investigate hybrid verbs like *plonje* 'dive' which are said to express both Manner and Path. Two other cases were also problematic as they presented structures completely different from the ones described earlier. In these cases, a gerund of a Manner verb or of the verb to be were used, both of which have not been described for Haitian Creole. As the participants of this study all lived outside of Haiti and were using other languages such as German or French on a daily basis, it is possible that these structures are due to language contact, most probably with French. More research needs to be done in this area.

The second aim of this study was to investigate the Manner salience of Haitian Creole, that is the frequency with which the Manner component is encoded in motion event expressions in comparison with other languages. In the data described above, Manner was expressed either in a Manner-Path verb serialization or in a satellite construction.[9] In the picture story, both Manner-Path verb serializations and satellite constructions were very rare, which means that Manner was often left unexpressed. As the story was about a bird, whose Manner of motion typically is to fly, it is not necessary to encode Manner in every motion event, as it can easily be inferred. In the single picture descriptions, Manner-Path verb serializations are used in 24.7% (21 of 85) and satellite-framed constructions

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[9]As Manner verbs only and Manner verbs with ground expressions are not considered motion events as defined by Talmy (1985), they are not included here. This leaves us with 76 motions event expressions in the picture story narrations and 85 motion event expressions in the single picture descriptions.

in 5.9% (5 of 85) of the motion event expressions. With a total of 30.6%, the frequency of Manner encodings is much higher here than in the picture story narrations. Considering the fact that all of the pictures showed a specific Manner component, this number is nevertheless rather small. Both the picture story as well as the single picture descriptions therefore indicate that Haitian Creole has a low Manner salience.

In comparison to the French motion verb expressions described in the first part of the paper, some similarities and some differences can be observed. Just as French, Haitian Creole possesses a rather large inventory of Path verbs, most of which probably go back to their French counterparts. This is why VF constructions are common in both languages. However, their percentage is larger in French than in Haitian Creole, as the latter possesses another structure not available in French: verb serialization, particularly the serialization of a Manner and a Path verb. This is a feature that Haitian Creole shares with various African languages, Kwa languages in particular, which are said to have played a significant role in the formation of Haitian Creole. Just as in the Kwa languages described above, the Manner verb precedes the Path verb in the Haitian Creole motion verb serializations. Another interesting observation is the fact that in the present data, no serializations with the Manner verb *danse* 'to dance' are attested, a Manner-Path serialization which is ungrammatical in Fongbe according to Lambert-Brétière (2009). The (un)grammaticality of such serializations in Haitian Creole needs to be tested in a subsequent study. The preliminary result of the ongoing research on this question is that the morphosyntactic patterns used in Haitian Creole to express motion events seem to be a mixture of the patterns found in the languages that were relevant to its formation.

In further research, more data will be elicited. As some of the drawings used for the single picture descriptions showed to be difficult to interpret, these representations of motion events need to be revised. If possible, videos showing motion events would be preferred for data elicitation. In addition, acceptability judgments will be elicited to investigate which Manner and Path elements are possible in which pattern, mostly in serial verb constructions and satellite-framed constructions.

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Chapter 4

Postulating Atlantic English Pidgin/Creole as a pluriareal language: A perception study

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This paper aims at verifying the observation that many speakers of closely related Atlantic English(-lexifier) Pidgin(s) and Creole(s) or EP/C(s), can understand each other. In order to test mutual intelligibility of different EP/Cs, an electronic survey was completed by 56 participants from Ghana, Guyana, and Nigeria. In addition, 20 interviews were conducted with informants representing eight different nationalities and residing in Guyana at the time. The data was also supplemented by a reading comprehension and translation task of short passages in eight Atlantic EP/Cs conducted in Ghana and Guyana. The results of the study indicate that intelligibility exists between most (but not all) language pairs. We therefore suggest that we are dealing with a case of pluriareality rather than pluricentricity as the habitual criteria for the latter are not (yet) fulfilled. We believe that this can be accounted for by a postcolonial understanding of language variation, allowing for the postulating of a language system with fluid borders for use in wider contexts, including writing. Nevertheless, the postcolonial aspect shall be addressed in more detail in a posterior study. *Keywords:* Atlantic English Pidgins and Creoles, mutual intelligibility, pluriareality

1 Introduction

It is almost taken for granted that speakers of many, albeit not all, Atlantic English-lexifier Pidgins and Creoles (e.g., the Suriname creoles are notoriously

different from the majority of the others), can understand each other and are aware of the linguistic similarities. We aim to go beyond this impressionistic observation by using, for the time being, three distinct verification methods, an online survey, interviews and a reading comprehension and translation task to check the plausibility of this observation.

As far as terminology is concerned, an abundance of definitions for the terms PIDGIN and CREOLE exists, highlighting the differences between what are often conceived of as distinct types of languages as far as complexity and range of use are concerned (cf. Bakker & Matras 2013: 6). However, linguistic reality is more multifaceted and, without proposing to return to the discussion regarding the "life cycle" of pidgins (Hall 1962) or the complexity of creoles (see, for example, McWhorter 2011), it is evident that some pidgins become the dominant or native languages of their speakers[1], resulting in what were initially called "expanded pidgins" and later on "pidgincreoles", a term attributed to Philip Baker (Bakker 2008: 113). Nigerian Pidgin or Naija, one of the languages and speech communities studied here, is a case in point: widely spoken as a second language, it has a growing number of native speakers, especially in some areas such as the Warri-Sapele area in Delta State (cf. Deuber 2005: 1, 3). For our purposes, attributing language varieties to such categories is irrelevant. Rather, we used as inclusive a denomination as possible so that informants[2] could identify with a large range of such languages and therefore chose "English(-lexifier) Pidgin(s) and Creole(s)", henceforth EP/C(s)[3].

We aim at testing mutual intelligibility. Intelligibility can be defined as "the degree to which a spoken message can be understood" (Lingualinks cited by Bouwer 2007: 257) and is defined by such criteria as "rate of speech, intonation, location of pauses, topic familiarity, discourse structure, grammatical complexity, and hearer's attitude toward the text or speaker" (ibid.). As we shall see, some of these are highly relevant for our informants. It is arguable that intelligibility is essentially about social relationships, rather than linguistic relationships between varieties (Romaine 1994: 14). This means that self-reporting of intelligibility can be highly subjective as it is partly dependent on collective language attitudes. As a result, self-report may result in a distorted appreciation of intelligibility and

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[1]Instead of "native", we prefer "dominant" language as this language or language may change over the lifetime of a person (Chernobilsky 2008: 431).

[2]We use the now controversial term "informants" instead of, for example, "consultants" employed by, e.g., Bowern (2008: 125), for the sake of convenience and, more importantly, for covering distinct functions in the data gathering process.

[3]For the sake of clarity: We employ "EP/C" for one variety or language, "EP/Cs" when more than one is referred to, and "EP/C(s)" when applicable to one or more varieties/languages.

language practices (see also Section 4). Exposure to the other speech varieties leads to what can be termed acquired intelligibility whereas inherent intelligibility stems from a genetic relationship between distinct varieties, although this dichotomy has at times been considered problematic (Bouwer 2007: 257–258).

We now turn to PLURICENTRIC languages, a concept which we need to elucidate in order to explain why we have opted for referring to Atlantic EP/Cs as PLURIAREAL languages (Scheuringer 1996) in the (re)making. Kloss (e.g., 1978: 66) introduced the term "pluricentric" for standard languages with several varieties with equal distribution as, for example, official and administrative languages in distinct independent countries, e.g., Portugal and Brazil, as well as other Portuguese ex-colonies[4]. Several criteria have to be fulfilled for a language to be considered pluricentric. These are, essentially, the following:

- The language occurs in usually several but at least two nations that function as "interacting centers".

- Official status at state (sole official or co-official language) or regional level, allowing for the setting of norms through these interacting centers.

- Linguistic distance (Abstand as defined by Kloss 1967) that distinguishes it from other languages and may serve as a symbol of linguistic and cultural identity.

- Acceptance of the pluricentric nature but also the perceived relevance of the national/regional variety for specific communities.

- Codification completed or in progress coupled with dissemination by institutions and model speakers, e.g., through formal education. (cf. Muhr 2012: 20; Clyne 1992: 1).

The concept of pluricentricity is, to some extent, problematic: Despite endorsing the existence of varieties, e.g., within the Francophonie, for mostly historical reasons only one is seen as (genuinely) legitimate, distinctions may be political and not linguistic, variants cross national borders, and there is no "pure" variety (cf. Vigouroux 2013: 383). The criteria most problematic for Atlantic EP/C to be perceived of as a pluricentric language are official status and codification, necessarily having an impact upon the acceptance of its pluricentricity as well as the creation of abstand through ausbau in the terminology established by Kloss

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[4]When compared to, e.g., English, the formation of standard varieties is still very much in progress, cf. da Silva et al. (2008), da Silva Sobrinho (2009), Gonçalves (2013).

(1967), which is frequent in standardization and codification. Indeed, "[p]luricen - tricity refers to the development of multiple standards, often national standards of a given language, while 'pluri-areality' downplays if not negates any national level" (Dollinger 2019: 7).

It could be argued that "[p]luriareality merely says there is regional variation" (Dollinger 2019: 7), thence making it a basically useless concept for some scholars. Nevertheless, it is employed by others who wish to focus on linguistic differences in these language forms independent of national and political borders (Niehaus 2015, Elspaß et al. 2017). As in the case of the pidgin-creole-divide, we have opted for "pluriareality" for what we consider relative neutrality especially *vis-à-vis* official status and codification.

Our study is based on the existence of a great number of shared structures of Atlantic EP/C(s) (Alleyne 1980, Holm 1989, Holm & Patrick 2007, Michaelis et al. 2013, Mühleisen 2018, etc.).[5] As a matter of fact, it is possible to go beyond the Atlantic region and actually speak of worldwide features of EP/C(s). Faraclas et al. (2023), building on previous work, compile a list of 153 features. At least in the Atlantic region, these shared features bolster the observation that mutual intelligibility between EP/Cs exists. They are attributed to possible common origin as well as a physical, cultural, and an increasingly virtual diaspora (cf. Hancock 1986, Mair et al. 2015, McWhorter 1996).[6]

Finally, we are interested in whether this could eventually lead to the "making" or (re)construction of a language system with fluid borders for use in wider contexts, understood here in terms of Makoni & Pennycook (2005) on the disinvention and subsequent reconstitution of "language". This may be a conscious or unconscious process where language awareness plays a significant role in the creation of imagined units with clear-cut boundaries, labels, names, and neatly defined norms established by distinct agents through at times overlapping mechanisms (both top-bottom and bottom-top; cf. Hüning & Krämer 2018). The question arises as to how language is deployed in advancing social agendas and in constructing identities in specific communities of practice and praxis. After all, in the case of Atlantic EP/Cs, we are potentially dealing with a community of 130,000,000 speakers (Faraclas 2020).

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[5]Frequently cited examples of shared Atlantic EP/C features would be the equative copula da/na/a, the locative copula de, modal fi/fo/fu/fa, the 2PL pronoun unu, the ANT marker bin, and adverbial se(l)f 'even' (McWhorter 1995).

[6]Critique on the common origin scenario, called the "Domestic Hypothesis" by Hancock (1986) has been formulated by, for example, Baker (1999) and Huber (1999b) based on historical records.

In the following section, we shall present the details of our methodology followed by the results of our online survey, interviews, and reading comprehension and translation task in Section 3.

2 Methodology

This paper relies on a multi-method approach, integrating online surveys and face to face interviews, which employs self-reported data, combined with a more objective, experimental reading comprehension and translation task. While self-reporting is a great tool to collect individual assumed beliefs and attitudes relatively quickly, it has its limitations. Responses may be biased based on one's perceptions, and subject to societal expectations. To mitigate the aforementioned limitations, the experimental comprehension and translation task was employed to test actual linguistic competences. Nonetheless, the paper is largely based on descriptions of language attitudes, perceptions, and intelligibility, rather than on grammatical analyses accounting for the intelligibility or lack thereof. Details of the three methods are provided in Sections 2.1–2.3.

2.1 The online survey

Our online survey was conducted from June 15, 2019, until October 9, 2019, via the platform purdue.ca1.qualtrics.com.[7] A total of 56 informants were included in the analysis, with the breakdown by nationality and gender as outlined in Figure 1. Three nationalities (Ghanaian, Guyanese and Nigerian) were represented, 24 of the informants being male and 32 female,[8] with their ages ranging from 18 to above 50. An informant who identified as Ghanaian-British was grouped with the Ghanaians for sake of clarity and for the reason that her answers did not stand out in any way from the answers of the Ghanaians. When processing the results, informants' answers on their own variety were eliminated.

The informants were presented with audio samples of Ghanaian, Nigerian, Jamaican, and Sranan EP/C. The Ghanaian sample is from a TV show (*Things We Do for Love*) that ran in the early 2000s and the selected scene features a humorous conversation between two men, one of whom had come to borrow money and clothes in order to take a girl out on a date. The Nigerian clip is about two men fighting over a telephone recharge card after finding out the last

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[7]The survey was available at: https://purdue.ca1.qualtrics.com/form/SV_5cnFhaMpzwc2zKB, accessed November 12, 2019.

[8]The category "other" now commonly used in sociolinguistic research was excluded from this survey for the same pragmatic reasons as, for example, using the label "EP/C".
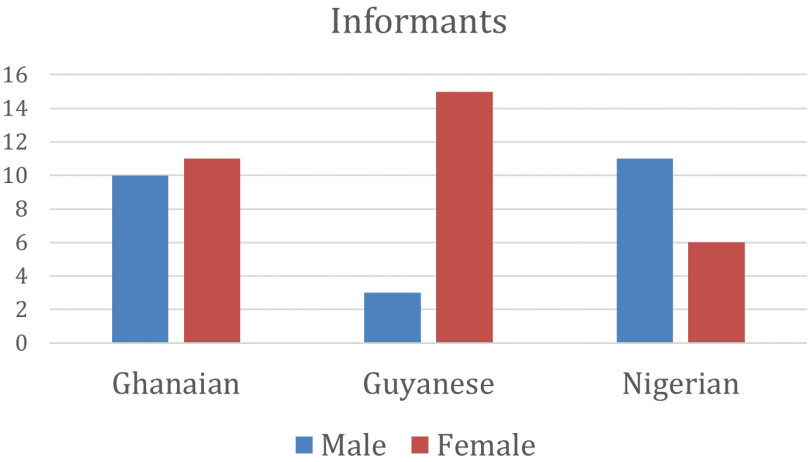
Informants

Figure 1: Breakdown of participants in the electronic survey.

person to recharge it had won a substantial amount of money. The Jamaican one is an interview taken from a news interview of a female Kingston resident voicing her opinion and pleading for justice after her house had been flooded the night before. Finally, the Sranan clip retells the biblical story of Noah's ark. All four samples were taken from YouTube[9].

In addition to the results discussed in Sections 3.1–3.3, informants were also asked about their attitudes towards their own variety of EP/C and those of other varieties they were familiar with. However, these results are dealt with in detail in the discussion section (i.e., Section 4).

2.2 The interviews

In order to supplement the data gathered by means of the survey, 20 interviews were conducted in Guyana in October 2019 with informants representing eight different nationalities and residing in the country at the time. The breakdown by nationality and gender is outlined in Figure 2. The sample was balanced as far as gender is concerned: There were ten female and ten male informants.

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[9]Ghanaian sample: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bC9I79DOmC8, last accessed 2020-07-28; Nigerian sample: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D69cixGHRIw, last accessed 2020-07-28; Jamaican sample: https://youtu.be/J6uwQ-HmgD8, last accessed 2020-07-28; Sranan sample: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BmVFzVUAr88, no longer available 2020-07-28.
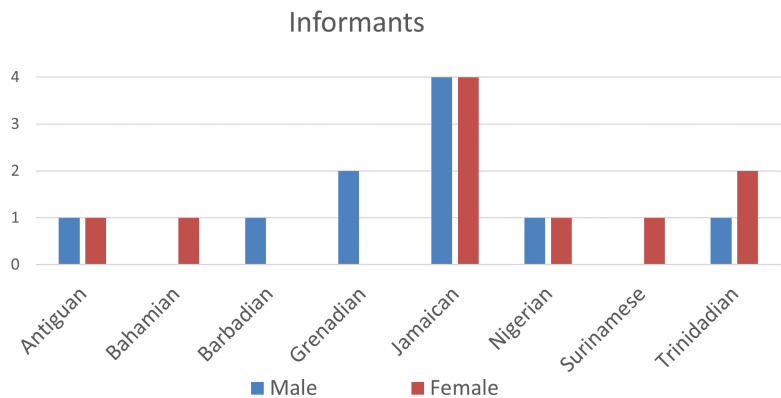
Figure 2: Breakdown of participants in the interviews.

The age range of the informants was from 31 years to over 61 years. The informants had lived in Guyana from less than one year up to over 10 years. Informants were selected based on convenience sampling, and were asked about their abilities to understand Guyanese Creole, specific areas of ease and difficulty, examples of differences between varieties, etc. The interviews also collected perception data on whether different varieties of EP/Cs can share a common writing system.

2.3 The reading comprehension and translation task

The reading comprehension and translation task was conducted in December 2020. Short passages were presented in eight EP/Cs: Ghanaian Pidgin, Guyanese Creole, Jamaican, Krio, Nicaraguan Creole, Nigerian Pidgin, San Andres Creole and Sranan. A total of 34 informants were included in the analysis, with the breakdown by nationality and gender as outlined in Figure 3. A total of 24 of the informants were Guyanese and 10 Ghanaians. All informants were university students, age ranging from 18 to 50 years.

The informants were required to identify the languages, say what the short excerpts were about and rewrite the first two lines of each excerpt in English. Additionally, informants were tasked with indicating words which they would have written differently in their language, words which were found to be difficult to understand, and rating the relative ease or difficulty in understanding the paragraph. Finally, a judgement call was made on whether they liked the writing system or not.

We now turn to the results of the distinct samples.
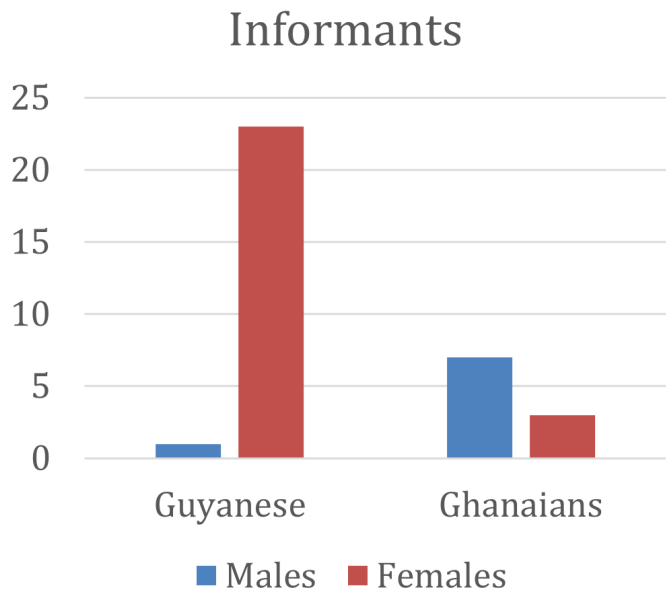
Figure 3: Breakdown of participants in the reading comprehension and translation task.

3 Results

In this Section, we detail the results from the online survey Section 3.1, the interviews Section 3.2, and the reading comprehension and translation task Section 3.3.

3.1 The online survey

Here we provide an analysis of the Ghanaian, Nigerian, Jamaican and Sranan data.

3.1.1 Ghanaian sample

The breakdown of the results we obtained when we asked the informants to identify Ghanaian Pidgin can be seen in Figure 4.

In their answers, the majority of the Guyanese (11/18) picked "Africa", while six selected Nigeria and one indicated that the speakers were from either Nigeria or Ghana. The majority of Nigerians (10/17) understandably picked Ghana

Where do you think the speakers come from?
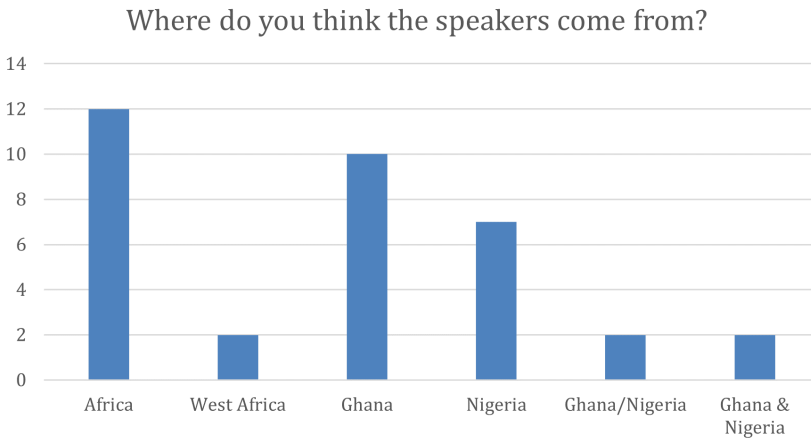
Figure 4: Variety identified by informants for the Ghanaian sample.

as they are in closer contact with the variety; nevertheless, two Nigerian informants cited both Ghana and Nigeria, while one could not decide between the two countries and another was certain the speakers were from Nigeria. Even more interesting, perhaps, were three Nigerians who could not specify which country the Ghanaian speakers were from – two of them selecting West Africa, while one simply picked Africa.

The informants were also asked how difficult or easy it was for them to understand the speakers of the sample.

As can be seen from Figure 5, expectedly the Guyanese informants had more difficulty in understanding the Ghanaian speakers than the Nigerians did. More precisely, the majority of the former (14/18) found the sample to be difficult (extremely or moderately so). There were also a number of Nigerian informants (6/17), including the one who said the sample was either Ghanaian or Nigerian, who found the speech moderately difficult to understand. Of the four Nigerians who found the sample neither easy nor difficult to understand, two had earlier identified it as coming from both Ghana and Nigeria, one had said Nigeria, while one had identified it as Ghanaian.

Particular difficulties cited were constituted by what the informants identified as "indigenous words". One such word which was frequently mentioned was *charley* (spelt variably as *chale/charlie*, which is typically one of the most noticeable vocabulary items to those who hear Ghanaian EP/C for the first time, and whose function, according to Huber (1999a: 276), is "to keep the channel of communication open." Other vocabulary items which posed a challenge to the in-
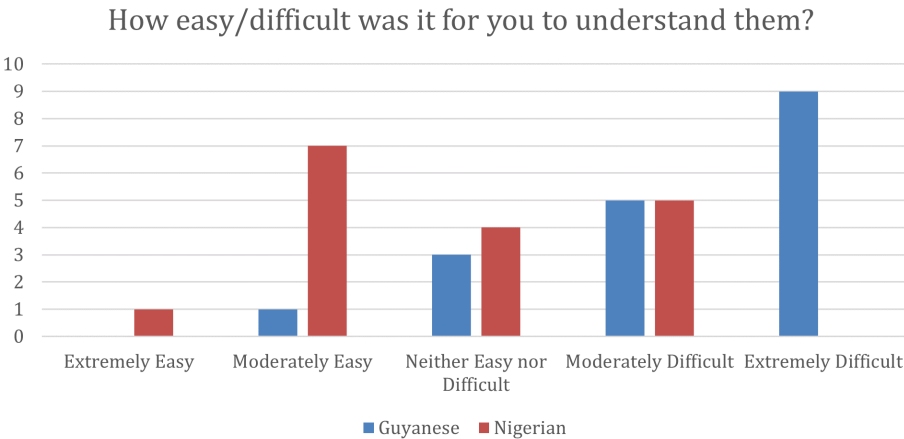
Figure 5: Difficulty of understanding Ghanaian speakers.

formants were (understandably) slang items (such as *dog-gone* 'stupid') and personal names (such as *Marsha*) that were thought to be content words. In addition to stating what they found difficult to understand, informants were also asked to provide alternative ways of saying (in their own EP/C) some of the things they had understood from the audio. Here also, most of the informants noted vocabulary differences between their own variety and Ghanaian EP/C; for example, one of the Nigerians said he would use *chop* 'eat', instead of *munch*, which was used by one of the Ghanaian speakers. One of the Guyanese informants said, instead of *mek you no mind am* 'don't mind him', she would say *na bada wit he*. When discussing the Ghanaian audio, a Guyanese informant mentioned *jiggaboo* and *kangalang*, both essentially meaning 'a stupid person', the latter also meaning 'hooligan, ruffian, an undisciplined person'. Nevertheless, these lexical items are not widely known to Ghanaian speakers; they would be more likely to use *dog-gone* or another slang item (for example, *john*) which means the same thing.

3.1.2 The Naija sample

As far as the Nigerian Pidgin or Naija sample is concerned, the same questions were asked.

