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Chapter 4

NICARAGUA'S MISKITO COAST CREOLE ENGLISH

John Holm

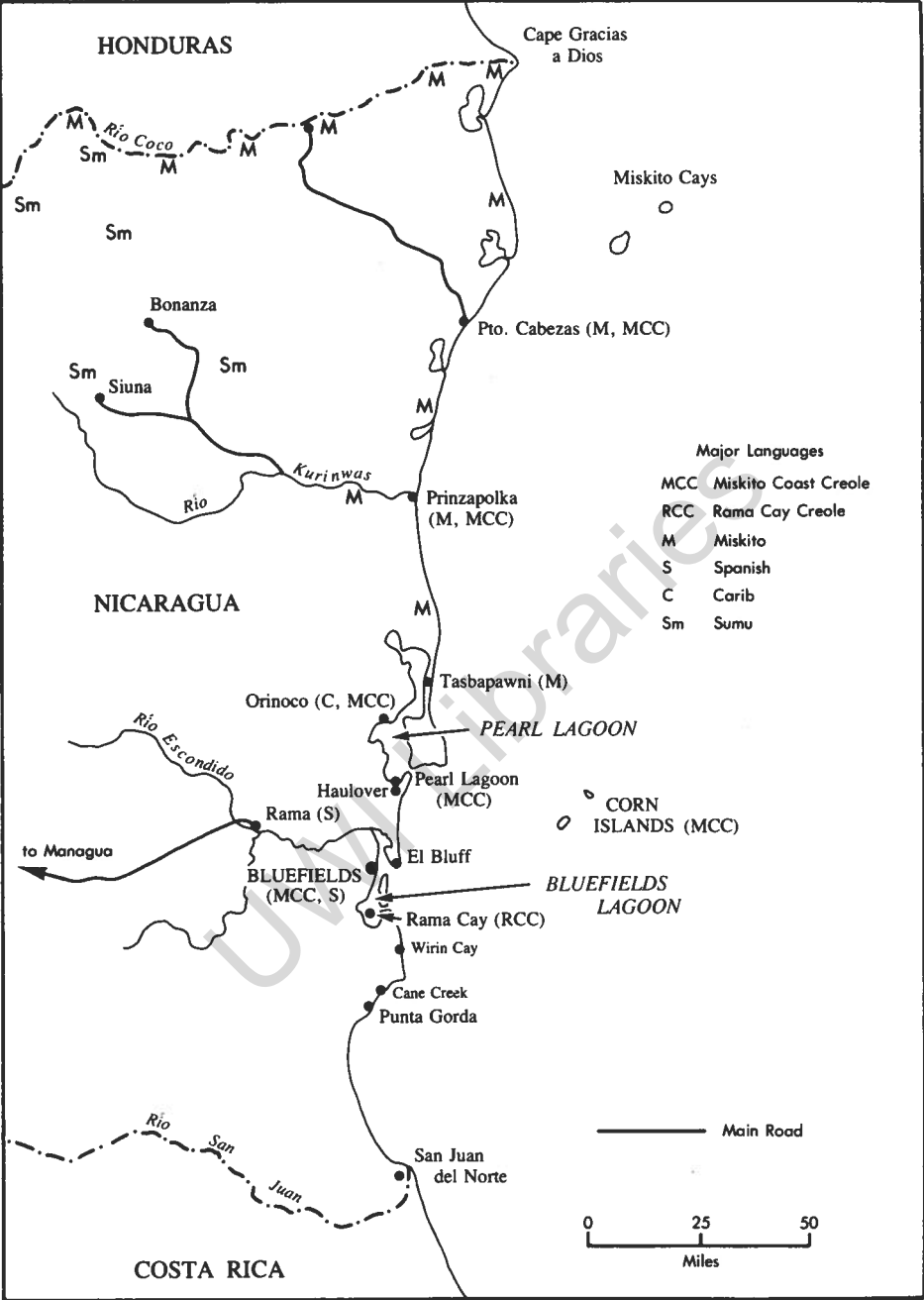


4.1 *Sociolinguistic History*. Although Nicaragua is officially a Spanish-speaking country, English has long been spoken on its Caribbean coast, also called the Miskito Coast. Miskito Coast Creole English (MCC) is the first language of Nicaragua's Creoles, the descendants of Englishmen, Africans and Indians, who live mainly in the towns of Bluefields and Pearl Lagoon, as well as Corn Island. There are also sizable MCC-speaking communities in the Miskito-speaking towns of Prinzapolka, Puerto Cabezas and Las Minas (Siuna, Bonanza, and Rosita) as well as in the Spanish-speaking capital, Managua (see map, page 96). MCC is also used as a first or second language by several other ethnic groups that live in this area (see Table 8, page 98).

Early buccaneers named this area the "Mosquito Shore", apparently in reference to the insect, and the name was transferred to a group of Afro-Indians who came to dominate this area after contact. The Miskito (who prefer the German spelling of their name made current by Moravian missionaries) speak MCC as a second language; their first language, Miskito, is a Macro-Chibchan language. The syntax of this Indian language has not undergone simplification, but the lexicon contains thousands of words from MCC, as well as some from African languages and Spanish.

MCC grew out of a simplified variety of contact English brought to Central America by the British in the 1630's, making it one of the oldest varieties of English spoken outside Britain. It predates by a quarter of a century the English creole that evolved on Jamaica after the British captured it from Spain in 1655. MCC became the first language of the Creoles of the Mosquito Shore, which was made a British protectorate in 1740. When the area was ceded to Spain in the 1780's, most British settlers and their slaves were evacuated to what became British Honduras (now Belize), bringing MCC with them. However, many Creoles remained in Nicaragua, where their descendants have continued speaking MCC English to the present day.

