



2011 Summer Conference of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics Traces of Contact

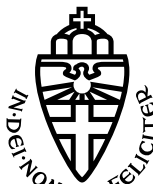
Accra, Ghana
2-6 August 2011



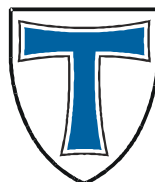
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Design and layout of the conference booklet by Thorsten Brato.

Many thanks to our registration administrator Sebastian Schmidt and to Sandra Götz for setting up the conference webpage.

Dear SPCL presenters,

WELCOME to the first meeting of the Society of Pidgin and Creole Linguistics in Africa. This momentous event which is taking place in Accra, the largest city in Ghana, is symbolic in more ways than one.

Accra has always played a prominent role in the history of Ghana, first as the center of the gold trade, then as the center of the slave trade. In Accra's forts and castles, one can easily identify the historical and architectural traces of contact between all the major European nations that came through the city, including the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, the British and Danish.

Given the rich past of this city where the histories of Africa and Europe intersected numerous times, it is only fitting that the theme of this conference is 'traces of contact', a topic that will unveil the contributions of both African and European languages to the pidgins and creoles that emerged on the African continent in general and in Ghana in particular.

This important event would not have taken place without a close collaboration between the following conference organizers and their respective institutions: Magnus Huber (Germany), John Singler (USA), Kofi Yakpo (The Netherlands), Kofi Agyekum, Evershed Amuzu, Akosua Anyidoho, Kofi Saah, Jemima Anderson, Kari Dako, Kwaku Osei-Tutu (Ghana).

The Society of Pidgin and Creole Linguistics owes an immense debt of gratitude to the conference organizers and the members of their supporting teams in Africa, Europe and the United States of America for overcoming many obstacles and for putting so much effort and energy in making this significant meeting happen.

May this be the first of many more SPCL meetings in Africa, the ancestral birth place of many pidgins and creoles.

Thank you on behalf of SPCL and *akwaaba*!

Marlyse Baptista

President of the Society of Pidgin and Creole Linguistics

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Overview

Tuesday 2 August

Arrival of delegates, conference registration at African Chalets, 19:00- Welcome reception African Chalets

Wednesday 3 August

8:30 Registration opens

9:00-9:30 Auditorium: Conference opening

9:35-10:35 Auditorium: Plenary *Dakubu*

10:35-10:55 Cocoa break

Auditorium

Conference Rm

*Kisembe-Darkw.**Ferrari**1. Mutambwa**2. Akanlig-Pare &c*

Basement

*Huber &c**Holm**Grant*

Auditorium

*Sippola**Ayagor &c**Gyasi-Ofori*

Conference Rm

*Leglise &c**Borges**Hanenberg*

Basement

*Stolberg**Huber &c**Krämer*

12:35-14:00 Lunch

*Götz**Obiamalu**1. Dako &c**2. Wiredu*

15:40-16:00 Cocoa Break

*Mann**1. Ndiemele**2. Mensah**18:30*Leave for reception at NYU Accra (buses leave from African Chalets) - Plenary *Baku* at NYU Accra**Thursday 4 August**9:30-10:30 Auditorium: Plenary *Egbokhare*

10:35-10:55 Cocoa break

Auditorium

Conference Rm

*Leglise &c**Borges**Hanenberg*

12:35-14:00 Lunch

14:00 Leave for Aburi Botanical Gardens (buses leave from conference centre)

Friday 5 August

9:35-10:35 Auditorium: Plenary Ameka

10:35-10:55 Cocoa break

Auditorium Conference Rm

*Huber & Mitchell &c**Guillemín Anchimbe &c**Ng 1. Kwesi &c**2. Dawkins*

12:35-14:00 Lunch

*Scott &c Blaxter Paliwala**Yakpo Walicek**Farquharson Ativie*

15:40-16:00 Cocoa Break

*Schneider Gaudio**Klein Ifukor*

18:30 Leave for conference dinner

(buses leave from African Chalets)

Saturday 6 August

9:30-10:30 Auditorium: Plenary Aboh

10:35-10:55 Cocoa break

Auditorium

*Escure**Bartens**1. Henry**2. Korsah*

12:35-14:00 Lunch

14:00 Departure of delegates

Sunday 7 – Tuesday 9 August

Post-conference excursion; busses leave from and return to African Chalets

Schedule

Wednesday 3 August

Auditorium

8:30	Registration opens
9:00-9:30	Conference opening
9:35-10:35	<i>Plenary: Dakubu</i> - The birth of languages in Ghana: contact the onlie begetter?
10:35-10:55	Cocoa break

1. Auditorium: Traces of Contact

10:55-11:25	<i>Moody</i> – Traces of contact in African-American English varieties in southeast Georgia
11:30-12:00	—
12:05-12:35	<i>McPhee</i> – A trace of contact: Morphological reduplication in Bahamian Creole
12:35-14:00	Lunch break
14:00-14:30	<i>Götz</i> – The role of second language acquisition in the genesis of pidgins and creoles: Typological parallels and disparities
14:35-15:05	<i>Finney</i> – Accounting for creolization within the declarative/procedural framework: The case of Sierra Leone Krio
15:40-16:00	Cocoa break
16:00-16:30	<i>Loos</i> - Quite a mouthful: The influence of language contact on linguistic action verbs in sign language of the Netherlands
16:35-17:05	<i>Robertson</i> (WIP) – Morphological simplification of the substrate in Creole formation <i>Mbagwu & Eme</i> (WIP) – A question on the superstrate and substrate in the Nigerian Pidgin
18:30	Leave for reception at NYU Accra (Buses leave from African Chalets) <i>Plenary: Baku</i> - African agency, forts and castles and the African slave trade in the Gold Coast

Wednesday 3 August (ctd.)

2. Conference Room

10:55-11:25	<i>Kisembe Darkwah</i> – Language Contact: The Case of Sheng
11:30-12:00	<i>Ferrari</i> - Language contact in Swahili of Lubumbashi (DRC): A case of linguistic flexibility
12:05-12:35	<i>Mutambwa</i> (WIP) – Codeswitching and language mixing strategies in cosmopolitan towns: a daily practice in social interactions in Lubumbashi city (DR Congo) <i>Akanlig-Pare & Mohammed</i> (WIP) – Ghanaian Hausa: A creole or a pidgin?
12:35-14:00	Lunch break
14:00-14:30	<i>Siegel, Szmrecsanji & Kortmann</i> – Measuring analyticity and syntheticity in pidgin and creole languages
14:35-15:05	<i>Obiamalu</i> – Inflectional categories and V-movement in the Nigerian Pidgin (Wàfi)
15:10-15:40	<i>Dako & Henaku</i> (WIP) – An analysis of nominal structures in Student Pidgin <i>Wiredu</i> (WIP) – The dependent clause in Ghanaian Pidgin English
15:40-16:00	Cocoa break
16:00-16:30	<i>Mann</i> – North and south: Attitudes towards Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin in urban Nigeria
16:35-17:05	<i>Ndimele</i> (WIP) – Communication problems of Nigerian Pidgin speakers <i>Mensah</i> (WIP) –Grammaticalization in Nigerian Pidgin
18:30	Leave for reception at NYU Accra (Buses leave from African Chalets) <i>Plenary: Baku</i> - African agency, forts and castles and the African slave trade in the Gold Coast

Wednesday 3 August (ctd.)

3. Basement

10:55-11:25	<i>Huber & Velupillai</i> - German colonial sources and the history of West African Pidgin English. A first analysis of the holdings of the Deutsche Kolonialbibliothek
11:30-12:00	<i>Holm</i> - An 18th-century novel from the Miskito Coast: What was creolized?
12:05-12:35	<i>Grant</i> - A nuclear Micronesian-based pidgin from the early 19th century: Horace Holden's 'language of Tobi'
12:35-14:00	Lunch break
14:00-14:30	<i>Anchimbe</i> - Blaming in Cameroon Pidgin English and Cameroon English: Use of inclusive and exclusive pronouns
14:35-15:05	<i>Mühleisen & Drescher</i> - Advice in Cameroon: global and local influences of linguistic practices in a postcolonial environment
15:10-15:40	<i>Managan</i> - Performing Authority in Guadeloupean Kréyòl Comedy
15:40-16:00	Cocoa break
16:00-16:30	<i>Kerswill & Sebba</i> - From London Jamaican to British youth language: The transformation of a Caribbean post-creole repertoire into a new Multicultural London English
16:35-17:05	<i>van den Berg, Essizewa & Tagba</i> - Temporal relations in bilingual discourse in West Africa, Suriname and the Netherlands: Implications for creole formation
18:30	Leave for reception at NYU Accra (Buses leave from African Chalets) <i>Plenary: Baku</i> - African agency, forts and castles and the African slave trade in the Gold Coast

Thursday 4 August

Auditorium

9:35-10:35 *Plenary: Dakubu* - The birth of languages in Ghana: contact the onlie begetter?

10:35-10:55 **Cocoa break**

1. Auditorium: Traces of Contact

10:55-11:25 *Sippola* – Functions of the causative *hasé* in Chabacano

11:30-12:00 *Ayafor & Green* – Traces of contact: Serial verb constructions in Cameroon Pidgin English (Kamtok)

12:05-12:35 *Gyasi-Ofori* – A Descriptive Study of Serial Verb Construction in Student Pidgin English: A Case of University of Ghana Students

2. Conference Room

10:55-11:25 *Leglise & Migge* – Creoles in contact in French Guiana & Suriname: Implications for language documentation

11:30-12:00 *Borges* – Ritual language formation and African retentions in Suriname

12:05-12:35 *Hanenberg* – Language attitude and language use of Afro-Surinamese in Suriname

3. Basement

10:55-11:25 *Stolberg* – Tracing the effects of colonial contact: German words in Tok Pisin dictionaries

11:30-12:00 *Huber & Schmidt* – Investigating the history of Pidgin English. Early Highlife recordings from Ghana

12:05-12:35 *Krämer* – 19th century French creolistics: Paradigms of racist determinism in philological research

12:35-14:00 **Lunch break**

14:00 Leave for Aburi Botanical Gardens (Buses leave from conference centre)

Friday 5 August

Auditorium

9:35-10:35 Plenary: Ameka - Multilingualism, contact and convergence on the West African littoral: implications for Trans-Atlantic Sprachbund

10:35-10:55 Cocoa break

1. Auditorium: Traces of Contact

10:55-11:25 *Huber et al.* – Substrate traces, superstrate traces and universals in Atlantic pidgins and creoles. Findings based on the *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures* with a special focus on Africa

11:30-12:00 *Guillemín* – Mauritian *la* vs. Seselwa *i*: Traces of French vs. Bantu influence?

12:05-12:35 *Ng* - Creole exceptionalism via transmission: The weak-to-strong harmony gap

12:35-14:00 Lunch break

14:00-14:30 *Scott & Evans* – The African influence on TMA marking in Antillean French-lexicon Creoles

14:35-15:05 *Yakpo* – Language contact and the differentiation of the Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creoles

15:10-15:40 *Farquharson* - Aspectual reduplication in Jamaican and Akan

15:40-16:00 Cocoa break

16:00-16:30 *Schneider* – Searching for traces of contact: negation patterns in nineteenth-century African American English

16:35-17:05 *Klein* – Arabic and indigenous West African traces in Middle Caicos Creole English

18:30 Leave for conference dinner
(Buses leave from African Chalets)

Friday 5 August (ctd.)

2. Conference Room

10:55-11:25	<i>Mitchell & Ursulin</i> – The roles of gender and education in questions language choice and attitudes in a creolophone community
11:30-12:00	<i>Anchimbe, Anderson & Dzahene-Quarshie</i> – Attitudes towards Pidgin English in Ghana: Between the young and the old
12:05-12:35	<i>Kwesi, Korsah & Paaw</i> (WIP) – Language contact in Ghana <i>Dawkins</i> (WIP) – Art imitating life: Social Issues that may account for linguistic style as it relates to male identity and dominance within dancehall music
12:35-14:00	Lunch break
14:00-14:30	<i>Blaxter Paliwala</i> – Tok Pisin and English in Papua New Guinea: The value of census data
14:35-15:05	<i>Walicek</i> – Contemplating ethnic identity and creole emergence: A focus on Anguilla
15:10-15:40	<i>Ativie</i> – Cultural influences as inputs of development of Nigeria Pidgin
15:40-16:00	Cocoa break
16:00-16:30	<i>Gaudio</i> – Nation of a thousand laughs: stand-up comedy, Nigerian Pidgin, and the public sphere
16:35-17:05	<i>Ifukor</i> – Nigerian Pidgin and Interdiscursivity in the New Media
18:30	Leave for conference dinner (Buses leave from African Chalets)

Friday 5 August (ctd.)

3. Basement

10:55-11:25	<i>Faraclas et al.</i> – Fresh evidence concerning African agency in the emergence of the Atlantic Creoles
11:30-12:00	<i>González-López</i> – Language use in spiritual practices, clandestine cultural resistance and creole genesis
12:05-12:35	<i>Singler</i> – Stereotypes, stigma, and agency in Vernacular Liberian English
12:35-14:00	Lunch break
14:00-14:30	<i>Amadichukwu</i> (WIP) – The situation of language in Africa: Will Pidgin language survive? <i>Anderson & Osei-Tutu</i> (WIP) – Attitudes Towards Pidgin English in Ghana
14:35-15:05	<i>Dako & Yitah</i> (WIP) – Pidgin and stereotyping in Ghanaian literary texts <i>Ofulue</i> (WIP) – Nigerian Pidgin and West African Pidgins: A sociolinguistic perspective
15:10-15:40	<i>Iwuchukwu & Okafor</i> (WIP) – Nigerian Pidgin in the 21st century: Any hope of surviving the opposition from English, Nigerian languages and foreign Languages? <i>Botchway</i> (WIP) – <i>Ma Tsalé, weh ting koraa be Pidgin blé?</i> A note on the origin and socio-linguistic uses of Pidgin English among students in Ghana
15:40-16:00	Cocoa break
16:00-16:30	<i>Corum</i> (WIP) – Resuscitating the Domestic Origin Hypothesis: A componential approach to the study of locative constructions in Nigerian Pidgin <i>Esizimotor</i> (WIP) – A study of the history and structure of Naijá words
16:35-17:05	<i>Mensah & Etteh</i> (WIP) – Proverbs in Nigerian Pidgin <i>Mowarin</i> (WIP) – Sentential negation in Nigeria Pidgin
18:30	Leave for conference dinner (Buses leave from African Chalets)

Saturday 6 August

Auditorium

9:35-10:35 *Plenary: Aboh* – Creoles are not distinct languages!

10:35-10:55 **Cocoa break**

1. Auditorium: Traces of Contact

10:55-11:25 *Escure* – African traces in Belizean negatives

11:30-12:00 *Bartens* - Akan substrate influence on three Western Caribbean Creoles revisited

12:05-12:35 *Henry* (WIP) - Establishing the Kromanti - Akan Link: Evidence from the occurrence of phonemic /r/
Korsah (WIP) - Akan with Ga accent in Accra: A preliminary survey

2. Conference Room

10:55-11:25 *Benítez-Torres* – The pragmatics of Berber and Songhay vocabulary in Tagdal: a Northern Songhay language

11:30-12:00 *Akinremi* - Towards a grammatical theory of codeswitching: The case of Igbo-English bilinguals

12:05-12:35 *van den Berg, Amuzu & Yevudey* - On toys, Early Sranan and contemporary bilingual discourse in West Africa: A comparison of adjectivization strategies

14:00 Departure of delegates

Post-conference excursion

Sunday 7–Tuesday 9 August

(All times except departure times are approximate)

Sunday 7 August

8:00	Buses depart from African Chalets (Yiri)
11:00	Stop at Fort Amsterdam (Kormantin)
	Lunch on the bus
13:00	Stop at Elmina Castle
16:00	Check-in at Anomabo Beach Resort
19:00	BBQ dinner at Anomabo Beach Resort

Monday 8 August

7:00	Breakfast at Anomabo Beach Resort
8:00	Buses depart for Kakum National Park
12:00	Buffet lunch at Castle Restaurant, Cape Coast
13:00	Tour of Cape Coast Castle
15:00	Return to Anomabo Beach Resort
19:00	Buffet dinner at Anomabo Beach Resort

Tuesday 9 August

7:00	Breakfast at Anomabo Beach Resort
8:00	Buses depart for Anomabo village (Posuban shrines, Aggrey's grave, Fort Anomabo)
11:00	Buses depart for Accra
	Lunch on the bus
ca.16:00	Arrive at African Chalets, University of Ghana

Abstracts: Plenaries

Enoch O. Aboh
University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Creoles are not distinct languages!

There is a constant debate in creolistics as to whether creole languages form a typologically distinct class. Put simply: Are creoles distinguishable from natural human languages as reported in the story of Babylon, or do these speech forms display specific properties that make them cluster together as a unique class of human languages?

Twenty three years ago, Muysken (1988: 300) answered this question negatively: “The very notion of a ‘creole’ language from the linguistic point of view tends to disappear if one looks closely, what we have is just a language”. This view appears to be shared by the majority of creolists, even though many scholars maintain that there is something about creoles that makes them a separate group of language (e.g., McWhorter 1998, 2001, Parkvall 2008, Bakker and al 2010). Recurrent arguments in favor of this view are often based on supposedly morphosyntactic and semantic properties such as morphological simplicity i.e., absence of rich agreement and inflectional morphology, TMA sequencing, serial verb constructions, semantic transparency, etc.

While work by Mufwene (2001), DeGraff (2003, 2004, 2005, 2009) have shown that such views are not linguistically grounded and might be influenced by some unconscious postcolonial ideological bias, this lecture shows that the claim that creoles are structurally distinct results from a misconception of the structural properties that are often assigned to such languages as opposed to so-called ‘old languages’. I show, on empirical ground, that the supposedly creole structural properties are found in all languages to various degrees. This conclusion supports Muysken’s (1988) observation in the previous paragraph, but it also suggests that the idea that there may be a single Language in the world that is structurally distinct from all other languages is untenable.

I further propose a theory of the genesis of contact languages based on the emergence of hybrid grammars. I adopt a biological approach to the evolution of language (e.g., Mufwene 2001, 2003, 2005), and

suggest that a new language (e.g., a contact language) may emerge from the recombination of *distinctive syntactic features* (by analogy to gene recombination in biology) from different varieties or languages into a coherent system representing the speaker's Internal-language (Aboh 2006, 2007, 2009, forthcoming). Under this analysis, the so-called creoles are linguistically hybrid (in the biological sense). They emerged from the recombination of linguistic features from typologically different languages. As a result of this recombination, creoles develop diverse and often syntactically and semantically opaque features which could not have arisen in the context of their source languages taken individually. It appears from this view that what is needed is not a theory of *creolization*, but a formal account for how distinct syntactic features may recombine into a more complex and viable linguistic system. This leads me to conclude that understanding the genesis of new languages, such as creoles, represents the first step to understand the emergence of (complex) linguistic systems that underlie language acquisition and language evolution.