The majority of Ghanaians (20/21) identified the variety as from Nigeria, with only one indicating that he thought the speakers were from Ghana. Again, this is expected given the geographical and cultural proximity. The majority of Guyanese (12/18) identified the variety as from somewhere in Africa but five of them
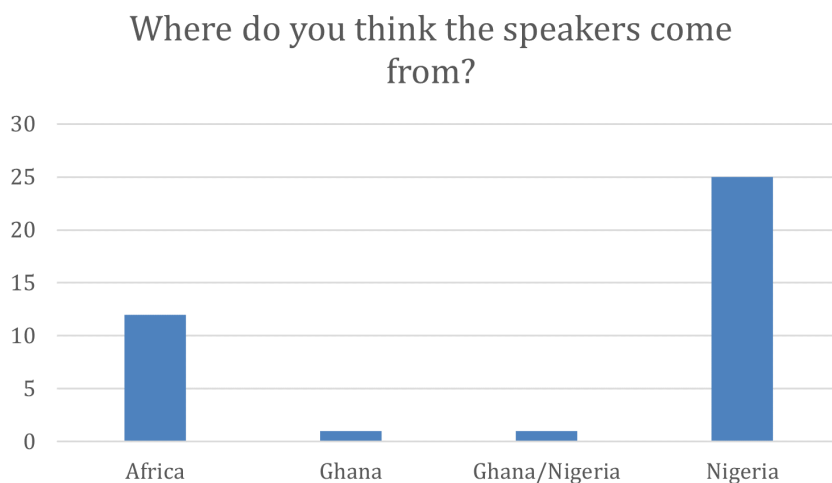
Where do you think the speakers come from?

Figure 6: Variety identified by informants for the Nigerian sample.

also specifically cited Nigeria, something that was not the case of the Ghanaian sample. Indeed, even the single undecided Guyanese informant indicated that the speakers could be Nigerian (or Ghanaian). It can be hypothesized that this is a result of Guyanese speakers being more exposed to Nigerian than Ghanaian popular culture, especially Nollywood film productions. This is reflected in the results presented as Figure 7. "Moderately easy to understand." was the most common answer for all groups: 14/21 of the Ghanaians and 9/18 of the Guyanese.

Among the special difficulties, informants cited pronunciation and rapidity of speech as well as indigenous words, e.g., *oya* 'all right, okay' (cf. Yoruba *oya jeka lo*'all right, let's go'), which is very noticeable because of its role in discourse and frequency of occurrence. This is distinct from the Ghanaian sample where the main difficulty for informants was constituted by the lexicon. With regard to what informants would say differently in their own varieties, responses revealed (as expected) regional differences, often based on adstrate languages. For example, one of the Ghanaian informants pointed out that instead of the Nigerian Pidgin *na im*'he's the one', he would say *ibi him*. This is consistent with Huber's (1999a: 92) observation that the equative copular *na* is noticeably absent from Ghanaian Pidgin, whereas it is found in the other West African EP/Cs. For many Ghanaians it is indeed an emblematic marker of Naija, the variety they are most familiar with (cf. 4), alongside with the completive marker *don(e)*. Another example, this one from a Guyanese informant, is saying *yuh battry dead already* instead of *battery done die*, which was used by one of the Nigerian Pidgin
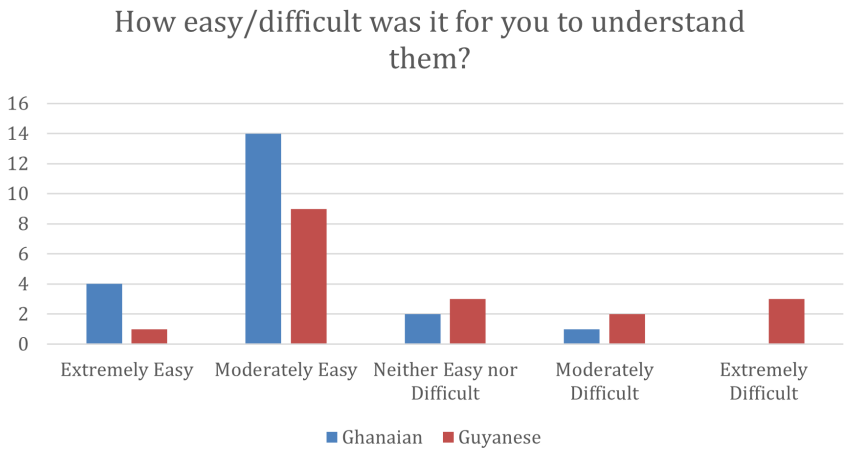
Figure 7: Difficulty of understanding Nigerian speakers.

speakers in the audio file. However, Guyanese actually also employ *don* in this context.

3.1.3 The Jamaican sample

As can be seen from Figure 8, the sample was surprisingly well identified by most informants (18/18 Guyanese, 15/21 Ghanaians and 9/18 Nigerians); with the majority of those who could not place the variety as Jamaican, still identifying it as from the Caribbean. This must be due to the fact that Jamaican speech and culture are known and imitated worldwide, albeit at times in a stylized manner, especially as a result of the spread of reggae (cf. Tomei & Hollington 2018; Moll 2017: 72), and may therefore stand for Caribbean varieties for speakers from outside of the region, e.g., West Africa (see Section 4).

When considering the ease of understanding Jamaican, Guyanese consultants understandably scored the highest as can be gleaned from Figure 9. The majority of them (14/18) found Jamaican extremely easy to understand, while the rest found it moderately easy (3/18) or neither easy nor difficult (1/18). Globally speaking, speakers of Naija appeared to have less difficulty than Ghanaians, which may point into the direction that the influence of Jamaican (pop) culture is more widespread in Nigeria than Ghana. More precisely, the sample was judged moderately difficult (11/21) or extremely difficult (6/21) to understand by the majority of Ghanaians; whereas a whole range of answers was given by Nigerian informants,

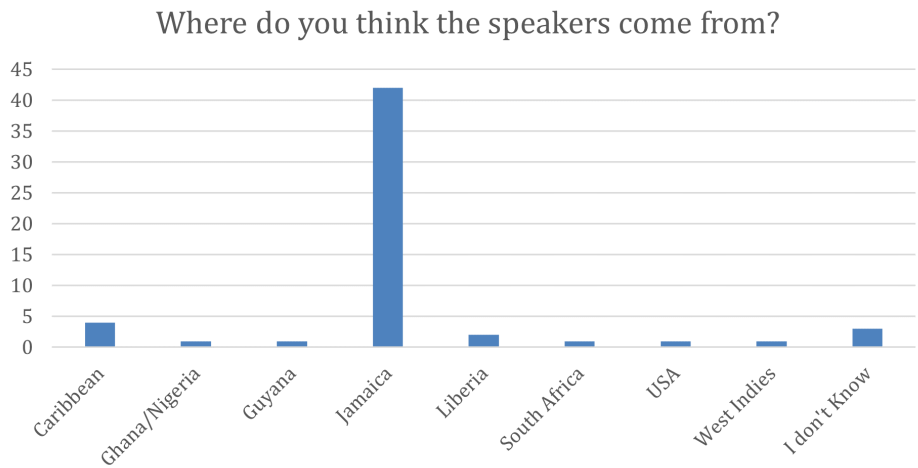## Where do you think the speakers come from?

Figure 8: Variety identified by informants for the Jamaican sample.

"moderately easy" being the most frequent (6/17), followed by "moderately diffi-cult" (5/17).

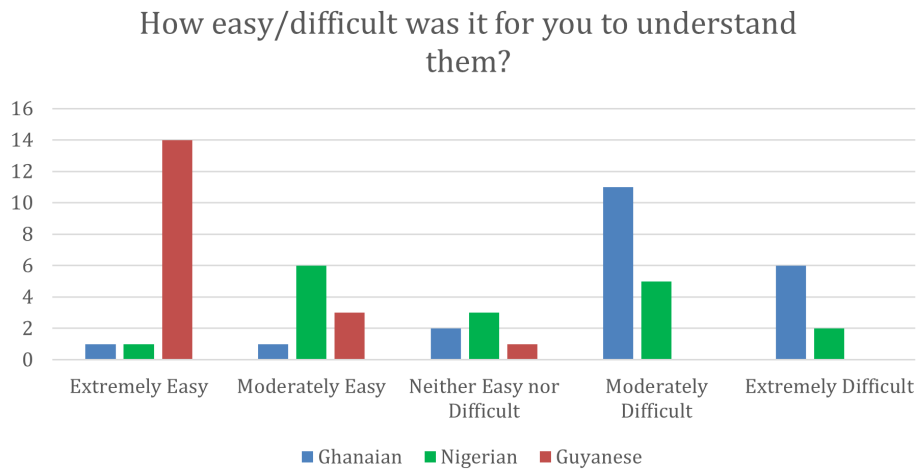## How easy/difficult was it for you to understand them?

Figure 9: Difficulty of understanding Jamaican speakers.

Among the difficulties mentioned in this case, we find again vocabulary as well as pronunciation, e.g., *wombo* < *waahn bak* 'want back', and phrasal expressions, e.g., *kom ina di yaad* 'enter/visit the yard'. Indeed, the majority of those who

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found the sample difficult to understand stated that they were unable to write down specific words or phrases (possibly because they could not isolate them from the stream of words; this applies to both examples given above). Regarding what informants would say differently in their variety, the main difference appeared to be vocabulary items such as one of the Guyanese informants pointing out that "they say *ina* and we say *in*" and a Nigerian saying he would use *for area* instead of *ina di yaad*.

3.1.4 The Sranan sample

As suggested in the Introduction (see Section 1), Sranan (also called Sranantongo) was likely to be the EP/C most difficult to identify and understand. This hypothesis is borne out by the results we present in Figures 10 and 11.
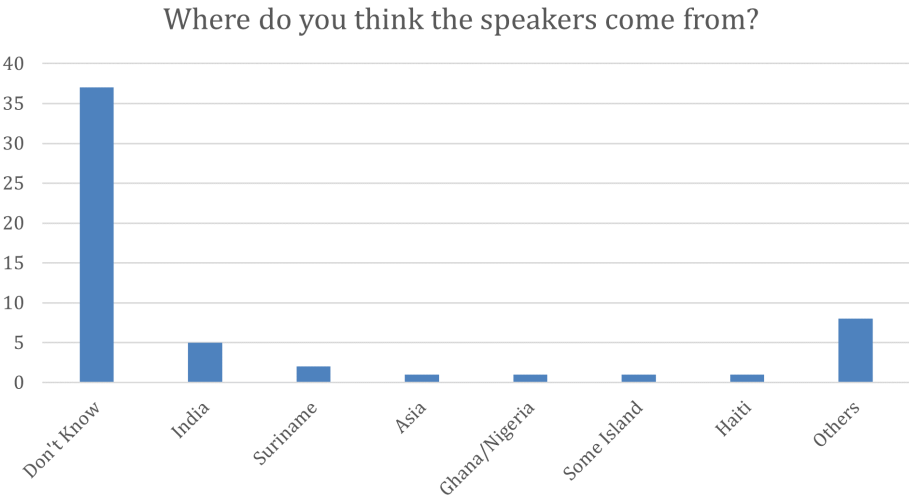
Figure 10: Variety identified by informants for the Sranan sample.

Clearly, the variety was very difficult to identify – as witnessed by answers such as "India" (three Guyanese, one Ghanaian and one Nigerian informant), "Some Island", "Haiti", etc. The category "others" includes the list "Cape Verde; China; Guyana; Liberia; Papua New Guinea; Some part of Mexico; South Africa". Suriname was mentioned by two Guyanese who must be familiar with Sranan due to geographic, cultural, or historical proximity. As far as the difficulty of understanding Sranan is concerned, we find the following scenario where only

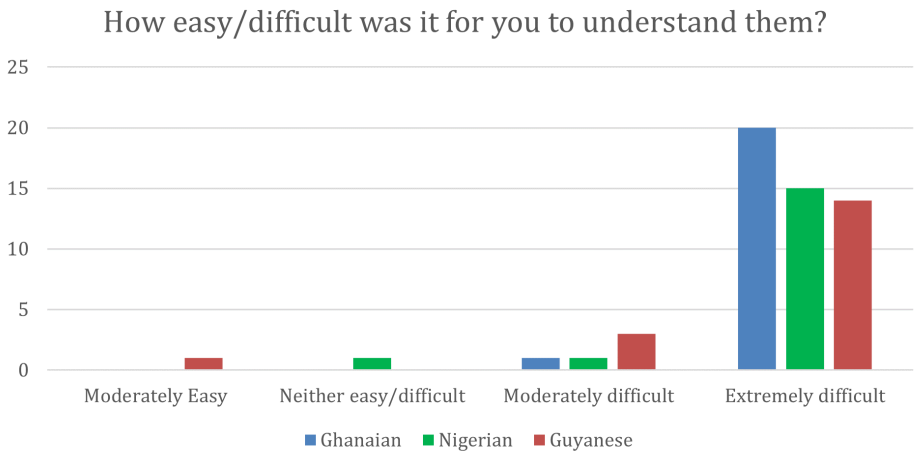How easy/difficult was it for you to understand them?

Figure 11: Difficulty of understanding Sranan speakers.

one Guyanese, who was among the two previously cited informants, found the sample moderately easy to understand.

When asked about specific difficulties, one (Ghanaian) informant mentioned the lexical item *boato* 'boat', but the rest of the informants typically indicated that everything that was said was difficult.

3.2 The interviews

Results from the interviews revealed that a total of 11 informants said they understood Guyanese Creole (also called Creolese) at arrival and 18 at the time of conducting the interviews. The time range mentioned by those who have acquired passive knowledge (or receptive competence, in the terminology of Romaine 1994: 23) of Guyanese Creole was cited as from two months to three years. Nevertheless, the question on the length of acquisition was open and answered subjectively (see also Section 1). For example, a Nigerian informant stated he had acquired passive knowledge in two months after arriving in Guyana, while an informant from Suriname, despite being in Guyana for over 10 years, stated that she still did not understand Guyanese Creole. This appreciation of one's receptive competence ("very difficult to understand"; see Section 3.2.1) was shared by another female informant from Jamaica who had also resided in the country for over ten years. Could this be linked to the finding that in western-oriented societies, female speakers tend to be more conscious of linguistic norms and dif-

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ferences in register (cf. Labov 1972: 243; 2001: 266; Lakoff 1973: 48)?[10]

3.2.1 The ease/difficulty of understanding Guyanese

Figure 12 depicts the relative difficulty experienced by the interviewees in understanding Guyanese Creole on a scale ranging from 1 (very easy) to 5 (very difficult). One informant chose not to comment on this matter.
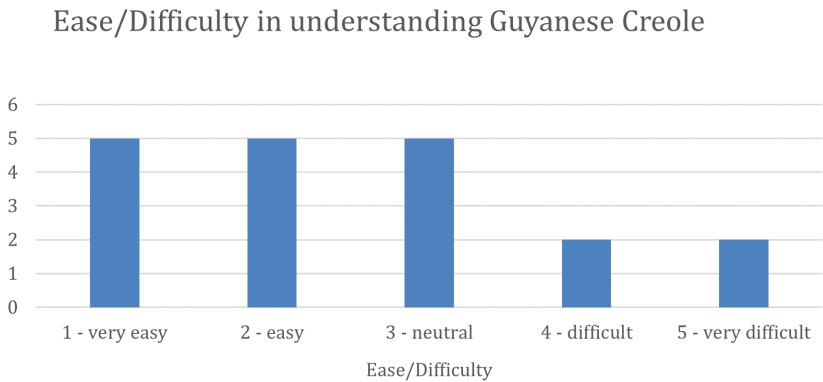
Ease/Difficulty in understanding Guyanese Creole

Figure 12: Relative ease/difficulty of understanding Guyanese Creole.

It can be seen that 50% of the informants (10/20) reported that Guyanese Creole was easy or very easy to understand, while five informants were neutral, finding it neither easy nor difficult to understand Guyanese Creole. It may be of interest to note that both informants who found Guyanese Creole very difficult to understand are females who have been living in Guyana for over 10 years. The difficulties mentioned included specific vocabulary items and pronunciation. Among the former, for example the following were cited: *ai paas* 'disrespect', *gyaaf* 'chat', *jos nou* 'soon', *bok maan* 'Amerindian', *balaanjii* 'eggplant', *oplif* 'collect', *push yo bodii* 'persevere', *yuuzin* (at restaurant) 'having/eating in', *tek out* (a photo) 'take', and a range of names for various fruits and vegetables. For pronunciation, informants mentioned lengthened vowels as in *maan* 'man', insertions as in *giyorl* 'girl', elision as in *wam* 'what's happening'', and r-fullness as in *korna* 'corner'.[11] As in the case of the Naija clip mentioned in 3.1.2 above,

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[10]See Keenan (1989) on Malagasy speakers for a counterexample of the Western Gender Paradox (Labov 2001: 292–293).

[11]Among the Caribbean EP/Cs, rhoticity is typical of Bajan but reported by Wells (1982: 570) for Guyanese as well.

rapidity of speech was also mentioned as a factor making it relatively difficult to understand Guyanese.

On the other hand, there were also linguistic features that were identified as helpful in understanding Guyanese, particularly words and structures similar to other EP/Cs, such as *gyal* to mean 'girl', the use of *dem* as a plural marker, invariability of the 3rd person object and subject pronouns, and general English-based lexical items. Additionally, the informants tend to rely on the context of utterance to decipher seemingly unfamiliar terms or structures. It was also reported by most informants (13/20) that speakers of Guyanese Creole would understand them when they use their variety of EP/C.

3.2.2 Language attitudes manifest in the interviews

Language attitudes can be divided into three components: 1. cognitive or knowledge; 2. affective or evaluative; and 3. conative or action (Agheyisi & Fishman 1970: 139). Our online survey and the issues raised in the interviews discussed in the previous section essentially deal with the first component; the third is not for us as authors but eventually for the speakers to decide; we nonetheless hope to make some recommendations. In the following part of the analysis of the interviews conducted in Guyana, we deal with the affective or evaluative aspect expressed by the interviewees. To a certain extent, this was also included in the survey and the reading comprehension and translation task (see Section 4).

A total of 15 out of the 20 informants reported that they like Guyanese Creole, whereas 5 manifested a neutral attitude towards it. Among the answers, we find the following observations:

1. It is nice to understand other languages and cultures.

2. It is not very different from my language.

3. It is funny, sounds nice, interesting, unique, different.

4. It is not bad.

5. It is not a matter of like or dislike, I accept it.

When asked whether they liked their own variety of Atlantic EP/C, 18 answered affirmatively whereas two did not respond. Arguments in favor of one's variety were:

1. It creates identity, unity.

2. It is great for communication.

3. It is what I grew up with, and it preserves my culture.

4. It is expressive, versatile, colorful, sentimental.

5. It makes me unique.

We were also particularly interested in the feasibility of a common writing system for Atlantic EP/C as a manifestation of its pluriareal character and part of (future) conative language attitudes. A total of 13 informants were favorable to the idea, 7 were not. Arguments cited in favor of a common writing system were that it would be practical for sharing literature and music, the linguistic background is similar, it could contribute to community cohesion (probably in the sense of the imagined communities proposed by Anderson 1983), and the fact that writing is already similar (the specific example of tweets was cited, something we will be looking at in the future). The informants not favorable to a common writing system stated it would be a challenging task to complete because of differences between distinct varieties of Atlantic EP/C and expressed their fear of losing cultural diversity and identity.[12] It can be concluded that identity-related factors were cited both in favor and against the proposal of a common writing system.

3.3 Reading comprehension and translation task

In this section we present the results of the Jamaican extract as a sample of the findings from the eight EP/Cs as gathered from our Guyanese and Ghanaian informants. A more detailed analysis will be presented in another study (Bartens et al. 2023). Jamaican was chosen to exemplify the results of the reading comprehension task because of its worldwide diffusion (see Sections 3.1.3, 4, & 5). In addition, Jamaican is of particular interest for our purposes as the writing system is fairly phonemic (see, for instance, the examples below) and quite well established (see Cassidy & Le Page 1967).

As detailed in Figure 13, 90% of the Guyanese informants were able to correctly identify the Jamaican text. This proved to be a bit more difficult for the Ghanaians as only 50% were able to correctly identify the language.

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[12]Note that this fear exists even in communities deemed to speak one creole language such as Nicaraguan EP/C (cf. Freeland 2004).
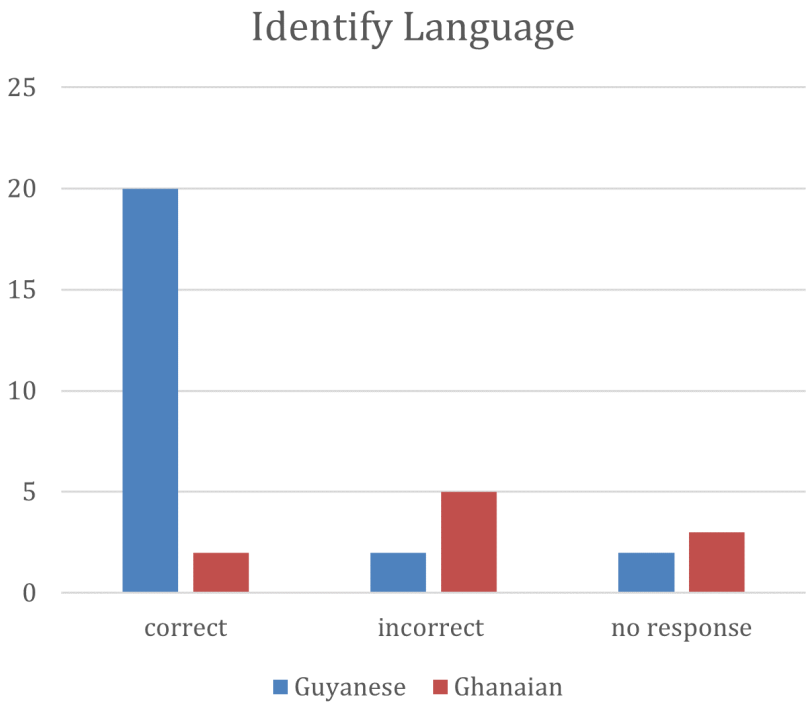
Identify Language

Figure 13: Identification of the Jamaican excerpt.

While the Guyanese demonstrated that their understanding and translations (67% and 50%, respectively) were highly acceptable or acceptable, for the Ghanaians, the results revealed the contrary. As shown in Figure 14, 60% of the Ghanaians did not respond to these two questions, and of the other 40%, the response from 30% of the informants was not acceptable. This shows that the Ghanaians did not understand the Jamaican excerpt.

Half of the Ghanaians, as detailed in Figure 15, reported that the Jamaican data was very difficult to comprehend, while 63% of the Guyanese were neutral or indicated that it was easy to understand.

As a result, it is not surprising to note (Figure 16) that 70% of the Ghanaians, as compared to only 33% of the Guyanese, reported not liking the writing system.

Examples of Jamaican words which are different or are written differently across languages were the third person singular pronoun *im* in Jamaican which is reflected as *ii* in Guyanese Creole; the lexical verb 'eat' which is *nyam* in Jamaican, but Guyanese informants suggested *iit*, and also 'little' which is *likl* in
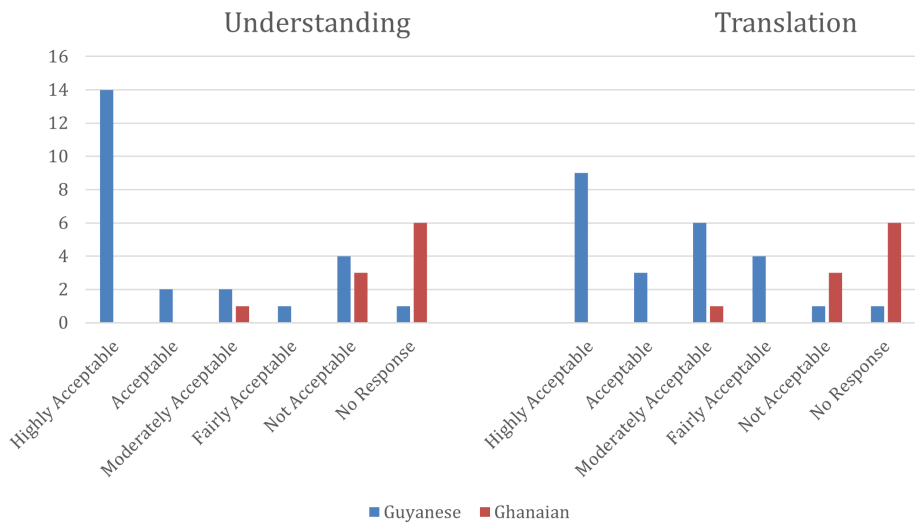
Figure 14: Understanding and translating the Jamaican excerpt.
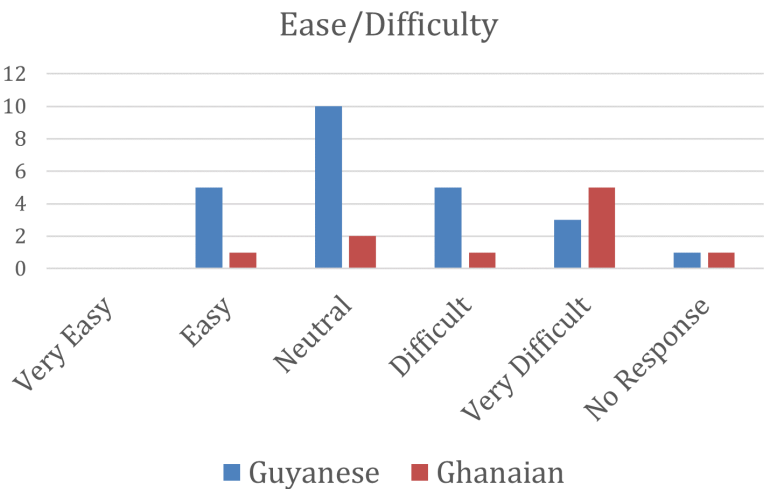
Figure 15: Difficulty of understanding the Jamaican excerpt.
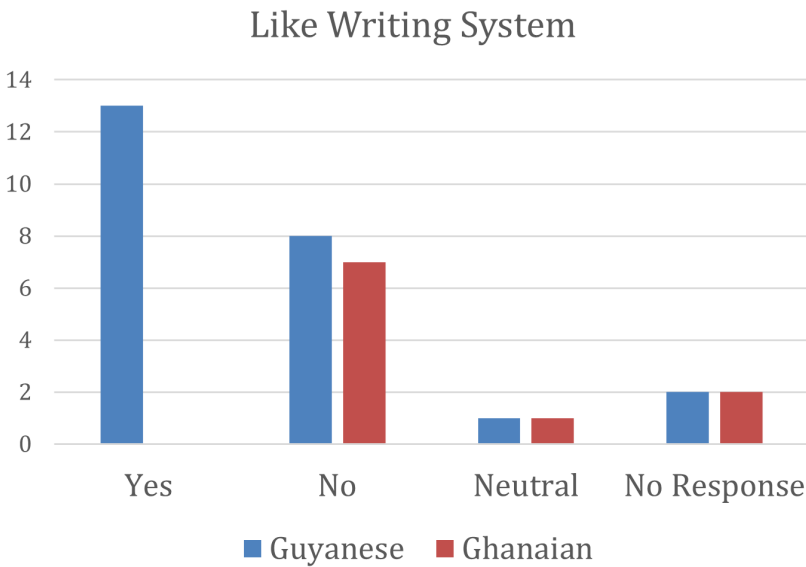
Like Writing System

Figure 16: Like the writing system used in the Jamaican excerpt.