Before contact, the fertile western part of Nicaragua had already been settled, first by Mayan and then by Nahuatl-speaking populations of farmers from the north. However, the jungles of the Miskito coast were populated by hunters and gatherers of Chibchan stock from South America. The Spanish conquered and gradually hispanicized the western groups during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but they ignored the less accessible eastern region because it lacked mineral wealth or agricultural potential. Around 1570 English privateers visited the area; later English Puritans maintained a colony



Map 6: Languages on Nicaragua's Miskito Coast

on nearby Providence Island (see Section 6.1) from 1631 until 1641, when they were routed by the Spanish. The Puritans had established trade with the Indians on the Miskito Coast (probably Sumu of Chibchan stock), presumably using a simplified form of English. Some English traders remained along the Coast and became the buccaneers of the latter half of the seventeenth century. Their ships preyed on the Spanish galleons that carried gold and silver from Panama; the many lagoons along the Miskito Coast offered safe hiding places after such raids.

In 1641 the Indians of this area were joined by Africans from a slave ship that had been wrecked off the coast, according to local legend. It is possible that the Africans actually were slaves on Providence Island who managed to escape during the fighting between the English and Spanish that year. In 1710 the Miskito seem likely to have been joined by several hundred more Africans who were set ashore when the crew of a Danish slave ship mutinied (Nørregaard 1948). Their Afro-Indian descendants opposed the Spanish and allied themselves with the British buccaneers, who took Miskito men on voyages as harpooners and often set up conjugal arrangements with Miskito women, in exchange providing their kinsmen with metal tools and muskets. With these arms the Miskito were soon able to dominate all other tribes along the coast from Panama to Honduras.

By the early eighteenth century the buccaneers had been replaced by British traders, loggers, and planters who brought African slaves with them, usually bought in Jamaica. The Africans' creolized English influenced (and was influenced by) not only the English of the British-born settlers but also the pidginized English spoken by the Miskito. MCC emerged; its syntax was a compromise between English and the Africans' native languages, based largely on structures common to both, although certain features (e.g. the verb phrase in general and the copula in particular) were clearly more African than English (Holm 1978:248-74). MCC lexicon was largely drawn from English, including many words now considered archaic, nautical, or regional (especially North Country and Scots), but to fill lexical gaps for cultural and natural phenomena unknown in Britain, settlers borrowed words from Miskito, African languages and (probably via the English of the buccaneers) from New World Spanish--itself containing many American Indian words.

Eventually the British organized their settlements on the Miskito Coast (including what is today northeastern Honduras) into a protectorate with a superintendent appointed from Jamaica. This lasted for nearly half a century (1740-1787), until Spanish military victory forced Britain to evacuate all her settlers from the coast. Most went to Belize (Parsons 1954:9), but a significant number of Creoles stayed on; their descendants continued speaking MCC for the next two centuries although they had almost no contact with speakers of uncreolized English.

Spanish attempts to settle the area failed. After Central America became independent in 1821, Belizeans tried to re-establish the British protectorate on the Miskito Coast, but American interest in the area as a possible site for a canal across the isthmus forced an 1860 treaty giving Nicaragua certain authority over the external affairs of the Miskito Coast.

Meanwhile the Garifuna or Black Caribs (the descendants of Arawaks, Caribs, and Africans), had been deported by the British from St. Vincent in the Lesser Antilles to Central America in 1797 after an uprising. They spread

along the Caribbean coast, reaching the area of their present settlements on Pearl Lagoon in the second half of the nineteenth century. Their Arawakan language, Central American Island Carib or Garifuna, has been almost completely replaced by MCC in Nicaragua.

The Rama, the remnant of a Chibchan-speaking group, have also given up their Indian language almost entirely in favor of a variety of English based on MCC but shaped by other influences as well. Since Rama Cay Creole seems to be a distinct variety, it is discussed separately on page 115.

The Ladinos are western Nicaragua's hispanicized Indians, the descendants of Nahutal-speaking Nicaraos and Spaniards. They began settling the Miskito Coast during a rubber boom in the 1870's. Nicaragua finally annexed the Miskito Coast by force in 1894 and began a program of hispanicization in educational and other cultural institutions. In 1976 about two-thirds of the people in Bluefields spoke MCC as their first language, while the remaining third spoke Spanish. However, the proportions may have changed during the 1979 revolution, when many Spanish-speakers fled Managua for the relative safety of Bluefields.

After initial bitterness over the imposition of Spanish and their reduced status on the Coast, the Creoles are gradually becoming resigned to being part of Spanish-speaking Central America rather than the English-speaking Caribbean. Each new generation becomes more proficient in Spanish, and the future of MCC is uncertain. The language has undergone massive lexical borrowing from Spanish (especially in vocabulary for business, government, and modern life in general), and seems to have begun borrowing Spanish syntactic structures as well. However, the new government has begun programs to teach literacy in English and Miskito as well as Spanish in its efforts to promote national unity based on tolerance for cultural differences.

The following table summarizes the ethnolinguistic groups of the Miskito Coast. The ethnic composition of each is only approximate (e.g. many Creoles have Miskito ancestors and vice versa); moreover, affiliation is determined less by physical appearance than by mother tongue.