Felix Ameka

**University of Leiden, Max Planck Institute for
Psycholinguistics Nijmegen and University of Ghana**

**Multilingualism, contact and convergence on the West
African littoral: implications for Trans-Atlantic
Sprachbund**

Investigations of the role of West African languages in the creation of Atlantic creoles have tended to assume that the populations that created the languages comprised monolingual speakers of these languages. Thus Fon is claimed to be the substrate for Haitian (Lefebvre 1998). Recently there has been a move to recognise a cluster of languages, e.g. Gbe, as possible sources of substrate influence in the Surinamese Creoles (Muysken et al. To appear). The possibility of the agents in the creation being multilingual has not been explored. Judging from current language ecologies and synchronic linguistic practices in the West African “speech area”

(Hymes 1972), it would appear that the repertoire of linguistic structures of the individual agents during the formation of the

Creoles would have been the result of contact and convergence among the languages in the area. In this presentation, I examine some contact scenarios and their outcomes in the Volta Basin of West Africa with a view to showing that the Creoles may not constitute radical departures from pre-existing systems, but can be seen as pretty "normal" extensions of patterns of West African language practices, multilingualism, convergence, and restructuring as they have probably existed for thousands of years in the region, and continue today.

References

- Hymes, Dell 1972. Models of the interaction of language and social life. In JohnJ. Gumperz and Dell Hymes (eds) Directions in Sociolinguistics. The ethnography of communication 35-71 New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston
- Lefebvre, Claire 1998. Creole genesis and the acquisition of grammar: the case of Haitian Creole. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Muysken, Pieter C et al. To appear The trans Atlantic Sprachbund. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter

Kofi Baku
University of Ghana

African Agency, Forts and Castles and the African Slave Trade in the Gold Coast

For nearly 300 years, Europeans traded in millions of Africans across the Atlantic into the New World of the Americas. This large trade was made possible and sustained by profitable commercial interactions between African and European slave dealers. Forts and castles loomed large in the history of the Gold Coast; they were (and still are) the most visible symbols of Euro African contact on the Gold Coast littoral. For a relative short distance of about 300 kilometres, there were nearly 60 European lodges, forts and castles. Indeed, their presence was unmistakable; no wonder they have been described as “ships in permanent anchor” on the Gold Coast littoral.

In the Ghana coat of arms a castle finds a pride of place. From their establishment in the 15th century through the 21st century, forts and

castles have played a variety of roles in shaping the texture of the history of the Gold Coast and Ghana. Forts and castles symbolize the integration of the country into the global system; they were the operational bases of European nations in the Gold Coast, and in our own time, the Christiansborg castle has been the seat of the government of Ghana and the residence of its head of state since independence except for a brief period in the 1960s when the presidency was relocated to Flagstaff House. Today, Ghana has a new presidential lodge, built on the grounds of the old Flagstaff House, but the President lives and works in the Christiansborg Castle.

The aim of this paper is to examine briefly how African agents in the Gold Coast facilitated trade in Africans by ensuring continuous flow, for nearly 300 years, of slaves to European merchants in the Forts and castles on the Gold Coast littoral for shipment to the Americas.

Mary Esther Kropp Dakubu
University of Ghana, Ghana

**The birth of languages in Ghana: contact the onlie
begetter?**

There is a curious tension between the current concern for endangered languages and an interest in pidgins and creoles, which at the moment is not quite so fashionable. The first is at least partly predicated on a fear of future uniformity, perhaps impelled by fears of unpredictable and undesired effects of globalization. The second is at least partly informed by consciousness of another side-effect of globalization, namely urbanization, or more fundamentally, new agglomerations of people, and the effect of this on hitherto accepted standards of language, whether these standards are institutionally recognized and maintained or not – in other words, language change in circumstances in which change is popularly regarded as corruption, decay and other bad things. At a more programmatic level, the one is concerned with loss of forms of expression, the other with the innovation and development of new forms. Neither of these processes is new in the linguistic history of the world. In this lecture I shall discuss the history of language in Ghana with attention to the origins of three languages: Gonja, Chakosi and Ga;

the differing contact circumstances under which they developed and took root; and whether or not there is evidence that any of these languages originated as pidgins and/or creolized versions of the language(s) to which they are genetically most closely related.

Francis O. Egbokhare
University of Ibadan, Nigeria

Becond chance, sentiments and prejudice: Engaging the challenges of Nigerian Pidgin development

The fortunes of a language are inextricably tied to the fortunes of its speakers. The profile of a language may improve positively if it becomes associated with a thriving culture, religion, trade, science and technology and education, or if it is associated with a dominant political or economic power (Liberson 1982). In the face of the pervading endangerment of local languages due to the forces of globalisation, Nigerian pidgin has continued to spread and deepen its functions and relevance. In this presentation we examine issues relating to its origin, identity, spread and changing profile and situate these historically and synchronically within the dynamics of the Nigerian environment. We identify lack of a standard variety and orthography, official recognition, use as a medium of instruction, learning and teaching materials as some factors undermining the development of Nigerian Pidgin. Others include the fear that it will negatively affect the learning of English language. This has tended to generate apathy among the elite and lack of commitment in the critical linguistic community. As a way of tackling some of these problems and stirring Nigerian Pidgin in the right direction, the Naija Langwej Akedemi was established as a language development, research, capacity building and advocacy platform. We report here on its effort to harmonise and standardise the orthographic practices and build capacity towards the compilation of a representative dictionary and grammar. We argue that if Nigerian Pidgin must attain the respect and recognition it deserves and perform its role as a language of regional integration in West Africa, it must move from the market place, the mass media to intellectual domains. Equally important, it must be tied to the global information infrastructure and other vectors of modern socialisation.

Abstracts: Papers & WIP

George Akanlig-Pare and Sadat Mohammed
University of Ghana, Ghana

Ghanaian Hausa: a creole or a pidgin (WIP)

Hausa may have initially spread from its present native locus of Northern Nigeria to several parts of the Sub-Saharan region through trade. Several settlers in Ghana, from all over the West African sub-region, including Hausa speakers have used Hausa as lingua franca for a very long time. Most of these settlers have settled in communities called *zangos*. But in the 19th Century, the use of Hausa as the lingua franca among the soldiers of the West African Frontier Force may have created another avenue for its further spread. Many Ghanaians who served in this force returned home speaking a type of Hausa that was described as *hausan soldier*. Hausan soldier started as the Hausa of the barracks, but also later spread to other communities including the *zangos*. The amalgam of these Hausas evolved into a unique brand of Hausa now called 'Gaanankye', literally meaning 'Ghana Hausa'. This brand of Hausa is to be differentiated from the Hausa that is spoken in Northern Nigeria, called Standard Hausa.

Gaanankye is unique because it forms a separate group outside the contiguous Hausa-dominant area. It is infused with features identifiable with Ghanaian languages. Some of the words used in Gaanankye have their sources from Ghanaian languages. The following examples have their source in Akan: Bread '*paanu*', banana '*akwadu*', window '*tokoro*', spoon '*atiri*'. The uniqueness of Gaanankye is not seen only in the extensive borrowing, but it is also evident in the phonological structure of the language. For example, while Standard Hausa has glottalized stops, Gaanankye does not have them. Again, Palatalization of velar stops before /i/ is unique in Gaanankye but not in Hausa. These result in some phonemic adjustments in Gaanankye that need to be learned by speakers of Standard Hausa. For example: *gida* 'house' in Hausa is realized as *ɕida* in Gaanankye.

Currently, Gaanankye has become the first language of some Ghanaians especially those who live in the *zango* communities. But many have argued that it is a pidgin, claiming that it is an unrefined

version of Standard Hausa. Using phonological evidence, this paper argues that Gaanankye is a Creole for many of its speakers; and that for many others, the creolization process is still in progress.

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**Towards a Grammatical Theory of Codeswitching: The
Case of Igbo-English Bilinguals**

Grammatical studies of codeswitching have shown that rather than being a haphazard bilingual behaviour, codeswitching is rule-governed. Beginning with the work of Poplack in the early 1980s, a number of grammatical constraints have been formulated to account for the various conditions which block switching from one language to another. Many of the constraints were based on codeswitching data from single language pairs, but were presumed to be universal in application. As more codeswitching data became available, several studies brought the universality of the constraints into question by providing counterexamples based on other language pairs. The absence of a universal theory of codeswitching underscores the need for a re-examination of the application of the proposed grammatical constraints to codeswitching phenomena. This paper examines the major grammatical constraints in codeswitching literature in the light of Igbo-English codeswitching and notes that counterexamples would always emerge to the proposed constraints. The paper argues that a universal grammatical theory of codeswitching must go beyond the proposal of constraints and attempts to invalidate such constraints to a theory organised along the lines of the principles and parameters model of Universal Grammar. It concludes that the proposed grammatical constraints are useful to the understanding of the parameters that define the range of variation among the permissible patterns of codeswitching, and that research efforts should focus more on abstracting the universal principles that apply to all codeswitching varieties. Specifically, comparative and typological studies of codeswitching data would serve to enrich the understanding of general principles and parameters of variation in the grammar of codeswitching.

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**The situation of language in Africa: Will Pidgin language
survive (WIP)**

Pidgin English language is widely regarded as having become the second spoken language in Africa but will it retain its predominance. Much attention has been focused on the survival of Indigenous languages or Pidgin English language in recent years due to the early changes in the world's social, economic and demographic transition.

Many, particularly anthropologists and linguists, anticipate the demise of the majority of Indigenous languages as well as Pidgin English within this century and have called on the need to arrest the loss of languages due to the restriction or banning of the speaking of these languages in homes and schools in Africa. Opinions vary concerning the loss of language; some regard it as a hopeless cause, and others see language revitalization as a major responsibility of linguistics and kindred disciplines. To this end, this paper seeks to stimulate debate about the future status of Pidgin English which can inform policy decision makers to be concern with the survival of Pidgin English. The future is more complex and less certain than some assume.

**Eric A. Anchimbe
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**Blaming in Cameroon Pidgin English and Cameroon
English: Use of inclusive and exclusive pronouns**

The speech act of blaming or criticising is generally a face threatening act that potentially could curtail the degree of social cohesion within a group. Its realisation is therefore mitigated in various ways so as to protect faces or minimise damage or threat to faces or group cohesion. In predominantly group-based cultures like the Cameroonian, how is blaming performed in Cameroon English and Cameroon Pidgin English?

This paper uses spoken data from two Christian Men Fellowship (CMF) groups of the Presbyterian Church in Cameroon to show that whereas Cameroon English speech adopts inclusive pronouns and constructions to blame members, in Cameroon Pidgin English blaming is done directly with the use of exclusive pronouns, ‘yu’. However, both attain the same level of politeness, that is, the Pidgin pattern of discourse framing does not harm the interlocutors face and does not engender breakdown in social cohesion within the group.

The two CMF groups are from Yaounde and Bamenda. The Yaounde group uses English in their weekly meetings while the Bamenda group uses Pidgin English. From the data, in situations of blame and criticism, speakers in Yaounde use inclusive pronouns, e.g. ‘we’, ‘us’, ‘our’ and inclusive expressions like ‘those of us’, ‘our brothers’, ‘those our members’ etc. This is to reduce the amount of threat and imposition on the addressees. But in Bamenda where Pidgin English is used, speakers avoid the inclusive and go directly for the exclusive ‘yu’ and its plural counterpart ‘wuna’. This indicates that the functions and statuses of languages (formal vs. informal, institutional vs. non-institutional) determine the level at which usage could be interpreted as impolite and imposing. It is not therefore impolite to use direct strategies to blame or reprimand in Pidgin English perhaps because it is an informal, intimate language, but it would be less acceptable to do same in English – the language in which people are reminded of formal interactions.

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Attitudes towards Pidgin English in Ghana: Between the young and the old

Magnus Huber’s (1999) acclaimed work on Ghanaian Pidgin English suggests that the language is highly spoken in Ghana almost to the same degree as in Nigeria and Cameroon. This gives the impression that it is also possibly heard on radio and in other public domains. However, from observations and a questionnaire administered

mostly in Accra, this is apparently not the case, at least not in 2010-2011 when the survey reported on here was done. This is because negative attitudes towards the language were recorded both among the youths, the supposed speakers of Pidgin English, and their parents, those supposedly prohibiting Pidgin English for their children.

The aim of this study therefore is to see if there are any differences in the perceptions of Pidgin English between the youth and parents in Ghana. The main question is what attitudes do these two groups hold towards the language and how are these built into social biases against Pidgin English and its speakers and accusations that it is responsible for falling or low standards of English among youths in Ghana. We will also investigate to what extent gender continues to be a factor in the choice of Pidgin English as medium of interaction and as a marker of in-group identity as initially suggested by Dako (2002, 2010).

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Attitudes Towards Pidgin English in Ghana (WIP)

Research into Ghanaian Pidgin English has shown that it does not occupy the same status as Pidgins in other anglophone West African countries. According to Huber (1999), Ghanaian Pidgin English is restricted to a smaller section of society than Pidgin in these other countries. He also states that Ghanaian Pidgin English is more stigmatized. One other peculiarity of Ghanaian Pidgin English is that it is a male-dominated language. Several researchers, Dako (2011), Huber (1999) and Tawiah (1998) among them, have commented on this feature of Ghanaian Pidgin English, and have suggested some reasons for it. The aim of this paper, therefore, is to find out the attitudes of Ghanaians to Ghanaian Pidgin English with reference to

these two features, i.e. stigmatization and male-domination. The researchers believe that though Ghanaian Pidgin English may still be suffer low prestige among the older population (50 +), the case may not be so for younger Ghanaians. In addition to that, it is the view of the researchers that though Ghanaian Pidgin English may still be male-dominated, a lot more females, than before, speak it and are willing to admit this.

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**Cultural Influences as Inputs of Development of Nigeria
Pidgin**

This study projects, as its objective, the description of the new function and the linguistic properties of the Nigeria Pidgin (now often referred to as Naija Language or simply Naija). It enacts the model of linguistic nativization of the English language in Nigeria as presented by Ayo Bamgbose (1995); a model which this essay adapts as framework to investigate the burgeoning sociolinguistic situation of the language in both its lexico-semantic and pragmatic usages. As an offshoot of the West African Pidgins and Creoles, the Nigeria Pidgin has significant traces of contact which are a part of the complex contact scenario that bear on the language's phonology, grammar and lexicon; adumbrative of the larger, contemporary Nigerian language cultural inputs which serve as substrate and underlying influences to the Pidgin spoken in the country. The study shows how the linguistic features of Pidgin, in mix with the English lexifier superstrate pressure, presently undergo changes to accommodate, in the framework, the various cultural inputs of the Pidgin spoken around the Nigerian country with a brief history of its spread within. In this investigation, therefore, we prescribe a uniform Nigeria Pidgin as a desideratum for national integration since the language performs multiple roles for various citizens in the present-day Nigerian, as well as in the West African Pidgin English speech communities.

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Traces of Contact: Serial verb constructions in Cameroon Pidgin English

Cameroon Pidgin English (Kamtok) provides a primary example of 'traces of contact'. While this language has many grammatical structures of its lexical source language, there are certain grammatical structures that can only be explained by substrate influence. One of these is the serial verb construction (SVC): "[A] series of two (or more) verbs [that] have the same subject and are not joined by a conjunction 'and' or a complementiser 'to' as they would be in European languages." (Holm 1988: 183). SVCs are not a feature of English, but are widely found in Cameroonian languages of the Bantu family. In this paper we take a comparative approach to investigating this substrate influence, by comparing serial verb constructions in Kamtok with those found in Awing and Meta, two languages spoken in the North West Region of Cameroon, one of the Kamtok heartlands. We explore the means these languages have of expressing concepts such as directionality, comparatives and benefactives, as well as examining tense/aspect functions of SVCs, and comment on the extent to which some of these have become fully grammaticalised into distinct categories in Kamtok.

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Akan substrate influence on three Western Caribbean
Creoles revisited

This paper draws on recent work on the potential substrate influence of Akan languages in general and Twi in particular on three Western Caribbean English-lexifier Creoles: San Andrés, Old Providence, and Nicaraguan Creole.

Holm (1978) investigates the influence of a number of sub- and adstrate languages on Nicaraguan Creole as compared to the other English-lexifier creoles of the region. Dittman (1992) briefly discusses cases of possible substrate influence on San Andrés Creole English. Bartens (2003) and Bartens and Farquharson (forthcoming) discuss possible lexical Africanisms in Western Caribbean Creole Englishes.

Focusing on but one likely substrate language, Bartens (2011) examines thirty phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical features included in the final APiCS questionnaire for potential Twi influence in the three cited creoles essentially drawing on Christaller (1875; 1888). She concludes that there are a number of features for which it is impossible to make a case for exclusive substrate influence. As a result, she prefers speaking of contact-induced linguistic convergence. However, she considers that there are also several language structures for which substrate influence offers the most likely explanation.

This appears to be even more true when widening the scope of investigation to more recent varieties of the Akan languages. Cf., e.g., Boadi (2005; 2008); Bureau of Ghana Languages (2000); Dansi (1983); Dolphyne (1996), Welmers (1946), etc.

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**The pragmatics of Berber and Songhay vocabulary in
Tagdal: a Northern Songhay language**

Tagdal, spoken in modern-day Niger by a group called the Igdalen, is classified as a Northern Songhay language, of the Nilo-Saharan phylum. What distinguishes Northern from Southern Songhay languages, however, is the influence of Berber, of the Afro-Asiatic family. In this paper, I outline several ways in which vocabulary of Songhay origin interacts with vocabulary of Berber origin in order to form a single language. First, I give several examples of how verb roots of Songhay origin interact with verb roots of Berber origin. Second, I give examples of how nouns of Songhay origin interact with nouns of Berber origin, coming to the conclusion that modern-day Tagdal most likely came out of a vehicular variety of Songhay, which lacked the necessary vocabulary to function as a vernacular language. Therefore, whenever Songhay lacked a necessary vocabulary item, Proto-Tagdal speakers simply interted a word of Berber origin.

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**Tok Pisin and English in Papua New Guinea – the value of
Census data**

Gathering data on the size and distribution of pidgin and creole language communities and their access to and use of a superstrate or other vernaculars is a challenge for linguists.

This paper addresses this general problem in terms of National Census data from Papua New Guinea (PNG), one of the most linguistically diverse nations on earth, where a question on language has been included in each of the five National Censuses taken over the past 50 years.

This June, the National Statistical Office will conduct the 2010 National Census, with its data to be published in 2012-2013.

We address issues of whether data collected through the National Censuses in PNG is of value to pidgin and creole studies in terms of assessing the size of the first-language ‘creole’ Tok Pisin community, the extent of creole/superstrate multilingualism, and the potential impact this has on the ongoing relationship between Tok Pisin and English.

Laycock (1985b) presents language data from the censuses conducted under the Australian Administration in 1966 and 1971 and draws some conclusions about the distributions of Indigenous languages, the two National Language pidgins (Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu), and English, the Official language. He also raises some concerns about a change in the format and focus of the language question in the first census taken post-Independence, in 1980.

With reference to data from the most recent censuses in 1990 and 2000, we consider the changing form of the language question and its impact on the value of data collected for longitudinal analyses of language in PNG. In particular we address the shift in the focus of the language question from a focus on competence in 1966 and 1971, to an assessment of domains of language use in 1980, and then to a singular focus on literacy for the UN HDI in 1990 and in 2000. Against the background of this changing data set, we provide an analysis of the methods used to assess long-term language trends from 1966 to 2000.