Jamaican but *lil* and *little* in Guyanese and Ghanaian, respectively. The Ghanaians also reported the English spelling for 'tree' and 'try' rather than the Jamaican *chrii* and *chrai*. The words *eleva* 'hell of a', *guda* 'probably', and *kies* 'case' are examples of Jamaican words that were difficult for the Guyanese informants, while *nyam* 'eat', *Alis* 'Alice (name of someone)' and *chrech* 'stretch' were identified as difficult for the Ghanaians.

4 Discussion

Based on the literature on Atlantic EP/Cs, it is no surprise that Sranan was found to be the most difficult variety to identify and understand. Familiarity with a variety, either as a result of geographic proximity or cultural influence, played a major role in the evaluations made by our informants. Here the online survey results stand out as it is more difficult to estimate the real contact informants have with a given EP/C as opposed to the interviews: Self-report, especially in the form of written/online surveys can notoriously distort the big picture (cf. Codó 2008: 171; see also 1).[13] The findings from these were therefore checked against the

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[13]Survey answers also quite typically feature incoherencies, which would be detected in, for instance, ethnographically oriented fieldwork. For example, one Ghanaian informant initially

more objective reading comprehension and translation task. The accuracy of the results gained from the self-reports is validated, as far as possible, by the actual competency demonstrated in the comprehension and translation task. The fact that Sranan was difficult to identify and understand apparently independent of the data gathering method consolidates our hypothesis of its linguistic distance from the other EP/Cs studied here.

Geographic and cultural proximity explains mutual identification and perceived intelligibility between Ghanaian and Nigerian Pidgin as well as the ease with which the Guyanese consultants identified and understood Jamaican. In these cases, we are talking about acquired intelligibility as discussed in Section 1, whereas the postulate of inherent intelligibility requires the existence of a genetic relationship as suggested, for example, by Hancock (1986) and McWhorter (1996). In fact, in the Atlantic EP/Cs, structural similarity crosses with cultural proximity and sociolinguistic accessibility. At the same time, structural similarity facilitates cognitive recognition. Therefore, the measuring of the cognitive component of language attitudes as postulated by Agheyisi & Fishman (1970: 139) is relevant for our study.

As stated above, the cultural presence of Naija, e.g. through Nollywood productions, in the Caribbean probably explains why the Guyanese informants were more familiar with it than with Ghanaian Pidgin. Based on this sample, Jamaican also appears to be culturally more present in Nigeria than in Ghana, and may be additionally identified by African informants as the Caribbean EP/C by default (cf. 3.1.3).

While the previous discussion is essentially based on the online survey, the interviews conducted in Guyana confirmed that time of exposure is a key factor: Most informants found Guyanese Creole easy to understand within less than three years. What constitutes passive knowledge is again subjective and based on the standards and goals an individual sets for themselves in an intercultural context (cf. Dörnyei & Ottó 1998, Dörnyei & Csizér 2005). At the same time, most interviewees not only displayed positive attitudes towards both Guyanese Creole and their own variety but also supported the idea of a common writing system. This is consistent with the views of the online survey informants as the majority of them (44 out of the 47 who responded to that question) reported positive attitudes towards their own varieties. Additionally, out of the 51 online informants who answered the question on the idea of a common writing system, the overwhelming majority (i.e., 48) were in favor of such a development.

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did not list "Broken English" (i.e., Ghanaian EP/C) as one of the languages he speaks but stated in subsequent affirmations that he actually speaks and likes it.

Arguments in favor of and against a common writing system appear to concentrate on identity-related issues. The major difficulties perceived were not only in the field of vocabulary, typical of any pluriareal or pluricentric language[14], but also in pronunciation. Pronunciation is easily mistaken for – but also closely related to – orthographies and writing systems, especially if these are devised for languages with a short tradition of writing. Schieffelin & Doucet (1994: 192–193) state that:

> When a language is codified and an orthography is officially adopted, this is usually interpreted to mean that there is one correct way to spell and write the language, and that all others are simply wrong. [...] And when a variety through its officialization is given the status of a standard, the users of the other varieties sometimes react with surprising virulence because they feel that their language variety and its speakers are denied representation.

Opting for "normalization" in the sense of allowing for regional variation in the initial stages of writing as proposed by Koskinen (2010) for Nicaraguan Creole constitutes a sound option – when we are dealing with a geographically limited area.[15] Our interest lies in the feasibility of writing Atlantic EP/C on a much larger scale which, as some informants' responses reveal, may turn out a much more complicated endeavor. In this context, it is relevant to bear in mind that certain graphemes, for example k, w, y, have led to heated debates (Bartens et al. 2023) and that, on the other hand, not writing does not constitute an option in today's world. Writing is a fundamental condition for languagehood according to present language ideologies (e.g., Lüpke 2018). In the long run, writing is not only a key element for constituting "language" in the sense of H vs. L languages/varieties (Ferraz 1979, Fishman 1967), but also for passing from a pluriareal to a pluricentric language through distinct processes of codification as outlined in Section 1. Writing may, however, be achieved not only through flexibility (see Koskinen's interpretation of the term "normalization" above) but also through grassroots literacy (Blommaert 2008: cf.). These are possible paths of action to counter the fears of those who maintain that the inherent heterogeneity and creativity of creoles has to be sacrificed when, for instance, creating an orthography (cf. Freeland 2004: 124).

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[14]In fact, Berschin et al. (2012: 382) define Spanish, a case in point, as a pluricentric language based on the lexicon, not "grammar", i.e, language structure.

[15]DeGraff (2014: 313) cautions that "uniform conventions for written representations [...] [should] not distract from other valuable priorities that function to promote the language".

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Assessing the informants' competencies in applying different orthographies in the reading comprehension and translation task is therefore fitting to the current study. Again, geographic and cultural proximity accounts for the actual intelligibility as demonstrated within the Caribbean and West African region. However, delving deeper into the intricacies of the writing systems employed for each language, we noted that informants who indicated that they liked a specific writing system liked it because they could read/understand it; the sole exception here was Krio. While 75% of the Guyanese and 40% of the Ghanaians demonstrated that they understand Krio, only 25% and 10% Guyanese and Ghanaians respectively indicated that they liked the writing system. This is because while Krio uses the Latin script which the informants are accustomed to, it also employs three phonetic letters – ɛ, ɔ, and ŋ – which were reported to be difficult.

The orthography used to write Sranan was not liked by any of the informants, though it was understood by 21% of the Guyanese informants. The reason for not liking the writing system of Sranan was simply because the language was seen as difficult and the informants did not understand it. This is so because most of the words in Sranan, though English-based, do not look like their English etymons and structural and grammatical contrasts may obstruct intelligibility. Sranan has been in contact with Dutch rather than English and therefore, unlike other EP/Cs, it has no post-creole continuum and did not get to decreolize. See Sebba (2000) for a full description of Sranan's orthography.

The Guyanese informants were more likely to report that they liked the Guyanese, Nicaraguan, and Jamaican writing systems (83%, 75%, and 54%, respectively) when compared to the other languages. Conversely, Ghanaian informants were more likely to report that they liked the Nigerian and Ghanaian writing systems (70% and 50%, respectively). The structural and lexical similarity of the languages is assumed to account for the cognitive recognition, comprehension, and translation of the languages in the reading comprehension and translation task. This is also very much conditioned by the familiarity with distinct writing systems (see Winer 1990 for four different models for writing an EP/C).

A postcolonial approach is called for precisely when we consider the necessity of writing. What is meant by postcolonial in this context? Linguists, especially, tend to associate "postcolonial" with literary studies. However, a field of postcolonial linguistics is starting to emerge and the research questions we are interested in – Atlantic EP/C as a pluriareal language, mutual intelligibility, and the possibility of writing, would fall into the domain of postcolonial sociolinguistics (cf. Makoni 2011, Levisen & Sippola 2019). For our purposes, it seems more useful to define "postcolonial" as a time-defining concept implying change (cf. Calabrese

2015: 1; Anchimbe 2018: xiii) than within the framework of power which postcolonial studies in general operate with (position advocated, e.g., by Warnke 2017). Both stances, the descriptive-causal and the critical-reflective one, share their opposition to Eurocentrism (Levisen & Sippola 2019: 2).

Though space will not permit us to fully explore the postcolonial approach in this present paper, it is our aim to return to this in subsequent works. Nonetheless, in our understanding of postcolonial, i.e., as an essentially time-defining concept, it is important to consider language ecologies, both past (cf. The Founder Principle) and present, which draw on the feature pool available through population groups at a given time and the possibility of translanguaging in the ongoing formation of Atlantic EP/C(s) (Haugen 1971, Mufwene 1996, 2013, Schneider 2007: 22–23, García & Li 2014). For language ecologies to emerge, the concept of "community" is highly relevant. Community is a highly elusive concept (Mühleisen 2017: xii) and represents "a relation constantly under negotiation" (Brydon & Coleman 2008: 2). We envision that speakers of various Atlantic EP/Cs may actually at some point conceive of themselves as speaking a single Atlantic EP/C (i.e., a pluriareal language, albeit with varieties; see Section 1). But a (speech) community does not exist without the individuals who make it up. Indeed, Mufwene (2013: 323) stresses the role of the individual in the ecology of language and affirms that:

> [...] factoring in the speaker as the most direct external ecological factor to language, as he/she contributes variation to the emergent, ever-evolving language and participates in: 1) the spread or elimination of variants through the selections he/she makes from among the competing variants (be they languages or linguistic features), 2) the emergence of new norms, and 3) sometimes the emergence of new varieties (Mufwene 2013: 311).

We are arguing that competition and selection of variants is not necessarily one of the first steps, at least not on a larger scale, in the (re)constitution of an Atlantic EP/C which will undoubtedly retain variation as a pluriareal language. On the other hand, the emergence of new linguistic norms, including norms of usage, and its consolidation as an acknowledged diasystem, albeit with fluid borders, is a more realistic outcome. This diasystem could theoretically at some point be on its way to a pluricentric language with speakers increasingly accommodating their linguistic production in the sense of convergence towards the other speakers' varieties (cf., for example, Giles & Ogay 2007: 295 for the Communication Accomodation Theory) due to the fulfillment of the criteria stipulated, e.g., by Muhr (2012: 20) and Clyne (1992: 1; see Section 1), but for the time being this may

seem to be a relatively farfetched scenario. Indeed, if we prefer to consider languages less as "linguistically defined objects" and rather as speech and resources, "the real bits and chunks of language that make up a repertoire, and […] real ways of using this repertoire in communication" (Blommaert 2010: 5, 173), continuing to conceive of Atlantic EP/Cs as pluriareal languages may constitute a more feasible solution even in the long run. However and as stated above (Section 1), in the "making of languages" which may actually consist of the disinvention and subsequent reconstitution of linguistic varieties (Makoni & Pennycook 2005), clear-cut boundaries, labels, names, and norms are required especially in cases of long-standing stigmatization and minoritization to which Atlantic EP/Cs also belong (cf. Hüning & Krämer 2018). This is especially true in sociolinguistic terms, whereas structural fluidity is necessary for use in wider contexts, including writing, when dealing with as complex a diasystem as Atlantic EP/Cs.[16]

The impact and the peculiarities of virtual communities are no longer to be underestimated. Whereas cu ltural diffusion (cf. the above-mentioned example of Jamaican reggae) and diaspora formation lead to the spread, acceptance, and consolidation of certain varieties and their norms of usage (see Mühleisen & Schröder 2017 on the shift in role and prestige of Caribbean Creoles and Cameroonian EP/C in new diasporic metropolitan environments), new technology has opened totally new opportunities for language diffusion and development, including the democratization of the latter process (cf. Eisenlohr 2004, Bartens 2019). For example, cyberspace has developed a sociolinguistic order of its own. Mair (2019) on Jamaican Standard English vs. Jamaican Creole and Nigerian Standard English vs. Naija found that what is stigmatized on the ground often actually becomes prestigious in cyberspace. At the same time, it becomes increasingly difficult to apply the concept of "speech community" to, for example, (diasporic) web-forum interaction (Moll 2017: 91). In the case of Atlantic EP/C(s), this may actually constitute an opportunity: If instead of the classical speech community (Gumperz 1968; Labov 1972: 120–121) we focus on communities of practice in the sense of "an agreement of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavour" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992: 464), less competent or so-called peripheral speakers (Labov 1972) may be integrated by means of CMC (computer mediated communication).

We maintain that the affirmation "the language of the imagined global community is clearly English and the written script is digital" (Mühleisen 2017: xvii)

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[16]Note, however, that fluidity (and hybridity) is problematic in that, as advocated in postcolonial studies, this concept overlaps with neoliberalism (Kubota 2016). In the case of Atlantic EP/C, structural fluidity is a necessity which does not clash with the time-defining, descriptive causal perspective adopted here.

is not true, especially not in the case of very widely spoken pluriareal Atlantic EP/C (see Section 1). Its different varieties are already widely used in digital communication and we believe that in the future this use will further increase and may lead to a consciousness of belonging to an imagined community, which is already in place among speakers of Caribbean varieties. The linguistic practices of this imagined community are able to counter elite closure by enabling alternative routes in the flow of information (cf. DeGraff 2014: 284, 311).

5 Conclusions

The point of departure for this study was the observation that many speakers of closely related varieties of Atlantic EP/Cs can understand each other. First, we defined and justified the use of certain key concepts such as Atlantic EP/C(s). Our argument is that distinct varieties, i.e., EP/Cs, could be conceived of – and in part already are viewed as – the Atlantic EP/C diasystem. As we insist, this language system has fluid borders, allowing for use in distinct contexts and domains. Throughout the paper, we are concerned with intelligibility. We also discussed why we consider Atlantic EP/C a pluriareal language in the making and not a pluricentric one despite the fact that the former term is contested by some scholars (e.g., Dollinger 2016: 7). This (re)constitution of a language system with as many as 130,000,000 speakers is facilitated by a great number of shared linguistic structures.

Three lines of inquiry were pursued in order to verify – or falsify – the hypothesis of mutual intelligibility: 1. an online survey available from June 15, 2019, until October 9, 2019, which included audio clips of Ghanaian, Nigerian, Jamaican, and Sranan EP/C; 2. interviews of other Atlantic EP/C speakers residing in Guyana at the time of the study (October 2019 in the case of the interviews), and 3. a reading comprehension and translation task conducted with University students in Guyana and Ghana (December 2020). The third line of inquiry was adopted in order to mitigate the caveats of self-report of intelligibility arising from the dependence on language attitudes (see Sections 1 and 2).

The data reveal that geographic and cultural proximity is taken to explain acquired intelligibility between Ghanaian Pidgin and Naija as well as the ease with which the Guyanese informants identified and understood Jamaican. Familiarity with Nollywood and Jamaican culture, especially reggae, were suggested to account for those varieties being better known and probably taken as representative of West Africa and the Caribbean, respectively.

Structural similarity was assumed to facilitate cognitive recognition, as was demonstrated in the reading comprehension and translation task. In the case of

reading comprehension, cognitive recognition is also very much conditioned by the familiarity with distinct writing systems (see Winer 1990 for four different models for writing an EP/C). Writing was argued to constitute one of the major criteria for languagehood and therefore it is relevant to state that attitudes not only towards one's own but also other varieties as well as writing them were fairly positive. For example, 13 out of the 20 interviewees were favorable towards a common orthography for writing EP/C languages.

The question of writing can be framed in postcolonial thought. For our purposes, defining "postcolonial" as a time-defining concept seemed the most adequate approach. Despite this descriptive-causal (as opposed to critical-reflective) interpretation, we believe that it is precisely new technologies, offering new possibilities for the revitalization and development of minorized languages, which will enable Atlantic EP/Cs to consolidate into a community of practice in its own right. For the time being, we leave exploring the topic from a postcolonial angle – as well as a more in-depth discussion of the reading comprehension and translation task – for posterior studies.

Acknowledgements

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Part II

Partially restructured varieties in the circum-Caribbean region

Chapter 5

A Gbe substrate model for discontinuous negation in Spanish varieties of Chocó, Colombia: Linguistic and historical evidence

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In this paper I highlight the central role of an oft-neglected source language model in the presence of discontinuous negation, also known as NEG2 (e.g. *yo **no** sé cuál es **no*** 'I don't which one it is'), in the Spanish of Chocó, Colombia. Namely, I point to the presence of analogous negation patterns in Ewe, a widely-spoken variety of Gbe across modern-day Ghana, Togo, and Benin. Data from the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database as well as a 1759 census of the enslaved African(-descendant) population in Chocó mining camps strongly suggest that Gbe languages were spoken by one-third of enslaved Africans taken to the Pacific lowland region of Colombia via the Caribbean port of Cartagena in the 17th and 18th centuries. Traditionally, non-canonical patterns of negation in Ibero-Romance contact varieties involving discontinuous (i.e. pre-verbal and utterance-final) and strictly utterance-final negator morphemes have been attributed to Bantu languages such as Kikongo, some varieties of which feature similar structures. However, for the years in which enslaved Africans were being trafficked directly from West Africa to Chocó via Cartagena (1650–1800), archival sources indicate that those from Bantu-speaking regions of West Central Africa comprised close to one-sixth of the total African-born population, and thus just around half as many as the Gbe-speaking group. Together these findings lead to the conclusion that speakers of Gbe (especially Ewe) played a foundational role in the development of non-canonical negation patterns in Spanish varieties spoken in Chocó, Colombia. *Keywords:* negation, Colombia, Spanish, Ewe, language contact

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1 Introduction

The specific origins of non-standard linguistic structures in varieties of European languages spoken by majority African-descendant populations in the Americas are the subject of persistent inquiry and much debate among scholars of Atlantic creoles as well as other Caribbean and mainland contact varieties of European languages. The present analysis centers on the presence of one such structure, referred to here as discontinuous negation (abbrev. NEG2), in varieties of Spanish spoken in the Pacific lowland region of northwestern Colombia, exemplified in (1–4).

(1) (Ruíz-García 2001)[1]
Yo no sé   un nombre no.
1SG NEG know a name   NEG
'I don't know (of) a name.'

(2) (Ruíz-García 2001)
Yo **no** voy a subir allá **no**.
1SG NEG go to go.up there NEG
'I'm not going to go up there.'

(3) (Ruíz-García 2001)
Esse niñito   **no** me habla a mí **no**.
That child-DIM NEG me talks to me NEG
'That kid doesn't talk to me.'

(4) (Schwegler 1991a: 109)
Mi papá sí   **no** fue a la escuela **no**.
My father EMPH NEG went to the school NEG
'My father definitely didn't go to any school.'

The prototypical NEG2 pattern consists of the pre-verbal negative morpheme no plus a duplicate utterance-final *no* with *no* perceivable prosodic break. The seamless transition from the end of the propositional content and the utterance-final negator morpheme can be seen in Figure 1.

1.1 Discontinous negation in Ibero-Romance

The use of NEG2 in varieties of Chocó Spanish is of sufficient salience that it has often been reported as a distinguishing feature of this variety, for instance

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[1]All examples from Ruíz-García (2001) were extracted directly from that author's corpus of tape-recorded conversational speech collected in and around Tadó, Chocó.
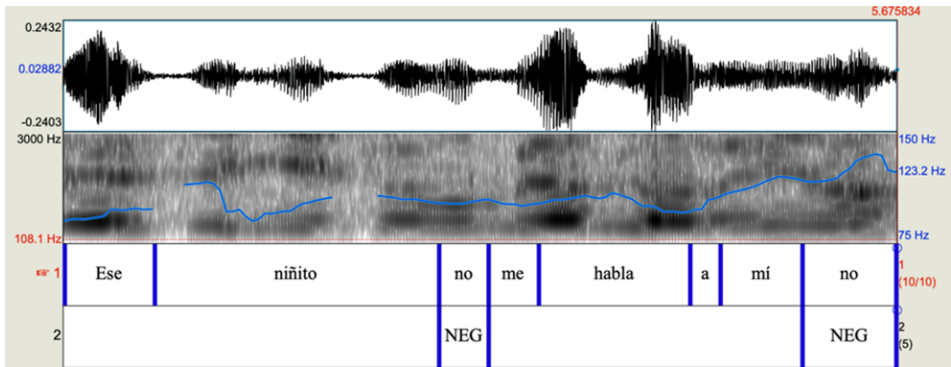
Figure 1: Pitch contour of NEG2 token from example (3).

in the work of Colombian dialectologists (Flórez 1950, Granda 1988, Montes Giraldo 1974). Analogous patterns have been documented as well for other Ibero-Romance contact varieties including Dominican Spanish (Megenney 1990, Ortiz López 2007, Schwegler 1991b) a and Brazilian Portuguese (Schwegler 1991d, Schwenter 2005). Significant to the present analysis is the fact that discontinuous negation has been discussed extensively in the literature on creole languages, in particular Spanish-based Palenquero (Dieck 2000, Schwegler 1991c, 2016, 2018) and Portuguese-based Santome (Ferraz 1979, Güldemann & Hagemeijer 2019, Hagemeijer 2008, 2009), Angolar (Maurer 1995), and Fa d'Ambô (Post 2013).

The use of NEG2 in negated propositions is not categorical in Chocó Spanish lects, however, since it appears alongside and with less frequency than the canonical Spanish pre-verbal negation structure (NEG1), as in (5–7).[2]

(5) (Schwegler 1991a: 96)
No me gustó   y   me vine.
NEG me pleased and me came
'I didn't like it (there), and I came (here).'

(6) (Schwegler 1991a: 107)

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[2]Not discussed here is a third option (NEG3) in which only the utterance-final negative morpheme is used, e.g. *ellos llegan aquí no* 'they don't come here' (Ruíz-García 2001: 102). While NEG3 is a robust negation strategy in other Ibero-Romance contact varieties such as Brazilian Portuguese, Palenquero, and Principense, this variant is especially infrequent in Chocó Spanish. Schwegler (1991a) found only one NEG3 example and Ruíz-García (2001) found just three in a speech corpus of 37 hours; thus while its existence is noted, its import is considered marginal.

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> Yo **no** me caí.
> 1SG NEG me fell
> 'I didn't fall.'

(7) (Schwegler 1991a: 111)
> **No** hubo cura para él.
> NEG was priest for him
> 'There wasn't a priest for him.'

While a lengthy discussion of the degree of markedness of NEG2 lies outside the scope of the present discussion, informants from my own fieldwork in the capital city of Quibdó described the pattern as stigmatized and yet still *muy común* 'very common' and *inconsciente* 'unconscious'.

1.2 Discourse-pragmatic considerations

The factors governing the variation between NEG1 and NEG2 in Chocó Spanish are at present not well understood and have not been discussed in detail in previous work; this is largely due to the fact that no balanced sociolinguistic corpus of Chocó speech exists at present. Pragmatics-based analyses of variable negation strategies in Brazilian Portuguese (e.g. Schwenter 2005) suggest that NEG2 is licensed only in contexts where the negated proposition is mentioned or "activated" in the immediately preceding discourse. However, in an analysis of 66 tokens of NEG2 extracted from spontaneous conversational data from Chocó, Ruíz-García found that only 54.6% of cases involved negation of a proposition activated in the prior discourse (i.e. old information), while slightly less than half (45.4%) negated new, "out of the blue" propositions (2001: 109–123). A comparison of these cases is demonstrated in examples (8-9), which reveals the immediate discourse preceding the use of NEG2 from examples (2) and (3) above.