Table 8: Ethnolinguistic Groups on the Miskito Coast

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Population*</u>	<u>First Lang.</u>	<u>Second Lang.</u>
Creoles (Afro-European)	40,000	MCC English	Spanish
Miskito (Afro-Indian)	90,000	Miskito	MCC, Spanish
Ladinos (Sp.-Indian)	15,000	Spanish	MCC
Garifuna (Afro-Indian)	2,000	MCC, Garif.**	Spanish
Sumu (Indian)	7,000	Sumu	Spanish
Rama (Indian)	500	RCC, Rama**	Spanish

*Unofficial estimates

**Almost extinct

(Sources: see annotated bibliography at end of chapter.)

4.2 *Miskito Coast Creole: Early Fragments.* As early as 1707, Sloane (lxxvi-lxxviii) commented that the Indians of "Cape Gratiass de Dios (vulgarly known by the name of the Muskitos)...will not permit any other Nation to settle among them but the English... The Men generally speak broken English". There are no direct references to the English spoken in Nicaragua until Bell (1899:19): "Who can describe the language spoken by the Creoles of Blewfields? It was a jargon of English which, left to itself, would soon have become a distinct language."

However, fragments of MCC English can be found in the literature on the area dating back to the eighteenth century. The authenticity of such fragments can be established by comparison with contemporary MCC, especially by examples of grammatical constructions unlikely to be known to monolingual speakers of standard English. Clearly such fragments are valuable in tracing the diachronic development of the creole.

Several of these fragments are presented below in chronological order, Each followed by a brief discussion of notable linguistic features, which are in italics.

- (1) 1783 (a Rama): "That *Birry...Bird...go all nights, bite bird little.*" (Williams, 90). A modern MCC speaker defined the *bóri bord* as equivalent to the Spanish *zenzontle* or mocking bird (*Mimus polyglottus*), although the one above would seem to be a nocturnal bird of prey. The adjective follows the noun as in Rama (Lehmann, 1920:421).
- (2) 1827 (an Indian who thought he had found the tracks of an extraordinary animal): "Hai Robert: *him devil tract found.*" (Roberts, 62). Note the use, as in modern MCC, of *him* as a subject pronoun. Because final consonant clusters in English are simplified in MCC (cf. MCC *fak* 'fact'), there is a tendency to hypercorrect as in *tract* 'track'. Finally, the quotation has the same subject-object-verb word order found in modern Miskito (Conzemius, 1929:76).
- (3) 1847 (a Carib): "Now *me glad--good buckra come--take me away, Gracias á Dios. De donde viene vm,*" asked he, "De la Crieva?" (Young, 131). The speaker uses modern MCC features, such as *me* as subject pronoun, zero copula before adjectives, and the word *buckra* 'white man'. The Carib were migrating south at this time from Honduras, where they had learned Spanish fairly well since being brought there by the British in 1797. The Spanish sentence corresponds to modern: *De dónde viene Vd.?* 'Where do you come/are/you coming from? (*vm* being the archaic *vuestra merced*--literally 'your mercy'--for 'you', polite; this is now *usted* or *Vd.*) *De la Crieva* is probably an error for *de la Ceiba* 'from Ceiba' (a town on the east coast of Honduras). The speaker's use of the zero preposition with proper place names--'take me away (to Cape) Gracias á Dios'--is especially typical of modern Carib speakers of MCC.
- (4) 1872 (Ramas): "Old John said, 'Me happy, me happy!'...Another said 'Me know that Jesus *is* my father, but me like rum too much!' (Periodical Accounts, 28). In accordance with modern MCC rules, adjectival verbs have zero copula, but the copula *iz* is used before a predicate noun phrase.

- (5) 1899 (a Creole): "A *mid day yerry de coong shell bin day blow*." (Bell, 20). Re *day*, cf. MCC *de* 'preverbal progressive aspect marker'; re *mid* and *bin*, cf. MCC *mi* or *bin* 'preverbal anterior marker'; cf. also archaic *yeri* 'hear' and *kang shel* 'conch shell trumpet, used as a signal'.

4.3 *Miskito Coast Creole: Interference with Standard English.* Speakers of Miskito and MCC have special problems in learning both Spanish and English; the following extracts are from letters written by Nicaraguans with high-school level education from Bluefields' Colegio Cristobal Colón, where, as elsewhere in Nicaragua, Spanish is the language of instruction and English is taught as a foreign language.

(Miskito speaker) I'm being ausent I'm reside in port thats where I have my home...I'm sick in the Hospital about one weeks but still I'm being very happy when I did receive your letter in hand and God help me and give me the privilege to answer you this letter back to you...I'm sending you some Miskito words and I hope it will be of mutch agreeableness for you and your friends.

(MCC speaker) Today its make me 20 days since I on my bed, I was very sick, am just feeling a little better praise God boy the doctor told me that I have to go true a local operation...He say that he or going to luck for you when he go back...Please to excuse me with some of these words they do not spell correct.

Spelling aside, most of the deviations from standard English in the second paragraph can be easily accounted for by referring to MCC phonological and syntactic rules. Unfortunately on the Miskito Coast--as in most other Creole-speaking areas--the literary language of North America and Britain is taught with no reference to the profound differences between it and the pupil's mother tongue, Creole English. It is therefore not surprising that the exotic inflectional systems of the written language often remain only half understood, even after many years of study.