Presenting feedback from our own informants on the language question in the 2000 census, we provide insights into patterns in the language data and the way people responded to the language question. We consider the value of the data collected post-1985 for linguists’ understanding of the linguistic makeup of the national community, and for pidgin and creole studies in particular.

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**Ritual Language formation and African Retentions in
Suriname**

The African roots of creole languages and cultures in Caribbean societies have intrigued scholars since the late 19th century. Both linguists and anthropologists have demonstrated numerous West African retentions in the creole languages and cultures of descendants of enslaved Africans. In the case of Suriname, prevalence of African retentions is particularly high among the languages of the maroons in the rural interior as opposed to the creole town language and lingua franca Sranan (Winford & Migge 2007). Maroon cultures are generally viewed as having the highest prevalence of African retentions and in some cases are believed to be preserved 17th C West African culture systems (Herskovits & Herskovits 1934; Kahn 1939). Religious systems and accompanying ritual languages are often cited as evidence for this idea. Devonish (2005) even claims that Kromanti, a ritual language of Jamaican maroons, “is an Akan language”. An opposing view is found in the work of the anthropologists van Velzen and van Wetering (2004), who show that the Ndyuka maroons have undergone numerous cultural and political innovations despite their (relative) isolation in the forests of eastern Suriname and French Guyana.

This paper will focus on the ritual languages of the Ndyuka, e.g. Kumantitongo, Ampukutongo, and Papatongo. These languages are not used for everyday communication, rather, in particular -religious ritual- contexts and are, in principle, secret. While several consultants insist that they could easily communicate with Ghanians in their ritual language, newly collected language data on these languages appear neither Akan nor Gbe in structure. In addition to primary field data collected in several villages along the Tapanohony river in 2010 and 2011, written sources on the ritual languages of the Saramacca (Price 2007) as well Jamaican Kromanti (Bilby 1983; Devonish 2005) will be included for comparison. Thus this paper provides a structural, phonological and lexical overview of maroon ritual languages as well as evidence of the contact-induced and language-internal processes that played a role in their

formation. On the basis of phonological, syntactic, pragmatic and semantic grounds, we will show that the view of these languages as African retentions is not tenable, they are also dynamic and innovative.

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Ma Tsalé, weh ting koraa be Pidgin blé? A note on the origin and socio-linguistic uses of Pidgin English among students in Ghana (WIP)

This study explores the linguistic phenomenon of pidgin in Ghana. It primarily makes an attempt to trace its history from circa the

sixteenth century in Gold Coast and, in highlighting it as an interesting social construct and historical legacy in Ghana, the study interrogates the historic development and the processes that contributed to the pidginization of the English language from circa seventeenth century.

Pidgin English, which is a clever product of linguistic hybridization, is indubitably a very popular medium of communication for most students in the secondary and tertiary educational institutions in Ghana. It is in the knowledge of that understanding the study proceeds to look at the sociological and linguistic functions and implications and use of that medium of communication particularly among students in Ghana.

The investigation of its socio-linguistic functions and effects has yielded in this paper some basic thoughts about Pidgin English as a medium of expression which is relevant to social interaction in Ghana. These thoughts have in turn propelled and conditioned this study to intellectualise Pidgin English in Ghana and spawn the conclusive notion that much scholarly attention should be given to Pidgin English so that it could be mainstreamed as a literary language.

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**Resuscitating the Domestic Origin Hypothesis: A
Componential Approach to the Study of Locative
Constructions in Nigerian Pidgin (WIP)**

It has been 25 years since Hancock’s “Domestic Origin Hypothesis” appeared in the volume *Substrata vs. Universals in Creole Genesis* (1986). Hancock’s “componential approach to creole genesis” remains as important today as it was in the 1980s.

This paper aims to resuscitate the notion that a continuum of pidgin and creole Englishes existed from Senegal to Cameroon during the Early Modern Period (1500-1800), and that inside of this period two prototypical locative constructions emerged from prolonged linguistic contact with Upper and Lower Guinea Coast languages, the Portuguese Creoles, and the regional varieties of English that

were spoken on board both the official naval vessels of the British Empire and privateering ships. The constructions include:

1. stative copula (SC) construction: live, stop, de
2. focusing particle (FP) construction: n(a), for

We examine these constructions using Cognitive Grammar as a framework (Langacker, 1987; Lakoff, 1987), and then discuss their uses in some of the Atlantic Pidgin and Creole languages today with a particular emphasis on Nigerian Pidgin.

This paper provides an analysis of the semantic uses and restraints of the SC and FP constructions in Nigerian Pidgin using a spoken corpus of the language (Deuber, 2005), as well as elicited instances of the constructions that we obtained through experimental methods developed in semantic typology (Bowerman and Pederson, 1993; Levinson et al., 2003). We also compare our findings from the Nigerian Pidgin data to the uses of the constructions in early modern Guinea Coast creole languages, such as the portuguese-lexifier creole language Kriyol, as well as Gullah, an English-lexifier creole language that descended from 17th century Guinea Coast Creole English (Hancock, 1987). We will discuss whether the pidgin and creole languages of the Guinea Coasts can be typologically grouped together in terms of locative predication based on the semantics of these prototypical constructions.

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An analysis of nominal structures in Student Pidgin

This is an attempted analysis of the nominal structures in Student Pidgin (SP). For the purposes of this paper, SP is the acrolectal manifestation of Ghanaian Pidgin (GhaPE) as described by Huber (1999).

Not much work has been undertaken on GhaPE after Huber, and so far as SP is concerned, most work done on that code has been sociolinguistic studies. We therefore know very little about the structural complexities of Student Pidgin.

SP is predominantly classified as a variety of GhaPE based on the VP which conforms to that described for GhaPE and hence its deviation from other WAP VP patterns. We therefore decided to shift our attention to a generally unexplored SP structure, and so this paper analysis the NP and other nominal structures in Student Pidgin. We will look at the NPs such as [E buy de two books no] and the prepositional phrase; we will look at the pronominal system and case, the coordination of NPs, relative clauses and we will consider the transference of Kwa, and then especially Akan, elements into nominal constructions. We will finally ask the question: How stable are the nominal structures in Student Pidgin?

The data for this study was collected at the University of Ghana.

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Pidgin and stereotyping in Ghanaian literary texts (WIP)

This paper looks at shorter pidgin or attempted pidgin texts and the manner in which the speaker of pidgin is stereotyped and ridiculed in three Ghanaian texts: R.E. Obeng's *Eighteenpence* (1942), Cameron Duodu's *Gab Boys* (1968) and an excerpt from Kofi Anyidoho's collection of poems: *Earthchild: with Brain Surgery* (1985). Our texts thus span four decades.

That part of the Obeng text where the pidgin is found is set in Obuasi: the gold mining town. Two Gold Coasters speak pidgin: a labourer to his English 'master' and an escort policeman giving evidence in court. The discourse is in broken English with some pidgin elements.

Cameron Duodu has various speakers of pidgin: including escort policemen. Even though this novel is about rootless youth, they do not speak Student Pidgin, so this code had not evolved at the time the novel was published.

The text example from Kofi Anyidoho is the 7th Witness in his poem 'IN THE HIGH COURT OF COSMIC JUSTICE' (in *Earthchild with Brain Surgery*, 1985). In this text the speaker introduces himself as 'Me I be Malam'.

The texts we have chosen clearly signal that the pidgin speaker in Ghana is either an escort policeman, a foreigner or an illiterate Ghanaian attempting to communicate with his 'master'.

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**Art imitating life: Social Issues that may account for
linguistic style as it relates to male identity and
dominance within dancehall music (WIP)**

This paper is aimed at providing an insight into the study of sociolinguistic issues of inequality as it relates to gender, identity, male dominance and language style within the Jamaican Dancehall

Industry. Dancehall music in Jamaica is very male oriented and male dominated. Not only do men dominate in their presence on stage but this dominance is carried over in the concerts / dances and also in the language styles being demonstrated by them. Men tend to use more back vowels in their delivery of their songs' choruses, especially when targeting men. They are also more likely to target men in their songs than women. Men are also tend to use or create words which have a feminine connotation to insult masculinities within dancehall. These particular styles such as vowel use and specific morphology are copied by what seems to be the less dominant group within that speech community, the 'women'. Women are trying to identify with the more dominant, influential and prestigious group within dancehall, the 'men'. Therefore women are always trying to align themselves with maleness or male tendencies within this musical genre. Coupland (2007) argues that speech style and social context inter-relate, "style therefore refers to the wide range of strategic actions and performances that speakers engage in, to construct themselves and their social lives" (Coupland 2007:1). Establishing an identity with members within the genre of dancehall proves to be an important factor for women in dancehall, thus they work towards establishing an identity with the dominant forces. Bakhtin states that "our speech, that is, all our utterances (including creative words), is filled with others' words, varying degrees of otherness or varying degrees of "our ownness"; varying degrees of awareness and detachment. (Bakhtin 1981 b:89 [originally written in 1952-3]). Eckert (2000:69) notes: "The challenge in the study of social meaning of variation is to find the relation between the local and the global – to find the link between speakers' linguistic ways of negotiating identity and relations in their day to day lives, and their place in the social stratification of linguistic variation that transcends local boundaries."

This study contributes to work in linguistics, particularly the fields of sociolinguistics and semantics, as it points to primarily social factors to account for an interesting manifestation of gender-based language styles in Jamaican dancehall music.

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African traces in Belizean negatives

This paper explores the continuity and transmission of African substratal structures (especially Bantu), as reflected in some negative structures of Belizean Creole (BC). Previous research suggested that the BC counterfactual (a preverbal combination of past/anterior and future morphemes [*me wan*]) could be traced to West African structures.

This hypothesis is extended to another feature of the creole: the marking of negation. BC has three negative structures, two preverbal negative particles (*no* and *neva*), as well as a multiple negative construction. *No* and *neva* occur in complementary environments: *No* occurs in non-past contexts, and *neva* in past completive contexts. There are English dialects that use *never* to negate a single past event, but BC *neva* is different in that it has the particularity of marking irrealis both in hypothetical and consequent clauses, as represented below:

<i>If</i>	<i>dey</i>	<i>neva</i>		<i>get</i>		<i>tu</i>	<i>an</i>
	<i>kwik</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>me.wan</i>			<i>drown</i>	
if	3P	NEG.PAST	get	to	3S	quick	3S
		PAST.FUTURE	drown				

'If they hadn't got to him fast, he would have drowned.'

<i>Di</i>		<i>pin</i>		<i>neva</i>		<i>ben</i>	<i>di</i>
		<i>story</i>	<i>neva</i>			<i>en</i>	
the	pin	NEG.PAST	bend	the	story	NEG.PAST	
	end						

'If the pin hadn't bent, the story wouldn't have ended.' [Anansi story]

There are several West African languages (i.e., Ibibio, Mandinka, Swahili) in which negation is a type of aspectual marker that may also combine with tense. Zarma uses *si* as Imperfective/negative morpheme and Mandinka *man* as Perfective/negative.

This paper further investigates negation in various West African languages and evaluates the possibility of a transmission of African perceptual patterns that may have survived in Belizean Creole, and

could explain why this variety differs markedly from its English superstrate in the presentation of unrealized (and negated) events. BC appears to be more conservative in certain respects than other Atlantic English-based creoles, reflecting more closely African influence. Possible explanations for traces of African continuity in the expression of negation can be found in the distinctive sociolinguistic history of Belize (African slaves lived in relative isolation in logwood camps with limited contacts with whites since Belize was not a plantation society), but also in the potential impact of African lingua francas (such as Efik, Kituba or Swahili) that is likely to have been spoken by slaves originating from the Gold Coast and may have provided convenient reference points for transported Africans developing a new creole.

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A Study of the History and Structure of Naijá Words (WIP)

In this study, we examine some of the major sources, development and structure of words in Naijá (more popularly known as Nigerian Pidgin). By sieving through a 1000-word strong corpus of commonly used Naijá words (sourced mainly from advertisements, conversations and poetry in the last 4 decades), we probe into the links between the word history and the word structure in the data in order to describe the patterns of the traces of contact in the language. In doing this, our goal is to show how the connectedness between etymology and morphology can be used to evidence the role and impact of contact in the development of pidgin and creole languages.

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**Fresh Evidence Concerning African Agency in the
Emergence of the Atlantic Creoles**

In more than a few significant ways, recent developments in the academic study of the emergence of the Atlantic Creole languages follow a similar trajectory to those concerning the academic study of the emergence of racialized slavery in the Atlantic. For example, the analyses of Chaudenson (2001) on the one hand and Berlin (2003) (as elaborated by Heywood & Thornton 2007) on the other have much in common, in that they attempt to situate the emergence of the Atlantic Creoles and racialized slavery socially and historically. But in both cases and for many of the same reasons, their attempts at socio-historical contextualization fall short because:

1. both focus almost exclusively on slave societies and ignore the vast array of pre-slave and non-slave colonial Atlantic societies
2. both see Europeans as the model and European language as the target for language learning in the colonial Afro-Atlantic
3. neither allows space for African descended peoples to utilize their ancestral political, economic, cultural, and linguistic knowledges and skills to actually take control over their reality and shape it in their own image and make that reality serve their own interests

As a result of these limitations, neither Chaudenson's account nor that of Berlin and Heywood & Thornton takes us much further than their predecessors in explaining how or why the emergence of the Atlantic Creoles and racialized slavery actually occurred. What is worse, just as Heywood & Thornton are finally led to conclude that Congolese and Angolan slaves had more in common with Europeans than they did with other slaves, Chaudenson concludes that Atlantic Creole languages have more in common with European languages than they do with African languages, and so they must be considered to be simply dialects of their European lexifier languages.

Following this logic, some creolists have gone so far as to accuse those who do not accept this downplaying of significant agency on the part of Africans in the emergence of creole languages of adopting discriminatory and racist approaches that mark Creoles out as exceptional languages. In this paper, we present fresh historical and demographic data from the colonial enterprises of the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French, and English during the 15th, 16th and early 17th centuries that demand a thorough revamping of the socio-historical framework utilized by creolists in tracking the emergence of the Atlantic Creoles and in assessing the role of Africans and their languages in that process.

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Aspectual reduplication in Jamaican and Akan

Although numerous studies (e.g. Alleyne 1980, Holm 2000) exist which claim that tense-mood-aspect categories in creole languages reflect substrate influence, very few of these studies have provided close comparisons of the morphosyntax of the creoles' verb phrase with that of relevant substrate languages. This is particularly true of Jamaican (Creole) for which researchers such as Cassidy (1961) and Alleyne (1980) have claimed an Akan substrate, without producing rigorous evidence from the syntax of both languages to support this claim. Much of the argument for an Akan substrate for Jamaican has actually been based on lexical evidence (i.e. the fact that Akan contributed more lexical items to Jamaican than any other African language). The lexis has been treated as evidence suggesting that

Akan may have also exerted a deeper structural influence on Jamaican, but I am not unaware of any work that has set out to demonstrate this deep structural influence in a rigorous manner. The current paper produces one of the first microsyntactic comparisons of a feature in Akan and Jamaican with a view to establishing substrate influence/transfer.

The literature is replete with claims that creoles exhibit aspect-prominence, and that this feature was inherited from substrate languages. If this observation is correct, then it is safe to assume that substrate influence would show up in the aspect domain of Jamaican. While most previous works focus on preverbal markers, the current paper looks at aspectual reduplication which is taken to be a more idiosyncratic way of encoding grammatical information, at least from the perspective of the lexifier. Additionally, the fact that English does not use reduplication to encode grammatical aspect makes a superstrate explanation for this particular feature unlikely.

A preliminary look at the grammar, suggests that Jamaican makes use of reduplication with continuative, iterative, frequentative, and possibly habitual meanings. The study not only looks at instances of syntactic reduplication in Jamaican and Akan, but also explores the lexical aspect of the verb and how the grammatical aspect conveyed through reduplication interacts with the inherent aspect of the verb, in addition to how aspectual reduplication interacts with other grammatical exponents such as preverbal markers.

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**Language contact in Swahili of Lubumbashi (DRC): a case
of linguistic flexibility**

After going through the different hypothesis concerning Swahili of Lubumbashi categorization as a pidgin; a Creole or a mixed language, we will prove that none of the categorization fit this language.

My hypothesis in this paper is that the specificity of recent African mixed languages (such as Sheng of Nairobi, Hindoubill of Kinshasa and Swahili of Lubumbashi) is their flexibility caused by constant and concentrated language contact. The criterion of “mixed languages” cannot be taken into consideration because it is well known that all languages are mixed up with other languages and it is only the youngness of the new African urban languages which is making their linguistic diversity more visible.

The flexibility will be characterized by a great number of synonymous, an important lexical creativity, and the addition of “ineffective” prefixes or suffixes (sometimes called dummy elements») which have no real morphologic role and the coexistence of “free” grammatical variants.

To prove the flexibility of the language, I will take different examples from phonological syntactic and morphological system of Swahili of Lubumbashi (SL), a language which is influenced by Standard Swahili, Congolese languages (Bemba, Luba, Lingala...) and French. This research is based on spontaneous conversations data and is part of a full linguistic description of SL as an autonomous language.

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**Accounting for Creolization within the Declarative/
Procedural Framework: Case of Sierra Leone Krio**

This paper is an exposition of the Declarative/Procedural (DP) Model of memory (Anderson 1980, 1983; Ullman 2001, 2004) and its application in the fields of first and second language acquisition and by extension creole genesis. It explores the view of creolization as a process of second language acquisition and attempts to explain the notion of creole genesis within the DP framework. Both declarative and procedural memories, sometimes associated with explicit/conscious or implicit or unconscious learning respectively, are proposed to play a significant role in cognition, including the acquisition of languages. The development and utilization of first and subsequent languages are proposed to be governed to a large extent by the declarative and procedural memory systems, which interact in complex ways to generate words, phrases, and sentences during verbal (and to some extent written) communication.

This paper adopts the substrate view of creolization as a process of second language acquisition and highlights how shared linguistic memory (declarative and procedural), cultural backgrounds, and experience in pre-enslavement West African communities helped develop and reshape the primary medium of communication (creole languages) among slaves and their descendants during and after the period of enslavement. The substrate account argues for significant influence of West African substrate languages (particularly those belonging to the Kwa language subgroup from which a majority of slaves from West African slaves were arguably obtained) in the shaping and reshaping of the grammar of creole languages (particularly the Atlantic varieties). Slaves transported to the Americas had limited or no proficiency in English and, in their attempts to communicate in English, consciously and subconsciously transferred linguistic properties from their native (West African) languages into emerging Creole languages, which later became their primary medium of communication. In effect, the slaves and their descendants utilized declarative and procedural linguistic memory

acquired through their native languages in the construction and reconstruction of a new language.

The paper discusses, with examples, the lexical and morpho-syntactic properties of Krio and Kwa languages at length and other Atlantic Creoles to a lesser extent to underscore parallels between creolization and second language acquisition and to demonstrate how such properties can be accounted for as an interaction of declarative and procedural memory.