(8) (Ruíz-García 2001)
> Speaker A: ¿Y ustedes ya lo fueron a ver a él allá?
> and 2PL already him wen to see to he there
> 'And you already went to see him there?'
>
> Speaker B: Yo **no** voy a subir allá **no**.
> 1SG NEG go to go.up there NEG
> 'I'm not going to go up there.'
>
> Speaker C: ¿Quién llegó abuela?
> who arrived grandmother
> 'Who's here, grandma?'

Speaker D: Ese niñito **no** me habla a mí **no**.
that child-DIM NEG me talks to me NEG
'That kid doesn't talk to me.'

In (8), B's negated proposition 'I'm not going to go up there' is activated in A's question as to whether B 'already went to see him there.' However, the negation in (??) relates to the proposition 'X doesn't talk to me', which is not directly activated by C's question about who has just arrived. Thus, the use of NEG2 in Chocó Spanish does not appear to involve the same pragmatic conditioning that has been proposed for Brazilian Portuguese, but rather constitutes an alternative to NEG1 licensed across a wide range of discourse-pragmatic contexts.

1.3 Goal and outline

The objective of the present study is to shed light on the plausible origins of NEG2 in Chocó Spanish departing from an analysis of the sociodemographic data available regarding the African-descendant population in the Pacific lowlands from the beginnings of significant gold-mining operations in the late 17th c. through the boom and eventual collapse of the slave-labor-based economy in the region in the late 18th c. Section 2, below, presents a sketch of the sociohistorical context in which Chocó Spanish emerged, which can be broadly characterized as one of vast demographic disproportion, wherein the European(-descendant) population never numbered greater than 2.5% of the total population. Section 3 then outlines the patterns of negation in each plausible substrate language – that is, any language that the historical record suggests would have been the L1 of non-negligible numbers of speakers during the relevant time period (1650–1800). Finally, Section 4 weighs the contribution of the most likely substrate candidates in light of the historical evidence and the presence or absence of NEG2-like negation patterns in those languages, concluding that the large proportion of L1 Gbe speakers present in the early stages of Chocó's transformation to a central mining hub of western Colombia provided an analogous and plausible source language model for NEG2. A numerically prominent yet substantial group of L1 Kikongo speakers likely helped to reinforce the NEG2 pattern such that it became entrenched in some of the Afro-Hispanic contact varieties that emerged in Chocó.

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2 Social and historical considerations

Chocó is one of the thirty-two *departamentos* 'provinces/states' of Colombia, an administrative status it has held since 1944. In the most recent nationwide census, Chocó's total population numbered 388,476, the vast majority of which (82.1%) self-identified as *negro o afrocolombiano* 'black or Afro-Colombian', while the second largest group (12.7%) self-identified as *amerindio* 'Amerindian'; significantly, only 5.2% of Chocó's residents self-identified as *blanco o mestizo* 'white or mixed white/Amerindian ancestry' (DANE 2010). These percentages contrast starkly with nationwide demographic figures, in which the *blanco o mestizo* category comprises 86% of the total Colombian population, dwarfing that of both *negro o afrocolombiano* (10.6%) and *amerindio* (3.4%).

2.1 Demographics of 18th c. Chocó

An overview of the history of Chocó shows that similar demographic trends have existed since the earliest large-scale censuses of the region were prepared in the mid- to late-18th century.

Table 1: 18th c. demographics of Chocó by ethnic group

Year	"Whites"	"Slaves"	*Libres*	"Indians"	Total
1778	332	5,756	3,16	5,414	14,662
1779	335	5,916	3,348	5,693	15,292
1781	336	6,557	3,612	6,202	16,707
1782	359	7,088	3,899	6,552	17,898
1808	400	4,698	15,184	4,45	24,732

Table 1 above, adapted from Sharp (1976: 199), shows that in terms of proportions of the total population, the European-descendants ("Whites") category reached its maximum in 1778 at just 2.26%, steadily dropping to 1.62% by 1808. On the other hand, the percentages of enslaved Africans and African-descendants ("Slaves") and Amerindians ("Indians") are roughly equal throughout the same time period, the former reaching a maximum of 39.3% in 1782 and the latter peaking at 37.2% in 1779 before both decreased both in terms of raw numbers and percentages in 1808, which saw a massive increase in the number of *libres de todos los colores* 'freed people of all colors'. While the factors leading to this drastic rise in the number of *libres* remain unclear, contemporary Colombian historian Claudia Leal has suggested some possible explanations:

> [T]he Afro-descendant population (slaves plus libres) increased from 61.4 percent of the total to 80.6 percent, while Indians decreased from 36.6 percent to 17.8 percent. The extraordinary rise in the number of libres is hard to explain. It could be justified if slaves and Indians changed categories to libres with the same rates of their decrease in numbers. The purchase of freedom could explain how some individuals moved from slaves to libres, but no similar explanation exist for Indians becoming libres. (Leal 2018: 50)

The decrease in the Amerindian population very well may reflect an increased tendency towards marronage, a process noted by Werner Cantor (2000) as a common method of escape from semi-captivity employed by the indigenous population of Chocó. This is better understood in light of the fact that the category 'Indians' as tabulated in 18th and early 19th century censuses almost certainly referred *only* to tribute-paying Amerindians forced to live in *corregimientos* and provide labor for mine-owners (e.g. riverine transportation, food production, and housing construction), while a proportion of the total Amerindian population maintained their traditional ways of living outside the bounds of Spanish control.

The sociodemographic data from Table 1 points to two groups from which any substrate features of Chocó Spanish must be derived: African(-descendant)s and Amerindians. Tracing the linguistic background of the Amerindian population in Chocó is straightforward, as only Emberá- and Wounaan-speaking communities have inhabited this region continuously[3] from the first contacts with Spanish colonists in the early 16th c. through the present day (Jiménez Meneses 2004, Williams 2005). While serious discussion of the Amerindian influences on Chocó varieties of Spanish has unfortunately been omitted in previous accounts, sociohistorical factors including the size of the population, coupled with relative linguistic homogeneity within the Chocoan language family (Loewen 1957, 1960, 1963), lend weight to the importance of considering these languages when discussing issues related to language contact in Chocó.

On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that the vast majority of the current population of Chocó is of African descent, as noted above. Prior analyses and the author's own fieldwork suggest that this population is currently monolingual

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[3]The qualifier "continuously" is important here, since Cuna-speaking communities once resided in Chocó as well. Historical accounts by Werner Cantor (2000), Williams (2005), and Vargas Sarmiento (1993) point out that tensions between the Emberá and Cuna populations of Chocó, exacerbated by early contacts with Spanish and English colonists, caused the Cuna to permanently relocate north to Darién, Panama, along the border with Colombia, as well as to the San Blas islands off the Panamanian coast.

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in what has been described as a "partially restructured" variety of Spanish (Ruíz-García 2001) reflective of "advanced second language acquisition" at an earlier stage in the development of the variety (Sessarego 2016, 2019). Indeed, even as early as 1816, two entries from the diary of a Spanish military officer on an expedition to root out revolutionaries in Chocó suggest that the African-descendant population of Chocó spoke target-like Spanish:

> May 19: [W]e came across two blacks, and they said the enemies had spent the afternoon prior in the hills above... May 20: [F]rom some blacks that we found along the way we know that the enemies have fled in great haste.[4]

In order to highlight possible substrate sources of NEG2, a variety of sources are considered below to discern the plausible linguistic backgrounds of the largest groups within the African-born and African-descendant population that was trafficked to Chocó between the late 17th c. and 18th c.

2.2 Origins of enslaved Africans arriving in Cartagena, 1650–1800

Cartagena was the primary port of entry of enslaved Africans into colonial New Granada (modern-day Colombia) and thus is the relevant place to look for archival information concerning their places of origin. Regarding Chocó in particular, William F. Sharp states that "most of the miners in the Chocó during the last decades of the seventeenth century were *bozales* [African-born] and most came from Cartagena by way of the Atrato" (1976: 111).[5] Sharp also cites archival accounts from as late as 1777 demonstrating mine owners' preference for "newly imported blacks who were best suited for work in the mines" (117).

Table 2 above summarizes data from the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade database showing the provenance of 13,371 enslaved Africans sold in Cartagena during

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[4]Transcription and translation here are mine of an original archival document located in the "Latin American mss.— Colombia, 1558–1890" collection at the Lilly Library in Bloomington, Indiana.

[5]Sessarego argues that "it would be a mistake to assume that blacks in Chocó were all *bozales* who spoke African languages" (2017: 40) and suggests instead that *criollo* [American-born] slaves were more prominent in Chocó. In doing so, he highlights the sales of *criollos* in southeastern city of Popayán, pointing out that most mine (and slave) owners were from there. While these are relevant considerations, it must be noted that a total of only 1,074 *criollos* were sold in Popayán over the course of the entire century (1690–1789) in which mining peaked in Chocó (Colmenares 1997 [1979]: 36). For comparison, if we set aside local birth and death rates, these *criollos* would have constituted just 12% of the entire African(-descendant) population of Chocó in 1778.

Table 2: Broad regions of origin of Africans disembarking in Cartagena (late 17th-18th c.).

Time Period	Upper Guinea	Sierra Leone	Gold Coast	Bight of Benin	Bight of Biafra	Central Africa	Cape Verde	Príncipe Island
1651–1675	556			966	1,088	650		
1676–1700	820		131	1,138		1,078	313	1,005
1701–1725	245	403	1,801	1,955	344	720		
1776–1800					158			
Total	1,631	403	1,932	4,059	1,59	2,448	313	1,005
%	12.1%	3.0%	14.5%	30.4%	11.9%	18.3%	2.3%	7.5%

the time period spanning 1650–1800 (Voyages Database 2009). The range of locations from which Africans were purchased was vast, stretching from the French-held posts of Cacheu and Saint-Louis in Upper Guinea in the north all the way south to West Central Africa (present-day Angola, Congo) and including all major regions of the West African slave trade in between. Notably these include the islands of Cape Verde and Príncipe, which served as entrepôts for the shipment of slaves to the Americas, and where Portuguese-based creole languages had already emerged prior to this time period.[6] On the other hand, the largest percentage (30.4%) arrived from the Bight of Benin, also often referred to as the Slave Coast, a region which Eltis & Richardson (2010: 110–112) illustrate would have stretched from contemporary eastern Ghana to western Nigeria and thus would have covered areas occupied by speakers of Gbe languages, especially Ewe and Fon–for a dialect map of contemporary varieties of Gbe, see Capo (1991: xxiii–xxiv). From this broad region the database shows that more than two-thirds (2,899) of enslaved Africans purchased in the Bight of Benin and arriving in Cartagena were purchased from a single location, Whydah,[7] between the years 1676–1725. Those arriving in the earlier period between 1651–1675 primarily came from "Ardra", also known as "Allada".[8] This half-century span of time corresponds fairly closely with the earliest period in which it is known that large numbers of

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[6]While slaves arriving from each of these islands comprised relatively smaller groups (especially Cape Verde), their presence is noteworthy, given McWhorter (1999, 2006) claims that small numbers of slaves speaking African-origin pidgins or creoles were responsible for catalyzing the creation of creoles across the Atlantic.

[7]"Whydah" corresponds to the modern-day city Ouidah in Benin (for a social history of Ouidah, see Law 2004).

[8]Aboh (2015: ch.2) provides a helpful overview of the history and significance of the kingdom

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African-born slaves were purchased in Cartagena and transported to Chocó for work in the nascent gold mining industry.

Considerably less specific are the details provided by the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade database concerning the places of purchase of the second-largest group (18.3%) of Africans disembarking in Cartagena, labelled simply "West Central Africa and St. Helena, port unspecified". Thus, we can state with some degree of certainty only that this group would have been broadly comprised by speakers of Bantu languages, among them certainly Kikongo, which was central to the formation of Palenquero in the maroon community of San Basilio de Palenque just inland from Cartagena (e.g. Schwegler 2002, 2011). Similarly vague is information about Gold Coast arrivals. These comprised the third-largest group (14.5%) of slaves arriving in Cartagena, for which a specific place of purchase, Cape Coast Castle, is known only for 426 of the 1,801 enslaved Africans arriving between 1701–1725, all others falling under the headings "Gold Coast, port unspecified" and "Gold Coast, Fr. definition". For the purposes of this analysis, then, we will make the general (and rather commonplace) assumption that many among this population would have been Akan/Twi-speaking.

2.3 Origins of enslaved Africans in Chocó, 1759

Some of the uncertainty inherent in the assumptions made above is mitigated by the existence of a census dated 1759 providing information about the enslaved peoples working in fifty-eight mining camps across the region of Chocó at the time.[9] Particularly illuminating from this document are lists of the names of enslaved Africans and African-descendants working in each camp. What follows below is a summary of the data gleaned from a detailed tabulation of the names found in this original handwritten document.

Out of 2,741 named[10] individuals, 1,535 consist of just a first name, while 1,206 provide a second element consisting of either a surname, an African ethnic de-

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of Allada, the center of which was a city of the same name situated 50 kilometers inland in modern-day Benin. This is the source of the ethnic denomination Arará, which was applied to enslaved Africans arriving from this location (as seen below).

[9]Accessed in the online database of the Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia (Sección Colonia, Negros y Esclavos, Cauca, Legajo 4) http://www.archivogeneral.gov.co. It should be noted that Granda (1988) analyzed the same document and reached similar conclusions. However, the numbers reported here do not match precisely those summarized in Granda's article, and do not invoke a priori assumptions, such as general groupings of diverse ethnonyms under a single linguistic family label (e.g. Kwa).

[10]The total population of Chocó in 1759 was 3,918. The difference between the overall total and the 2,741 accounted for here are individuals described collectively as *muleques* 'children', *viejos* 'elderly', and/or *chusma* 'unfit for work'.

nomination, or some type of descriptor. Each of the descriptive second elements of the individuals' names was labelled with a code designating subtypes of naming conventions. The range of subtypes included African ethnic denominations (e.g. *Bambará, Lucumí*), the generic terms *Criollo* and *Bozal*, surnames of Spanish origin (e.g. *García, Figueroa*), racial descriptors (e.g. *Mulato, Negro*), other descriptors (e.g. *Cabezón* 'big-headed', *Bailador* 'dancer'), toponyms/demonyms (e.g. *Cartagena, Panameño*), marital status (e.g. *Casado* 'married', *Soltero* 'single'), and others which were not immediately discernable (e.g. *Cuco, Pino*). Table 3 gives an overview of the subtypes used in the second elements of names found in the census. Most evident is the largest group (43.9%) described in terms describing a range of African ethnicities, the most frequent of which are listed in Table 4.

Table 3: Subtypes of descriptions following names in 1759 census of Chocó.

African ethnic denomination	Criollo[a]	Spanish surname	Race	Demonym	Other[b]
529	405	123	67	10	72
43.9%	33.6%	10.2%	6.0%	0.8%	5.5%

[a]It is noteworthy that such a large proportion of individuals are described as *Criollos*, given the evidence discussed in Section 2.2 that this population would have been considerably smaller than the African-born population in Chocó. An important consideration here is that the percentages reported in Table 3 were calculated in reference to the total of just those individuals whose names are accompanied by a second element in the 1759 census. Thus, if we consider all 2,741 named individuals, the names followed by *Criollo/Criolla* comprise a considerably smaller percentage (14.8%) of the total. Further, since the term *criollo* was typically applied to African-descendant slaves who were born in the colony and spoke Spanish, we may fairly safely assume that few of the remaining 1,535 individuals who were not described explicitly as Criollo would have been in fact *criollos*, since this aspect of their identity would have been apparent to the census preparers upon demonstration of their linguistic abilities.
[b]Subsumed in the 'Other' category are those elements which do not provide any hints as to the provenance of the person. Besides the elements which were undiscernible as mentioned above (totaling 39 individuals), these also included the term *Bozal* (3 individuals), marital status (8 individuals), and other descriptors (22 individuals).

The predominance of the names *Mina* (137 individuals) and *Congo* (85 individuals) suggest that the linguistic backgrounds associated with these ethnic denominations would have been likely candidates as West African substrate languages in 18th c. Chocó. In the past, historians have tended to associated *Mina* with the Gold Coast port of Elmina in modern-day Ghana. However, Hall, points out:

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Table 4: African ethnic denominations in 1759 census of Chocó.

Mina	Congo	Arará	Carabalí	Chambá	Chalá	Setre	Mandinga	Popó	Other[a]
137	85	47	46	28	26	25	21	18	96
25.9%	16.1%	8.9%	8.7%	5.3%	4.9%	4.7%	4.0%	3.4%	18.1%

[a]'Other' subsumes forty-seven distinct ethnic denominations, most appearing only once or twice (e.g. *Fori, Bran*), while a few others, such as *Nangó* (13 individuals) and *Tembo* (11 individuals), appear more frequently.

> In the Portuguese, Spanish, and French colonies, the 'Mina' were the *casta* Mina, and they are to be identified with the Gbe language speakers as described by Alonso de Sandoval in both the 1627 and 1647 versions of his book. .... He distinguished the *casta* Mina from the Popos, Fulaos, Ardas or Araraes, although he considered that all were related and they were all one (*que todo es uno*). .... Sandoval makes it clear that the Mina casta is to be identified with Gbe-speaking Africans of the Bight of Benin, and specifically the Ewe, Aja, Fon and others of the Gbe language group, and not immigrants from the Gold Coast. (Hall 2003: 70–71)

Law has called into question the definitive nature of Hall's above claim about the meaning of *Mina*, pointing out that in many cases

> the aggregation of peoples who were linguistically distinct but geographically adjacent (in Africa) are best explicable on the assumption that many people in these groups were bilingual, so that smaller groups could be assimilated into larger ones in the Americas. (Law 2005: 267)

In light of this, it is relevant to note that Mosquera (2008: 84) provides archival testimony from a mining settlement in Tadó, Chocó in 1728 displaying the multilingual abilities of an individual named Antonio Mina, who it appears was able to serve as an interpreter for other enslaved Africans of various ethnolinguistic backgrounds, as indicated by their names: José Nongo, Marcos Chalá, and Francisco Arara.

In any case, the high frequency of appearance of *Minas* in the 1759 census, coupled with the presence of significant numbers of both *Arará* (47 individuals) and *Popó* (18 individuals), suggest that the Gbe-speaking and/or Gbe-descendant[11]

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[11]This is an important consideration, since second-generation African-descendants were likely

population recorded in the document reaches a total of 202 individuals, or 38.2% of those described in terms of African ethnic denominations.

In the case of *Congo*, which appears in 18.1% of the names from the 1759 census, there is little room for debate as to the provenance of these individuals, particularly given the close correspondence with the data in Table 2 showing that 18.3% of the slaves arriving in Cartagena came from West Central African. I will again assume (as in Section 2.2) that members of this group were speakers of Bantu languages, especially Kikongo. As for other ethnic denominations appearing in the 1759 census, in the interest of clarity and a degree of certainty, here no specific claims are made as to their linguistic backgrounds.[12]

3 Negation strategies in candidate substrate languages

In this section, we present the morphosyntactic structures used to express negation in each of seven likely candidate substrate languages highlighted above in Section 2 above: Emberá, Wounaan, Ewe, Gen, Fon, Kikongo, Akan/Twi, and Principense. These negation strategies are illustrated in examples (9–20), below.

3.1 Amerindian languages

I begin with two indigenous languages of the Chocoan language family, given that these (especially Emberá) were the most widely spoken for the longest time period in Chocó, i.e. from initial contacts with Spanish-speaking colonists in the early 16th c. through to the present. As illustrated in examples (9–12), three varieties of Emberá as well as Wounaan express negation in the form of suffix attached to the verb stem, which can optionally be followed by additional suffixes expressing tense, mood, or aspect.

(9) Emberá Pedee (Harms 1994: 131)
mi warra kʰãi-**ʔe**
my son sleep-NEG
'My son is not sleeping.'

(10) Emberá Katío (Mortenson 1999: 98)

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among those who still identified as *Mina*. Indeed, the surname *Mina* (as well as others, e.g. *Carabalí*) is still found in African-descendant communities from the Pacific lowlands of Colombia and Ecuador.

[12]For instance, *Carabalí* appears frequently but can be traced to a range of languages in modern-day Nigeria.

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> ũnũ-**ẽ**-pa-sʰi-a
> see-NEG-EQ-PAST-DECL
> 'He didn't see her.'

(11) Emberá Chamí (Aguirre Licht 1999: 112)
 ídʒi kúi-**wẽ**-a
 today bathe-NEG-DECL
 'Today I haven't/won't take a bath.'

(12) Wounaan (Holmer 1963: 129)
 mə yeka-**ba**-m
 1SG talk-NEG-FUT
 'I'm not going to talk.'

Examples (9–12) demonstrate that each of the Chocoan languages spoken by indigenous peoples in contact with Spanish in Chocó have a similar typological profile with respect to the expression negation, that is, morphologically by way of verbal suffixation. As such, neither Emberá nor Wounaan make particularly good candidates for the introduction of NEG2 into Chocó Spanish, since no pre-verbal element is present in any variety.

3.2 West African languages

Next I turn to Ewe and Fon, the two varieties of Gbe most likely to have been present in Chocó during the early stages of transformation of this region into a major center of the gold mining industry in the 18th c. Examples (13–14), drawn from 19ᵗʰ c. and 20ᵗʰ c. grammars of Ewe, demonstrate that negation in this variety involves the placement of a free morpheme *me* before the verb – as well as before any TMA markers, as seen in (13) – plus the morpheme o at the end of the sentence, following any post-verbal complements or adjuncts. Crucially, both pre-verbal *me* and sentence-final *o* are obligatory in the expression of negation in these varieties.

(13) Ewe (Ellis 1890: 234)
 Nye **me a** du **o**.
 1SG NEG FUT eat NEG
 'I will not eat.'

(14) Ewe (Ameka 1991: 64)
 Kofi me va afi sia o.
 Kofi NEG come place this NEG
 'Kofi did not come here.'

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Similarly, Gen negation requires the expression of both pre-verbal *mú* and utterance-final *ò* negator morphemes (Aboh 2004: 46–47).

On the other hand, the Fon variety of Gbe can express negation pre-verbally with the morpheme *ma* or post-verbally with the sentence-final morpheme *a*, but according to Aboh (2004: 45), the pre-verbal negator *ma* and post-verbal *a* cannot co-occur – unless they are in a conditional clause introduced by *ni* 'if', in which case they must both be present.

(15) Fon (Aboh 2004: 44)
Kɔku **ma** na xɔ asɔn le.
Koku NEG FUT buy crab NUM
'Koku will not buy the crabs.'

(16) Fon (Aboh 2004: 45)
Kɔku na xo asɔn le **a**.
Koku FUT buy crab NUM NEG
'Koku will not buy the crab.'

Generally, then, while Ewe, Gen, and Fon have some similarities in terms of negation through the use of free morphemes appear pre-verbally and/or sentence-finally, only Ewe and Gen appear to have a pattern of negation that could have provided a substrate source for NEG2 in Chocó Spanish.

Continuing within the Niger-Congo language family, examples (17–18)¨ below are from Kikongo. Given the historical data presented above and prior proposals for the origin of NEG2 in Chocó (e.g. Schwegler 1991a, 2018), this language is considered particularly relevant as a possible substrate. On the other hand, Bantu languages in general, and Kikongo in particular, present the most complex range of possibilities of any of the languages considered here in terms of negation strategies. The World Atlas of Linguistic Structures describes Kongo as the only language[13] 'with an obligatory clause-final negative word, a choice between an immediately preverbal negative word or a negative prefix, and an optional suffix' (Dryer 2013).

(17) Kisikongo
ki-a-mon-idi o npangi aku **ko** mazono ku zandu.
NEG.1SG-PAST-see-PRF AUG brother your NEG yesterday at market
'I didn't see your brother yesterday at the market.'

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[13]Here and below names for this language are presented in the sources that have been cited. In all cases it is clear that varieties of the same language (Kikongo) are being described.

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(18) Kongo (Lumwamu 1973: 200)
ka-t-a-dí-di-éti **ko**.
NEG-1PL-COMPL-eat-PAST-REL.COMPL NEG
'We have not yet eaten.'

Examples (17–18), above, present cases in which Kikongo negation partially aligns with that of the NEG2 pattern found in Chocó Spanish, but in both cases the pre-verbal negator is attached as a prefix to the verb and followed by a series of morphemes for person/number and tense/aspect also prefixed to the verb. Furthermore, in (17) the post-verbal negator appears before an adverb and prepositional phrase, whereas in Chocó Spanish the post-verbal negative morpheme in NEG2 follows those same types of constituents (see examples 2 and 4, above). Thus, while NEG2-like constructions are possible, the number of variable strategies of negation in Kikongo and the complexities of its morphosyntactic realization do not make it an ideal candidate as a substrate for the NEG2 structure as used in the Spanish of Chocó.