4.4 Text MCC:1. *A Bluefields Lady*. The following conversation was recorded in Bluefields, Nicaragua in 1976. The speakers include EH, a Creole woman in her seventies who was born and raised in Bluefields. She had received little formal education, and the condition of her small wooden house indicated considerable poverty, even by local standards. She had helped raise ED, her 25-year-old nephew, who had gone to Miami to work on a passenger ship but was now home on vacation. ED had gone to high school in Bluefields and had contact with speakers of standard English in the United States. He spoke the acrolect with me (JH), but shifted towards the basilectal speech of his aunt when speaking with her. In order to help me obtain a more natural sample of his aunt's speech uninfluenced by my English, ED introduced me as a German whose only foreign language was Spanish. His aunt seemed not to notice my tape recorder (a small Sony TC-150), which looked like a transistor radio.

Degree marks (°) refer to explanatory notes at the end of the text (indicated by line number). Italics indicate passages in Spanish (written in traditional orthography).

A Bluefields Lady 00

- ED: Mahnin.
- EH: A no wahn a ting tu du wid yu bika yu kom..lang taym an yu no kom luk fu Titi°. Hu iz dis, Pap?
- ED: A fren a mayn.
- 5 JH: *Mucho gusto.*
- EH: Yes, sar.
- ED: Hi down spiya iyynglish; hi iz jarman. Wi jos wahkin arawn.°
- EH: Wahkin arawn. *Paseando.*°
- JH: *Paseando.*
- 10 EH: On-hon.
- ED: Way yu down wahn siy mi naw?
- EH: So naw hay. Ay no wahn siy yu naw bika wen yu kom Titi sik° an yu no kom tu siy mi naw or notin. Yu nat iyyvn bring wan fayv sins° fo mi naw. Ay hiyr yu gahn brahd Bihowldn°. Papa-siyto°, kot dat awt, hiyr? Lisen, dis iz ruwineyshon°. A de pan Seysar ray naw°.
- 15 ED: Hav a siyt. *Sientese.*
- EH: *Sientese.*
- JH: *Gracias, señora.*°

20 EH: Diyz bway. Leyzi bway ya° in Bluwfiyl. Siy de? Mista Borti°
sik from° wiyk bifow lahs wid di dengge°. Evri iyvnin misef ha
di fiyva ray naw. Bot inihaw a de tray° tu sowp awt mi klowz.
Orl, a ha nowbodi tu du notin fo mi so a haf tu tray°. Ay, a gat
fiyva ray naw, Orl, bot a° wa tu du? A gat tu dwiyt; a no hav
25 nowbodi. Bot no maynd, Beyb°; no fret abaw dat pleys. Dat gon
kliyn; a gon kliyn i. An a na tu pahtikyuwla fo it kliyn°. Orlsiyto°, dey kyahn mek a res wid di melokoton°. Dey kyahn
mek a res wi di yong kowknot. Wen di pleys kliyn awt, luk ya
Tam, Dik a Hari° kom in an dem° gwayn wi dem knowknot; dem gwayn
30 wi dem sak a melokoton. A kyahn sey notin. Wen a tel dem initing
dey sey mi° kom from Katn Triy°--mi no bring no triy op ya. A
sez, "Yes, a neva bring no triy an a neva bring notin op hiyr,"
a sez, "bot am an di pleys," a sez, "an a bahs. Ontil de mistres
kom an tek mi af," a sey. Ow, dey kos mi a howl payl a ting°,
35 a tel yu. A de tray, bway bot Lahd! Titi sik bawt fowr mons
treyt° naw. Bot wa fo° du? Wen a fiyl bad, a ley dawn.

ED: We yu get ahl dem ting from? (pointing to tea bags)

EH: Dem sen dem for ai dringk°. Fo di presha°. So wen yu gwayn
bak, so wen yu gwayn bak, so wen yu gwayn bak, Pap?

40 ED: A mey gow bak bawt di dey afta tamara.

EH: Ye, das way yu kom fo kom siy Titi naw. Yu, Orl. If a mi ded,
a gow pan di ship an hahl yuw af°. (Both laugh; to JH)
Yo crecé--de chiquito°.

JH: *A éste? Ah! Desde pequeño?"°*

45 EH: *Sí. Casa aquí.°*

JH: *Jugabas aquí cuando eras niño?*

ED: *Esta casa estaba ahí, entonces lo quitaron. Es la misma casa.
Toda la familia: mamá, papá, abuelo, abuela.*

50 EH: Yu mos lahn° im ingynglish naw. (to JH) *El inglés es muy
bueno. Le ayuda. Si. Poquito a poco.*

ED: Mista Borti kom der wan dey an im sey yuw sey...

EH: A sey, "No! Tel Mista Orl...bika wen yu gow de, yu tel Mista
Orl..." Bika Satidey, dis Satidey a tingk, Seysar kom hiyr...
A sey, "Ow Lahd, iz° haw Orl trow mi wey layk dat?" a sey.
55 "Orl triyt mi bad. An from wen Orl kom?" I sey, "Wel, Mama,
a tingk it dey befow yestidey nayt a siy Orl kom bak agin."
A tingk wa wiyk bifow lahs.

ED: Sins a kom, wan taym a siy Seysar. Tu taym a siy Seysar.

EH: Den di nayt op der.