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Nation of a thousand laughs: Stand-up comedy, Nigerian Pidgin, and the public sphere

In her study of Nigerian Pidgin (NP) in Lagos, Deuber (2005) found little evidence of a creole continuum. Unlike acrolectal speakers in the Caribbean, educated Lagos residents distinguish NP from English in both their metalinguistic comments and in their production of NP grammar. Deuber concludes that NP is a distinct language deserving of respect, joining other researchers (Elugbe & Omamor 1991; Faraclas 1996) who seek to challenge the widespread misconception that NP is just a ‘broken’ form of English. Some scholars have even claimed that, as a language of interethnic communication, NP is the only truly ‘Nigerian’ language (Onyeche 2004). Although it has no official status, NP is used in a variety of media and art forms, including radio news, poetry, fiction, song, drama, and film

(Ezenwa-Ohaeto 1998; Olaniyan 2004; Deuber 2005; Omoniyi 2006; Igboanusì 2008).

This paper examines the use of NP in another medium—stand-up comedy—with the aim of evaluating its potential for mediating a Nigerian national public (Gal & Woolard 1995). The comedy routines are recorded live, then sold on video disks; *Night of a Thousand Laughs* is the most famous production. The performances are characterized by extensive code-switching and style-shifting between different varieties of NP and English. (Other Nigerian languages are used more rarely.) These elements are used to perform caricatures of ethnic, national, racial and gender stereotypes, and to make fun of government officials and elites. Self-deprecating humor about Nigerians and Nigeria is a frequent theme. My analysis yields two main claims. First, I argue that comedians' use of NP contributes to the construction of a Nigerian national (and transnational) public which has more popular appeal than the public spheres mediated by standard (Nigerian) English (Jowitt 1991) or the more serious uses of NP by poets and other writers. Second, the circulation of stand-up comedy performances and the public prominence of NP are being facilitated by new media, such as cellphones and social network sites. (New configurations of old media also play a role; cf. Garrett 2007.) But stand-up comedy does not appeal equally to all Nigerians. It has noticeably smaller audiences in the 'core north', where many Hausa speakers, especially the less educated, have limited proficiency in NP, and are often unsure of the ways it differs from standard English. As long as these speakers are unable to appreciate comedians' artful uses of NP, they will remain largely outside the NP-mediated public sphere.

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Language use in spiritual practices, clandestine cultural resistance and Creole genesis

In this paper I put forward a view of Creoles as languages of covert resistance (Rickford 1987). I draw a connection between language use in the spiritual practices of enslaved Africans and African descended people in the Caribbean, secrecy, cultural resistance and creole genesis. I claim that Africans who were forcibly brought to the Caribbean both openly and secretly resisted the cultures, cosmologies and languages imposed on them and that one of the effects of this resistance was that they did not only adopt the languages of the European enslavers but also creatively adapted elements of their own linguistic and cultural traditions to their new social environments and that this adaptive process was an important impetus for the creolization of language and culture.

The use of deeper, more basilectal and African influenced forms of creole language in religious ceremonies and rituals is in my view an important clue to the use of creole languages for clandestine

resistive purposes. I contend that these deeper forms of language are a reflection of cultural and linguistic resistance by enslaved Africans and their descendants to the European cultures and languages imposed on them, and that this resistance had an impact on the emergence of Creole languages. Maroon settlements are perhaps the best examples of centers of such resistance and of the retention of ‘conservative’ creole linguistic features that emerged in the early days of creolization in the Caribbean (Cassidy and Le Page 1980).

Jamaican Maroon spirit language and Haitian Vodou *langaj* are two among several languages linked to spiritual practices and subaltern secrecy and non-compliance among Africans and African descended peoples in the Caribbean (Bilby 1983). Other spirit or secret languages among Caribbean communities that deserve more of our attention as creolists include the following: 1) the secret languages spoken by maroon-descended communities in Suriname; 2) Guené in the Papiamentu speaking communities of Curaçao, 3) Palenquero (or *Lengua*) spoken by African descended people in Colombia, and 4) the ritual *lengua* of Palo Monte spiritual practice in Cuba. In this paper I will present a review of some those languages and the research that has already been conducted and reconsider this evidence in terms of resistance, secrecy, and African retentions.

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The role of second language acquisition in the genesis of pidgins and creoles: Typological parallels and disparities

The role of language acquisition in pidgin and creole genesis is as hotly debated as the influence of substrates, superstrates or universals, yet remains comparatively unstudied. Early attempts to

draw parallels between pidginization and early second language acquisition as well as between creolization and the later stages of second language acquisition include Schumann (1974, 1978) and Wode (1981). These parallels have been argued to, among others, include the following features:

- fixed single word order with no inversion in questions;
- placement of a negative particle in preverbal position to indicate negation;
- lack of auxiliary verb forms;
- invariant verb forms derived from the infinitive or the least marked finite verb form;
- deletion of subject pronouns;
- use of adverbs to express modality;
- reduced or absent nominal plural marking.

With large scale cross-linguistic databases becoming available it is now possible to make systematic studies on the parallels between language acquisition and pidgins and creoles on the one hand as well as between pidgin and creoles and non-creoles on the other.

In this paper I investigate whether features typical of language acquisition can be found in the languages of *The Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures* (APiCS; Michaelis et al. forthcoming) which are all contact languages of various types. I will further compare this with the *World Atlas of Language Structures* (WALS; Haspelmath et al. 2005) in order to determine if the patterns are typical for contact languages or if they also occur to a similar degree in non-creole languages. I will also investigate if the proposed language acquisition features mentioned above are particularly prominent among the APiCS languages as opposed to the languages in WALS. Finally, to the extent that this is possible, I will make a comparison with the different languages these pidgins/creoles are derived from in order to ascertain whether their grammatical systems are likely to derive from language acquisition processes or if we are rather seeing traces of substrate/superstrate influences in these languages.

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A Nuclear Micronesian-based pidgin from the early 19th century: Horace Holden's 'language of Tobi'

Western Micronesia (including Guam) was an important trading and refuelling area for trans-Pacific travellers in the 19th century. But relatively little attention has been paid to contact languages used in the area for intercultural exchange. Holden (1836) is the record of two years' captivity in the area by 22 American sailors and Palauan chiefs who were shipwrecked, captured and held in slavery for two years in the early 1830s on the island of Tobi (formerly Lord North's Island, now part of the Republic of Belau). Tobian is a phonologically very conservative Western Chuukic (Trukic) variety belonging to the Nuclear Micronesian sub-subgroup of Oceanic, within the Austronesian language family (Capell 1969 discusses the language in extenso).

Holden's narrative documents words and sentences which are in a pidginised form of the language of the island of Tobi. This pidgin was later treated in Pickering (1845), Hale (1846), and <http://Tobi.gmu.edu/tobilanguage.htm>, though these sources do not recognise it as a pidgin per se, which it evidently is. It was used for communication at this time between speakers of Tobian, Palauan and English, and shows evidence of a mixed lexicon (with elements of other Austronesian languages included) and grammatical simplification and restructuring. Although the Holden party was the

first party containing Europeans to have visited the island, there is also evidence for an earlier visit (at an unknown period of time) by a Ternatese, probably a speaker of Ternate Malay, and by speakers of Iberoromance languages, and linguistic evidence for this in the pidginised material is explored.

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Mauritian *la* vs. Seselwa *i*: Traces of French vs. Bantu influence?

The aim of this paper is to explore the relationship between the Specificity Marker *la* in Mauritian Creole (MC) and the morpheme *i* in Seychellois Creole (SC). *La* is derived from the French locative particle *là*, while *i* is a cognate of the 3sg resumptive pronoun *li* derived from the French *lui* ('him'), used in Topic Comment constructions. *La* is lacking in SC, where the demonstrative *sa* can be used on its own both as a definite article and demonstrative. In MC, *sa* must be used with *la*, as shown:

MC	SC	English	French
bebet (la)	(sa) bebet	the insect	l'insecte
bebet la	sa bebet	that insect	cet insecte
sa bebet la	sa bebet	this/that insect	cet insecte ci/là
*sa bebet	*bebet la		

Another notable difference between the two creoles relates to the use of *i* in SC, which occurs between the subject and the predicate, while MC has a zero copula, e.g.:

- (1) *Torti i koma ros* (SC) (Example from Papen (1975:27)
 tortoise *i* like rock
 'Tortoises are like rocks'
Torti Ø kuma ros (MC)

A comparative analysis of predicative constructions in early MC, modern MC and SC, suggests that the paths to the grammaticalization of *la* and *i* are linked. When the two creoles diverged in the mid 1830's, *la* and *li* were performing similar functions, namely that of marking the subject as the Topic, and both morphemes forced a singular referential reading of the subject NP, e.g.:

- (2) a. *Maisson nation là trop tourdi.* (Chrestien 1822: 63)
 but 3.SG.POSS race SP too idiotic.
 'But his race is too idiotic.'
 b. *Maisson nation li trop tourdi.* (Freycinet 1827: 105)
 but 3.sg.poss race 3.SG too idiotic.

It is argued that the greater presence of the French in Mauritius favoured the use of the demonstrative reinforcer *là* with referential NPs, as in *Cet homme là* ('This man'), while the influx of Bantu speaking slaves in the Seychelles promoted the use of a resumptive pronoun in Topic-Comment constructions. *Li* was gradually reanalyzed as part of the inflectional system, resulting in simpler copulative structures, with a phonologically reduced *i* projecting between the subject and the predicate. Its precise function is still the subject of debate, but there is evidence that it functions as an operator, hosting a present tense feature.

An analysis within Chomsky's (1995) Minimalist framework provides evidence that MC *la* and SC *i* are still performing a similar function, in ensuring that the subject of predication is an argumental NP. Other conclusions drawn relate to the function of *sa*, which is purely deictic in MC, but has grammaticalized into a definite article (a head) in SC. MC has a phonologically null definite determiner, which requires licensing in certain syntactic environments, hence the need for the overt Specificity marker *la*. This analysis gives support to Mufwene's (2001) theory that sociohistorical factors play an important role in the emergence of grammatical features, and to Aboh's (2006) insight that UG ultimately determines the licensing mechanisms of features.

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**A Descriptive Study of Serial Verb Construction in Student
Pidgin English: A Case of University of Ghana Students**

This paper describes some aspects of serial verb construction in Student Pidgin English spoken at the University of Ghana. It focuses on tense marking and negation in Serial Verb Construction. The paper argues that Serial Verb Constructions are often used in Student Pidgin English which has a Kwa language (which makes use of Serial Verbs) as its substrate. It also argues that verbs in the past tense form do not appear in Serial Verb Constructions in Student Pidgin English. The findings were arrived at by analyzing a corpus of naturally occurring data gathered from students of the University of Ghana.

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**Language attitude and language use of Afro-Surinamese
in Suriname**

Sranan plays a complex role as the national language in modern Surinamese society. This paper will focus on the language usage of Afro-Surinamese while detailing differences among some variants of Sranan in different districts of Surinam as well as in The Netherlands.

In my experience of Sranan teaching there is a lack of proper Sranan literature, for there are too few people who are used in reading and writing Sranan.

The role of Sranan in the Surinamese communities in Surinam and in the Netherlands is determined by multiple factors and while all the ethnic groups in Surinam speak Sranan fluently, the language remains, in practice, unwritten. As writing is one of the most important socio-cultural domains in determining language prestige (Müleisen, 2002, p 55), Sranan is not viewed as particularly esteemed among Surinamese. The establishment of Dutch as the

official language in 1876 by the colonial government, Dutch language education and the ban on Sranan in the educational system has also had a negative impact on the prestige of Sranan. Meanwhile, Dutch has assumed the role of prestige language Sranan in Suriname.

This work will investigate how Afro-Surinamese use Sranan and Dutch in their daily live and how they judge their use of both languages. By structured observations (Frogstory and a questionnaire) we can see that there is a great diversity of Sranan language use in Suriname (comparing capital, Paramaribo and the districts where the majority of the population is of African origin) and in the Netherlands. With a better understanding of language attitudes and language Surinamese policy makers may be able to improve the education system and elevate the status of Sranan.

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Establishing the Kromanti - Akan Link: Evidence from the occurrence of phonemic /r/ (WIP)

Kromanti, the language spoken by the Eastern Maroons of Portland, Jamaica, has been described in the literature as being related to the Akan language complex. If Alleyne (1988) is correct for example, these languages are both descendants of the same source language since he describes Kromanti as ‘Twi – Asante’, “albeit with a reduced structure and fewer functions”. Dalby (1971) also provides a documentation of Kromanti phrases and lexical items found among the Maroons. However, he describes Kromanti as comprising “a variety of retentions from Ashanti, some very ‘corrupt’ in form, but also items apparently from other African languages”. Hall-Alleyne (1990) further describes Kromanti as “Asante Twi, the major language (that is, having the largest number of speakers) of the Gold

Coast, which belongs to the Akan dialect group of the Niger-Congo family”.

The designations of Kromanti above that describe the link that exists between that language and Akan are interesting, but have not been researched beyond the limited focus given by the works mentioned. Despite the level of erosion that the language has undergone and its description as “not a functioning language, but rather a highly fragmentary ritual ‘language’ consisting of a number of set phrases and expressions” (Bilby 1983), Kromanti has still not been the subject of extensive linguistic inquiry.

To this end, this paper will be focused on an area of the Kromanti language that establishes a clear link with the Akan languages, that of phonemic /r/. The paper will provide evidence to suggest that not only is there a relationship across the languages, but that by looking at the occurrence of phonemic /r/ across them, a possible conclusion can be made about the specific dialect from which Kromanti would have historically descended.

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An 18th-century novel from the Miskito Coast: What was creolized?

Mr. Penrose: The Journal of Penrose, Seaman by William Williams (1727-1791) “...is very probably America’s first novel” (Dickason 1969:13). The narrative is an “account of a young Welsh lad, Llewelin Penrose, who...is deserted by his shipmates on the Moskito Coast of Central America. Here he not only survives but establishes amicable relations with the local Indians (evidently of the Rama tribe)” (ibid 14). In 1747 the 20-year-old author arrived in Philadelphia from the tropics. He was later described as often relating “his adventures among the Caribs and and Negro tribes, many of which adventures were strictly the same as related in your manuscript of Penrose....He spoke the Negro and Carrib tongue, and appeared to me to have lived among them some years” (ibid. 17).

Because of his work on the local English-based creole, the author of the present study was asked to help provide internal linguistic

evidence from the narrative that would confirm that the contact was indeed with the Rama and Miskito of Nicaragua's Caribbean Coast. Such evidence is abundant, and brings with it what a creolist can hardly hope for: some 350 printed pages in not only the formal English of the times, but also dialogue in the local vernacular that was still undergoing restructuring. These include words from Rama (*yoho* 'a kind of monster), Miskito (*warree*, 'a wild hog'), Spanish (*manchiniel*, 'a poisonous tree') and African languages (*yabba* 'earthenware pot'; cf. Twi *ayawá*) and phrases suggesting convergences with Creole structures ("Harry was *sick*, *sick*"). "[T]he novel as a whole is enriched and enlivened by Williams' sensitivity to linguistic variations and his ability in echoing them" (Dickason 1969:29), all preserved in the original spelling of the manuscript. This paper uses lexical and morphosyntactic data from this eighteenth-century manuscript to cast light on the origin of synchronic features of Miskito Coast Creole English.

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**Substrate traces, superstrate traces and universals in
Atlantic pidgins and creoles. Findings based on the *Atlas
of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures* with a special
focus on Africa**

The typological *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures (APiCS)* documents selected phonological, morphosyntactic, lexical and sociolinguistic features of contact languages world-wide and will be published in 2012. More than 80 specialists filled in an electronic questionnaire for 76 languages, including 120 morphosyntactic and

lexical features with a total of 603 values (yielding almost 45,000 data points). *APiCS* contains over 40 Atlantic pidgins and creoles (PCs), of which 19 are located in Africa: 8 Portuguese-, 5 African-, 5 English- and 1 Dutch-lexified variety.

In our introduction we will give a brief overview of the *APiCS* project and compare its structure and scope with the *World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS)*, by which it was inspired and with which it is partly compatible.

The second part of our talk will explore what a systematic analysis of the *APiCS* data can contribute to our understanding of the genesis as well as the historical-genetic and typological relationships between contact languages. The standardized questionnaire and electronic database format make it possible to carry out automated comparisons of the languages and we will perform statistical analyses of the morphosyntactic features. Findings will be presented, among others, in a selection of *APiCS* maps, showing the geographical distribution patterns of individual features in Africa and the Atlantic, but the visualization of the results will also include phylogenetic networks, showing more general affinities between the different varieties.

We will see that both substrates and superstrates left traces in the Atlantic contact languages. For individual features or feature bundles this is visualized by e.g. the West African English-lexicon PCs being grouped more closely with English-lexicon Caribbean PCs, but for other features they show closer affinities with e.g. the Portuguese-based creoles of the Gulf of Guinea or the non-European contact languages of Central Africa.

We will also look at language universals in PCs by exploring to what extent features found in contact languages are widespread in the languages of the world. This is possible because about half of the *APiCS* features are modelled on features in *WALS*. It is still often overlooked that PC features that are frequent in the languages of the world may not be as indicative of the genetic relationship of a contact language with its substrates, its superstrate or with other contact languages.

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Investigating the history of Pidgin English. Early Highlife recordings from Ghana

Ghanaian Pidgin English (GPE) is confined to a smaller section of society than pidgin in other West African countries, its functional domain is more restricted and the language is more stigmatized. Maybe as a result of this stigmatization, and because competence in Standard English is highly valued, it is widely assumed that pidgin did not emerge in Ghana but was recently imported from Nigeria, in the 1970s and 80s (cf. e.g. Amoako 1992: 48).

One problem in verifying this assumption is the dearth of authentic linguistic data: there are comparatively few actual recordings that can give us an insight into the phonological and morphosyntactic structure of these varieties. This paper will therefore explore some ways in which early popular music recordings might be used to ascertain the existence of Pidgin around the time of Ghana's independence in 1957 and to reconstruct the structure of the variety. Highlife was the epitome of West African dance music in the 1950s and 60s. Music archives and collections around the world still hold the gramophone and vinyl records from these early days, including the Bokoor African Popular Music Archives Foundation and the Gramophone Records Museum in Ghana. The lyrics of some of these recordings represent Pidgin English from a time where hardly any other records of spoken language exist.

We will present first results of the analysis of the Highlife lyrics collected, digitized and transcribed so far, with a particular focus on features where modern GPE diverges from the other West African varieties, e.g. the absence of *na* as a copula and highlighter, of the TMA particles *bin* (past) and *dɔn* (completive), of the postposed pluralizer *dɛm* or of the 2nd person plural pronoun *una*. It will be

interesting to see in how far features that characterize GPE today can be traced back to the 1950s, i.e. to a time before the 1970s/80s Ghana-Nigeria labour migration and before Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE) could have influenced the variety in Ghana. Similarly, we will also investigate whether the recordings give any indication of 1950s/60s GPE diverging more from NPE than today's variety, which could be taken as an indication that NPE did indeed exert an influence on GPE in the 1970s and 80s. We will also discuss methodological and technical problems connected with the linguistic analysis of early music recordings and discuss the implications of our results for the development of GPE.

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**German colonial sources and the history of West African
Pidgin English. A first analysis of the holdings of the
*Deutsche Kolonialbibliothek***

Diachronic research into the structure and sociohistory of earlier stages of European-lexifier pidgins and creoles has considerably advanced our knowledge of the origins, development and interrelationships of these languages in the past two decades. However, in many cases we are still far from knowing the exact circumstances of the emergence and early history of these varieties.