While not as likely a candidate in light of the sociohistorical profile of Chocó, Akan/Twi should be considered as well, since languages of the Kwa branch of Niger-Congo are often lumped together and considered typologically similar in language contact work (see, e.g., Granda 1988). Akan/Twi negation, as in (19) below, involves the use of a verbal prefix – in this case preceded by an aspectual marker – with no post-verbal marking whatsoever.

(19) Akan/Twi (Amfo 2010: 104)
Papa no a-n-kɔ adwuma nnɛra.
man DEF COMPL-NEG-go work yesterday
'The man didn't go to work yesterday.'

Similar to the Chocoan languages, then, Akan/Twi is an unlikely source model for NEG2 in the Spanish of Chocó.

Finally, to conclude the discussion of possible substrate models for NEG2, example (20) below comes from the Portuguese-based creole Principense. While there is no definitive evidence to suggest that speakers of any Portuguese-based creole were trafficked to Chocó, it is possible that speakers of Principense may have been among the 1,005 enslaved Africans that arrived in Cartagena via Príncipe between 1676–1700, some of whom may have indeed been taken to the Pacific lowland region.

(20) Principense (Maurer 2009: 58)

> Te   ninge   nhon di pasa lala   **fa**.
> have person no   of pass there NEG
> 'There is nobody who passes by over there.'

However, as the sentence in (20) shows, Principense uses only a sentence-final negator *fa*[14]. The morpheme *nhon* glossed as 'no' above has scope only over the word *ninge* 'person', combining to mean 'nobody' as seen in the English translation. Thus, Principense is also not a strong candidate as a source for the appearance of NEG2 in Chocó.

3.3 Summary

Table 5 summarizes the types of negation strategies found in the seven candidate substrate languages considered most relevant to the context in which Chocó Spanish emerged. The NEG2 pattern presented by Chocó Spanish involves the use of pre-verbal *and* sentence-/utterance-final negator morphemes; therefore, the most likely candidate in purely linguistic terms is Ewe, which presents an analogous pattern. Kikongo may also be of relevance given the *possibility* of analogous structure, with the caveats discussed above.

Table 5: Types of negation among candidate substrate languages

Language	Subgroup (Family)	Negation type
Emberá	Chocoan (Amerindian)	Verbal suffix
Wounaan	Chocoan (Amerindian)	Verbal suffix
Ewe	Gbe (Niger-Congo)	Pre-verbal and sentence-final morpheme
Gen	Gbe (Niger-Congo)	Pre-verbal and sentence-final morpheme
Fon	Gbe (Niger-Congo)	Pre-verbal or sentence-final morpheme
Kikongo	Bantu (Niger-Congo)	Pre-verbal morpheme or verbal prefix and/or suffix *and clause-final morpheme*
Akan/Twi	Tano (Niger-Congo)	Verbal prefix
Principense	Portuguese-based creole	Sentence-final morpheme

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[14]This is in fact unique to Principense as compared to the closely-related Portuguese-based creoles Santome, Angolar and Fa d'Ambô. According to Maurer (2013), "[t]he fact that … Principense has no double negation like Santome *na … fa* is probably due to the existence of the validator *na* (epistemic modality) in Principense, which has the same shape and the same position of the negator *na*, namely immediately preceding the tense, aspect, and mood markers."

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4 Conclusion

The present analysis is narrow in scope both in terms of the linguistic structure under analysis (discontinuous negation or NEG2) as well as the geographical region of its use (Chocó, Colombia). However, the account offered here is perhaps somewhat more far-reaching insofar as NEG2 has been the subject of some debate regarding its origins in Chocó as either a contact feature derived from a West African source (Granda 1978: 514, 1988, Ruíz-García 2001, Schwegler 1991a) or one that developed across Ibero-Romance in the 15th c. via Jespersen's cycle and thus reflecting Spanish varieties spoken by colonists (Sessarego 2017). The latter argument has been challenged and largely discounted by Schwegler (2018) in part because the pattern of NEG2 in Chocó as seen in examples (1–3) above involves a pre-verbal and a sentence-final negator after objects, adverbs, and other intervening morphemes, while Jespersen's cycle[15] involves immediately post-verbal negators, as do all of the examples in Sessarego's (2017) analysis of 15th–19th c. Spanish from the Davies (2002) *Corpus del Español*. There is no existing evidence of NEG2 occurring in colonial varieties of Spanish, nor has any attempt been made to provide data showing its use in western Colombia during the relevant time period. On the other hand, there is an abundance of evidence that NEG2 appears frequently in Ibero-Romance varieties in intense contact with West African languages, including Afro-Hispanic varieties of Chocó, Colombia and the Dominican Republic, as well as Brazilian Portuguese and the creole languages Palenquero, Santome, Angolar, and Fa d'Ambô. The origin and persistence of NEG2 in each of these varieties requires an analysis based on local sociohistorical and linguistic evidence.

In the case of Chocó it has been particularly important to adopt a local perspective, as opposed to a macroscopic or comparative one. The structure of the present paper thus proceeds from a review of original archival documents that shed light on the languages most likely to have been in the right place at the right time to have exerted an influence on Spanish in Chocó – in accordance with Bickerton's Edict – before considering them as possible substrates. The historical and linguistic evidence I present here indicates that speakers of Gbe varieties, in particular Ewe and Gen speakers enslaved in the Bight of Benin and sold in Cartagena in the late 17th c. and early 18th c., were in all likelihood the key agents that introduced NEG2 structures found in contemporary varieties of Spanish spoken

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[15]This is the version of the cycle as originally conceived by Jespersen (1917). Recently, van der Auwera (2009) has offered an expanded version of the cycle that includes the development of patterns with sentence- or utterance-final negator morphemes–notably, this has been invoked primarily to account for these sorts of patterns in West African languages, not European ones.

in Chocó. My account allows room for the contribution of speakers of Bantu languages as well, particularly Kikongo, who were enslaved in West Central Africa and trafficked through Cartagena in the relevant time period, but whose numerical presence was substantially less than that of the Gbe-speaking group and whose language does not present negation patterns strictly analogous to NEG2. Speakers of Chocoan languages (especially Emberá) were the only other group present in Chocó in the 17th and 18th c. with large enough populations to have significantly influenced the development of Chocó Spanish. It is apparent that NEG2, however, did not originate in any of these varieties, all of which express negation by way of verbal suffixation.

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Chapter 6

The minutes of the Irmandade Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos in Recife: A case study

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This article is a case study of the written texts by Manoel de Barros, a member of the Irmandade Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos 'Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary of Black Men' in the 19th century, in the city of Recife, Brazil. The minutes and terms of the brotherhood constitute important sociolinguistic documentation of literacy of people with limited access to texts and formal education. The texts do not follow the writing standards of 19th century Portuguese. The variations from the standard norm have three main sources: (i) orthographic, (ii) phonetic and (iii) morphosyntactic. Characteristics such as apheresis and epenthesis are compared to those occurring in similar texts written by the African and Afro-Brazilian people of Bahia (Oliveira 2006), on Bahian Afro-Brazilian Portuguese (Lucchesi et al. 2009) as well as Portuguese in general. *Keywords:* historical sociolinguistics; Brazilian Portuguese; Brazil; brotherhood; freedmen.

1 Introduction

This article is a case study of the linguistic characteristics of the historical writings of Judge-Brother Manoel de Barros of the *Irmandade da Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos* in the 19th century.[1] The *irmandades*, 'brotherhoods', were civil organizations that allowed its members to secure a space for Catholic religious worship, a burial place, and other amenities. In view of the fact that

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[1]"Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary of Black Men", a catholic brotherhood from African men and African descendants.

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these books have been contaminated by bacteria, we want to give visibility to such documentation as a source of historical sociolinguistic data that deserves documentation and digitalization. In Brazil, after the publication of Law 10.639/03 which stipulates the mandatory teaching of the history and culture of Afro-Brazilians throughout the entire educational system, there has been a growing interest in this historical topic and the subsidizing of new pedagogical materials. Related to this issue, there has also been interest in the formation and stabilization of the national Portuguese variety, referred to as Brazilian Portuguese.

According to Mattos e Silva (2004) and Noll (2008), the slave trade and the dispersion of enslaved individuals across the Brazilian territory were fundamental factors for the implementation and diffusion of the Portuguese language in Brazil. Up until then, competence in Standard Portuguese was restricted to Portuguese descendants and people who had the financial means to study in the metropolis. Given the process of acquisition of a second language during the colonial period[2], the aforementioned authors argue that the African and Afro-Brazilian speakers of Portuguese were agents in the changes and innovations that occurred in Brazilian Portuguese compared to European Portuguese.[3] However, there are few linguistic studies based on historical data of Afro-Brazilian and African writers, like manuscripts and large-scale written corpora, to confirm the hypothesis proposed by Mattos e Silva (2004).

Generally speaking, it is very difficult to locate such manuscripts, whether personal or institutional writings. This is because, in addition to the unfavourable historical socioeconomic conditions in Brazil, the enslaved population was prevented from learning to read and write and, more specifically, they were institutionally forbidden to attend public classes by the Constitution of 1824, although no specific penalty has been reported for offenders. Indeed, there are reports and records of enslaved people present in schools as well as people who knew how to read and write at various levels of proficiency (Silva 2007).

In our search for manuscripts, we came across several studies concerning the Catholic brotherhoods *dos homens pretos* 'of black men', which were important institutions for the African and Afro-Brazilian population during the slavery period. There are two research areas that study these institutions: History (e.g., Assis 1998, Levi 2006, Mac Cord 2005; Quintão 2002) and Linguistics (cf. Oliveira 2006, Galves & Lobo 2019). A number of these studies focus on the states of Rio

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[2]In Brazilian linguistic literature, Lucchesi et al. (2009) define this phenomenon as an irregular linguistic transmission of the Portuguese language.

[3]There are characteristics of Brazilian Portuguese that are considered as representing a conservative variety of European Portuguese (cf. Graebin 2017, and cf. Massini-Cagliari et al. 2016, on comparative synchronic studies in Portuguese segmental phonology).

de Janeiro, Minas Gerais and Bahia. Fortunately, as Pernambuco was one of the states with the highest number of abolitionists and had many freed former slaves already in the 17th and 18th centuries (Klein 1969), a large number of 19th century manuscripts has survived in its brotherhoods. This documentation has proven to be a relevant source for understanding the history of Africans and their descendants, not only in Brazil, but also the rest of the world.[4]

This is a case study identifying characteristics of popular urban Portuguese, as spoken in Recife, more specifically in the neighbourhood of Santo Antonio. Although this brotherhood functioned in the geographical and institutional centre of the African and Afro-Brazilian community, we do not consider the variety of Portuguese featured in the texts an ethnic variety, but part of a popular and urban regional variety in a multicultural and multi-ethnic context. As the volume of data is not sufficient to allow for a statistical analysis, we present the documentation, the historical context and the fundamentals for using it as a database in this article.

After a brief introduction, the article proceeds with a short history of the brotherhoods, their operational structure and historical importance for the African and Afro-Brazilian population during that period, including their role as an institution that granted access to literacy. Next, we discuss the methodology and the palaeographic criteria essential for the selection of data. After evaluating three books from the Brotherhood and the transcription of one thereof, we compared the signatures and the handwriting of the terms and minutes contained therein. In assessing the sociolinguistic nature of these materials, the ethnic background of Manoel de Barros was confirmed because of his position as a judge within the brotherhood, a position that could only be held by significant individuals in the Afro-Brazilian community. The section posessome challenges, such as the classification of the textual genre of the Minutes.

In the third section we compare our data to 1) Oliveira (2006) mainly for phonological phenomena; 2) Lucchesi et al. (2009) for a comparison with the characteristics of Afro-Brazilian Portuguese, such as the optional plural inflection on nouns; and 3) Petter (2009) for Portuguese in general. Finally, we present pertinent summary comments and suggest possibilities for future research involving the documentation and transcription of such materials.

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[4]We also found information about these minutes and terms in Cape Verde and Portugal.

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2 Materials and methods

From the outset of the colonial period, Catholic religious brotherhoods were present in every location where Africans were disembarked. The first records point to the emergence of the *Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary* in Europe[5], the first one being in the German city of Düsseldorf, in 1407. For the black brotherhoods, on the other hand, there are records of the *Confraria da Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos* 'Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary of Black Men' in Cape Verde, still in the 15th century and the *Irmandade da Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos* 'Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary of Black Men' in Angola in the 16th century.[6] The creation of a brotherhood was marked by the creation of a statute. As soon as the brothers began to congregate, they needed their statute to be officially approved by the metropolis (Lisbon). After the approval, they could raise funds to build a church with a cemetery, and for this reason many foundation dates of churches might be considered as the foundation date of a brotherhood.

The brotherhoods were civil organizations that derived from the liberal organizations of artisans of the European Middle Ages. In the colonies, they permitted the enslaved and freed population to secure a space for Catholic religious worship, a burial place (since the cemeteries at that time were private and located in churches attended by the white community), and they provided other amenities, such as cash loans and health care. Assis (1998) argues that the brotherhoods *dos homens pretos e pardos* 'of black and brown men' occupied an ambiguous space in society, because on the one hand they acted as an an agent of assimilation and control, since members could not have participated in revolts or have been arrested, yet, on the other hand, they constituted the only institution of assistance to this population. Quintão (2002) observes that the greatest advantage of such associations was their autonomy, a fact that contributed to Brazilian religious syncretism.[7]

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[5]In this case, we are not talking about the brotherhoods *dos homens pretos* 'of black men', but the European brotherhoods *da Nossa Senhora do Rosário* 'of the Rosary' which gave origin to the brotherhoods *da Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos e Pardos* 'of the Rosary of black and brown men'.

[6]There are records from the 17th century onwards concerning the emergence of both the aforementioned institutions in Brazil. The first brotherhoods *da Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos e Pardos* ' of the Rosary of black and brown men' were the one in Rio de Janeiro in 1639, the one in Belém do Pará in 1682, the ones in Salvador and Recife in 1685 and the one in Olinda and Igarassu in 1688.

[7]Considering that this topic goes beyond the scope of this article, we suggest reading Juruá (2011), and the literature on *candomblé*, a syncretic Afro-Brazilian religion, and *Umbanda*, a syncretic religious practice combining Afro-Brazilian and Brazilian Amerindian ritual features.

The statute that governed the brotherhoods and confraternities defined the rules of operation and membership. Usually, an initial membership fee was charged, and to occupy positions of responsibility, such as those of Judge and Clerk, it was necessary to have social prestige. In the case of the brotherhood of the Santo Antonio do Recife neighbourhood, according to the appointment regulation (*compromisso*) in force at the time, it was also necessary for the King of Congo[8], elected by the brotherhood itself, to be a descendant of the indigenous people of Angola (Compromisso 1782)[9], which binds this brotherhood to its Angolan origin.[10] However, one cannot say that all members were from the Angola region or that this would have been the case for their descendants since people from different parts of Africa were brought to Recife.

An issue that caused much historical controversy was the fact that, due to limited literacy in general and, possibly, due to the institutional prohibition of access to education for the African and Afro-Brazilian population, the majority of the Catholic brotherhoods *dos homens pretos e pardos* 'of black and brown men' in Pernambuco hired white clerks to write their minutes. The justification for Manoel de Barros, the judge of the brotherhood who had already been clerk of the same brotherhood, for writing the deliberations (*termos*), was the temporary financial difficulty of the brotherhood, which prevented it from hiring a clerk, as was the tradition and, in a way, the obligation of such institutions. Moreover, in the documents under consideration, the signatures that were preceded by the expression "Cruz de …" ['Cross of…'] were actually written by the clerk and the cross functioned as the signature, while those who knew how to write their own names would sign in their own hand, as shown below.

Silva (2007) does an excellent job of reconstructing the presence of people from the African and Afro-Brazilian community in Pernambucan society. Using data from the 1872 census[11], Silva (2007) compares the number of literate people in the enslaved population in Pernambuco, which was 1 literate person for every 999 illiterate ones and 0.6 literate enslaved children for every 999.04 illiterate ones. However, it is possible that some enslaved people did not openly admit their literacy, since that could have been considered dangerous by the authorities.

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[8]In Recife, the King of Congo was an important public figure who interceded alongside official bodies in the representation of the freed and enslaved population.

[9]"[G]entio de Angola" (Compromisso 1782).

[10]In 1491, the *manicongo* 'king of the Congo and Angola' Nzinga-a-Nkuwu, also called Nkuwu Nzinga, was the first African king to convert to Catholicism, being baptized as John I, having his kingdom recognized by the Pope and even sending one of his sons to be trained in the Vatican (Souza 2002). Despite this, the same king deconverted himself later.
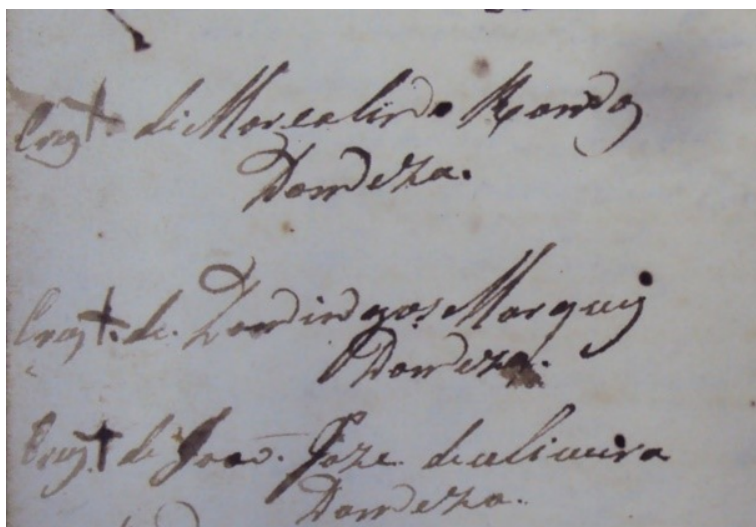
[11]Cf. Brasil (1876).

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Figure 1: Signatures made by crosses.

Figure 2: Handwritten signature.

We analysed the advertisements of "Escravos fugidos"[12], "Avisos diversos"[13] and "Vendas"[14] from the newspaper *Diário de Pernambuco*[15] between the years 1831 and 1848[16]. In 342 advertisements, we found two references to two literate enslaved men, Agostinho and Joaquim. When discussing alternative forms of literacy, Moysés (1994) reports that some enslaved people and freedmen used shopping lists, booklets and even a copy of their freedom letters as a way of learning to read and write.

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[12]'Runaway slaves'.

[13]'Miscellaneous notices'.

[14]'Sales'.

[15]'Pernambuco Daily'.

[16]Most of them were from the 1840s and all the advertisements are stored in the Jordão Emerenciano State Public Archive.

In this way, Manoel de Barros, the clerk who after three years became a judge, was probably a freedman. This allowed him to properly exercise his duties as a person of prestige in the black community and someone who had access to literacy.

With regard to methodology, we adopt, in general, a qualitative analysis. We visited several archives in Pernambuco and found the relevant documentation in possession of IPHAN.[17] The *Irmandade Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos* had donated its records to that institution for the purpose of secure storage and conservation. By means of digital photography, copies were made of three books, out of which we transcribed only one, containing information dated between 1829 and 1833. For the transcription, we used the paleographic techniques of Barbosa et al. (2006).

Altogether, 32 texts were fully transcribed, 13 of which were written by Manoel de Barros. The remaining texts were in three different calligraphies. Although these very likely were African or Afro-Brazilian clerks, we chose to do a case study of the linguistic characteristics of Manoel de Barros as he held the position of judge and clerk and signed his own name. Consequently, we were sure that the clerk was writing in his own hand (Figure 3)[18].
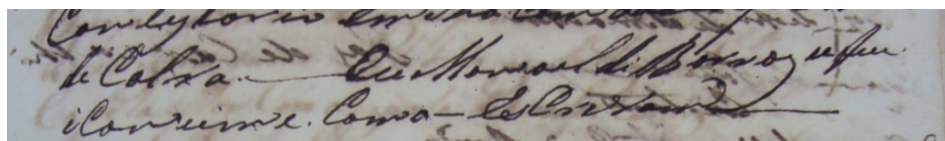

Figure 3: Handwritten signature.

After selecting the texts for analysis, we conducted a paleographic transcription of the documents and identified the main fixed textual structures of the minutes, such as title, place and date. The stylistic rigidity of the texts minimized the syntactic possibilities therein in view of the fact that several phrases were always repeated, for example *Estando reunidos em mesa...* 'Being together at the table...' or *Aos três dias do mês ....* 'On the third day of the month...'. Perhaps, because of such repetitions, copying the minutes themselves may have been a means of improving the writing skills of the author.

One major challenge was the lack of comparisons between texts written by African and Afro-Brazilian clerks on the one hand and texts written by other

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[17]Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (lit. Institute of Historical and Artistic National Heritage).

[18]The excerpt below reads: *Eu Manoel de Barros o fiz e assinei como Escrivão* 'I Manoel de Barros recorded and signed as clerk.'

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Brazilian clerks, for example *brancos* 'white men' and pardos 'brown men'.[19] Until the beginning of the 19th century, the literate population was minimal, and most clerks were either Portuguese or had lived in Portugal. Even so, we compared our data with previous linguistic analyses of minutes written by Africans and Afro-Brazilians in Salvador, Brazil, and there were several similarities. We also took into consideration the reported characteristics of Afro-Brazilian Portuguese, as described by Lucchesi et al. (2009)[20], and Portuguese varieties in general.

Despite the hypothesis presented by Mattos e Silva (2004), there are characteristics from this last-mentioned dialect that are shared by speakers of Popular Brazilian Portuguese (PBP) in general, so the question remains whether the characteristics described are exclusive to the Afro-Brazilian community or whether these characteristics also extend to PBP regardless of the ethnic origin of the speakers. Therefore, considering that the Portuguese written by Manoel de Barros is not an isolated variety, we treat the Portuguese written by him not as Afro-Brazilian Portuguese, but as part of PBP from Recife, which was written by an Afro-descendant. Hence, we understand the relationship between the two varieties that, although belonging to the same ethnic group, developed in a different way.

3 Linguistic characteristics of the terms/minutes

The description of the linguistic characteristics of the texts written by the African/Afro-Brazilian clerk Manoel de Barros is not intended to be a generalization of the work produced by all Afro-Brazilian clerks of the time, but to compare the characteristics of this clerk's texts to the writings of other Afro-Brazilian and African clerks (Oliveira 2006), to the linguistic characteristics attributed to the Afro-Brazilian Portuguese (Lucchesi et al. 2009) and to Brazilian Portuguese (Petter 2009). The main goal of this discussion is to demonstrate the potential of the documents of the brotherhoods and confraternities of *Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos* in order to reach an understanding of the linguistic interaction between speakers in urban environments in the 19th century.

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[19]Although we performed the paleographic transcription of texts by other brothers from the same period, in this work we were unable to compare their characteristics. Moreover, in this research, we only analysed the linguistic characteristics already attributed to the Afro-Brazilian and African population in Brazil.

[20]The authors described the so-called "Afro-Brazilian Portuguese", the variety of Portuguese spoken by four rural Afro-Brazilian communities in the state of Bahia.

From a total of 32 texts, we analysed three types of characteristics: (1) phenomena of an orthographic nature; (2) phonetic phenomena, which we distinguished between (a) those that occur at the level of the phonological word, and (b) those that occur at the level of more than one phonological word, namely, hypo-and hyper-segmentation; and (3) morphosyntactic phenomena. We redefine some of the phenomena listed in Ziober (2014) and below we exemplify these points. Some phenomena are recurrent, such as the elevation of the vowel <e> to <i>, with 79 occurrences, while other occurrences happen only once, such as the rhotacism from <l> to <r>, in <Sipruco> *sepulcro* 'sepulchre'.

3.1 Phenomena of a graphic nature

First, we need to acknowledge graphic phenomena as phenomena resulting from variation in spelling. Compare the variation between <s>, <c>, <ç>, <ss> and <sc> for the phoneme /s/:

(1) variation between S, C, Ç, SS and SC
   a. *acima* → <a**Ç**ima> PREP 'above'
   b. *segundo* → <**Ç**egundo> NUM 'second'
   c. *posse* → <po**ç**ia> NOM 'the act to take office'
   d. *fosse* → <fu**sc**e> VERB 'were/was'
   e. *essa* → <e**s**a> DEM 'this'
   f. *obrigação* → <obriga **c**om> NOM 'obligation'
   g. *senhor* → <**C**inhor> PRON 'Sir'
   h. *do nascimento* → <doNa**c**imento> PREP-DET NOM 'of the birth
   i. *o nosso* → <ono**c**o> DET PRON 'our'

We also found (2) two orthographic possibilities, <ch> and <x>, for the palatal /ʃ/:

(2) variation of CH and X
   a. *se acha* → <cia**x**a> PRON VERB 'find it'
   b. *Paixão* → <Pai**Ch**ao> PNOM 'Paixão' (lit. Passion)

Because of articulatory reasons, the grapheme <m> is consistent before the bilabials <p> and <b>, and <n> before other consonants. Nevertheless, at that time, such norms were not yet widespread and Manoel de Barros presented variation in the use of these segments, even within the same text.