60 ED: Bihowldn.

- EH: Yes. I sey, "Orlsiyto sey, 'Howl mi wach an howl mi cheyn'" i sey. Lisen, Orl, yu howl an tu yu wach. Orl, down gow howm gow get moni. Orl bway, a tel yu, Papasiyto, iz^o truw^t. Yu gow an yu kom. Wel, ahl rayt. Yu kom wan dey, yu gat^o a gud
65 taym wi dem, an i don^o. Bot diyz bastad wi milk yu, dey wi milk yu ontil yu gow. An meybi wen yu kom fo fayn awt dem tiyf^o evri dam ting af a yu, an gahn bawt dem biznis an yu no now iz huw^o. Sow du tray kiyp yu ay opm. Mi de pan Seysar nayt an dey. Wel, im no...sins hi hav wayf an children naw im luk layk im no de hahdli wori wid i^o, bot i pik it op^o. Bot i...wen i pik it op, naw i no kom we a de^o. I tel mi lay, wen i kom naw. Da iyvni i sey, "Mama," i sey, "A did tayad an neva kom."^o A sey, "Yu dam lay^o. Siy yu ay? Yu mi dringkin; das way yu no mi wahn kom ya." Bot no fala dat, Beyb.
- 75 ED: Ye, man.^o Dat nayt a gow op der. An a miyt dem, yu now. So im sey...a mos stey wi dem^o. Bot a...em...so a tel dem, "ahl rayt." A tel di fela der tu gi dem som rom, bot den i sey i gon from der, i gon at Faya^o, sow dem no wahn dringki di rom der. Sow a tel im ay komin bak. Im biliyv se
80 ay no komin bak^o, sow ay tel im i mos howl di wach, sey a komin bak. Wen a kom bak a no siy dem.
- EH: No wori wi dat, no wori.
- ED: From dat nayt a no siy im.
- EH: Dat dam bway di luk...wahn reyk wa yu gat^o. Som powr piypl, som powr piypl dem no iyvn gat^o i tu iyt an dringki neks dey. Sow dem sidon af a sombodi els^o. Wotlis ting-dem!^o
85
- ED: Im hep yu dow?^o
- EH: Im ownli getin wiykli salari naw, bway. Di liys i gi mi...
- ED: We im wok de naw?
- 90 EH: Skuwna Kiy^o, we dem stodi-in. Yes, naw. Dey hav im stodi-in, yu siy. Yes, stodi-in. Bawt di injin an ting, no? Di injin paht, naw, we hi iz. From him...wel, from im gahn awt der, im iz dat. Bot naw i waz getin^o bay di mont. I waz
95 ah rayt. I waz komin an gud inof, bot wel...dey put im naw intu di ada part^o. So naw wen i du kom af tu initing, im ownli gi mi meybi ten dowrdoba^o or som taym ten dowrdoba i gi mi, bot wat iz ten kowrdoba? Orliyto^o, a kyahn...a freyd fu^o gow teyk di tingz.
- ED: So im gat tuw pikni^o naw?
- EH: No, wan.
- 100 ED: Wan, an wan an di wey? Somting so? Gadi^o tel mi, no?
- EH: Di gal no de briyd, man^o. Di gal, shi did fiyl layk shi wa briyding, bot shi no briyding. Yu siy, dat gyal, from dat gyal kowrtin--sey fuwlin rawn^o--di gal no teyk porj, man.

105 Di gyal bilyos, man; di gyal dorti. An naw him hav a pevn.
A peyn wor in him hiyr. Dis iz fo-him jab. Im kliyn
rawn iya. Den hi papa kliyn rawn der. Bot, powr ting, i
hav a peyn. A sey, a no now if iz...Seysar tu krakra, tu,
man. A fiyl layk Seysar gon gow lif op dem hevi injin.

ED: Im hav trobl wid dem peyn from taym...

110 EH: On-hon. An naw vos. Sow naw a no...i mi staht bot i stap. Gat
di peyn so, i ownli...

ED: A memba somtaym i pleyin, i pleyin, an wayl i pleying
ahl in a sodn i wi stap.

115 EH: I wuda neva get awtsay der an tray kot dem gras dong. Neva.
I wuda neva tray.

ED: Papi...

EH: I wuda neva tray.

ED: Him weytin an det.

EH: Wel, a tel yu, a litl bihayn jos in i pants.

120 ED: Elviyta, shi no kom de?

EH: Now. We i de? We shi de?

ED: Elviyta, shi no kom op de.

EH: Som taym.

ED: Shi hep put im op tu ahl dem ting, de, yu now.

125 EH: Dem ahl wi siy it dow. Ye, mi sey...an...a...in lahs wiyk
a gahn luk fo Mis Ayris.

ED: Dey hav som laym triy op de, tu, en?

EH: On-hon.

ED: Som laym triy.

130 EH: No, ariynj. Wich wan--di big wan op de?

ED: Mi no now, on...

EH: Dis big wan ya?

ED: Now, bika...

- EH: Dat iz ariynj. Yu memba di ariynj yu grani had? Yu memba
 135 di ariynj we grani had? An tu di bak, tu. Tu di bak tu di
 ariynj triy, dem kom bak op. Evri taym Borti kliyn awt, dey
 spring op mow. Siy--siy haw tahl dat wan iz de naw? Wel, im
 no du noting yet, bika wen dey chap di pleys, hi doz trim
 di melokoton triy rawn. Trim it rawn, yu now. Bot i no
 140 staht kotin. Liyv im lown.

NOTES

- 3 *Titi*: a term of affectionate address used within the family to the
 eldest daughter or grandmother; cf. Scots titty 'a child's
 word for sister; a young girl' (CSD).