For a number of reasons but with some notable exceptions (e.g. the work of Peter Mühlhäusler), German sources have so far been neglected in the study of early Pidgin Englishes, although German mercantile, missionary and colonial activity in the 19th and early 20th centuries falls into a crucial period in the development of Pidgin English in Africa and the Pacific. The valuable insights on West African Pidgin English (WAPE) provided by e.g. Buchner (1885, 1914) suggest that a systematic scan of material relating to German overseas activities can unearth a lot of information on the

use and users of restructured English (and other languages) as well as actual Pidgin quotations.

This paper will be a first step towards a survey and examination of German sources for the study of early WAPE. We will analyze some of the holdings of the *Deutsche Kolonialbibliothek*, the library of the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft* (German Colonial Society), founded in 1887. The library contains about 18,000 items plus a large number of colonial periodicals and is today housed in the Frankfurt/Main university library. Of particular interest will be the general sections on the German colonies in West Africa (Cameroon and Togo), the literature relating to the colonial territories of Britain in these regions, as well as the section on languages. We will present what these German sources tell us about the language sociology and the structural characteristics of early WAPE. These results will then be related to theories on the genesis and early stages of WAPE (as in e.g. Avram 2004; Baker 1987; Baker & Huber 2001).

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Nigerian Pidgin and Interdiscursivity in the New Media

Statistics show that Nigerians currently constitute the largest users of Internet and mobile technologies in Africa (International Telecommunications Union, 2010; Nigerian Communications Commission, 2010). The diversity of languages and cultures in

Nigeria is reflected in the way Nigerians compose and transmit their messages via computers and mobile technologies. And as a result, the informality of Internet discussion forums and Usenet newsgroups is accommodating to Nigerian linguistic eclecticism, language contact and switching which are discernible features of 'vernacular dialogue' (Hauser, 1998) and 'Internet multilingualism' (Danet & Herring, 2007) in 'unregulated spaces' (Sebba, 2009). In this paper, I examine the concept of interdiscursive code switching (Ifukor, in press/2011) by analyzing the headlines of 130 articles in a Nigerian online forum. The articles are opinionated and similar to traditional newspapers' editorials and op-ed articles. They are usually composed as propositions, expositions and conclusions, structured in accordance with the schema: headline, story, conclusion, and a semiotic elicitation of readers' response. The framework for interdiscursivity asserts that discourse and individual texts are an intersection of multiple textual surfaces and constitute a dialogue among various texts, genres, and voices: the writer's, the character's, the readers'/audiences', and the socio-historical cultural context (Agger, 1995; Kristeva, 1969). According to Fairclough (1992: 284), "the concept of interdiscursivity draws attention to the potential heterogeneity of texts in terms of the diverse discourse conventions, types of discourse, which can be drawn upon in their production". This kind of code switching is not possible in spontaneous spoken discourse because there is no structural provision for an interdiscursive interface. Thus, I will argue that the architecture of online forums permits some meaning making practices unique to the new media context. Moreover, I will provide a ranking for the use of Nigerian Pidgin in multilingual Nigerian electronic discourse.

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Nigerian Pidgin in the 21st Century: Any Hope of
Surviving the Opposition from English, Nigerian
Languages and Foreign Languages? (WIP)

Nigeria's multilingual background provides a veritable ground for the emergency of pidgin – (a bridge language for inter ethnic communication and interaction), as a formidable National language, however, several growing opposing forces tend to make the realization of such dream in the 21st century a fantasy rather than reality. This paper set out to x-ray the developmental strides of the Nigerian pidgin in the 20th century to the first decade of the 21st century, growing research interest in several aspects of Nigerian pidgin, efforts by organizations for the promotion of Nigerian pidgin as well as factors that tend to work against further growth of the Nigerian pidgin. Our findings are that government policy trust growing mother tongue consciousness occasioned by the need to avoid language death or extinction, language endangerment, promotion of English language and other foreign languages such as French and Arabic as well as other sociolinguistic realities in the Nigerian speech communities may stifle if not stop completely the growth and influence of Nigerian pidgin in the 21st century.

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From London Jamaican to British youth language: The transformation of a Caribbean post-creole repertoire into a new Multicultural London English

The language of African-Caribbeans in Britain has been a focus of linguistic research since the 1970s (Edwards 1979, Sutcliffe 1984; Sebba 1993). The first generation were largely speakers of mesolectal creole varieties from their native countries, but by the second generation, these had been transformed into local British varieties of Jamaican Creole, used even by African-Caribbeans without Jamaican heritage. In London this variety was known as London Jamaican and contained features derived both from Jamaican Creole and London English (Sebba 1993). Second-generation speakers of London Jamaican were also native-like speakers of London English and would code-switch between the two.

Elements of London Jamaican were known to have spread into a more widely spoken London English-based youth vernacular as long ago as the early 1980s (Hewitt 1986). These were mainly lexical, but phonological features were reported. The popularity of African and Caribbean cultural forms is believed to have been important in this.

One generation later, the situation has changed. There is little evidence of London Jamaican as a distinct language variety among the third generation. Younger African-Caribbeans speak a vernacular quite different from the traditional London accent of London, and different also from the vernacular of their predecessors. It is characterised by a radically transformed London vowel system (Kerswill et al. 2008), a markedly syllable-timed rhythm (Torgersen and Szakay 2010), and grammatical features including the levelling of *was* and *were* to *was* (Cheshire et al. 2011). London youth slang contains many items of Caribbean origin, such as *yard* and *whagwan*, and few from other potential sources such as Punjabi. These features are variably shared by young inner-city speakers of all ethnicities, and form a distinctive repertoire which has been labelled Multicultural London English ('MLE'; Cheshire et al. 2011). Although young working-class Londoners of all ethnicities are

routinely heard as ‘talking black’, the features of MLE are better thought of as coming from a London ‘feature pool’ than from any one source.

Using data from ca. 1970, 1981–4 and 2005–9, we trace the evolution of African-Caribbean repertoires from the transplanted post-creole continuum in 50s and 60s London interacting with the local London repertoire, through the linguistic integration of the second generation who reserved London Jamaican for in-group talk and identity-marking, to today’s generation who form part of an extremely heterogeneous multiethnic inner-city which has forged its own new repertoire cutting partly across ethnic lines.

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Language Contact: The Case of Sheng

Kenya is a multilingual country with approximately 58 languages spoken (including dialects) (Ethnologue listing). The Kenyan

language situation is such that Swahili is the national language and English is the official language. Contact between speakers of different languages has often had substantial consequences for the development of languages (Thomason and Kauffman 1988). This is the case illustrated by Sheng, a language whose origin is traced back to the 90's, (Abdulaziz and Osinde 1997), that emerged as a result of the contact situation between, English, Swahili and Kikuyu, first spoken by native Kikuyu teenagers living within the middle class estate (Buruburu) located in Kenya's main city, Nairobi. The origin of Sheng is traced back to code-switching, a phenomenon quite common in bilingual conversations. It then arose as a 'mixed code' using three languages in which a fourth code emerged with elements from the three languages being incorporated into a structurally definable pattern.

The first objective of this paper is to analyze the various sources of vocabulary focusing on the main areas of contribution of each language and further develop by describing /analyzing the phonological and syntactic structures of Sheng. Secondly, we aim to identify the grammar being used by Sheng speakers. Do speakers operate with a single base grammar or are different grammars activated and used at different times? If they are, what structural principles govern their juxtaposition, and how best can they be characterized?

Data was collected from audio-taped conversations, use of the Sheng dictionary and word lists elicited from Sheng speakers. Conversation analysis was followed by a discourse marker analysis, checking out discourse marker clusters for any identifiable patterns. Results indicate that the Sheng vocabulary is derived from word formation processes such as clipping (English word 'bus' in Sheng is 'bu': s→∅), borrowing (mostly of prefixes /ku-/ a prefix found in bantu languages is attached onto English stems. 'kudish' 'to eat', 'kuora' 'to go', ora is a Kikuyu word meaning go, semantic shift (Swahili word mayayi 'egg' but is used to refer to a 'child' in Sheng), shapes or structures of objects ('bol' meaning 'pregnancy'), colors of item ('blu' a twenty shilling note blue in color), and names of individuals ('Jirongo" five hundred shilling note named after a political aspirant who used to give out 500 shilling notes in his campaign).

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Arabic and indigenous West African traces in Middle Caicos Creole English

Middle Caicos is the most rural and least populated island in the nation state Turks and Caicos Islands at the southern tip of the Bahamas archipelago. Afro-European settlement dates back to British Loyalists who came with their slaves from Georgia and often via Florida. Crook (2007) demonstrates that the founding father of the black Geechee (Gullah) community on Sapelo Island, Georgia in 1802 – Bilali – had been enslaved on Middle Caicos before. Bilali is said to have been from Timbo in the Futa Jallon region of today’s Guinea (Austin 1984). He was a devout Muslim, wrote in Arabic (Greenberg 1940) and spoke it and indigenous West African languages. We can identify linguistic origins in the names of members of Bilaly’s family which were recorded on Middle Caicos.

(1) (a) From Arabic

Bellely = Bilali < *bilali* ‘the first muezzin, son of Ali’ (Turner 1949); Fatima ‘daughter of the Prophet’; Medina ‘Holy City of Arabia’

(b) From indigenous languages

Phoebe < Ewe *afiba* ‘the name given a girl born on Friday’ (Turner 1949); Mamodic < Mandingo *mamadi* ‘name given the first son’ (Turner 1949); Isata < Vai (Konneh 1996)

One of the three settlements on Middle Caicos is named *Bambarra* – an obvious reference to the Bambara people of West Africa.

The word *kiriki* is used for ‘ghost crabs’ on Middle Caicos. In English, ghost crabs are said to scurry or scuttle across the sand; they are perceived to move in a quick, hurried way. Models for the form of this word in the latter meaning can be found in Bambara: *kirikiri* ‘gigoter, agiter, remuer vivement’ [to stir, shake; to move, stir quickly] (Bazin 1906) and *kirikiri* ‘secouer, s’agiter’ [to shake; to be agitated, restless; fret] (Travélé 1913). A trilled *r* rather than the usual retroflex *r* is used in this word. Trilled *r* is richly documented for West African languages including Bambara. Thus, *kiriki* is phonologically and semantically a Bambara word in Middle Caicos Creole English (MCCE) to this day.

MCCE also uses intensifying reduplication as in *bitter bitter* ‘very bitter.’ This is semantically unlike the segmentally identical contrastive focus reduplication in English (Ghomeshi et al. 2004). Turner (1949) traced intensifying reduplication to West African languages.

Clear substrate influences can be found in Middle Caicos Creole English. Its history also serves as a reminder to carefully consider the influence of Arabic in the historical West African multilingualism and in the diaspora.

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Akan with Ga accent in Accra: A preliminary survey

Akan, apart from being the indigenous Ghanaian with the highest number of native speakers, is the most widely spoken indigenous Ghanaian language. Already, it is functioning as a language of inter-ethnic communication. Accra is one metropolis in Ghana where this phenomenon characteristically plays out. But the situation is more complex than it seems for native speakers of Ga, the language of the indigenes of Accra since there are more Akan (particularly Asante-Twi) speakers than Ga Accra. The outcome of this language contact situation is the primary concern of this paper.

Specifically, I am looking out for evidence of Ga phonetics-phonology in the Twi spoken by native Gas, without recourse to the degree of their competence per se. For instance the following utterance was made by a native Ga speaker of Twi:

W'awu/wàwú/ "S/he has given birth". Ideally this would be expressed in Twi as follows:

W'awo /wàwú / "S/he has given birth".

This is an indication that a Ga speaker of Twi could be a speaking Twi 'with Ga accents'. Ga has no /ɔ/ but /u/, thus is to be expected. There are phonological phenomena that come to the fore in such situations yet these are yet to fully engage the attention of Ghanaian contact language research. It is hoped that this work would excite the interest in this area as well in addition to the traditional English-Ghanaian language contact discussions and subsequently inform linguistic theory.

Data for this paper is shall come from recorded interviews and conversations in Twi involving native speakers of Ga.

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**19th century French creolistics: Paradigms of racist
determinism in philological research**

Dans les années passées, la communauté des créolistes s'est consacrée à des réflexions sur les fondements éthiques et moraux de la discipline, avec des résultats parfois inattendus: Si la créolistique se veut souvent un domaine de recherche particulièrement ouvert et tolérant, elle n'arrive toutefois pas à se libérer complètement des mentalités de son histoire. La conception des langues créoles comme „exceptionnelles“ et leur traitement comme un „cas à part“ laisse ainsi apparaître un héritage de l'époque coloniale où la linguistique (créole) servait essentiellement à établir une hiérarchie absolue entre Européens et esclaves (cf. les travaux de S. Mufwene et de M. DeGraff à ce sujet).

Afin de mieux reconnaître cet héritage, ce papier propose une relecture des textes de la créolistique du 19e siècle. Nous retracerons ainsi les liens entre les théories raciales de l'époque et les descriptions des langues créoles en tenant compte des paradigmes scientifiques et des méthodes contemporaines.

A partir de théories d'émergence des créoles et des structures grammaticales, les linguistes et amateurs passionnés dans les colonies et en France ont postulé l'infériorité de l'homme noir à l'exemple de leur langue: Les particularités des créoles s'expliqueraient par les constitutions intellectuelle et parfois aussi physique de la « race noire » dont les capacités linguistiques seraient déterminées d'avance. En même temps, en dépit des efforts civilisateurs des Européens, le manque d'aptitude à un développement culturel aurait mené à une corruption inévitable de la langue française. Contrairement à la philologie coloniale dans d'autres sphères telle que la recherche orientaliste ou celle sur les langues indigènes américaines, la créolistique devait manier le paradoxe inhérent de l'origine incontestablement français des langues créoles et de leurs prétendues déficiences grammaticales, culturelles et littéraires.

Nous reconstituerons donc la logique triangulaire de race, langue et intellect dans la créolistique pour faciliter le travail métascientifique

de nos jours qui manque encore d'une analyse profonde de ces textes fondamentaux.

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Language Contact in Ghana (WIP)

This paper examines the complex relationships between the languages which make up the linguistic ecology of Ghana. Several different levels of language contact, as well as the overall relationships between languages and language varieties in Ghana are discussed.

Although Ghana has significant linguistic diversity, with 79 languages reported in Ethnologue, a few languages account for the vast majority of speakers. Primary among these widely-spoken languages is Akan, which has a complicated network of dialects with social and regional variants. Varieties of Akan serve as LWCs in much of Ghana, and are used in the mass media. These varieties of Akan are a focus of this study, with an emphasis on contact between the two most widely-spoken varieties, Asante Twi and Fante, which are mutually intelligible. Speakers of Agona Fante, located in the Central Region between Twi and Fante speak a variety in which the lexicon, morphosyntax and phonology represent an amalgam of Fante and Twi, as in this example:

Twi: sɛ nàá!nó...
Fante: nkyɛ dàá!nó...
Agona Fante: sɛ dàá!nó...
“I hope the other time...”

We also address the roles of English and Pidgin English in Ghanaian society. English is the language of education as well as a primary language in the workplace and the mass media English, and has taken on a uniquely Ghanaian character. Pidgin English is also an important LWC. Unlike in many societies, Pidgin English in Ghana is primarily an urban phenomenon, and serves as a marker of in-group membership. Pidgin English is looked down upon as “inferior” by educated Ghanaians, although these same Ghanaians may also use it extensively as a prestigious in-group language. Although Ghanaian Pidgin English and its sociolinguistic setting have been well studied (cf. Huber 1999), we investigate certain under-reported aspects, such as the syntax and semantics of varieties of Ghanaian Pidgin English, and code switching between English and Ghanaian languages, as evidenced by the following examples of code switching between Ga and English:

Charle mífèé tired wàà díentsɛ

“Charlie, I’m very tired”

Akɛɛ a aresti mɛi tamɔ ten sɔŋŋ

“It’s said that about ten people have been arrested”

This paper examines the roles of varieties of Akan and other major languages of Ghana, as well as both Standard (Ghanaian) English and Pidgin English in Ghanaian society. Examples of actual language use illustrate each variety and show the types of language contact which are a part of the Ghanaian linguistic ecology.

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**Creoles in contact in French Guiana & Suriname:
implications for language documentation**

Creoles often exists in contexts characterized by multilingualism: what are said to be members of a creole community tend to have varying degrees of exposure to the Creole and other languages present, different levels of competence in each language and partially different attitudes towards them. Language use patterns are equally variable among community members and across social settings. As in most Africa settings, heterogeneity represents the norm rather than the exception. Viewed from this perspective, the notion of a language as a solid, self-contained and distinct system predominantly used for transmitting referential meaning which does not interact with other such entities with which it physically coexists appears like a fiction. However, despite mounting evidence, linguistic description and documentation tends to shy away from dealing with the consequences of this evidence.

The aim of this paper is to chart new approaches to documenting languages that place linguistic heterogeneity and language variation and change at the centre rather than at the periphery. Based on a case study of language variation and linguistic practices relating to the Creoles of Suriname in French Guiana and Suriname, we emphasize two main aspects: a) people engage with (context-based) practices which together constitute a system of communication that is linguistically heterogeneous and may not be made up of what linguists call a language and b) depending on their social practices and ideologies, people's system of practices may involve a fair bit of variation even among members who perceive themselves as belonging to the same social entity/community.

Based on evidence from our case study, we propose that empirically accountable language documentation must adopt a multi-methodological approach to language description, including a comprehensive analysis of the linguistic context, linguistic structure AND linguistic practice. Notions like language, 'good, rightful/representative' speaker, community and their relationship

are not givens, but have to be critically examined within the context. Greater attention must be paid to *community-as-value* (Coupland 2009) to fully capture language and a language. Descriptions should be representative of the practices characterizing the speech community and be defined or deduced in a bottom up manner. Among other things, this crucially involves taking into account the practices of ALL language users regardless of how and when they learned and use the language as restricting research and documentation to (some) people who learned it as a language of primary socialization produces socially and linguistically unrepresentative grammars.

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**Quite a Mouthful: The Influence of Language Contact on
Linguistic Action Verbs in Sign Language of the
Netherlands**

Sign languages are, by virtue of the socio-biological conditions of their creation, in permanent contact with the surrounding spoken languages. They arise from a need to communicate when at least one conversation partner has limited to no access to oral-aural language. Influence from spoken languages on the creation and further development of a sign language (SL) ranges from hearing parents using their spoken L1 in the creation of a home-sign system to communicate with their deaf child to educators of the deaf translating their spoken language into a manual form. The contact situation investigated in this paper involves Sign Language of the Netherlands (NGT) and Dutch. The latter is the culturally dominant language in the Netherlands and consequently the direction of transfer is primarily from Dutch to NGT. A subtle contact phenomenon is found in the iconic form-meaning mappings of linguistic action verbs in NGT. In a visual language like NGT, signs

whose forms are motivated by visual features of their referents abound. What we expect, then, is for verbs denoting linguistic actions to foreground the use of the manual articulators, as they are paramount to signing. This is the case for the verb SIGN, signed with two spread hands facing each other and performing circular movements in front of the signer's body. When we look at the corpus of linguistic action verbs in NGT compiled for this study, 32 (51%) bear a physical resemblance to the communicative act itself, but only six represent signing. The remaining 26 verbs imitate oral communication through metonymic and/or metaphoric representations such as movement of the jaw, the lips, or the visualisation of the egressive airstream. In this paper, I provide an overview of the types of representations of oral speech found in NGT and discuss possible explanations for this modality-specific type of transfer. Factors conducive to unilateral transfer in language contact situations are explored: asymmetric power relations between oral and Deaf¹ cultures, the fear of bilingualism as a psychological handicap (Thomason 2001), and prejudices of SLs lacking the status of fully-fledged languages. Whether these factors influence the form of linguistic action verbs in SLs is explored by examining their expression in American Sign Language (also orally influenced) and Ban Khor Sign Language, a village SL thought to have historically been under less pressure from the surrounding oral language(s).