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(3) variation of M and N
 a. *deze**m**bro* → <deze**n**bro> NOM 'December'
 b. *co**n**sistório* → <Co**m**cistorio> NOM 'religious counsel'

Next, Manoel de Barros favoured the use of <u> instead of <v> in consonantal contexts, but never the contrary. Two hypotheses present themselves: first, that cursive writing has similar shapes, making it difficult to recognize them in handwriting; second, that the clerk deliberately wrote forms very close to <u> because of his partial knowledge of the orthographic norm. Thus, writing both almost the same could be a way of not incurring in spelling errors.

(4) variation of U and V
 *festi**v**idade* → <Festi**u**idade> NOM 'festivity'

Finally, we found other graphic phenomena occurring only once, namely, variation in the spelling of <h>, <j>, <rr>, <qu> and <f>.

3.2 Phonetic phenomena

We believe several phonological phenomena are phonetically conditioned. At first, we present data at the level of the phonological word. The use o <z> in contexts between vowels is related to both graphic and phonetic reasons. Because the spelling is not intuitive to the writer, words are writte with <s> although the pronunciation of the sibilant sounds like [z]:

(5) use of <z> in contexts of [z]
 a. *me**s**a* → <me**z**a> NOM 'table'
 b. *Ro**s**ário* → <Ru**z**ario> PNOM 'Rosary'

The first phenomenon of purely phonological motivation is metathesis. da Hora et al. (2007) define the metathesis of Portuguese in the 18th century as a transposition of consonants in one or two syllables. According to the authors, metathesis involving liquid consonants is of the tautosyllabic perceptual type, because the syllables alternate between one syllable where the liquid is in coda position, or perceptually two syllables where the liquid occurs in a branched onset. This phenomenon has been observed in historical studies of Portuguese (Coutinho 1976, Faria 1970, Oliveira 2006), but not all the data found by Oliveira (2006: 349) seemed to be phonetically motivated. Also, Petter (2009: 162) mentions that the metathesis is common in the Portuguese spoken in Angola[21] and

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[21]Cf. Chavagne (2005).

Mozambique[22], e.g., *pruguntar* < *perguntar* 'to ask'. So, metathesis, as well as other phenomena, is not exclusive to the documents or region considered, but it has occurred in many other varieties of Portuguese.

(6) metathesis
   a. ***par***tido → <**Pra**tido> ADJ 'broken, split'
   b. *a***pro**vada → <a**por**uada> ADJ 'approved'
   c. *con***gre**gados → <Com**ger**gados> ADJ 'member of a congregation'

Another phenomenon observed is rhotacism, the transition between lateral and vibrant liquids due to their articulatory similarities. In the data of Oliveira (2006: 418) Oliveira more than half of the rhotacisms from /r/ to /l/ happened in a coda position. The same occurs in data from Manoel de Barros. In our data, there was only one occurrence of /l/ to /r/, simultaneously with a metathesis, more precisely in the word <Sipruco> *sepulcro* 'sepulchre'.

(7) rhoticism
   a. *con*ta***r*** → <Comto**l**> VERB 'to say/ to count'
   b. *sepu***l**cro → <Sip**ru**co> NOM 'sepulchre'

Oliveira (2006: 326) also found aphaeresis, the loss of a word initial phoneme or syllable. In our data, aphaeresis is found as a result of the graphic omission of some syllables and sounds. In fact, we found an example, still very recurrent in all varieties of Portuguese, (8), i.e. the reduction of the syllable <es> in <estar> *estar* 'to be'. In addition, we found the total assimilation of the sequence of two vowels[e] between the clitic and the verbal root.[23]

(8) aphaeresis
   estando → <Tondo> VERB 'staying'

(9) total assimilation
   *s***e** *e*leger → <**ce**Leger> PRON VERB 'elect oneself'

A further characteristic observed by Oliveira (2006: 336) is apocope. He notes that it has been a regular phenomenon throughout the history of Portuguese Petter (2009: 163) also cites it from research by Chavagne (2005) on Angolan Portuguese. The verbal example (10) below coincides with a current characteristic

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[22]Cf. Laban (1999).

[23]We chose to classify (9) as total assimilation, but since we have only this data, it is hard to judge if it is a case of phoneme loss or assimilation.

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of spoken Portuguese in general, deleting /r/ from the infinitive form of the verb. Furthermore, nowadays, in Recife, verb forms ending with /r/ in the final coda may not be realized or are replaced by an extension of the final vowel.

(10) apocope
      *quere**r*** → <quere> VERB 'to want'

Epenthesis, the addition of segments in the middle of a word, also occurs in our data, as in example (11b), possibly motivated by the assimilation of the /l/ in word final coda position to the stressed syllable and assimilation of the /s/ from the first to the second syllable. Example (11c) features the syllabification of an occlusive in coda with the filling of the nuclear vowel, similar to what happens in Brazilian Portuguese nowadays, for example [advogadʊ] > [ad͡ʒɪvo-gadʊ] 'lawyer'. Petter (2009: 161) argues that Brazilian, Angolan and Mozambican Portuguese have a preference for an open syllable pattern because of their contact with Bantu languages, in which this pattern is standard. Additionally, various Brazilian indigenous languages have the same standard pattern, which also might have contributed to the epenthesis process. In examples (11a) and (11b), assimilation may also have played a role in the epenthetic process through the presence of the phonemes /d/ (11a) and /ɫ/ (11b).

(11) epenthesis
      a. *redu**z**ida* → <Rudu**di**z/ida> ADJ 'reduced'
      b. *resp**eitá**vel* → <Res/-pesto**lu**el> ADJ 'respectable'
      c. *ins**íg**nia* → <inCi**gui**na> NOM 'badge'

With regard to vowels, the elevation of pre-tonic and post-tonic mid vowels is common in Brazilian Portuguese, and in the case of post-tonic vowels, the elevation is categorical at the end of the word in many Portuguese varieties. Oliveira (2006: 367) observes cases of elevation of stressed mid vowels (14) but does not find similar cases nor an obvious motivation in the literature despite admitting that phonetic motivation is possible and probable. Cases of hypercorrection due to oscillation between <e> and <i> in Portuguese spelling and phonetics are also found in our data. We have two hypotheses for this: (i) we believe examples (13b) and (13c) are due to variation among earlier varieties of Portuguese (Graebin 2017) or (ii) they follow developmental paths similar to Mozambican and Angolan Portuguese, in which [e]>[i] occurs in similar contexts to Brazilian Portuguese,

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e.g. *minino* 'boy', *piquinino* 'small' (Mozambican Portuguese) and *piqueno* 'small' (Angolan Portuguese).[24]

(12) elevation of pretonic mid vowels
    a. *de* → <d**i**> PREP 'of'
    b. *servir* → <C**i**ruir> VERB 'to serve'
    c. *costume* → <c**u**stume> NOM 'habit'

(13) elevation of post tonic mid vowels
    a. *aonde* → <aond**i**> ADV 'where
    b. *quinze* → <quinz**i**s> NUM 'fifteen'
    c. *houve* → <hou**i**> VERB 'there was'
    d. *junho* → <Junh**u**> NOM 'June'

(14) elevation of stressed mid vowels
    Pessoa → <Pec**u**a> PNOM 'Pessoa' (lit. Person)

A further variation observed in examples (15) is vowel posteriorization, Oliveira (2006: 351) suggests that assimilation processes contributed to such occurrences, and we add that nasalization possibly has interfered with the perception of the vowel, given that some data from Oliveira, as well asall of our data, constituted contexts of nasality.

(15) vowel posteriorization
    a. *Manoel* → <M**o**noel> PNOM 'Manoel'
    b. *Santíssimo* → <S**o**mticimo> PNOM 'Santíssimo' (lit. Sacred)

Oliveira (2006: 371) attributes the lowering of high vowels to the proximity of <e> in the same word; compare (16b) and (16c) for assimilation processes. At the same time, in these examples, we encounter the presence of nasality adjacent to the lowered vowel, showing a possible extension of these assimilation processes beyond vowel quality and nasality. Furthermore, in the case of (16c), assimilation occurs by raising the nasal stressed vowel, followed by its lowering in the process of assimilation.

(16) lowering of high vowels
    a. *juiz* → <Ju**e**s> NOM 'judge'

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[24]For Angolan and Mozambican Portuguese examples, cf., respectively, Chavagne (2005) and Laban (1999).

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    b. *circunstâncias* → <Circontoncias> NOM 'circumstances'

    c. *de desistência* → <didezentencia> PREP NOM 'abdication'

Afterward, we observed diphthong processes, like the ones signalled by Noll (2008) and Oliveira (2006: 409) in Brazilian Portuguese and Petter (2009: 162) inthe Angolan Portuguese With regard to the contexts of monophthongization, Oliveira (2006: 408) found a large number of reductions from [ow] to [o], but few cases from [oj] to [o].

(17) diphthongizing

    a. *propôs* → <porpois> VERB 'propose'

    b. *toda* → <tuoda> QUANT 'all'

(18) monophthongization

    a. *dezoito* → <dezoto> NUM 'eighteen'

    b. *outubro* → <Otubro> NOM 'October'

To conclude this discussion of phonetic and phonological variation types, we draw attention to some phonetic phenomena that interact with the morphology and contribute to an understanding of the domain of the morphological and phonological word. Examples (19) and (20) demonstrate the variation in the segmentation of excerpts involving prepositions and clitic pronouns.

In hyper-segmentation, (20a) is a case in which the <a> is segmented from <atual> *atual* 'current' because it resembles a defined article a 'the' before a feminine word, and (20c) segments <nosa> in a similar way from *nossa* 'our', although there are two words in the excerpt <nós assinamos> 'we signed'. Despite the fact that the cases involve word segmentation, we interpret the phenomena in (19) and (20) mainly as graphic ones, demonstrating the phonological character of some morphemes that may contain parts that resemble different words.

(19) hypo-segmentation

    a. de   toda   a   mesa → <dituadameza>
       PREP QUANT DET table
       'from all the members of the table'

    b. e   te   represento   → <eterreperzento>
       CONJ PRON represent.1SG
       'and I represent you'

    c. com a   data → <Comadata>
       PREP DET date
       'on the date'

    d. de   comum   → <diComum>
       PREP common
       'in common'

    e. se   eleger → <ceLeger>
       PRON elect
       'elect himself'

(20) hyper-segmentation

    a. *atual* → <a tual> ADV 'current'

    b. *compromisso* → <Com. primico> NOM 'statute'

    c. nós assinamos → <nosa. cinomos>
       1PL sign.1PL
       'we signed'

3.3 Morphosyntactic phenomena

A very widespread phenomenon in Brazilian Portuguese is the variation in plural agreement within the noun phrase, the preference being marking the first element or determiner (Lucchesi et al. 2009). Inverno (2005) also gives many examples for Angolan Portuguese in which the noun is not marked for plural, but the demonstratives, determinants and possessives are, e.g., *Estas duas mulher* 'these two women' (lit. 'these two woman') and *Os meus filho* 'my sons' (lit. 'the my son').[25] We also observed a similar cases in (21a). However, example (21b) shows the confusion these markers caused for the clerk, apparently inducing hypercorrection in the word <quinzis> *quinze* 'fifteen', yet at the same time he does not mark the plural on the word *dia* 'day'.

As the volume of documentation is small and there are many fixed textual structures, a more in-depth study would be necessary to yield concrete clues about the behaviour of the agreement rule, since in several cases plural agreement is marked on all items in the noun phrase.

(21) plural agreement in the noun phrase

    a. dos   homen-s preto-s → <dos homem preto>
       PREP-DET-PL man-PL black-PL
       'of Black Men' (lit. of black man)

    b. ao-s   quinze dia-s   do   → <Aos quinzis. diado>
       PREP-DET-PL fifteen day-PL PREP-DET
       'On fifteen of...' (lit. on the fifteen days of...)

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[25]These examples are from Inverno (2005) and Petter (2009).

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4 Discussion and conclusion

This study has documented the main linguistic characteristics of the texts produced by the clerk and judge Manoel de Barros of the *Irmandade Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos*. Since 2014, such documents have been contaminated by fungi and bacteria and have been removed from public access. Therefore, we would like to appeal for the urgency of restoration, documentation and digitalization of this data source, not only in Recife, but in the case of brotherhoods throughout Brazil that experience the same conservation problems.

The brotherhoods are an important source of historical data about African and Afro-Brazilian communities. These brotherhoods allowed people to organize themselves in terms of a civil society and to improve their lives by providing services, loans and amenities at a time when only the upper classes the upper classes would otherwise have had access to them. Despite the fact that those organizations were discriminated on a racial basis, there was still a lot of prestige in holding a role as one of the leaders or as a member.

With regard to the linguistic phenomena analysed, four of them were clearly motivated by graphic reasons and sixteen were motivated by phonological aspects of spoken Portuguese. From these, five were related to vowel alteration (12–16), two (7 and 11) involved more than one phonological process at the same time and two (5 and 15) were related to orthography in addition to the phonological aspect.

Although we have phenomena that are frequently found in other Portuguese varieties, e.g. (13), the elevation of pretonic mid vowels, and (17), diphthongization, others are not mentioned in the literature. The elevation of a stressed mid vowel as in (14) and the motivation of this process are less clear.

As far as the texts and theirorganization are concerned, the fixed textual structures should be considered formal language. For that reason, morphosyntactic phenomena found in them may not constitute as reliable data of spoken Portuguese as those occurring in informal texts, e.g. personal letters and diaries. In that sense, the absence of an official orthography in the late 18th and 19th centuries strengthens the observation of phonologically motivated phenomena and the argument that they are indeed characteristics of spoken Portuguese.

Another important aspect to be mentioned is the fact that these texts were produced in a multicultural environment with many different ethnical backgrounds. Although the institution's origin can be linked to a specific country, in this case Angola, it is not possible to say that all the members were people of Angolan heritage. The most social distinctive aspect at the time was skin colour, so the only distinction we have is between the black/brown brotherhoods and the white

brotherhoods, the latter not featuring any explicit mention of skin colour. That said, we cannot claim that the Portuguese spoken by the black/brown brotherhoods shared necessarily more characteristics with Angolan Portuguese than with PBP in general. In order to investigate which linguistic characteristics are typical of Brazilian Portuguese in general and those which are typical of a certain region or ethnic group, we suggest that this study should be expanded to include not only black/brown brotherhoods.

In conclusion, these texts were produced by urban people and the absence of an official orthography resulted in more transparency of phonological phenomena than the morphosyntactic ones, since those were limited by text typology. Finally, even considering their limitations, these texts are an important data source to understand the society and the writing patterns of less literate people in the 19th century: they are available all over Brazil and Africa and they are one of the few data sources to allow for comparisons between these varieties from a historical perspective.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

1SG	1st person singular	DEM	Demonstrative	PNOM	Proper Noun
1PL	1st person plural	DET	Determinant	PREP	Preposition
ADJ	Adjective	NOM	Nominal	PRON	Pronoun
ADV	Adverb	NUM	Numeral	QUANT	Quantifier
CONJ	Conjunction	PL	Plural	VERB	Verb

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Chapter 7

Language contact in Puerto Rico: Documenting an emerging variety of English

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Spanish and English have a unique contact history in Puerto Rico, where English operates in diglossia with vernacular Spanish for most Puerto Rican bilinguals who live on the island, yet few speakers recognize a local variety of English, and scholarship on the speech of Puerto Ricans living on the island is limited. This paper tests the hypothesis that speaker involvement in generating a database of linguistic resources on Puerto Rican English can increase awareness of how the Spanish-dominated context of the island has given rise to a distinct variety of English. A language documentation project aimed to test this hypothesis using eight experimental strategies: six data-collection methodologies that documented spoken and written forms of English, and two surveys that measured language attitudes. This paper presents exploratory analysis on three of these data-collection activities relating to: 1) lexical variation in speech, 2) semantic and structural variation in writing, and 3) attitudes on accent and confidence. Findings indicate that Puerto Rican English still tends to be understood and expressed through a Spanish matrix framework, but speakers increasingly assert ownership over their unique variety of English and use it to express Puerto Rican culture and identity. Speaker participation and the involvement of early-career scholars across all eight data-collection activities indicate that these stakeholders are motivated to document and describe their local variety of English. Furthermore, their participation not only resulted in increased recognition of Puerto Rican English but also positive re-evaluation of how local variation in English is manifested through language mixing in the contact situation of the island. The central recommendation of this paper encourages speakers, educators, community leaders and scholars of Puerto Rican studies to document the local variety of English and advocate for its local and international recognition. *Keywords:* Language Contact, New Englishes, Puerto Rico, Puerto Rican English, dialects of English

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1 Introduction

Spanglish is a poorly defined but well-recognized language contact phenomenon among Latino communities (Ardila 2005, Otheguy & Stern 2010, Montes-Alcalá 2018). The name itself, derived from splicing the names of the two languages from which it emerged, embodies a problematic history of colonial conflict and linguistic domination in the Americas that prompted situations of both cultural accommodation and re-appropriation among indigenous populations and second language speakers. The term Spanglish – as the sequence of morphemes that compose its name suggest – has been historically recognized as "[a] type of Spanish contaminated by English words and forms of expression, spoken in Latin America." (Oxford English Dictionary 1989: v. XVI, p. 105). Many authors have accordingly recognized the mixture of languages as a problematic and potentially dangerous phenomenon, for example, Salvador Tio describes the state of Spanish in Latin America, "se pudre en la frontera nuevo-mejicana donde [hablan]… la burundanga lingüística" ("[Spanish] is rotting on the New Mexican border where [they speak]… linguistic nonsense") (Tio, 1992, as cited in Lipski 2004: 1) and Roberto González-Echeverria describes "spanglish, la lengua compuesta de espanol e ingles que salió de la calle, […] plantea un grave peligro a la cultura hispanica y al progreso de los hispanos" ("Spanglish, the language composed of Spanish and English, […] represents a grave danger for Latino culture and the progress of Latinos.") (González-Echeverria, 1997, as cited in Lipski 2004: 1–2). In his paper that engages with the linguistic typology of Spanglish, Lipski addressed the controversy and confusion of definitions and recognizes that: "In most cases the word Spanglish and the related connotations of linguistic hybridity *qua* illegitimate birth are used to denigrate the linguistic abilities of Hispanic speakers born or raised in the United States" (Lipski 2004: 1). Others have considered the mixed language as a temporary means of communication used by those who do not yet have multilingual competence (Betances Palacios, 1997, as cited in Lipski 2004: 1), or a communicative necessity comparable to a pidgin (Ardila 2005: p 78). Although many authors agree that Spanglish is essentially a dialect of Spanish, more neutrally defined as "Spanish characterized by numerous borrowings from English" (dictionary of the English Language 2020). Others recognize it as a separate form of speech defined as a "Fusión de español y el inglés" ("fusion of Spanish and English") (Real Academia Española 2020) created by groups of Hispanics, specifically in the U.S., who mix lexical and grammatical elements of both languages.

Attitudes towards Spanglish as "an ongoing controversy" have been traditionally polemic and often stigmatize the mixed language practice in a U.S. context (Dumitrescu 2010: 136). However, the use of English and Spanish mixed language expression in the spoken and visual arts, particularly among young people, have been increasing recognition – and, in some respects, appreciation – for the mixed language practices of Hispanic bilinguals in recent decades (Hernández 1997, Stavans 2000, Pousada 2017)[1]. Concurrently, as the literature of education explores the value of translanguaging strategies for increasing numbers of migrant children and mixed language communities, interest in understanding how young people mix Spanish and English has gained momentum (Sayer 2008). Interestingly, and regardless of whether the mixture of languages is perceived in linguistic terms as a dangerous threat to Spanish purity, an emerging Spanish dialect, or an intermediary form among bilingual populations, the phenomenon has predominantly been considered as a Hispanic issue. In contrast, the ideological framework of this paper encourages readers to consider the phenomenon of language mixing[2] from a specifically Puerto Rican and an Anglophone perspective. In full recognition of the ongoing controversy regarding the definition of the mixed language practices commonly known as Spanglish and the perceptions of its many culturally and ethnically distinct bilingual speakers, the scope of this paper does not seek to re-define Spanglish but instead considers how the discourse surrounding it may have affected the recognition of a Puerto Rican dialect of English. As such, this paper engages with the Puerto Rican language contact situation and specifically explores the effects of mixed language practices on how English is spoken and perceived on the island.

This paper does not propose to negate nor diminish the existence of Puerto Rican Spanglish as a separate form of speech. Indeed, international scholarship in contexts of sustained language contact have shown that mixed languages can thrive in multilingual spaces, specifically among young speakers who creatively navigate the fluid spaces in-between languages, for example, among the predominantly children, adolescents and young adult speakers of Sheng, a mixed lan-

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[1]Defining types of bilingualism is beyond the scope of this study, but I acknowledge the continuum of language competencies that are encompassed by the word "bilingual" (see Pousada 2017: 4–7) and use the term in an inclusive manner for the purposes of this paper.

[2]This paper defines language mixing as "the merging of characteristics of two or more languages in any verbal communication" (Odlin 1989: 6). In this sense, language mixing practices incorporate a wide range of language contact phenomena including transfer, borrowing, and code-switching in both language acquisition and fluent bilingual contexts (Olsen 1988, Muysken 2000). Each of these phenomena have their own complexities and sub-classifications and are often discussed as part of an overlapping system of contact features (Romaine & Kachru 1992, Yumoto 1995, Muysken 2000).

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guage of Nairobi City (Githiora 2002: 176) and among the students who have innovated a new form of Estonian-Russian (Zabrodskaja 2013). For many such contact languages popularized among young people, the role of students and their academic institutions often pioneer efforts in documentation and advocacy for recognized status of the new language. For example, the Jamaican Language Unit of the University of the West Indies in Mona, Jamaica, continues to serve a central role in advocacy for Jamaican Creole (despite a failed petition to make the language official alongside English in 2019 and public debate over appropriate use of the language – exemplified in the polemic responses to a Southwest Airline employee using his native Jamaican Creole in a security announcement (Dawkins 2020). In addition to their lack of consensus about what uses are appropriate for languages in contact, scholars, activists and speakers commonly disagree on the definitions and names of what they are talking about, including whether the mode of communication in question is a new language or a dialectal variety. Although it is not within the scope of this paper to engage with debates of nomenclature regarding contact languages, I hereby acknowledge the complex continuum of codes that exist along a 3-dimentional scale of communication and recognize that for some Puerto Rican bilinguals, such a continuum could be envisioned as having Standard Castilian Spanish at one end and Standard American English at the other, see Figure 1. The central argument of this paper is that the polemic complexity of what lies in-between incorporates a Puerto Rican variety of English, which is defined as intelligible to other speakers of English and characterized by its contact with Puerto Rican Spanish, Standard American English, and potentially also Puerto Rican Spanglish, a creole or contact language that may lie at the center of the contact situation.

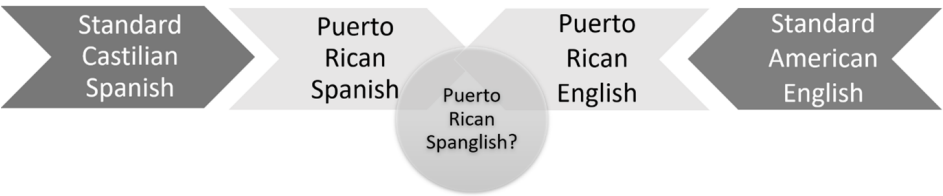Figure 1: Visual representation of the bilingual language continuum in Puerto Rico

Few studies, with the notable exceptions of Nash (1971) and Walsh (1994), have attempted to document how the English used in Puerto Rico has been affected by contact with Spanish. More recently, Nickels (2005) has advocated for the recognition of Puerto Rican English as a regional dialect that has emerged in a contact

situation. The paucity of academic interest in the variety has not made an impact on public opinion; most speakers fail to recognize that what they speak is a variety of English, and many bilinguals living in Puerto Rico[3] downplay the functions and importance of the English they use, which they regularly stigmatize as "inaccurate," or "deficient." To compound such speaker perceptions, there are no repositories of the spoken or written English used in Puerto Rico, which speakers might refer to as examples of local usage and academics might use as linguistic data upon which predictions can be formed and tested. In response, this paper tests the hypothesis that speaker involvement in generating a database of linguistic resources on Puerto Rican English can increase awareness of how the Spanish-dominated context of the island has given rise to a distinct variety of English. Specifically, it presents the experimental findings of ongoing work with documentation conducted through a series of pilot studies designed to build capacity at the University of Puerto Rico (UPR) to enable research on mixed language practices and features of Puerto Rican English on the island. The objectives of the work were, firstly, to adapt, devise and pilot-test methodologies that would generate linguistic data for exploratory analysis and, secondly, to establish practices that meaningfully involved participants and early-career scholars in order to help them recognize and value their own Puerto Rican variety of English.