Pap (also *papiyto*, *papasiyto*): an affectionate term of address to
 a male; cf. the parallel colloquial Spanish *papito* and
papacito, diminutives of *papá* and colloquial English *pop*,
 all 'father'.

- 5 *Mucho gusto*: here 'Pleased to meet you'.

Buenos días: 'Good day; hello'.

- 7 *wahkin arawn*: shows semantic influence of *paseando* (see next).

- 8 *paseando*: present participle of *pasear* (now also MCC) 'to go for
 a stroll; to go on an excursion; to take it easy'.

- 12 *sik*: to be sick. As in many African languages and creoles of various
 lexical bases, in MCC there is a category of stative verbs that
 correspond to English predicative adjectives; like other
 verbs, they require no copula but can follow preverbal tense
 and aspect markers, e.g. /evriting *did chiyp*/ 'Everything
 was cheap'.

- 13 *yu nat iyvn bring*: 'You didn't even bring'. The basilectal negator
no also has the forms *nat* and *down* (without reference to tense).
 The tense in focus (i.e. the time under discussion) is unmarked,
 whether past or present.

wan fayv sins: a five cent(avo) coin.

Behowldn: Beholden, a neighborhood in Bluefields; *gahn brahd*: to
 go out (on the town); cf. archaic usage of *go abroad* 'to go
 out (of one's home)'.

- 15 *papasiyto*: see MCC:1:3n.

dis iz ruwineyshon: i.e. 'Your drinking will be your ruin'. Note
 the requirement of a copula before a predicate noun, but

not before a predicate adjective (MCC:1:12n). This follows a pattern in other creoles and West African languages such as Yoruba (Holm, 1980:371) which has survived in American Black English vernacular (Labov 1969).

- 16 *A de pan Seysar*: 'I'm on Caesar's back' (i.e. nagging him about his drinking); Caesar is another nephew who provides some support; cf. locative *de* MCC:1:66n.

17 *siéntese*: sit down.

19 *Gracias, señora*: Thank you, ma'am.

20 *ya*: here.

Mista Bertie: Mr. Bertie, her husband. Note MCC use of title with the Christian name, now archaic except in southern U.S.

- 21 *from*: since; this usage has been archaic in standard English since 1602 (OED) but is still found in Ireland and Scotland (EDD) as well as the Caribbean.

dengge: a bad cold with fever; cf. local Spanish *dengue* same meaning, but W3 defines it as a more serious tropical disease whose name is of African origin; cf. Swahili *kidinga* 'fever'.

- 22 *a de tray*: 'I'm trying'. Basilectal MCC has *de* as a preverbal marker of progressive aspect (vs. mesolectal *a trayin*); it is probably related to the locative copula merging with an African construction. In Twi, the progressive is "formed with the prefix *re* (originally *de*, 'to be')" (Christaller, xxiii).

- 24 *bot a wa tu du?*: 'But what can I do?' The MCC particle *a* introduces and emphasizes noun phrases and question verbs, as does *na* in Cameroonian and Twi; this 'highlighter' seems to be of African origin (Holm, 1980).

dwiyt: 'do it' (also DJE). William Stewart (p.c.) suggests that this is a late (i.e. after 1800) innovation from Jamaica, given the form *it* vs. *i*, *am*, indicating important linguistic ties with Jamaica after contact with the English was lost.

- 25 *Beyb*: a term of endearment; cf. BEV *baby*, *babe*.

- 26 *a na tu pahtikyuwla fo it kliyn*: 'I'm not too particular about cleaning it'.

- 27 *Orlsiyto*: a diminutive of the name Earl; cf. the Spanish diminutive endings *Juanito*, *Juancito*.

dey kyahn mek a res wid di melokoton: 'They don't give me a moment's peace with the fruit tree' (i.e. the neighborhood children are constantly stealing the fruit). MCC *kyahn* (cf. *can't*) often has a simple negative force with no implication of ability;

mek (cf. *make* pronounced /mek/ in northern and western English dialects) can mean 'let' in expressions such as /mek a siy/ 'let me see', apparently under influence of such African usage as Twi /ma yɛ unkwɔ̃/ (lit. 'make we go') meaning 'let's go' (K. Aboagye). Cf. also S *melocotón* 'peach (tree)'.

- 29 *Tam, Dik a Hari:* everyone (cf. *every Tom, Dick and Harry*).
- dem:* 'They'. In basilectal MCC, *dem* (cf. *them*) is used as 'they' and 'their' as well as 'them'; cf. also pluralizing *-dem*, MCC:1:8ln. Pronominal case (and gender) distinctions are not typical of West African and creole languages.
- 31 *mi:* 'I' (cf. *me* and above note).
- Katn Triy:* 'Cotton Tree', another Bluefields neighborhood.
- 32 *A sez:* 'I said'. Basilectal MCC has no verbal inflections per se, but some standard English inflections have been borrowed along with their root as a single morpheme; cf. narrative present in colloquial English "He says..." and non-standard "Then I says..."
- 34 *dey kos mi a howl payl a ting:* 'They called me a lot of names'. MCC *kos* (cf. *curse*) has acquired the syntactic features of English *call*, taking a direct object plus complement.
- 36 *treyt:* 'Straight'. Such reduction of English initial consonant clusters has resulted in hypercorrections such as *skromz* 'crumb' and *striga* 'trigger'.
- bot wa fo du:* 'But what can you do' (cf. British 'But what to do'). MCC *fo* alternates with *tu* as an infinitive marker; cf. West country 'came for see' with infinitive of purpose (Orton 1978 S3), possibly reinforced by African usage such as the infinitive-forming particle *fa* in Twi and Yoruba (Cassidy 1961:67).
- 38 *for ai dringk:* 'For me to drink'.
- presha:* 'high blood pressure'.
- 41 *If a mi ded, a gow pan di ship an hahl yuw af:* 'If I died, I'd go to the ship and haul you off' (i.e. if the nephew didn't visit her while he was on leave, he might fear her ghost if she died). MCC *mi* marks not only the anterior but also hypothetical conditions.
- 43 *Yo crece--de chiquito:* 'I raised him from the time he was small'. Normally this would be 'Yo lo crié desde muy pequeño'; since the speaker's first language is MCC (in which *grow* can mean both 'increase in size' and 'raise'), the same semantic range has been transferred to Sp *crecer*, which only means 'increase in size', not 'raise'.
- 44 *A éste? Ah! Desde pequenõ?:* 'Him? Oh, from the time he was small?'