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Performing Authority in Guadeloupean Kréyòl Comedy

In this paper I examine how Guadeloupean Kréyòl language comedy sketches depict interactions with figures of state authority such as judges, police officers and military superiors. Since Guadeloupe is an overseas department of France, Guadeloupeans are all French

¹Capital Deaf denotes cultural, lower-case deaf medical deafness.

citizens, yet Guadeloupean identity is seen as something separate, both by Guadeloupeans and by metropolitan French. Most Guadeloupeans are bilingual in a variety of French, the official language, and a variety of Kréyòl, a French-lexicon creole with regional language status. Guadeloupean comedy sketches draw on the entire linguistic ecology of the island: local French, metropolitan French, basilectal gwo Kréyòl, “Frenchified” Kréyòl, code-switching. I discuss the varieties of French and Kréyòl used in comedy sketches and the extent to which diglossic expectations are upheld or challenged. Instead of presenting French as the primary language of choice in encounters with figures of state authority, Kréyòl comedy sketches depict nuanced linguistic interactions that draw on the complex ideological resonances of multiple varieties of French and Kréyòl. In the following example² for instance, the military officer speaks French. Then, flustered when his authority is challenged, he switches to Kréyòl and produces the ungrammatical phrase “*je n’ai pas votre frère*”. His interlocutor, a Rasta, uses a variety of Kréyòl that includes English lexemes and terms specific to Rastafarianism.

1 Officer: Soldat! Vous n’avez pas entendu siffler le sifflet du rassemblement là?

Soldier, you didn’t hear whistle the gathering whistle there?

2 Pat/Rasta: *Wé fwè lieutenant an tann on boug ka siflé la kon sa trip machin*

3 *chose mé an konpwán sé té pou on dòt trip, pa tripé fwè lieutenant sé pa...* Yes, lieutenant brother, I heard a guy whistling there like that trip thing thing (tripping, whatever), but I thought it was another trip, don’t trip lieutenant, brother, it’s not...

4 Officer: Attendez attendez, non, non, non, non. Je n’ai pas votre frère soldat,

5 Je n’ai pas votre frère **même même même même même même même**,

6 *Dayè pou yonn, mété vou an gard pou la visit* (de l’enserrement) (A’w).

7 Et présentez-vous ...

² TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS:

italics: Kréyòl

underline: French

bold: bivalent items

(...): uncertain transcription

Wait, wait, no, no, no. I don't have/I'm not your brother, solider. I don't have/I'm not your brother, at all [emphasis]. First of all, stand at attention for rounds. [Exclamation] And present yourself.

Drawing on examples from several comedy sketches, this paper helps elucidate how Guadeloupeans negotiate their relationship with the French state through talk in everyday interactions.

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North and South: Attitudes towards Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin in urban Nigeria

Questionnaire- and interview-based surveys of attitudes toward Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin¹³ (ANP) were undertaken on stratified random samples of 1,200 respondents in six urban centres in southern Nigeria (Ibadan, Lagos, Benin, Warri, Port-Harcourt and Calabar), and 350 respondents in seven urban centres in northern Nigeria (Sokoto, Zaria, Kaduna, Kano, Jos, Bauchi and Maiduguri), in relation to perceptions of its language status, possible use as a subject and medium of instruction, and possible adoption as an official language in the future, given its ever-increasing vitality and preponderance. These surveys (N=1,550) could be considered the largest language attitudes surveys ever conducted in the literature.

The findings are compared, in relation to the differing geopolitical, geolinguistic, ecolinguistic and sociolinguistic contexts in urban, northern and urban, southern Nigeria, especially in relation to: motivations for pidginization; the principles of the need for, and use of, *linguae francae*; and the Sociocommunicational Need Hypothesis. The findings are also analyzed, with regard to eight variables: gender; age group; ethnic group; linguality; occupation;

³ Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin (ANP), or 'Nigerian Pidgin English', is an endogenous, Atlantic pidgin, which evolved from contacts between the diverse tribal peoples on the coastlines of part of the-then 'slave coast' (present-day Nigeria), and, principally, Portuguese sailors (15th century) and British traders, missionaries and colonial officials (especially from the 18th century).

age of contact; source of contact; and, ANP competence. The implications of these findings for sociopsychologically-marked varieties of language, and language attitudes theory are also discussed.

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**A question on the superstrate and substrate in the
Nigerian Pidgin (WIP)**

Pidgin is an auxiliary language which arises to fulfil certain limited communication needs among people who have no common language (Finch, 2000:229). Trade was (and is still) a factor bringing people with different linguistic backgrounds together. Evidently therefore, trade language provides the basis for the development of pidgins. Akmajian et al (1995:279-80) demonstrate this in defining pidgin as a simplified version of some language often augmented by features of other languages used primarily at the beginning as a trade language. Nigerian Pidgin would then be traced to the advent of Europeans to Africa for among other things trade purposes, slave trade being cardinal. This pidgin is said to be based on English, that is, English is the base language (Mafeni, 1971:103). To draw from Akmajian et al op cit, Nigerian Pidgin is a version of English augmented by features of Nigerian languages. This brings to the fore the classification of the languages in contact, developing a pidgin: the base language (of course, no base languages) and the dependent language(s). Here, they are referred to as superstrate and substrate(s) respectively. This paper questions what justifies this classification. In addressing the question, the paper points out that with reference to vocabulary resources, Nigerian Pidgin is unarguably a version of English. This is not so with reference to grammatical (functional) features by which Nigerian Pidgin is a version of Nigerian languages. By conviction that mainly grammatical operations not vocabulary describe the structure of a language, the paper concludes that the Nigerian languages are the base (superstrate). Moreover, evidence for this is that today Nigerian Pidgin is more intelligible to most Nigerians especially those illiterate in English than English even with the dominant presence of

English words. Egbe (1980:53) records the use of English and the interpretation in the Nigerian Pidgin in churches in Port Harcourt.

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A Trace of Contact: Morphological Reduplication in
Bahamian Creole

This paper is an investigation into reduplication as a morphological process in Bahamian Creole (BC). An examination of data extracted from the *Dictionary of Bahamian English* (Holm and Shilling, 1982) and native speakers of the language reveal several important facts. Firstly, based on seven types of adjectives identified in Winford (1993), BC uses structurally identical reduplications as adjectives or adverbs. Secondly, BC employs total reduplication, and thirdly, inflectional reduplications outnumber derivational ones, suggesting that inflectional reduplication is productive in BC. Fourthly, reduplication serves several semantic functions in BC, including distribution, intensification, diminution, continuation and repetition with intensification being most common. Finally, this investigation reveals that four major syntactic categories – adjectives, adverbs, verbs and nouns - are affected by reduplication in BC.

Some Examples of Reduplication in BC

Distributive

BC: Da res a da piypul gyadarin **won-won** kohtan. (Holm & Shilling, 1982)⁴

Standard English (SE): The rest of the people are {gathering/harvesting} sparse cotton.

Succession

BC: Da animal dem gohn in da ahk **tuw-tuw**.

SE: The animals went into the ark {two by two/in pairs}.

Continuation/Repetition

BC: Hiy **tiyz-tiyz** miy.

⁴ The transcription system employed in this paper is that of Holm and Shilling's *Dictionary of Bahamian English* (1982). *Won-won* is Pan-creole (Holm & Shilling, 1982).

SE: He teased me (continually).

Diminution

BC: Uwnliy won **chik-chik** savayv.

SE: Only one chick survived.

Intensification

BC: Iy **sik-sik**.

SE: She is very sick.

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Grammaticalization in Nigerian Pidgin (WIP)

Nigerian Pidgin (henceforth NP) has assumed elaborated roles and functionality, gaining new grounds in different domains as a result of its social expansion process. One of the consequences of this increased dynamism is the development of lexical items into grammatical markers which is an "expected natural process" Givon (1974). In this paper, I examine languageinternal mechanisms that transform lexical items into morphosyntactic items either for semantic value, creativity, expresiveness or routinization (Bruyn 2005). Our basic assumption is that grammaticalization in NP is not contact-induced but a language-internal phenomenon, which reveals that NP has both synchronic and diachronic existence that are imperative in evolving its unique grammar.

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Proverbs in Nigerian Pidgin (WIP)

The cross-current of language and culture can be depicted in the use of oral genres like proverbs as a form of 'deeper' communication and a means of constructing reality in every speech community. Though Pidgin languages the world over are said to be linguistically undernourished or what Mufwene (2007) describes as 'children out of wedlock', we argue in this paper that proverbs in Nigerian Pidgin (henceforth NP) serve the same purpose within the Nigerian socioethnic and cultural settings as any of the country's indigenous or foreign languages. This evidence is a consequence of the increased dynamism of NP which points to its evolution towards creolization. The aim of this paper is to undertake literary and linguistic appraisals of proverbs in NP in an attempt to highlight certain social realities, cultural consciousness and structural

versatility which these proverbs represent. In doing this, we establish that proverbs in NP do not project the wisdom paradigm and worldviews of the cultures of the superstrate and substrate influences but are purely natural, independent and self-evolving.

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The roles of gender and education in questions of language choice and attitudes in a creolophone community

In this paper, we examine the roles of two social variables, gender and education, in questions of language choice and attitudes in the multilingual creolophone community of St. Lucian French-lexifier Creole (Kwéyòl) speakers on the island of St. Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands. We interviewed Kwéyòl speakers about their use of and attitudes towards Kwéyòl, English, Spanish, and Crucian Creole (an English-based creole), which are the four most widely-spoken languages on St. Croix

St. Lucia, like many of the islands of the lesser Antilles, has a long and complex colonial history which has resulted in a bilingual society. Kwéyòl stands out among Caribbean Creoles due to the historical fact that it is lexically unrelated to the official language of

St. Lucia. Like Dominica to the north, early colonization by France led to the emergence of a French-lexifier Creole which has persisted despite close to two centuries which have passed since the island became British and more recently, independent. Today, while English remains the official language on St. Lucia, Kwéyòl continues to be widely spoken in both resident and diaspora communities.

Fasold (1984) notes that language attitudes must be distinguished from attitudes in general, since language attitudes tend to extend beyond the language to the speakers of the language. Thus, language attitudes are inseparable from attitudes towards the ethnolinguistic identity of the speakers of a given language variety. Our research looks at how attitudes of St. Lucians towards Kwéyòl and English influence language choice.

Some of the questions we asked the Kwéyòl-speakers we interviewed on St. Croix include questions about feelings towards Kwéyòl, consideration of Kwéyòl as a language, language most comfortable speaking now, attitudes towards Crucian Creole English and Spanish, children's attitudes, attitudes towards speaking Kwéyòl in public, feelings of regret for not speaking the language or teaching it to children, and the perceived status of Kwéyòl on St. Lucia, as seen from the diaspora on St. Croix.

The results of this research will contribute to the understanding of the factors which play a role in language choice and attitudes of a “minority” group whose language and identity are under threat due to globalization and the concomitant penetration of US English.

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**Traces of Contact in African American English Varieties in
Southeast Georgia**

Contact with white English vernaculars features prominently in discussions of African American English (AAE) development (McDavid & McDavid 1951; Labov & Harris 1986; Winford 1997, 1998; Poplack 2000; Poplack & Tagliamonte 2001; Wolfram & Thomas 2002). The question of possible creole influence in AAE has also been considered, particularly when examining Earlier and

Diaspora varieties (DeBose 1988; Hannah 1997; Rickford 1977, 1997, 2006; Singler 1989, 1998, 2007a, 2007b). While this research on language contact and change has helped further linguists' understanding of AAE, it does not reflect the full contact history of AAE in the United States. In my work, I examine AAE in contact with nonwhite language varieties in an attempt to give a broader perspective on its linguistic history. I show how contact helps to explain regional linguistic variation in AAE at the grammatical level. I draw upon five years of ethnographic and sociolinguistic research in southeast Georgia to show that AAE varieties in this region pattern differently from AAE spoken in urban centers and in other parts of the United States. In southeast Georgia, these varieties contain linguistic features that are not characteristic of AAE but rather are associated with the English-lexifier creole Gullah-Geechee, spoken primarily in the coastal regions of South Carolina and Georgia. Some of these features include postposed *dem* as a nominal pluralizer (e.g. *the light dem* for *the lights*), unstressed anterior *bin* as a past tense marker (e.g. *his head bin harder* for *his head was harder*), variable plural *-s* absence (e.g. *dem plateØ* for *those plates*), and first person singular copula absence (e.g. *I Ø glad* for *I'm glad*). In this paper, I discuss key morphosyntactic features in southeast Georgia AAE, and I argue that they serve as evidence of its historical contact with Gullah-Geechee. This work views contact as central to variation in AAE and it has broader implications for other regions within the United States that have had a history of black-to-black language contact.

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Sentential Negation in Nigeria Pidgin (WIP)

This paper analyzes sentential negation in Nigerian pidgin based mostly on the Minimalist Program model of Chomsky's transformational grammar. The data for the study are mainly

sentences taken from the standard variety of the language which is spoken in Warri/Sapele speech community in Delta State Nigeria. The main objectives of this study are as follows:

First, the Paper undertakes an overview of Nigerian Pidgin and it also discussed the typological variations of sentential negation. It notes that Nigerian Pidgin falls into the typological variation where the negative particle (no) precedes the verb as in English (not), Russian *ne* and Hungarian *ne/non*. Second, the study identifies Neg (no) as the head of an independent category as NegP. The derivation and the exact position of Neg (no) in a Nigeria Pidgin sentence is illustrated with the example below:

- (1) Mai broda no tif di
 mɔni.
 DET brother NEG steal the money.
 My brother did not steal the money.

Thirdly, the paper discusses the cliticization of the negative particle to the preverbal future tense marker *go* to derive *noo*. This derivation is a phonological rule of suppletion and it occurs mainly in connected speech in the language as shown in 2b below.

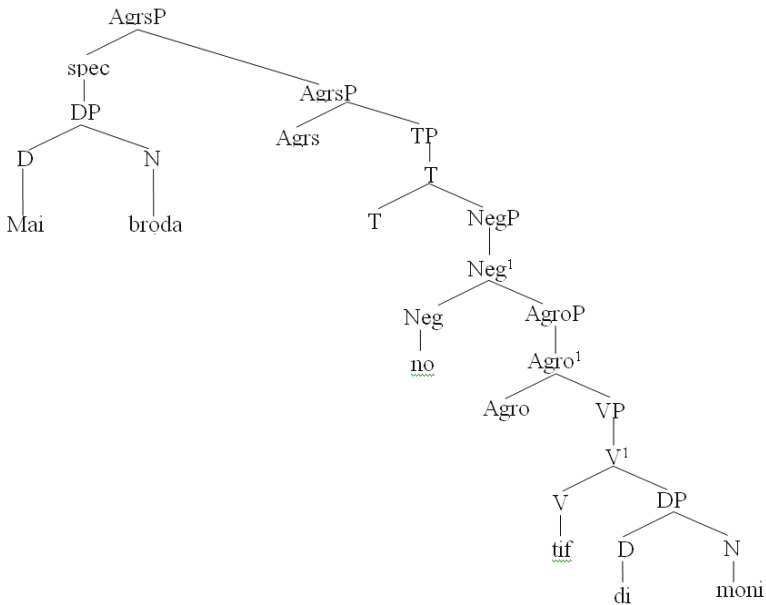
- (2) a. Edesiri no go it
 raise tode
 Edesiri Neg FUT eat rice today.
 Edesiri will not eat rice today
- b. Edesiri noo it raise
 tode
 Edesiri Neg + FUT eat rice today
 Edesiri wont eat rice today.

The tree diagram of (1) below provides a visual representation of the exact position of Neg (no).

Another process of cliticization is the derivation of *near* from the fusion of *no* to the present perfective aspect marker *don* to derive *neva*. The non collocability of *no* and *don* in a Nigerian Pidgin sentence will also be discussed.

Fourthly, the paper will also discuss the derivation of negative or contradiction clefting in the language. In Nigerian Pidgin, negative clefting is base generated. The focus marker *na* is replaced by the negative focus marker *no bi* to derive negative focus construction. It also discusses the occurrence of the negative particle in wh-interrogatives in Nigerian Pidgin.

Finally, the paper will review the opinion of pidgin and creole linguists that negation in NP is a simplification of that of its superstrate language with a view into identifying the significant role of substrate languages on its derivation.



PM I

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Advice in Cameroon: global and local influences on linguistic practices in a postcolonial environment

This contribution deals with aspects of language performance in varieties of French and English as well as contact varieties (Cameroon Pidgin English/ Kamtok and Camfranglais) in Cameroon. The multilingual situation in Cameroon is ideally suited for a comparison of global and local influences on linguistic practices in a postcolonial environment. The investigation of linguistic practices (e.g. speech acts) and verbal interaction is still significantly under-researched for the African continent despite the emergence of some recent studies which address the complexities of social interaction in West African communities (e.g. Ameka & Breedfeld 2004; Farenkia 2006; 2008) and situate research in cross-cultural pragmatics also in African contexts (e.g. Kasanga & Lwanga-Lumu 2007). Our presentation will focus on advice/ counselling - a relatively complex linguistic activity (cf. DeCapua & Findlay Durham 1993, 2007; Jefferson & Lee 1981) which is part of many everyday situations as well as institutional contexts (e.g. the health sector). Due to the asymmetry of roles involved in advice situations, interesting insights on local concepts of politeness have emerged from the analysis of our data. Using material from audio-recorded conversations and from a questionnaire study, advice as a generic act will be described for each variety autonomously as well as contrastively. Language choice, and particularly the use of Kamtok in taboo areas of advice-

giving will be discussed. In our empirical analysis we hope to provide a substantiation of and further contribution to relatively new theoretical approaches in the study of postcolonial varieties as well as to contrastive and intercultural pragmatics.

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Codeswitching and language mixing strategies in cosmopolitan towns: A daily practice in social interactions in Lubumbashi city (DR Congo) (WIP)

The DRC has more than four hundred dialects (in addition to the French, the official language) and also several sociolects. Communities are basically perceived through their languages: their ethnonyms are mostly closer to their glossonyms (Baluba speak Kiluba, Babemba Kibemba, Bangala Lingala, etc). Those people have

developed between them harmonious or conflicting relationships. Since, many stereotypes have appeared and been governing attitudes and behaviors towards others. Speaking such language brings back in the mind of interlocutors happy or painful memories about their experience with other peoples. In the DRC, nationalist feelings are still weak among citizens. Many people define themselves as members of their own tribes before feeling truly themselves as Congolese. In addition, people are mostly at least bilingual, using diglossia or codeswitching in their daily lives. Speaking more languages constitutes an important social capital that makes easier integration into social networks, making therefore possible the success. But in a social environment where relationships between communities have been sometimes strained, deciding to speak such language rather than another is never simple. It may be counterproductive (if not done carefully) inducing exclusion, distrust or hostility towards his author. Social actors (musicians, preachers, politicians, etc) remain very careful in mobilizing languages for codeswitching.