2 The context of the study and related literature

Language mixing practices in Puerto Rico, often referred to with the problematic term "Spanglish," have a unique contact history in the associated U.S. territory where English and Spanish have been in contact for over a century. Spanish colonialization in the 15th century pre-dates the imposition of English at the turn of the 20th century after the island was ceded to the U.S. after the Spanish-American war. Since a polemic 1902 law designated both English and Spanish as official languages, the status of both languages continues to incite debate, motivate policy change and entrench political divisions (Muñiz-Argüelles 1989). Spanish remains the vernacular in Puerto Rico, but explicit English instruction has long been an objective of the public education system (Torres-González 2002). Despite what Pousada recognizes as a collective resistance and developmental delay in the acquisition of English in the island (2006: 17) she recognizes that the use of English

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[3]This paper refers to its Puerto Rican study population as bilingual given the educational context of the island; English is taught as a compulsory second language in K-12 grades and is a requirement for two years at the undergraduate level.

and increasing exposure to English media on the island has resulted in "competent bilinguals scattered around the island and concentrated in the coastal and San Juan metro areas" (Pousada 2017: 1). Aligning with this observation, the U. S. Census Bureau (2020: February 17) reports that 23% of the Puerto Rican population speak English "only" or "very well" with the rest of the population reporting proficiency, but less than "very well"[4]. Thus, for the majority of Puerto Ricans, language contact is perceived as an issue affecting the vernacular Spanish language of the island and little attention has been paid to how it has also affected the English that is spoken on the island.

Aligned with perceptions of Spanglish as a Hispanic issue, much academic interest has focused on how Spanish has been affected by contact with English and on how mixed language practices function among young speakers in Puerto Rico. Moreover, given that the vernacular Spanish operates in diglossia with English for Puerto Rican bilinguals who live on the island, studies conducted in Puerto Rico with bilinguals have invariably focused on Anglicized forms of Spanish or lexical borrowing from English within a Spanish matrix framework (e.g. López Morales 1999, Morales 2000, Holmquist 2013). Thus, academics and speakers alike recognize the existence and characteristics of a Puerto Rican Spanish that is influenced by English at the phonological, morphological, syntactic and discourse levels (see Poplack 1984, Torres 2002, Armstrong 2010, Brown & Rivas 2011). However, there is much less research and much less consensus on the existence and characteristics of a Puerto Rican English that is influenced by Spanish, with most academics passing over the concept completely in favor of considering English use as something intrinsically associated with the mainland U.S., as exemplified in Domínguez-Rosado's chapter on language issues in the island, entitled "Puerto Rican Spanish and American English" (Domínguez-Rosado 2015: vii). The different historical and social contexts of the two languages, reinforced by their anticipated cultural functions and the prescriptive framework of the Real Academia Española, that all students are taught in school, maintains the division of English and Spanish not only in the educational system and print publication but also in the mental models of speakers. As a result, Puerto Ricans living on the island default to considering the two languages as isolated codes, and so the common practice of mixing the two languages is often stigmatized as inappropriate or incorrect – at best – or considered as indicative of a speaker's linguistic deficiency – at worst. In addition, the Spanish linguistic heritage of the island that indexes Latino identity is often held in opposition to the English language practices of U.S.

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[4]Based on 2018 data indicating a total population of 3,069,357 and 715,370 of those (23.3%) fluent in English.

citizenship, military service, and academic and economic advancement. Hence, language choice and language mixing can indicate (or be perceived to indicate) political orientation and economic status. Yet, among young people, expression of Puerto Rican identity through mediums that permit and even encourage mixed language content, coupled with the scope of language contact in the tourism industry that drives the island's economy and offers many entry-level employment opportunities, has begun to shift perspectives on the acceptability and value of code mixing in professional and social contexts.

As academic interest in language-contact phenomena over recent decades has increased, a growing number of studies on language use in Puerto Rico have explored code-mixing, defined by Odlin (1989) and Muysken (2000) as incorporating a wide range of language contact phenomena including transfer, borrowing, and codeswitching in both language acquisition and fluent bilingual contexts. In an early study on what he called "code-shifting" in Puerto Rico, Lawton suggests that "the constant interplay and interlocking of Puerto Rican Spanish with English suggests incipient creolization" (1979: 257). However, in the four decades since this study was published, no other scholars have argued that the language contact situation has led to an emergent creole. Furthermore, theoretical frameworks for creolization, such as the theory of abnormal transition or nongenetic development (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 211) do not align with the language contact situation in Puerto Rico where speakers appear to be undergoing a process of contact-induced dialectal divergence in both English and Spanish rather than prompting the creation a new language. Consequently, most recent studies on Puerto Rican bilingualism investigate the influence of context on language choice, for example, the role of social media platforms in computer-medicated communication (Carroll 2008, Carroll & Mari 2017) and the relevance of individual preferences and attitudes that impact codeswitching behaviors among young people (Tamargo & Avilés 2017, Pérez Casas 2016). Such studies on speaker behaviors indicate that Puerto Rican bilinguals increasingly recognize their own language switching practices and are more likely to evaluate such practices favorably (Guzzardo Tamargo et al. 2019). In sum, much of the scholarship on language practices in Puerto Rico focus on either: the local variety of Spanish that is influenced by English, commonly known as Spanglish, or the sociolinguistic context of codemixing practices in informal speech among young people.

English use among Puerto Ricans living on the island was, and still is, a controversial topic (Vélez & Schweers 1993, Dumitrescu 2010, Shenk 2012, González Rivera & Ortiz López 2018). Since the establishment of the free public-school system in Puerto Rico following the U.S. military occupation of the island in 1898, English as a language of instruction has been a recurrent and problematic issue.

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Hence, early research on English in Puerto Rico often focused on education (Marvin 1904, Falkner 1908, Desing 1947, Manuel 1952). Towards the second half of the twentieth century, although publications about English use in Puerto Rico continued to have a predominantly pedagogical focus, scholarship also began to address issues of identity and question the imposition of English as a political strategy (Pattee 1945). Publications with a sociolinguistic focus addressed shifting perceptions of English among the Puerto Rican population (Epstein 1968, McCroskey et al. 1985, Clachar 1997) and began to address how growing numbers of English-speaking Puerto Ricans were changing the role of English on the island (Fayer 2000). A handful of scholars have attempted to define the functions and forms of English in Puerto Rico (Nash 1971, Walsh 1994, Nash & Fayer 1996, Fayer et al. 1998), yet there is still little recognition that a local variety of English exists. Nickels' paper on "English in Puerto Rico" (2005) provides an overview of the political, educational, sociolinguistic and literary contexts of the language on the island and explains, "[t]he variety of English spoken in Puerto Rico is only beginning to be identified as a variety in its own right" (p. 234). She additionally recommends that we should start explicitly calling the variety "Puerto Rican English" (Nickels 2005: 235). However, since this study was published, no subsequent scholarship has aimed to explicitly locate Puerto Rican English in a wider discourse on New Englishes. Instead, a handful of recent publications and unpublished dissertations show that there is continued interest in researching the sociolinguistic context of Puerto Rican English as it relates to political and social identity (Falcon 2004, Pérez Casas 2008), the role of English in daily life (Ruíz Correa 2019), and the use of English in Puerto Rican literature (Méndez Alberich 2006). However, the educational importance of English acquisition is still very much at the forefront of scholarship (Ebsworth et al. 2018), and that has taken on a new importance after the economic migration of Puerto Ricans to the mainland U.S. in the aftermath of Hurricane Maria. Yet, very little scholarship, published or otherwise, has offered a detailed description of Puerto Rican English. And only one scholar, Rose Nash, has attempted a comprehensive description of how Puerto Rican English exists on a continuum of language contact in the island; Nash published a series of three papers documenting language contact on the island in terms of English-influenced Spanish (Nash 1970), Spanish-influenced English (Nash 1971) and a type of contact code occupying the middle space (Nash 1982)[5]. However, since this work was published nearly four decades ago, little progress has been made in documenting Puerto Rican English.

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[5]Although Nash includes an endnote in the last of these three publications to explain her intention to write another paper on the second-language Spanish variety of native English speakers on the island. However, if such a paper exists, it remains unpublished.

3 Documentation methodologies

In order to test the hypothesis that speaker involvement in generating a database of linguistic resources on Puerto Rican English can increase awareness of how the Spanish-dominated context of the island has given rise to a distinct variety of English, this experimental study adapted, devised and pilot-tested eight distinct data-collection methodologies relating to spoken language, written language, and surveys on language issues, see Figure 2. All the data-collection activities were conducted in Puerto Rico at the UPR Cayey, a four-year public institution with an enrollment of around 3,000 Hispanic students located in a mountain municipality of the central-eastern region of the island. In all these data-collection activities, undergraduate students of the UPR Cayey were involved as participants and as project-documentation assistants.
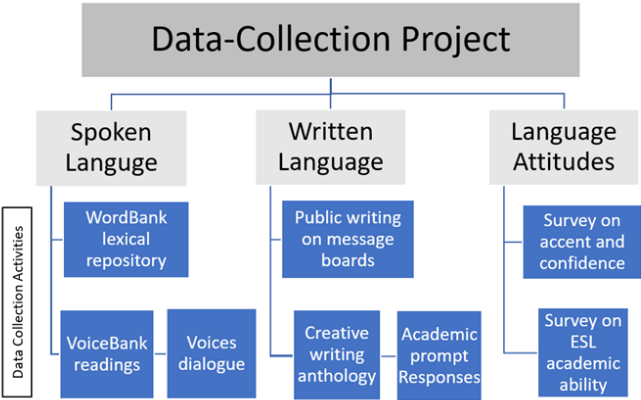

Figure 2: Summary of the eight data collection activities in the pilot project.

3.1 Spoken language

Three distinct data-collection methodologies to capture spoken language were adapted from models devised by the British Library and catalogued in their Sounds archive: 1) a lexical repository called the WordBank, 2) a collection of readings called the VoiceBank, and 3) a series of recorded spontaneous dialogues called Voices. The catalogued holdings of the British Library's ongoing efforts to capture variation in the accents and dialects of English are available online at https://sounds.bl.uk/Accents-and-dialects/ (British Library Board, n.d.). Using

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this website, and specifically the pages linking to the WordBank, VoiceBank and Voices collections, audio files were accessed to serve as a reference point to facilitate the design of the adapted methodology. In addition, descriptions of the methodologies and their associated documentation (including template consent forms) was shared by the lead curator of the British Library's Spoken English archive, Jonathan Robinson, initially in a conference paper (Robinson 2018) and subsequently in meetings and email-communications. As this paper presents the exploratory analysis of only one of these methodologies, the Puerto Rican Word-Bank, this is the only methodology explained here in detail.[6]

The PR WordBank methodology aimed to record lexical items and their associated meaning, etymology, and usage from among Puerto Rican participants. In the first pilot test of this methodology, conducted between October and December of 2018, instructions given to participants were to think of and then explain a word or phrase in English that they often used, for example with family or friends. Participants were asked to state and spell the word, explain what it means and where it comes from. They were additionally asked to give some context or an example in terms of how they used the word or phrase provided. Recordings were made and catalogued with non-identifying codes that were then associated with the participant's socio-demographic data that they provided on the consent forms. In the second pilot test of this methodology, conducted between August and December of 2019, fieldworkers who were making the recordings similarly instructed participants to say and explain a word or phrase in English that they often used. However, if participants requested more instruction or if they struggled to think of words they might contribute (as happened in the 2018 testing stage,) fieldworkers also offered a series of common suggested words from which the participant might choose. This list of possible words and phrases was generated by project-documentation assistants with input from previous work on lexical variation (Nash 1971, Nash & Fayer 1996) supplemented by suggestions from the Project Director and the faculty of the English department of the UPR Cayey based on their experience with lexical variation in local uses of English. The PR WordBank methodology has, to date, generated 142 audio recordings of lexical variation with transcripts and associated metadata. Ongoing exploratory analysis on this data uses techniques in trend analysis to determine patterns in the data which are then analyzed in terms of linguistic parsing and associations with socio-demographic markers.

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[6]Interested readers may contact the author at sallyj.delgado@upr.edu for detailed descriptions of any of the methodologies not described in full in this paper.

3.2 Written language

Three distinct data-collection methodologies to document written language were designed to capture variation in both informal and formal contexts for expressive, analytical and academic purposes: 1) public writing on message boards, 2) creative writing for an anthology of narrative work, and 3) developed responses to academic prompts. All written material was collected on location at the UPR Cayey and most participants were undergraduate students of the campus.[7] As this paper presents the exploratory analysis of only one of these methodologies: public writing on message boards, this is the only methodology explained here in detail.

After the academic calendar resumed on October 23, 2017 following an interruption after Hurricane Maria that made landfall in Puerto Rico on September 20, 2017, a series of public message-boards were posted around campus to spread positive messages in response to written prompts. The prompts, location and dates that message-boards were posted are summarized in Table 1. An example of the photographic images that generated the data is shown in Figure 3. Project-documentation assistants collected the handwritten comments posted on these public message boards with photographic images, re-wrote the comments in electronic documents and determined a system of classification to conduct exploratory research. This methodology to capture public writing on message boards has generated a total of 443 language items, defined as units of meaning as they occur in single words, phrases, or sentences of either one or multiple clauses. Exploratory data-analysis was conducted at three levels. First, a language choice analysis determined participant preferences for either Spanish, English, an alternative language, or mixed code[8]. Second, a readability analysis was conducted using the Flesch Kincaid Reading Ease test, the Flesch Kincaid Grade Level indicator, the Gunning Fog index, the Coleman Liau index, the Automated Readability Index (ARI), and the SMOG index using the software at https://www.online-utility.org/english/readability_test_and_improve.jsp and at http://www.readabilityformulas.com/freetests/six-readability-formulas.php. Lastly, a content analysis was conducted by classifying the focus of responses into four broad categories determined by trends in the data. The four categories related to:

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[7]The public writing component captured anonymous contributions, so the research team cannot guarantee that all participants of this data-collection activity were undergraduate students. It is possible that visitors to the campus, faculty, and/or service and administration personnel also contributed to the message boards.

[8]Images and comments that were not decipherable or were composed of unknown acronyms were discounted. Words such as "pizza" that were potentially English, Spanish (or another language) were classified separately so as not to artificially inflate language category results.

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Leisure, Community, Physical Fulfillment, and Spiritual Fulfillment, and within these four broad categories, sub-classifications were also determined, e.g., in the "Leisure" category, sub-classifications included: TV, Music, Social Media and Video Games.

Table 1: Summary of the prompts, location and dates that message-boards were posted at the UPR Cayey

Prompt	Location	Date posted	Date collected
Razones para vivir	Outside cafeteria in Student Centre	Sept. 15, 2017	Nov. 27, 2017
positive comments	In corridor of English Department classrooms	Oct. 23, 2017	Nov. 27, 2017
Soy agradecido por...	Outside cafeteria in Student Centre	Nov. 11, 2017	Nov. 27, 2017

3.3 Language attitudes

Two distinct data-collection methodologies to document participant's attitudes towards language issues were pilot tested at UPR Cayey: 1) a survey on accent and confidence, and 2) a survey on discipline-specific competency using English as a Second Language. Survey responses to questions and prompt statements were given on a Likert scale to generate qualitative data with additional short-response questions to generate qualitative data. In both surveys, quantitative and qualitative data generated from the data collection activities were concurrently analyzed, descriptively and analytically, following a model suggested by Auerbach & Silverstein (2003: 23–28). Quantitative data were processed using the average, maximum, minimum, standard deviation, and the range of the variable created to evaluate the perception of the participants, and qualitative data were analyzed by preparing the transcription of responses and then using exploratory and inferential analysis methods to identify statistically significant trends. Both data-collection methodologies were adapted from previous surveys that had been subject to experimental analysis and evaluated as suitable methods for data-collection. As this paper presents the exploratory analysis of the methodology related to accent and confidence, this is the only methodology explained here in detail.
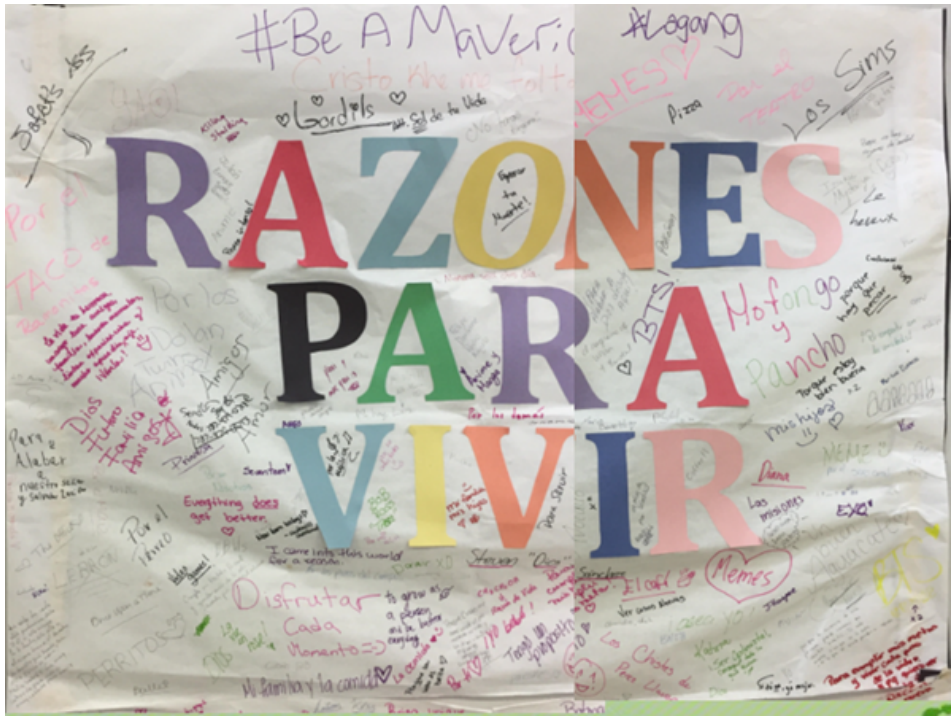
Figure 3: Aligned photographic images taken from the message board
"Razones para vivir" that generated data on informal written language.

The UPR Cayey survey on accent and confidence was adapted from a methodology described in a paper entitled "Student's self-perceived English accent and its impact on their communicative competence and speaking confidence" (Norman 2017). This survey proposes to measure how self-perceptions of accent impact language attitudes and self-confidence in relation to English as a second language in the academic environment, originally among students taking English 6, a course the students must pass to be eligible for further academic studies, in one Upper-Secondary School in Sweden[9]. The survey adapted for use at UPR Cayey used similar questions as the model questionnaire, that Norman (2017) provided in an index to the published study, with adapted wording that reflected the Puerto Rican context of the new study, for example, the question: "How often do you speak English with someone that is not a native speaker of Swedish?" (Norman 2017: 39) was re-worded to: "How often do you speak English with someone

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[9]Note that this methodology was selected for its experimental design and does not intend to suggest that the language context of Puerto Rico is the same as the Swedish context of the original study.

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that is not a native speaker of Spanish?" The UPR Cayey study also included de-
mographic information and asked students to answer some questions in a short
response, for example: "Is it important to sound like a native speaker of English?"
and "Do you think people judge you because of your accent?" The survey was
made available from August 16, 2019 and initially promoted among students en-
rolled in INGL 3265 "English Across Cultures," before being subsequently shared
among a wider community of undergraduates at the UPR Cayey using social me-
dia and direct email communication with potential participants. The survey on
accent and confidence, to date, has gathered data from 215 anonymous partici-
pants, of whom the majority self-reported an age of between 16 and 25 and are
assumed to be students of the university. The survey was administered using
Google Forms, a web-based survey platform that provides rudimentary graphics
indicating percentage responses to each question. These graphics and the asso-
ciated summative data were used to enable exploratory analysis.

4 Results: Exploratory analysis

This section outlines some of the main findings of ongoing exploratory analysis
conducted by this author and collaborative groups of early-career scholars at
UPR Cayey as they relate to the methodologies of the three data-collection areas
of spoken language, written language, and language attitudes.

4.1 Spoken language: PR WordBank

Exploratory research on spoken language using data generated in the PR Word-
Bank, indicate three significant categories of local usage that participants recog-
nized as lexical items of Puerto Rican English in addition to usage that might
be considered widespread across the U.S. and in African American Vernacular
English. The first, and by far the most sizable category representing more than
half of the overall contributions at 55%, is composed of English lexicon with com-
parable meaning to Standard English but demonstrates Spanish bound morphol-
ogy that typically determines grammatical function. Furthermore, the majority
of these lexical items are verbal and have been assigned the default (most com-
mon and regular) "-ar" verbal suffix in Spanish[10]. For example, "textear" (to text),
"chillear" (to chill [out]), and "postear" (to post[upload] social media). Although

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[10]The orthography of all lexical items indicated in quotation marks derive from participant con-
tributions and/or the determination of Puerto Rican documentation assistants and thus reflect
local spelling conventions.

the majority of the data from this category shows words expressed in the infinitive form, a significant groups of words were also expressed in adjectival participle forms with the affixation of the "-ado" or "-iado" verbal suffix in Spanish that is typically realized as a falling triphthong which is fronted at the end [iao] in Puerto Rican Spanish, for example, "hookiao" (hooked) which is also orthographically represented as "juqueao" and "jukiao." Unsurprisingly, because these words have undergone a lexicalization process and are realized in a Spanish matrix framework, their orthography aligns with Spanish norms, as shown in other words such as "chonquear" (to chunk[vomit]) and "janguear" (to hang [out]). Furthermore, phonemes are added if the lexeme defies underlying Spanish phonological rules, e.g., the affixed vocal /e/ that forces the /s/ into the coda of a newly created syllable at the start of the words "esnackear" (to snack) and "estartear" (to start). This category of data reflects a type of interference that Thomason & Kaufman describe as resulting from borrowing in the language contact situation and leading to lexical diffusion (1988: 212).[11]

The second most significant category of the data generated in the PR WordBank, representing about a quarter of the overall contributions at 24%, is composed of English-derived words that are adapted for Puerto Rican Spanish phonology and subsequently assigned an extended or alternative semantic scope. Some of these words are derived from English brand names and have undergone extension such as "Conflei" (Cornflakes) used as a common noun meaning all breakfast cereal, "chicle" (Chiclets) used as a common noun meaning gum, and "pampel" (Pampers) used as a common noun meaning diapers. Other words have undergone semantic shift such as "ready," which one participant explains:

> So, between my friends and I, and I think most uh part of the island, we use the word "ready" which actually means uh that something is pre-is like prepared. Like if you're ready to go out that means you're prepared to go out, you feel dressed and all that. Um, but we use the word 'ready' as like as is a synonym of cool. So, we say, "oh eso está ready", (that's-that's ready, that's cool). It really doesn't have any correlation with it, that's how we use it. (Transcript BL.WB.2018.10.27.KV.IC.1.)

Another participant explains how the word "pitcher" is used locally to denote "a person that ignores you or ignores other people" (Transcript BL.WB.2018.11.1.F

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[11]One caveat is that, although speakers have contributed these terms as examples of their local use of English, they may be considered as features of interference in Puerto Rican Spanish. However, given that these findings are exploratory, and that the conceptual space in which Puerto Rican English manifests necessarily intersects with Puerto Rican Spanish, they are documented here as their speakers intended, as examples of PR English.

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R.FR.2.). The same participant explains, "It comes from, like, baseball, from pitcher, but I don't really know what relevance it has with ignoring people but that's what it means to people here." (Ibid.)

The third, and perhaps the most innovative category of the data generated in the PR WordBank, composing 15% of the overall contributions, is composed of newly coined words or phrases that have a very precise local meaning, for example the term "island dog" that one participant explains is a term for mixed breed stray dogs and is used across the Anglophone Caribbean. Many of these terms that index relationships or salutations are restricted to family or close social networks in usage, and thus may indicate incipient coinage that may yet become widespread, for example, the term "broki" that is described as a synonym for friend and may derive from the English word "brother" or "bro," the word "obb" which one participant describes as a salutation, and the word "peje" that means a close friend or child, and may derive from Spanish "pexe" meaning fish or "peje" meaning a cunning person or mermaid (Roberts 2014: 329). One particularly interesting coinage that was contributed is the term "cangriman" that was explained by one participant as a Puerto Rican adaptation of standard English word "congressman" which his grandfather used to refer to any person with high social status. However, this word also has roots in the Spanish word "cangrejo" (crab) historically used as a derogatory term for foreigners in Latin America and was also used as a reference to users of cannabis in the late 1970s and 80s because of the way people held their fingers like a crab's claws to smoke cannabis joints (Urban Dictionary 2007). Hence, the lexicalized expression may have more localized and covert meanings that the contributing morphemes suggest.