- 45 *Sí. Casa aquí*: 'Yes. House here.' (It is unclear whether this foreigner Spanish is for the "German's" benefit or simply that of an MCC speaker, but the latter seems unlikely in light of other sentences.)
- 46 *Jugabas aquí cuando eras niño?*: 'Did you use to play here when you were a child?'
- 47 'This house was over there, then they took it down here. It's the same house. My whole family--mom, dad, grampa, gramma.' Note speaker's use of the masculine direct-object pronoun *lo* in reference to a feminine noun, *la casa*, resulting from interference from his first language, MCC, in which pronouns are not marked for gender.
- 49 *lahn*: 'teach'; cf. Scots *lear(n)* 'to teach' and this general dialect usage of *learn*.
- El inglés es muy bueno. Le ayuda. Sí--poquito a poco*: 'English is very good. It helps you. Yes--little by little.'
- 54 *iz*: an alternate form of the question emphasizer *a*.
- Iz haw Orl trow mi wey layk dat?*: 'How could Earl reject me like that?'
- 62 *Down gow howm gow get moni*: 'Don't go home to get money.' The second *gow* has the force of 'in order to'; this may be related to the sense of *go* as purpose or intent in the colloquial U.S. phrase "Why did you go and do that?", or it may derive from a serial verb construction of African origin.
- 63 *iz*: like the question-word emphasizer *iz*, a noun emphasizer *iz* seems to derive from an earlier form *a* (see Holm, 1980). Although *iz* can "pass" for English *it's*, there are no synchronic MCC phonological rules that could produce such a contraction so it must be considered a single morpheme. It is interesting to note that BEV has a form /is/ to introduce noun phrases which is distinct from /iz/ elsewhere.
- 64 *gat*: 'have' (note that here 'got' would be unidiomatic in standard English).
- 65 *i don*: 'it's over'. MCC *don* is also used preverbally to mark the completion of an action (see RCC:1:32n).
- 66 *tiyf*: 'steal' (cf. *thief*, *thieve*).
- 67 *yu no now iz huw*: 'You don't know who it is' (cf. question-word emphasizer *iz*).
- 69 *im no de hahdli wori wid i*: 'He hardly bothered with it' (i.e. drinking)
- 70 *i pik it op*: 'He's started in again'.

- 71 *we a de*: 'Where am I.' MCC locative copula *de* probably represents a convergence of English *there* (MCC *de*) and African forms such as Twi *dè* and Ewe *de* 'to be' (DJE). See also RCC:1.
- 72 *A did tayad an neva kom*: 'I was tired and didn't come.' Like other verbs, MCC adjectival verbs take preverbal tense markers such as anterior *did*, showing that the action took place before the time under discussion (*not* equivalent to the past tense, which maybe the one in focus); *neva* is the anterior negator.
- yuw dam lay*: cf. 19th century U.S. creole "He *dam* lie!" quoted in Stewart 1974:34.
- 73 *Yu mi dringkin; das way yu no mi wahn kom ya*: 'You had been drinking; that's why you didn't want to come here.' MCC *mi* is another form of the anterior marker *did*; it is phonologically related to English *been* but semantically and syntactically closer to similar African markers such as Yoruba *ti* and Efik *ma*.
- 75 *man*: a term of address to both sexes (and all ages) in varieties of Black English from Cape Town to San Francisco; Scots *man* is also a familiar term of address, but only to adult males.
- 76 *im sey...a mos stey wi dem*: 'He told me to stay with them.' This is the usual MCC construction for quoted commands.
- 78 *i gon at Faya*: 'He went to Fire' (a bar).
- 79 *im biliyv se ay no komin bak*: 'He thought that I wasn't going to come back.' MCC *se* marks quotations and dependent clauses after certain verbs, like the English subordinator *that*; it seems to be a convergence of English *say* and Twi *se*, a similar subordinator that happened to be similar in form.
- 84 *wahn reykw wa yu gat*: '(They) want to fleece you.'
- 86 *So dem sidon af a sombodi else*: 'So they sit down and drink at somebody else's expense.'
- Wotlis ting-dem*: 'Worthless things!' Note MCC pluralizer *-dem*, also the third person plural pronoun; its use parallels exactly that of the Yoruba pluralizer *àwon*, which also means 'they' (Rowlands 1969:196).
- 87 *Im hep yuw dow?*: 'Does he help you though?' (i.e. her nephew Caesar).
- 90 *Skuwna Kiy*: 'Schooner Cay', a small island with a fish-packing factory near Bluefields.
- 93 *getin*: 'getting' (paid).
- 95 *part*: 'place'; cf. MCC *wich part?* 'where' and colloquial Scots and U.S. *these parts* 'here; this region'. Regarding post-vocalic /r/, MCC could be described as semi-rhotic, *part* alternating with

paht. This leads to hypercorrections such as *suwpar* for the peac palm (*Gulielma utilis*) from Miskito *supa*.