This paper aims to identify principles on which are daily based personal sociolinguistic strategies in an African, cosmopolitan and multilingual area. It is based on a heterogeneous corpus: songs, sermons and political speeches in Lubumbashi. Analyses include also data from interviews. This research has highlighted some principles among others:

1. Every citizen in Congo tries to master, in addition to his mother tongue, an other language among those of wide audience (French, Kiswahili, Lingala, Kikongo and Ciluba);
2. Congolese perceived subjectively languages as simply useful (making possible communication), affective (reinforcing links between relatives and friends) or prestigious (improving one's image). Therefore, In Lubumbashi, languages to be mixed in the codeswitching are selected on this basis;
3. When two languages are combined in the codeswitching, very often, the high dialect (prestigious) is embedded in the low dialect which constitutes the matrix language. Therefore, Kiswahili appears as embedded language while combined with local languages but it becomes matrix language while used with Lingala. But Lingala becomes also a matrix language while mixed with French;

4. Status's language is not fixed once and for all. People update it constantly in the light of political and social events.

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**Communication problems of Nigerian Pidgin speakers
(WIP)**

The Nigerian nation is said to be multilingual, multi-ethnic and multicultural. Another acknowledged fact also is the complexity of the linguistic situation. Accounts abound of the number of existing languages in the Nigerian polity. Out of the numerous indigenous Nigerian languages, none serves as the nations official language. Three languages – Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba , serve as regional and co-official languages. In linguistically heterogeneous states like Rivers,Delta. Edo, etc, where none of the three co-official languages above are adopted, the problem arises as to which of the numerous indigenous languages should be used as state language or co-official language. Unofficially however, the communication gap is bridged by the use of the Nigerian Pidgin which has acquired native speakership in most of the cities. This paper sets out to investigate the communication problems the speakers of this language encounter in their day to day activities, within and outside their immediate linguistic environments. We discovered that irrespective of the important roles the Nigerian Pidgin play, especially that of facilitating communication, the speakers encounter various problems including that of social unacceptability. This is because there has been little or no practical efforts by sociolinguists to evolve a workable standardization process which will raise the sociolinguistic status of the language. The paper recommends steps that could lead to the development of a standard variety to the Nigerian Pidgin which would in effect give it a sociolinguistic vitality that will lead to its social acceptability.

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Creole exceptionalism via transmission: The weak-to-strong harmony gap

The recent boom in creole phonology has failed to find synchronic evidence for creole exceptionalism (e.g. Klein 2006, 2011; Bakker 2009), though it has successfully accounted for certain aspects of synchronic data by linking them to processes of adult second language acquisition (SLA) and subsequent transmission (e.g. Uffman 2009; Ng 2011). The logical next step is to recognize that because creoles are defined by their history of atypical transmission, creole exceptionalism may manifest itself in diachronic processes rather than synchronic inventories. This paper examines just such a process: a major class of vowel harmony which is robustly attested in non-creoles and strikingly absent in creoles.

Traces of vowel harmony occur in numerous creoles, sometimes in the form of feature agreement, e.g. Saramaccan tense/lax harmony (Smith 1975), Haitian *u* ‘you, your’ height assimilation (Valdman 1978: 93), but more often vowel copying. Crucially, all documented cases of creole harmony exhibit ‘strong-to-weak’ directionality: harmony is triggered by stressed vowels and targets weak vowels, either unstressed or epenthetic, e.g. Jamaican *Simit* < *Smith*, Papiamentu *rosponde* ‘answer’ < Spanish *respónde* respectively (Holm 1988: 124–5). The opposite ‘weak-to-strong’ directionality, usually labelled as umlaut or metaphony, is well-attested in non-creoles (e.g. Kaun 2004; Walker 2005), which is surprising since vowel-to-

vowel coarticulation studies imply that it is a phonetically unnatural process (e.g. Cho 2004). Two questions arise: why is weak-to-strong harmony so common in non-creoles, and why is it absent from creoles?

I propose that this asymmetry in attested diachronic processes is exactly what we should expect given the different conditions of transmission for creoles and non-creoles. Normal transmission creates experienced listeners who know that they must ‘undo’ more changes in the neighbourhood of stressed vowels than unstressed ones (c.f. Ohala 1994). This usually results in correct perception, except that these discriminating listeners may then fail to ‘undo’ less expected changes (i.e. triggered by unstressed vowels, targeting stressed vowels), resulting in weak-to-strong harmony. Creolization, in contrast, involves adult learners who lack experience in compensating for coarticulation in L2 input (Levy & Strange 2008: 151). They are far more likely to take coarticulated vowels at face value, resulting in strong-to-weak harmony. Viewed in this way, a phonetically unnatural process and a typological gap do not add up to two mysteries, but rather an elegantly fulfilled prediction based on our definition for creoles as a class of languages.

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**Inflectional Categories and V-movement in the Nigerian
Pidgin (Wàfi)**

It is generally agreed that pidgin languages develop out of contact situations, where the groups in contact had no common means of communication. Nigerian Pidgin is not an exception. It developed out of such contacts between the European traders cum colonialists and the coastline multilingual people of the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. Mafeni (1971), Omamor (1983) and Elugbe and Omamor (1991) have convincingly argued that Nigerian Pidgin is a language in its own right. It has gone beyond a pidgin in the technical sense of the word to a creole. It has become the first language of a sizeable number of people in the Niger Delta region especially in Warri and

Sapele areas. Infact, Warri/Sapele could be said to be the home of Nigerian Pidgin where the language in recent time has been referred to as Wàfi by its users especially the youths. Wàfi is used in this paper to refer to the creolized version of the Nigerian Pidgin. Wàfi has acquired an independent status with a distinct "...characteristic system that operates on the basis of well-defined and discoverable governing principles" (Elugbe and Omamor, 1991:73). Wàfi, irrespective of its origin, just like any other natural language, is guided by the general principles of grammar and universally defined parameters that make it unique in its own right but underlyingly similar with other languages. In line with the last statement above, this paper focuses on the inflectional categories such as Tense, Aspect and Negation in Nigerian Pidgin (Wàfi) using the verb movement analysis (in sentence derivation) as depicted in the Minimalist version of the Principles and Parameters Approach of Generative Grammar (Chomsky, 1995). A deliberate attempt is made to compare the realization of these functional categories in Nigerian Pidgin with the languages (English and some Nigerian Languages), from where Nigerian Pidgin supposedly drew most of its lexis and structures. Our data reveal that Nigerian Pidgin unlike English, Igbo and Edo does not undergo V- I movement and that could explain why the verb remains bare. However, Nigerian Pidgin finds parallel in languages like Yoruba where V-movement does not occur and bare verbs are also permitted. The functional heads T, Asp and Neg are realized before the verb as independent morphemes heading their own projections. We also discovered that just like in some of the languages, eg. Igbo, aspect rather than tense is explicitly marked in Nigerian Pidgin.

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**Nigerian Pidgin and West African Pidgins: a
Sociolinguistic perspective**

Nigerian Pidgin, a variety of and thus a part of the continuum of West African Pidgin English (WAPE) whose origins emerged from trade contacts between the British and Africans along the West African coast, is a lingua franca spoken in Nigeria. This paper examines the current sociolinguistic status and factors shaping its development within the context of the origin of WAPE. With focus on political, social, and linguistic factors, the paper highlights similarities and differences in the development and use of other related varieties namely, Ghanaian Pidgin English and Cameroon Pidgin English with the view to providing a better understanding of the dynamics of expansion in the status and use of these varieties along the West African coast.

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**Morphological simplification of the substrate in Creole
formation (WIP)**

For much of its history, Creole Language Studies in general, and in the Caribbean in particular focused on the simplification of inflections found in the respective European lexical donor languages to the virtual exclusion of the simplification of the West African input source languages. The tendency has been to assume that these West African source languages were too many, and sometimes too sparsely documented, to support any useful investigations in this area. This has left the impression that in the formation of Creole languages of the Caribbean only the European lexical donor languages, if any, were simplified. The fact that Berbice Dutch could clearly be linked to a specific West African parent cluster of languages, presents the opportunity to investigate several dimensions of the morphological input from this cluster in the

formation of Berbice Dutch. It also gives an opportunity to investigate the actual retentions and the possible reasons for their selection from among a complex set.

Berbice Dutch has retained a significant few inflections from the West African parent(s). This paper will examine the morphological subsystems in Eastern Ijo that have survived into Berbice Dutch in order to establish what forms were chosen and the factors that could have influenced the particular retention.

It will also attempt to make a statement about the processes that could have taken place.

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**Searching for traces of contact: negation patterns in
nineteenth-century African American English – a corpus
analysis**

As is well known, the origin of African American English has been the subject of a prolonged and heated debate. While descendant positions of the original, rather extreme claims, widely known as the Anglicist vs. Creolist hypotheses, are still around (cf. Poplack 2000 and Rickford 2006 for pertinent views, respectively), it seems widely accepted today that moderate positions along the lines of Winford (1997/98), recognizing the mixed character of the dialect and the fact that it has grown in language contact situations, with influences from both sides, are most appropriate.

What is undisputed, however, is that even after decades of research into AAVE there is clearly still a dearth of reliable empirical evidence on the diachrony of the dialect. The present paper contributes to an improved understanding of its history by investigating new historical evidence, an electronic “Corpus of Older African American Letters” (COAAL). The corpus, which has been systematically compiled over the last few years and is introduced here to the creolist community, consists of 1530 letters written by ca. 900 African Americans between 1763 and 1919, with the bulk from the 1860s. They are linguistically interesting because the writers were semi-literate (but has a strong motivation to write

nevertheless), and so the texts, culled from archives and historical collections, display strongly vernacular structures.

Using concordancing software (WordSmith), the paper investigates the types and frequencies of various negation patterns, including preverbal *no*, various uses of *ain't* (especially its function as a main verb negator equivalent to *don't/didn't*), multiple negation (within a clause and across clause boundaries), the negator *never* for specific past time reference, and negative inversion (*Didn't nobody know ...*). It has been argued that in Caribbean varieties these forms are indicative of a “cline of creoleness” (Schneider 1999), given that some of them are clearly creole in origin, others originated in British dialect forms, and some show mixed effects of contact. The negation patterns observed in the corpus will be systematically described, and then the diagnostic value of these traces of early contact will be carefully weighed, recognizing the mixed origin of the dialect.

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The African Influence on TMA Marking in Antillean
French-lexicon Creoles

Although in recent years, researchers have intensified their focus on the syntax of French-lexicon Creoles (henceforth FC) there is still a dearth of detailed contemporary research on the patterns of tense, mood and aspectual (henceforth TMA) marking in Antillean FCs and on how these patterns of marking might be related to a primary African substrate as per Lefebvre's (1999) discussion of Haitian French-lexicon Creole. In light of the above gap in the literature, this paper examines the TMA markers which are used in Trinidadian French-lexicon Creole and St. Lucian French-lexicon Creole and compares them to the patterns of TMA marking found in Fongbe—the identified substrate influence in Haitian FCs—to determine whether there are any areas of similarity which may indicate a substantial African input in the creation/development of these languages. The use of Fongbe as the primary substrate influence in the Antillean FCs is justified as Haitian FC and Antillean FCs have several areas of similarity. Preliminary results indicate that there is considerable evidence of a historic association between the Antillean FCs and Fongbe, but there are areas where the syntactic association is not clear. In the end, this paper sheds light on the extent to which linguists can make predictions about the relatedness of languages and it identifies the gaps in the literature which will need to be filled before any definitive remarks could be made about the primary substrate influence in French-lexicon Creoles.

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**Measuring analyticity and syntheticity in pidgin and
creole languages**

Expanded pidgins and creoles (P/Cs) are commonly described as being predominantly analytic as opposed to synthetic in terms of grammatical morphology (Romaine 1988: 28–9; Parkvall 2008: 280). This means that grammatical information is signalled more frequently by free rather than bound morphemes. The implication is that P/Cs are more analytic than their lexifiers and other languages. However, to our knowledge, this view has not been empirically demonstrated. The purpose of the study reported in this paper is to measure analyticity (and syntheticity) in two representative English-lexified P/Cs – Tok Pisin and Hawai'i Creole – and to compare the quantitative results with those for various varieties of English and other languages (Szmrecsanyi and Kortmann 2009).

The paper begins by defining analyticity and syntheticity in more detail and then describing the corpus-based methodology. In brief, 1000 randomly selected word tokens in each P/C corpus were tagged with regard to word class, and categorised as being analytic, synthetic, both analytic and synthetic, or purely lexical. On this basis, an analyticity index and a syntheticity index were calculated. These are first compared to indices for four European languages (German, Italian, Russian, Spanish). Then they are compared to those for L1 varieties of English (e.g. standard British and American English, New Zealand English and British dialects) and L2 varieties (e.g. Singapore English and Hong Kong English).

The results show that especially in the verb phrase, the P/Cs are either more analytic or less synthetic than the other varieties. The paper concludes with a discussion of the possible origins of greater analyticity in P/Cs, and implications for theoretical issues such as the comparative grammatical complexity of P/Cs.

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Stereotypes, stigma, and agency in Vernacular Liberian English

The too-rigid identification of standard speech varieties with prestige and non-standard ones with stigma has long been tempered by sociolinguists' awareness of covert prestige (Trudgill 1972). Accordingly, as DeCamp's (1971) creole continuum model evolved, linguists re-evaluated the status of the basilect. Having viewed it first as a repository of stigma (cf. Washabaugh 1977), they came to recognize that covert prestige accrues to the basilect, a consequence of its role in expressing "friendship, identity, [and] . . . solidarity" (Rickford 1985:155).

Generally in anglophone West Africa, a distinction is made between English and English-lexifier pidgins/creoles. The exception is Liberia, where Singler (1984, 1997) argues that a continuum exists along the lines posited for many English-lexifier creoles in the Caribbean (DeCamp 1971, Bickerton 1975, Rickford 1987). Local nomenclature supports the distinction: in Liberia, no matter how pidginized the speech, it is called "English." The terms "pidgin" and "creole" have no currency. Singler uses the term "Vernacular Liberian English" (VLE) (adapted from Hancock 1974) to cover the Liberian continuum from basilect to acrolect.

However, unlike Caribbean continua, the VLE continuum's basilectal end consists of speakers who are adult L2 learners of the variety. Singler (1987) argues that in VLE the basilect is the site of greatest stigma while the urban mesolect is the primary locus of covert prestige. This leads to the following question: is it possible for basilects (and other low-status speech varieties) to be burdened with stigma without any covert prestige whatsoever?

In VLE, the basilectal extreme is located stereotypically among rubber tappers and soldiers. The present study examines variation in the speech of seven male ex-tappers and ex-soldiers from an interior town; it focuses on three features: (1) addition of a paragogic vowel to consonant-final monosyllabic verb forms, (2) deletion of /s/ in word-initial /sC/ clusters, and (3) use of the imperfective AUX *de*.

The analysis distinguishes between marker and stereotype (Labov 1971, Silverstein 2003, Eckert 2008), arguing that a stigmatized feature is necessarily a stereotype. Metalinguistic evidence is presented to establish the status of each feature as stigmatized. The paper's focus then becomes the manner in which tappers and soldiers negotiate the use of stigmatized forms—and the extent to which they are able to do this.

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Functions of the causative *hasé* in Chabacano

The present study describes the different constructions that make use of the causative *hasé* 'make' in Ternate Chabacano, a Spanish lexifier Creole spoken in the Manila Bay region, Philippines. In previous studies of Ibero-Asian Creoles (e.g. Baxter 2009; Forman 1972; Frake 1981; Llamado 1972; Nolasco 2005), *hasé* has been analyzed as a causative and beneficiary serial verb or as an element forming verbal idioms. However, the different uses of *hasé* have not been described or analyzed systematically. This study provides a description of the structural and semantic characteristics of these constructions in Ternate Chabacano. It also provides a discussion of some of the parallels with the lexifier and the adstrate languages, showing traces of contact in the language. The analysis is based on spoken language material collected during fieldwork in Ternate over the past five years.

In causative serial verb constructions *hasé* can be used with both intransitive and transitive verbs, as in *hasé salí* 'make come out' and

hasé kambyá ‘make change’. It introduces an agent to the construction and often implies a more direct causation than other causatives with *dále* ‘give’ or *mandá* ‘tell’.

In the complex predicates with nouns and verbs *hasé* functions as a light verb. In these constructions it has little semantic content of its own and its main function is to give the construction the form of a predicate, as the preverbal markers attach to it. The main semantic element can be of Spanish, Tagalog or English origin, and the resulting constructions are generally transitive. Some examples are *hasé ani* [make harvest] ‘harvest’ and *hasé debelop* ‘develop’. There sometimes exists a simple verb expressing similar meaning, as in *hasé tyénda* [make shop] ‘sell’ and *bendé* ‘sell’. In addition, the form *se* is common as a verbalizing element for English bases, as in *se retayr* [make retire] ‘retire’. The use of this form is not restricted to transitive verbs but it can also form intransitive verbs.

The study reveals a close association between transitivity and causativization in the variety under study, but also an expansion of the functions of *hasé* to a general verbalizing element. In the cross-linguistic framework presented in Kittilä (2009), Ternate Chabacano shows an example of the typologically non-prototypical functions of the causative elements that are not confined to the causative prototype and agent introduction.

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**Tracing the effects of colonial contact: German words in
Tok Pisin dictionaries**

During the time of German colonialism in the Pacific (roughly 1880 – 1914) German was used and left its lexical traces in several languages in the Pacific region. Tok Pisin, having begun to develop a few decades before the time of German colonial rule in the Pacific, also came to include a number of German elements (up to around 200 items; cf. Romaine 2001). Tok Pisin dictionaries from the past 100 years contain, aside from the (implicit or explicit) focus of their authors, a fluctuating number of Germanbased lexical items, with a decreasing tendency over time. Some of these words appear to be firmly established and are recorded up until today (e.g. raus go away, get out; rausim remove, get rid of; from German raus – out, outside; cf. e.g. Borchardt 1926, Dahmen 1957, Mihalic 1971, Baing et al. 2008); other Germanbased items were listed only sporadically during the past 100 years; finally, several of them seem to have dropped from use, some being replaced by (mostly) English equivalents, whereas in other cases the concepts themselves are not, or no longer, included in the dictionaries.

In my paper, I trace a number of Germanorigin lexemes that are, or were, attested in Tok Pisin, investigating their mention in c. 30 dictionaries from 1911 to 2008 and their semantic distribution. A matter of special interest is what semantic fields are covered by these Germanbased items, and whether the affiliation with a specific semantic area is predictive of the preservation vs. the loss or replacement of an item.

The use of dictionaries for such vocabulary studies is not unproblematic from a methodological point of view since every dictionary is biased in some way, and none of them can be expected to contain the complete vocabulary even of one specific region. On the other hand, hardly any other medium makes available a

continuous body of Tok Pisin data across a time span of almost a full century. I will point out the limitations of my data base, and discuss how to account for them while making use of the rich data information this language source has to offer.