4.2 Written language: Public writing on message boards

Exploratory research on public writing using data sourced from public message boards indicate that the language used by participants is strongly influenced by the language used to contextualize the writing activity. Of the three message boards that were used to generate data, the two that used a Spanish prompt: "Razones para vivir" (reasons to live) and "Soy agradecido por..." (I am grateful for...) generated most responses in Spanish (65.5% of responses and 78.8% of responses, respectively). The one message board that used an English prompt that read "The English Department wants to share your positive comments" (subsequently shortened to "Positive comments") generated most of its responses in English (76.2%) see Table 2. The aggregate data indicate an average of 73.5% of responses were provided in the same language as the prompt. A greater percentage of responses used code mixing in response to the English prompt rather than

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the two Spanish prompts, potentially indicating preference for an increased use of the Spanish vernacular in a second language context. In addition, the Spanish prompts generated responses in other languages (e.g., French, Japanese) which was not evident in response to the English prompt, potentially suggesting an increased level of comfort integrating other languages into a Spanish matrix context rather than an English matrix context. It is likely that in addition to the explicit language of the prompt, the location of the message board also implicitly determined the language of responses: the two Spanish-language message boards were located in the student center, a social area where students are more likely to use their Spanish vernacular. The message board with the English prompt was located in the corridor adjacent to English Department classrooms, where students are more likely to use English for academic purposes. Interestingly, this finding appears to corroborate the data in a study of Facebook posts that indicates Puerto Ricans only use English to reply to previous messages written in English (Carroll & Mari 2017).

Table 2: Summary of data on message-boards classified by language of response. *: Same language as the prompt.

prompt	language	language of responses (%)					
		Spanish	English	mixed	other	misc.	total
Razones para vivir	Spanish	65.1*	18.1	2.9	1.7	12.2	100
Soy agradecido por...	Spanish	78.8*	11.8	1.2	1.2	7.0	100
positive comments	English	19.0	76.2*	4.8	0.0	0.0	100

The composition of responses, determined from the application of readability indicators, show that there were a significantly higher percentage of clauses in the message board with the English prompt compared to the two with the Spanish prompts, see Table 3. These results may corroborate the previous finding that responses follow the context of the prompt because neither of the two prompts written in Spanish were clauses, but the English prompt was expressed as a clause. Therefore, just as participants overwhelmingly matched the language of their response to the language of the prompt, participants also matched the grammatical composition of their response to the composition of the prompt. In addition, it is possible that the grid-style organization of the message board with the English prompt may have promoted more clauses as participants may have wanted to fill a pre-determined space; comparatively, the organization of the two message boards with the Spanish prompts were presented on a blank background with no

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suggestion of pre-determined response space, see Figure 3. In addition to phrase and clause analysis, it was determined that the message board with the English prompt had slightly fewer words per clause than the two message boards that used a Spanish prompt (based only on responses that were composed in clauses, as indicated in Table 3, column 4). The message board with the highest number of words per clause was the one with the prompt "Soy agradecido por…" which may have been motivated by the increased formality attached to some of the religious content in responses. There was no significant difference in the average words per syllable among the three message boards.

Table 3: Summary of data on message-boards classified by composition of responses.

prompt	prompt composition	percent phrases	percent clauses	average syllables per word	average words per clause
Razones para vivir	phrase	91.6*	8.4	1.5	7.8
Soy agradecido por…	phrase	85.9*	14.1	1.6	8.2
positive comments	clause	8.6	91.4*	1.6	6.5

*Same composition as the prompt

The subject-matter content of responses, determined by the classification of responses into broad categories, showed that participants referred to spiritual fulfillment and community subjects more than leisure or physical fulfillment, see Table 4. This may, in turn, suggest that spiritual fulfillment and a sense of community are more valued than leisure activities or physical fulfillment given that the nature of the prompts that were designed to focus on subjects of high value to participants that they considered were worth living for, were thankful for, or were positive elements in their lives. This was an important finding for early-career scholars who had initially been shocked by some of the comments related to physical fulfillment, specifically in the sub-categories of sexual desire, (fast)food and alcohol consumption, that had promoted them to initially consider participants' responses as fairly shallow and superficial. After analysis, these same scholars recognized that the number of responses focused on spiritual fulfillment, specifically in the sub-categories of positive self-affirmation and religion, were more than double those of physical needs and suggested that most participants did not respond with superficial comments. Instead, they determined that participants responded with an honesty that indexed both profound psychological needs and more immediate needs for physical fulfillment and distraction[12].

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[12]The timeframe of this study is notable in that message boards were active both before and

Table 4: Summary of data on message-boards classified by content of responses

prompt	conten focus of responses (%)				total %
	leisure	physical fulfillment	spiritual fulfillment	community	
Razones para vivir	22.4	18.7	31.1	27.8	100
Soy agradecido por...	18.3	14.0	41.9	25.8	100
positive comments	4.5	8.9	65.7	20.9	100
average percent	15.1	13.9	28.9	24.8	

4.3 Language attitudes: Accent and confidence

Exploratory research on both quantitative and qualitative data collected from the accent and confidence survey shows that Puerto Ricans, who predominantly learn English as a second language, have positive self-perceptions of communicative competence and speaking confidence. Furthermore, the Puerto Rican results are similar to the Swedish participants who use English as a second language in Norman's survey (2017) which the methodology replicated.[13] Findings from the Puerto Rican data align with Norman's conclusion from the original study of 80 Swedish participants:

> students seem to think that having a native-like accent is overvalued and that communication is to favour over their perceived English accent... most of the students value communication over perceived accent, and many of them say that they do not care how they sound as long as what they say is conveyed. (Norman 2017: ii)

Among the 215 Puerto Ricans who participated in the Puerto Rican survey, a significant majority, representing nearly four out of five participants, said that their English is either "very good" or "quite good" and most others evaluated their competency as "average," see Table 5. Only 8 participants evaluated their English as "not good," and it is interesting to note that this confidence is notably in excess of the Swedish participants, more than a fifth of whom considered their

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after the prolonged academic recess caused by Hurricane Maria, a time in which many Puerto Ricans were experiencing significant trauma, insecurity and anxiety.

[13] Although the history of English in Sweden is not the same as Puerto Rico, a comparable situation of diglossia exists in which 1) advanced competencies in English are required for many programs in institutions of tertiary education, and 2) English competency is a characteristic in elite professions among the middle and upper classes (Berg et al. 2001).

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English "not good" (Norman 2017: 13). Similar to the Swedish participants, when asked if they aim to speak with a specific accent, Three out of every five of the Puerto Rican participants said that they do not aim to sound a certain way. Of those students who do aim to speak with an accent, the most common response was a preference for an American accent, followed closely by a preference for a Puerto Rican or Hispanic accent see Table 6. For those who consciously chose an accent, when asked to indicate the factors that may have influenced their choice, about half of all participants indicated that movies, TV series or online games and social media sites such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and YouTube have influenced them[14]. However, one in four participants also chose the option "I think it sounds like me". When explaining their conscious use of a native-like accent (or not) in written responses, many participants recognized intelligibility in addition to educational and social expectation as reasons to sound like a native speaker, for example comments included: "a lot of Americans can't understand you perfectly if you have a heavy accent," and "some native english speakers tend to make fun of hispanic accents when speaking English".[15] Others recognized but did not internalize external pressure, for example: "I believe it is expected, not necessarily important," and "I dobt[don't] think it is important, but socially there is a lot of pressure." However, many responses also celebrated diversity and stressed intelligibility as the main objective of communication, for example, one participant said: "I do not think it is important to sound like a native speaker. I just think it is important that you speak a way the other person is able to understand." Another commented: "diversity in accents exists so there is no reason to try to sound in another way that isn't natural to yourself." Some participants even recognized diversity as a critical component of language change, for example: "Accents are like the spices that allow the food that is the language to expand and diversify. Without accents, language would have a harder time to expand and grow." Overall, Puerto Rican participants had overwhelmingly positive perceptions of local phonological variation despite their recognition of external pressure to adopt native-like American accents.

When participants were asked to rank whether it was more important to sound like a native speaker or to express themselves easily, four out of every five participants asserted that ease of expression was more important; fewer participants reported that they had confidence with their accents. In response to a question to

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[14]Although these social media sites began as predominantly image and text-based platforms, the increasing availability of audio-visual media mean that they are becoming relevant phonological sources for ESL learners.

[15]All syntax, word choice and orthography represent what the participants wrote in their comments.

Table 5: Self-evaluation of competency in English expressed as a percentage of participant responses (n=215).

My English is...	...very good	...quite good	...average	...not good
responses (%)	41.9	36.3	18.1	3.7

Table 6: participant responses to the question: "When you speak English, do you aim to speak with an accent?" expressed as a percentage (n=215)

accent choice	I do not aim to use an accent		I consciously choose an accent	
accent type		American	Puerto Rican	Hispanic or "other"
responses (%)	63.7	18.6	13.0	4.7

determine if participants feel awkward or embarrassed about their accents when they speak English, four out of every five participants said that they feel little-to-no negative feeling, and of the remaining participants, most reported feeling only a little awkward or embarrassed, see Table 7. Participants demonstrated insightful awareness of language variety and high self-confidence in written responses to the question: do you think that a person with English as their first language will understand you better if you sound like a native speaker? Some speakers shifted the burden of comprehension to the listener with comments such as: "Don't care if they do. While they only speak one language, I speak two. They should make the effort to understand THEIR language regardless the accent" (emphasis by the participant) and "They would need to pay more attention, but if I speak correctly they could still understand me." Others recognized the scope of variety and varying degrees of intelligibility as natural phenomenon among speakers of any language, for example comments such as "sometimes native speakers don't understand others very well due to their accents," "a lot of people aren't used to hearing other accents" and "It depends on the English accent that they are accustomed[to]." One participant spoke for many with the comment "One should always aim to be understood. But i don't feel it's important to hide my accent or pretend my first language is english." In agreement with such sentiments, it is not surprising that nine in ten participants said they would not be concerned if they were identified as second language speakers of English, and the two highest factors that participants identified as important were being understood (ranked first) and sounding confident (ranked second), both considered more important in speaking than grammatical accuracy (ranked third).

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Table 7: Participant responses to the question: "Do you feel awkward or embarrassed about your accent when you speak English?" expressed as a percentage ($n = 215$)

Awkward or embarrassed	no		yes	
extent of feeling	not at all	not really	a little	often / a lot
responses (%)	48.4	16.7	27.9	7.0

5 Discussion: Increasing recognition and value of Puerto Rican speech

This section demonstrates how language documentation and exploratory research has increased awareness of the characteristics of Puerto Rican speech, and specifically the existence of Puerto Rican English, among speakers and early-career scholars. It furthermore validates the claim that the methodologies used in this pilot study might be effectively replicated on a larger scale to promote public recognition of a local variety of English and combat some of the social stigma associated with ubiquitous language mixing.

Before working on language documentation activities, responses from undergraduate students generally indicate that many are unaware of dialect varieties, including their own. When asked to define the term "Puerto Rican English," responses included comments such as: "well, that actually sounds racist," and "it just means USA English with another accent. There's nothing deep to it." Other comments demonstrated misconceptions of language homogeneity: "English is just a language a simple one, there isn't different types of it." Unsurprisingly, given the political and economic status of the island, participants generally agreed on the advantages of knowing and being able to use English, as indicated in one comment that "someone bilingual has more open doors." Yet, students intuitively know that English and Spanish are polarized with each code operating in isolation according the ideologies of exonormative standardization. Students recognized that Spanish is governed by the prescriptive norms of the Real Academia Española of Madrid, Spain, and English is governed by descriptive U.S. standards that are promoted through the curricula of Puerto Rico's Department of Education and codified in publications such as the Merriam-Webster dictionary. Language mixing is therefore perceived as a dangerous unregulated middle zone that might positively index Latinx identity, particularly in the context of U.S. migration, but can also create uncomfortable points of contrast for Puerto Ricans who live on the island and do not identify with a wider Hispanic

identity or (im)migrant status that is often stigmatized in public discourses of the U.S.. Underlying judgements about identity construction through language choices reinforce what Pérez Casas identifies as a characteristic among Puerto Ricans to think of English and Spanish individually despite the common mixing of both languages in daily communication, which she observes "does not necessarily mean that they embrace a 'bicultural' identity" (Pérez Casas 2016: 56–57). Unsurprisingly, given the dominance of Spanish vernacular on the island, the unsettling effects of language contact are typically seen in terms of a Spanish matrix framework, as indicated in one speaker's observation: "the more someone knows English, the more it's integrated into their Spanish." In such ways, most students, before working with the documentation project, demonstrated perceptions that English in Puerto Rico is an encroachment of modern U.S. influence on the Hispanic identity of Puerto Ricans. Consequently, no participants recognized a local variety of English or engaged with ideas about emerging localized norms even when they recognized extensive bilingualism and the profusion of local forms that derive from contact with Spanish.

When asked to explain how Puerto Ricans use language, most students recognize that language mixing is integral to expressions of Puerto Rican identity. Student perspectives on codeswitching generally recognized the phenomena as "normal" yet many also described or implied that it is stigmatized as deficient. In such a context, many participants referred to negative emotions attached to codeswitching practices, for example, one student acknowledged, and appeared to apologize for, how she mixes languages: "I use English and Spanish all the time. *I try not to do it on purpose*" (emphasis added). In other cases, students seemed to justify the stigma of codeswitching by explaining how it is triggered by low competency and lapses of memory, for example, one student explained: "often, speaking more than one language can get a bit confusing sometimes and can make you forget." Many students commented on what they received as their own deficient recall: "I forget how to say a word in Spanish" and "I can't seem to think of the right word... this is specially frustrating." Yet, even when not linked to frustration, participants often made comments that suggest they associate codeswitching with carelessness or comfort: "It's just convenient...I just can't remember certain words in Spanish," and "basically, I use the first language that comes to mind." Negative perceptions of mixed codes are not unique to the Puerto Rican context. Indeed, scholarship attests to the commonality of derogatory discourse in contexts where mixed languages emerge, exemplified by movements such as "Speak Good English" in Singapore, which was launched in 2000 in Singapore to diminish the influence of Singlish and promote what was considered a more comprehensible standard variety (Lim 2015: 262). Negative mental models associated

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with codeswitching have been historically linked with the stigmatized Puerto Rican migrant experience; Tato Laviera, a foundational figure of the Nuyorican Poetry Movement, expresses:

hablo lo inglés matao	[I speak broken (lit. "killed") English]
hablo lo español matao	[I speak broken (lit. "killed") Spanish]
no sé leer ninguno bien	[I don't know how to read either well]
	(Laviera 2014: 7)

Negative mental models are also seemingly legitimized by some of the scholarship, for example Zentella describes a type of codeswitching in Puerto Rico as "crutching" which "occurs when speakers are at a temporary loss for a word or construction in the language which they were speaking before the switch" (Zentella 1982: 49). Two sub-classifications of such crutching, according to Zentella, are "Not Known" when speakers *do not know* the target construction and "Lapse" when speakers *do not recall* the target construction (p. 50).[16] Given the negative associations and wording of scholarship, reinforced by an education system that promotes the separation of the two languages, it is perhaps not surprising to see how young people have adopted similar negative terms to explain their own language mixing choices, which they recognize as part of a more widespread "problem." This is illustrated by comments in our data such as: "We just forget the word in english and say it in Spanish or vice versa," and "we don't remember… in the end we just correct what we are trying to say." Although this paper does not suggest that the linguistic context for English among bilinguals in Puerto Rico is the same as regions where creoles are spoken, negative attitudes towards Puerto Rican English are comparable to attitudes among speakers of non-standard or non-official languages such as indigenous creoles. For example, García León found that, in comparison to the positive attitudes towards both Standard English and Standard Spanish, speakers of Trinidadian Creole considered that their Caribbean language was not apt for education or economic advancement although it was found to be a strong indicator of national and ethnic identity (2013: 50). Similarly, Puerto Ricans recognize that their local speech practices represent their identity but do not index intelligence or wealth. Consequently, positive orientation toward codeswitching as a marker of local identity appears to force a stigma of deficiency on speakers that, for some, becomes an associated marker of Puerto Rican identity.

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[16]I acknowledge that the intention of this author, and many others who codify types of codeswitching, is not to stigmatize speakers but to identify linguistic triggers. However, the framework for discussion often implements a monolingual ideology by assuming that the speaker's intent is to remain in one language throughout the speech act, when there is often little evidence to support such an assumption.

However, despite perceptions of individual or collective anxiety about language mixing, after participating in research, many students were able to associate more positive emotions with widespread Puerto Rican codeswitching practices. The same participant who had previously stated "I use English and Spanish all the time. I try not to do it on purpose" later explained how using both languages could be beneficial: "I like to take advantage of both languages... my brain is thinking and processing information in two languages." And this comment reflects the increasing awareness among education scholars, especially in multilingual contexts around Europe, that translanguaging "promotes a deeper and fuller understanding of the subject matter" (Baker 2001: 281). The word-choices of other comments indicated an increased positive association of language mixing, for example, describing it as "our original 'mezcla'" and explaining local speech practices as "*natural* code switching between English and Spanish" (emphasis added). Students made comments that show how language mixing was not a coping strategy or "crutch" but an integrated cognitive process, as illustrated by one student (the same participant who previously stated "I forget how to say a word in Spanish") who commented: "My mind *unconsciously combines* both languages to create a message *without separating* both Spanish and English" (emphasis added). Furthermore, the social effects of such recognition had already become apparent to one participant who described a situation when a friend mixed codes creatively and committed what would be perceived as errors in Standard Spanish: "its funny because at first we, his friends, corrected him... but now we noticed that this is his way of speaking." This recognition aligns with the observations of Pérez Casas that "speakers define and co-construct different identities through a CS[codeswitching] style...[and] Their bilingual speech style displays identities that reflect the reality of the two linguistic worlds that coexist in their habitus" (Pérez Casas 2016: 58). Overall, participants recognized and attached positive value to what they recognized as "a new branch into variations of the Spanish/English language" and "a mix of social and culture interactions."

After working on the documentation activities of the project, when asked what the phrase "Puerto Rican English" means, all participants gave responses had positive value associated with the term and many explicitly recognized the variety as a local dialect. One participant explained, "Puerto Rican English is a dialect variation of the English language spoken in Puerto Rico. It includes verbal particularities such as phonological or lexical features, and also non-verbal features, like body language or facial expressions." Others recognized – and rejected – the stigma attached to the local variety of English, for example: "I believe that Puerto Rican English has and is becoming an important for the identity for many Puerto Ricans, and although it may seen as an incorrect way is speaking English

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it's not." After documenting the effect of language contact on the local variety of English, many participants positively associated Puerto Rican identity with the effects of language contact; one participant explained, "Puerto Rican English to me is a variation of English that is influenced by Puerto Rican Spanish" and another explained, "this phrase [Puerto Rican English] means the combination of spanish and English." Many participants recognized language mixing as an integral part of Puerto Rican English and one participant described codeswitching as "something that gives us pride." Most students, after participating in documentation activities, were able to discuss Puerto Rican English in terms that positively indexed local identity rather than U.S. political or economic dependence, for example, one student explained how "the unique puerto rican people mold the English language to there [their] native culture and life style." Many students were able to recognize non-standard features in positive ways, for example, one student explained, "it means giving another language the puerto rican flare and identity, which makes us stand out from the crowd" and another recognized, "Puerto Ricans have develop *their own* features" (emphasis added). Furthermore, students were able to appreciate these non-standard features in terms of linguistic anthropology, "It's a dialect with distinctive features that evolved through historical points and represents our culture." Not only were participants able to positively re-evaluate their own language practices, they demonstrated attitudes indicative of socio-linguistic activism, for example, one participant commented: "The English dialect used by the Puertorican people, one that is growing everyday and *must be accepted* as a dialect of English like any other" (emphasis added). In sum, trend analysis demonstrates overwhelmingly that early-career scholars who participated in the documentation project demonstrated not only increased awareness of the characteristics of Puerto Rican speech but also increased recognition of Puerto Rican English as a local dialect that positively indexes the bilingual identity of its speakers. Furthermore, this positive effect emerges across the spectrum of bilingual participants, whether they described their competency in terms that would render them as incipient, receptive, or functional bilinguals, or whether they reported their abilities as equivalent to balanced, simultaneous bilinguals with native speaker or native-like competency.

The relevance of these exploratory findings, much like the language contact situation in Puerto Rico itself, does not easily compare with other situations in which new dialects of English have emerged. Yet, this documentation project and the positive effects on speaker perceptions it has engendered may benefit from contrast with studies on attitudes towards varieties of English that have emerged in similar socio-historical situations. For example, educated young Puerto Ricans, much like the Saudi Arabian students of Shabeb Al-Dosari's study, value listener

comprehension over perceptions of native fluency or prestige when evaluating the accents of second language speakers (Al-Dosari 2011: 1047). The speakers of Puerto Rican English involved in the data-collection activities of this study appear similar to speakers of Indian English who display positive attitudes towards their own variety of English despite residual preference for the prestige variety associated with colonial history (Bernaisch & Koch 2015). In terms of usage, the complexities of language convergence and divergence between a local variety of English alongside Standard American English and Puerto Rican Spanish that Puerto Ricans experience could be compared to linguistic accommodation in the multilingual context of Singapore (Ng et al. 2014). Tupas (2016) explains how recognizing both the local variety of English in Singapore, in addition to an international standard, can promote attitudinal change that facilitates second language acquisition without compromising cultural identity. Perhaps, as studies and participant involvement in documentation activities continue to promote awareness of the Puerto Rican variety of English, the island might undergo steps towards additive bi-dialectalism in language classrooms that address perpetual issues of "non-standard" usage in such contexts, comparable to concerns in Singapore (Tan & Tan 2008). However, Puerto Rico has a unique language contact situation, unlike the multilingual environments of Singapore and India. Pousada (2006: 17) explains:

> Puerto Rico is distinct from other countries such as Singapore, Hong Kong, the Philippines, and India where English has been successfully implanted. Those countries are linguistically very heterogeneous and have acquired a local variety of English for diplomatic, commercial, and technological communication among diverse populations. For them, English is an ethnically neutral language that does not threaten their nationality and is utilized primarily as a lingua franca for pragmatic purposes. In contrast, in Puerto Rico, because of its historical domination by the United States, planning for improving English learning is often viewed with suspicion as an attempt to unseat Spanish which is the native language of almost all residents on the island.

Thus, although comparative approaches with other contexts of new Englishes may be informative, they are unlikely to provide satisfactory models for Puerto Rican English, a variety trapped between two colonial giants on a binary continuum. Perhaps, instead of looking towards studies on World Englishes, comparative studies on Hispanic varieties of English in the U.S. might provide better context for the language contact situation in Puerto Rico. In their study of Hispanic

English in the mid-Atlantic south, Wolfram et al. (2004) highlight the importance of examining the dynamic early stages of English dialect emergence in contact with a local variety of Spanish. Perhaps studies on Puerto Rican English, with is geographic and cultural distance from mainstream U.S. influence, might provide comparative insights that inform what we know about how Hispanic communities play a role in forming the symbolic role of regional varieties of English among both second language speakers and multilingual communities.

6 Conclusions and recommendations

The data presented in this paper serves to support the hypothesis that speaker involvement in generating a database of linguistic resources on Puerto Rican English can increase awareness of how the Spanish-dominated context of the island has given rise to a distinct variety of English. The eight methodologies that have been tested as part of this pilot project in addition to the experimental analysis that has been conducted on their data demonstrate that they are feasible strategies to begin documenting the characteristics of Puerto Rican English. The scope and meaningful involvement of participants and early-career scholars has demonstrated that there is interest in local variation. Furthermore, the effects of their involvement in documentation activities indicate that, participants not only demonstrate increased recognition and positive evaluation of Puerto Rican English, but also recognize language mixing as an integral expression of Puerto Rican identity rather than a marker of linguistic deficiency.

Exploratory research suggests that, without the opportunity to study their own language variation, young Puerto Ricans do not recognize that they speak a unique dialect of English. Furthermore, they continue to attach stigma to their own mixed language practices and often consider mixing languages in terms of how English transfer marks linguistic deficiency in Spanish. They are more likely to perceive code-switching as something only appropriate to informal contexts, thus restricting the potential to use translanguaging practices to maximum advantage in an academic environment. However, young Puerto Ricans also recognize that their mixed language practices are a key component of their bilingual identity and they typically mix languages in emotive contexts and in ways that bolster social unity and emotional health. In addition, perception surveys indicate that young Puerto Ricans are increasingly confident about their language abilities and reject attitudes that might stigmatize their accents and language mixing practices. Based on the findings of these pilot studies in documenting Puerto Rican English, a central recommendation of this paper encourages speakers, educators, community leaders and other stakeholders in Puerto Rican English to

document the variety and advocate for its local and international recognition. Perhaps as we continue to document and discuss Puerto Rican English, more speakers might share the feelings of one participant who attended and gave feedback on a student presentation of exploratory findings:

After listening to this research presentation, I surely felt less insecure, more confident about my "accent." We spend so much time trying to sound perfect when being understood is enough. I wasn't really aware that Puerto rican English was actually a thing, but I'm glad it is and that I know of it.

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New research on circum-Caribbean creoles and language contact

This volume features research papers dealing with creolized and partially restructured language varieties in the wider Caribbean region. Initially conceived of as a conference volume drawing on papers presented at the 2017 Summer conference of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics, organized by the Universities of Tampere and Turku, Finland, the authors have since expanded the content of their original papers substantially, contributing to the empirical and analytical depth of their submissions. The volume ultimately aims both to validate new contact language research with this regional focus, as well as to stimulate further research on the fascinating language varieties that have developed and continue to thrive in the Caribbean region.