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On toys, Early Sranan and contemporary bilingual discourse in West Africa: A comparison of adjectivization strategies

Property concepts have been the subject of considerable debate in Pidgin/Creole studies because of their flexible categoriality: They can function as modifiers as well as predicators. In their former function property concepts can be regarded as attributive adjectives, while they can be regarded as a subclass of verbs in the latter function, sometimes called stative verbs, adjectival verbs or predicative adjectives depending on the underlying framework. In addition, the origin of property concepts in creole languages has been debated. While most (but not all) forms of the concepts can be traced by to European language forms in creole languages of mixed

African and European ancestry, the syntactic and semantic properties of the property concepts tell a different story. For example, Migge (2000) sets up a detailed comparison between adjectivization strategies in the Surinamese Creole Ndyuka and various West African Gbe languages, concluding that Ndyuka displays sufficient transfer from the Gbe languages to postulate a Gbe model for the meanings and uses of property concepts in the Surinamese creoles.

In this paper we revisit the problem of the origin of property items in the Surinamese Creoles from two new angles: 1) We outline the variation in adjectivization strategies in a quantitative manner for Early Sranan, a cover term for varieties of 18th century Sranan as they are encountered in a rich corpus of historical texts that offer a window on the language as it was developing; and 2) we set up a comparison with adjectivization strategies as they are found in contemporary bilingual discourse in Ghana, Togo and The Netherlands. Speakers of various bilingual backgrounds including Akan/Ewe-English (Ghana), Ewe/Kabiye-French (Togo) and Akan/Ewe//English-Dutch (the Netherlands) participated in monolingual as well as bilingual versions of Gullberg's Toy Task, a semi-experimental task that was originally designed for testing codeswitching constraints on the expression of property concepts (Gullberg, Indefrey and Muysken, 2009).

On the basis of these new findings we conclude that bilinguals treat the English, French and Dutch –origin adjectives in their Akan/Ewe/Kabiye discourse differently from their Akan/Ewe/Kabiye equivalents as they employ copula constructions, similar to what we find in Early Sranan, suggesting that property items in Sranan are not primarily modeled on a Gbe model, but rather display a bilingual origin.

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**Temporal relations in bilingual discourse in West Africa,
Suriname and the Netherlands: Implications for creole
formation**

Current models of creole formation (Roberts 2000, Siegel 2008) distinguish between three generations of speakers who contribute to the developing creole each in their own way. The first generation, who is dominant in the ancestral language, introduces new morphosyntactic features to the emerging contact language through substrate calquing. The second generation, who speaks the ancestral as well as the newly emerging language, assigns new functions to these features mostly based on models found in their ancestral language. The third generation, who is mostly monolingual in the new language, systematizes and establishes the use of these features. Can this model account for the emergence of Sranan, given the slow nativization of the Surinamese slave population and the high rate of slave replacement throughout the 18th century? It seems unlikely that the systematized speech of a minority of mostly monolingual Surinamese-born creoles had a bigger impact on the developing creole than the speech of the majority of multilingual African-born slaves and freemen throughout the 18th century. Indeed, certain features of 18th century Sranan resemble contemporary L2 Sranan (Migge and van den Berg 2009).

Although there is a rich research tradition on multilingual language use in West Africa, in particular on codeswitching (see for example Amuzu 2005; Essizewa 2006), few studies of creole formation take these findings into account, setting up comparisons between Creoles and African languages instead. This paper compares new findings on the use of (a) temporal adverbials, (b) tense and aspect markings, and (c) principles of discourse organisation in Sranan, as well as in bilingual Akan/Ewe-English, Ewe/Kabiye-French/Ewe, Akan/Ewe-

Dutch and Sranan-Dutch discourse. The data were collected in Ghana, Togo, Suriname and the Netherlands by means of a referential communication task with a video-stimulus, Böhnemeyer's TEMPorality Elicitation Stimulus (TEMPEST), in which two speakers discuss the order of the events in 28 pairs of videoclips (Böhnemeyer 1998). Some were instructed to use only Akan/Ewe/Kabiye/Sranan when discussing the first 14 pairs of clips, and English/French/Dutch for the subsequent 14 pairs of clips, while others were instructed to switch naturally, in accordance with how they would normally use their languages in daily life. Thus we not only collected similar data on all of the languages under investigation, but we also have comparable data on how one and the same speaker performs on this task while speaking different languages, in which the coding of event order relations like anteriority, posteriority and simultaneity is very dissimilar.

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Contemplating Ethnic Identity and Creole Emergence: A
Focus on Anguilla

This paper uses various unpublished documents to track and discuss the history of Anguillian, the English-lexifier Creole spoken on the Caribbean island of Anguilla (hereafter ANG). In doing so it shows how "extra-linguistic" data contribute to theories of language and language change.

In creolistics and contemporary sociolinguistic theory, new languages are sometimes associated with the emergence of identities that are shared across members of a particular population or social group. For example, Smith (1987) and Devonish (2008) argue that in the case of the multilingual contexts in which Creole languages formed, speakers created new varieties only when they had a clear social role to fill. Devonish (2008) holds that the social role to be filled by these Creole languages is that of expressing a newly emergent ethnic identity. While these points are relatively straightforward, creolists have seldom used archival material to document the sociohistorical factors contextualizing the emergence of the identities associated with Creoles in specific periods and places.

The present work examines excerpts from various colonial-era documents found in the Anguilla archives, including wills, legal testimonies, travel logs, and accounts of religious conversion. Its purpose is to determine whether sociohistorical evidence suggests that ANG emerged as a language that expressed a "new" ethnic identity. Special attention is given to the lives of the enslaved Africans, the group that formed the majority of the island's population by the mid 1700s. The focus is the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries because initial research indicates that significant shifts in social norms took place during these periods. These shifts relate to three main topics: emigration, race relations, and literacy among the enslaved. Historical anecdotes documenting examples of each of these events will be discussed. These will be interwoven with academic critiques of conventional understandings

of historical evidence; constructivist approaches to ethnic identity; and creolists' recent discussions of slavery.

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The dependent clause in Ghanaian Pidgin English (WIP)

Increasing use of pidgin in Ghana has inevitably drawn attention to this variety of language – especially, since its use is believed to have a direct negative effect on people's competence in English in school. As a result, people believe that its pervasive presence in the language map of Ghana and continuous use by the youth have implications for education.

This negative perception stems from the conviction that pidgin is linguistically deficient because

- (a) It is a reduced language, when compared to its superstrate language(s)
- (b) It is spoken by people in the social lower class

Not surprisingly, therefore, there are those voices in the educational sector who often suggest that we need to “stamp it out.”

This strong condemnation of pidgin has aroused our interest in this study of pidgin. For we consider pidgin as a contact language, closely related to whatever language(s) serve(s) as its superstrate(s). As a contact language, then, it deserves research interest.

Our overall aim, accordingly, is to examine the grammar of Ghanaian Pidgin English. Specifically, in this study, we are interested in the grammar of the dependent clause. And the data we are using is derived from recorded conversations Osei-Tutu (2009) used in his work on Ghanaian Pidgin.

Our assumption throughout the work is that the fact that pidgin is viewed as ‘a reduced language’ does not mean that it is linguistically deficient and unstructured. Rather, we consider it a restructured form of another language and, therefore, it has structure.

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Language contact and the differentiation of the Afro-
Caribbean English-lexifier Creoles

West Africa is a vast geographical region, harbours several language families and boasts one of the highest language densities of the world. Yet, the languages of the area are characterised by a high degree of typological similarity (e.g. Gueldemann 2008). It therefore seems natural that the languages belonging to African branch of the family of Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creoles and Pidgins (AECs) would form part of the convergence movement that typifies the West African linguistic area. In this paper, I will focus on two isoglosses to show that adstrate transfer from African languages due to widespread multilingualism as well as substrate transfer due to ongoing language shift to creole languages has indeed been leaving traces in the linguistic systems of these languages.

One of these isoglosses is the unitary AEC system of subjunctive mood expression featuring the subjunctive complementiser *mek*. Functionally and formally identical patterns of subjunctive marking are found throughout West Africa and probably constitute an areal phenomenon. The Caribbean AECs feature reflexes of the same form but their uses are more restricted and compete with other modal forms. I hypothesize that the 'untidier' state of the modal system of the Caribbean AECs is a consequence of adstratal influence from English and other European languages, which feature equally untidy systems. This is one of numerous examples for the divergence of the African and Caribbean AECs due to differing adstrate influences.

Some questions of theoretical concern make a detailed analysis of these forces of language change worthwhile: How is continuous contact with the substrates of a putative Atlantic English-lexifier proto-creole contributing to the typological differentiation of the African and the Caribbean branches of the family? How is contact with English contributing to the typological profile of the African vs. the Caribbean Anglo-Creoles? Which differences may be attributed to internal development alone? In this paper, I hope to provide some answers to these questions.

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Practical information

Important phone numbers and addresses

The country code for Ghana is 00233

1. During the conference

Organisers

- Evershed Amuzu (0)24 375 4406
- Jemima Anderson (0)24 452 287
- Kari Dako (0)20 819 9842
- Magnus Huber (0)24 992 2553
- Kofi Saah (0)24 279 7815
- John Singler (0)54 974 3925
- Kofi Yakpo (0)26 871 5215

Conference venue

- Centre for African Wetlands (0)21 512 835-6

Accommodation

- Institute of African Studies Chalets (0)30 251 3387/6
University of Ghana
P.O. Box LG 73
Legon, Accra, Ghana

2. During the post-conference excursion

Organisers

- Magnus Huber (0)24 992 2553
- Kingsley Nyarko (0)24 298 0767
- John Singler (0)54 974 3925
- Kofi Yakpo (0)26 871 5215

Accommodation

- Anomabo Beach Resort (0)42 91562 or 92041
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Free shuttle service

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African Chalets to Wetlands

Departs	Wed 3	Thu 4	Fri 5	Sat 6
8:30	x			
9:15		x	x	x
10:15	x	x	x	x
12:15	x	x	x	x
13:40	x	x	x	
15:20	x		x	

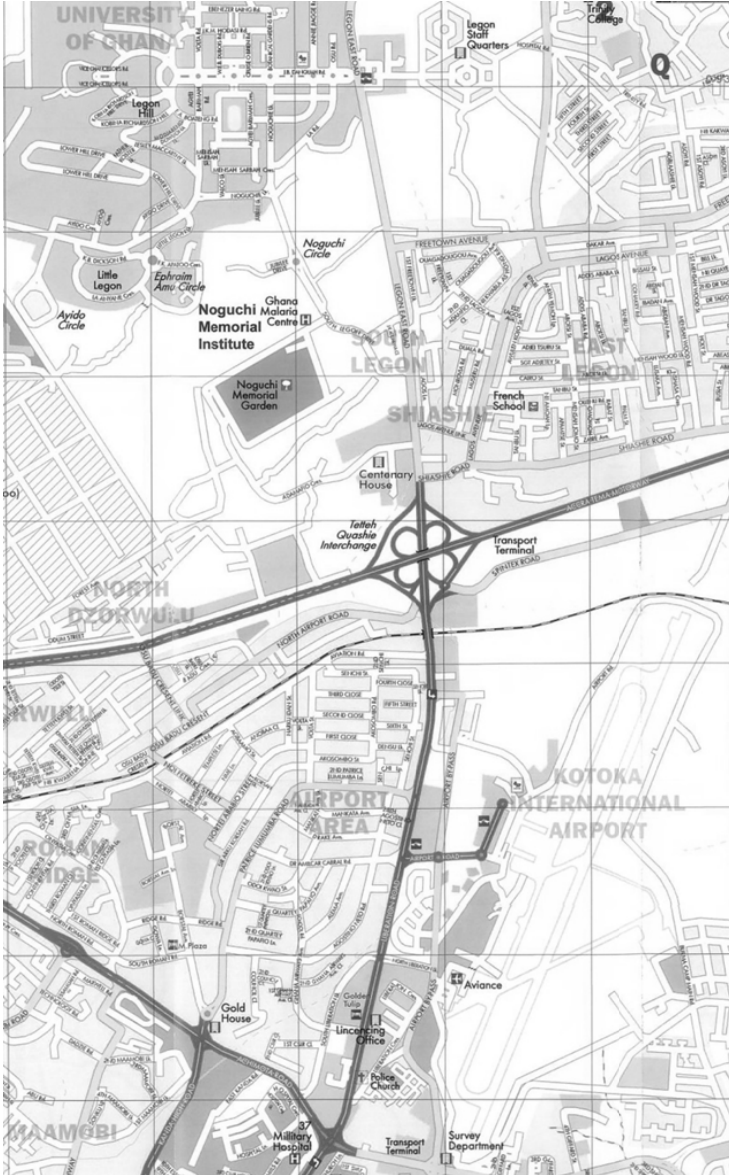
Wetlands to African Chalets

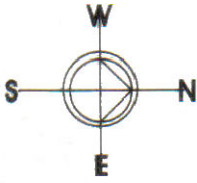
Departs	Wed 3	Thu 4	Fri 5	Sat 6
11:00	x	x	x	x
12:40	x	x	x	x
14:00	x	x	x	x
16:00	x		x	
17:15	x		x	

Taxis and trotros

You can flag down a taxi anywhere on campus and in town. **Taxis** in Ghana run along defined routes and collect up to 4 passengers on the way. **Trotros** (mini-vans) are cheaper but take up to 15 passengers. Both have fixed prices. Drivers and potential passengers either shout or indicate by way of signs where they are going, so this may be tricky for novices. However, other passengers will always be happy to help. If you board a taxi at one of the depots (“stations”) it may take some time until a car fills up and you are under way. The most comfortable way to travel is to hail an empty taxi and book it all for yourself (this is called **dropping**). Before boarding the taxi, state your destination and haggle about the price (a trip on campus should not cost more than a couple of Cedis).

Accra, Ghana – 2-6 August 2011

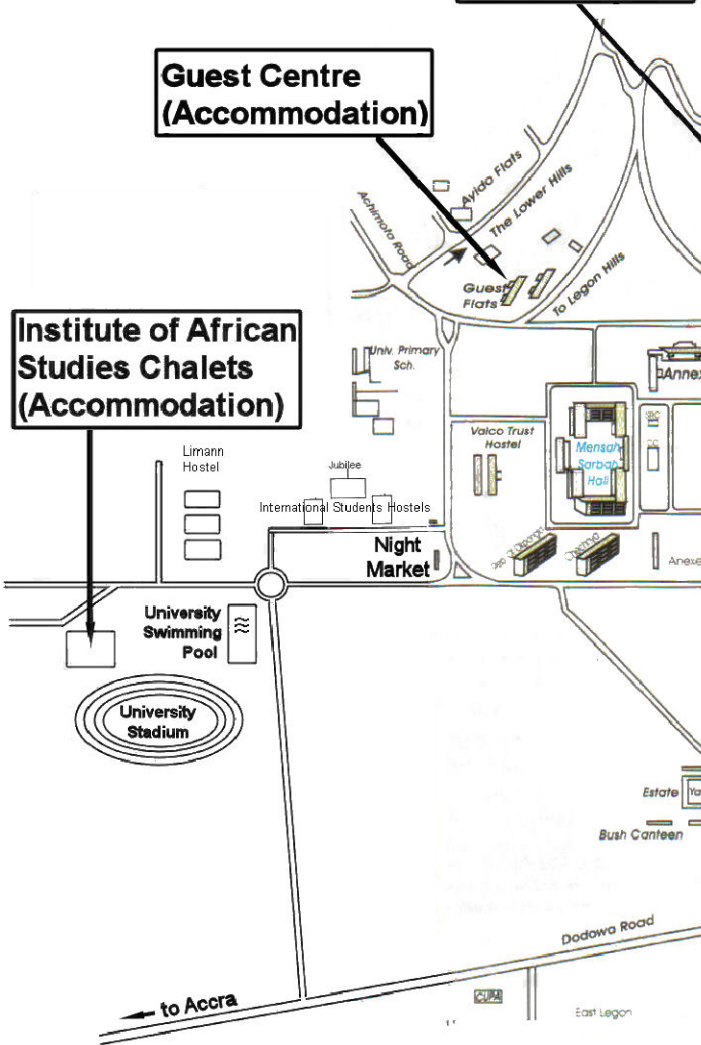


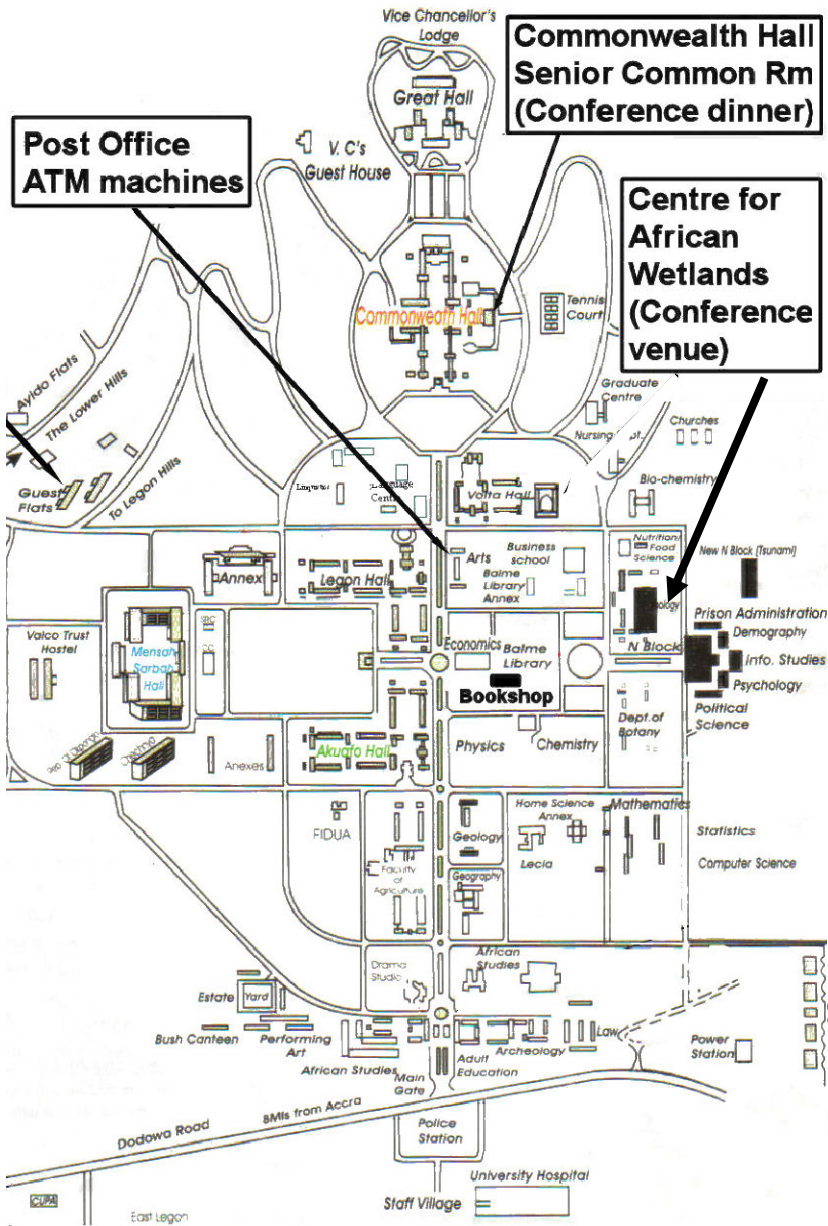


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