96 *kowrdoba*: 'córdoba', the Nicaraguan unit of currency (then worth 14 cents U.S., now 5 cents).

97 *Orliyto*: 'Earl' (diminutive); see MCC:1:27n.

fu: an alternate form of *fo* (MCC:1:36n).

98 *pikni*: 'child'; *tuw pikni*: 'two children'. As with Yoruba *àwon*, the MCC pluralizer *-dem* is not used when plurality is already marked (cf. BEV two cent). MCC *pikni* is from Portuguese *pequeno* 'small one', dating back to the seventeenth-century slave trade in Africa; the Rama Cay form *piknini* (RCC:1:28) is closer to the archaic U.S. *pickaninny* 'small (black) child', now considered offensive.

100 *Gadi*: 'godmother' (affectionate); cf. Scots and North Country *goddy*, same meaning (EDD).

101 *Di gal no de briyd, man. Di gal, shi did fiyl layk shi wa briydin, bot shi no briydin*. 'The girl isn't pregnant. The girl felt as if she were pregnant, but she isn't pregnant'. Note the proximity of the two alternate constructions for the progressive: "no de briyd...no briydin"; *did* and *wa* are both anterior markers, so it is probably best not to consider *was briydin* a third progressive construction but simply anterior plus progressive. OED indicates this sense of *breed* as dialectal.

103 *fuwlin rawn*: 'fooling around' (i.e. having extramarital sexual intercourse)

105 *wor*: 'was' (hypercorrection).

fo-him jab: 'his job'. MCC *fo* can combine with pronouns to form possessives; the origin may lie in an English construction like "This is for you" being construed as "This is yours". The Haitian construction *pa--u* 'yours' may be related, as well as African constructions such as the Ewe possessive particle *fé* before nouns (Edwards, 1974:11). MCC also has the possessive interrogative *fo-huw* 'whose'.

Im kliyn rawn iya: 'He cleaned (cut the weeds) around here.'

107 *krakra*: 'nervous, clumsy'; cf. Twi *krà kra* 'restless, excited' (DJE).

112 *memba*: 'remember'; such aphasia is frequent.

i pleyin, i pleyin: MCC verbs are freely repeated to indicate continuation of an action, even three or four times. In English more than one repetition seems unacceptable (except in children's stories), but in African languages such as Yoruba there is no such restriction (Rowlands 1969:207).

- 113 *ahl in a sodn*: 'all of a sudden'; cf. archaic *all on a sudden* (OED).
- 118 *Him weytin an det*: 'He's waiting for death'; in England *wait on* in the sense of 'wait for' has been archaic since 1694 (OED), but it is still a U.S. and Caribbean regionalism.
- 119 *a litl bihayn jos in i pants*: i.e., he has lost so much weight that one sees 'just little buttocks in his trousers'.
- 121 *We i de? We shi de?*: 'Where is she? Where is she?' MCC *i* is a gender-neutral third person singular pronoun, but the speaker chooses to repeat the question with the unambiguous form *shi*. Note that MCC, unlike English but like most West African languages, has no inversion of subject and auxiliary verb (or *be*) in forming questions; re locative *de*, see MCC:1:66n.
- 130 *ariynj*: 'orange'.
- 138 *chap*: 'clean out weeds'.
- doz*: habitual aspect marker; its lexical source is clearly the English auxiliary *does* (which conveys the idea of repetition, being in the simple present tense), but its syntactic use in MCC was probably reinforced by African preverbal habitual aspect markers such as Yoruba *maa* (Rowlands, 1969:61). Unstressed early Modern English *do/does* survives in England's West Country dialects with iterative force (Le Page 1978:115); *doz* as a habitual aspect marker is found in many (but not all) of the Caribbean varieties of creole English (Rickford, 1974:99-103).

4.5 Text MCC:2, *The Golden Fish*. The speaker is GT, a 36-year-old Creole man with some education. Unlike the basilectal creole spoken by EH in Text 1, his creole is mesolectal or midway between "deep" creole and standard English.

The Golden Fish OO

- 1 GT It waz° a ragid fishaman. I yuwsa layk fishing an evar dey
 hi gowz° awt fishin an i kech fish an bring it an sel. Sow
 wan dey hi went awt fishin an hi didn' kech eniting...til hi
 kech a gowldn fish. An di fish sez tu him, i sez, "Trow
 mi bak intu di siy," i sey, "an ail giv yu a riwahrd." Sow
 5 di owl man teyk di fish an i trow im bak intu di siy. Sow
 wen i went howm hiz wayf sez tu him, i sey, "Wat yuw kech?"
 I sez, "Owl leydi, ayz° ownli kech a gowldn fish." "Sow
 way yu don wid it?" "Di fish towl mi tu trow im bak intu
 di siy an hi wil giv mi a riwahrd." "An wat yuw aks for a
 10 riawhrd?" I sez, "Noting." Di owl leydi sez tu im, i sez,
 "Yuw now dat awr kotbowrd ar empti." Wi down hav a skromz°
 av chiyz nar a piys av bred tu iyt. Gow bak an tel di fish dat
 wi down wahn awr kotbowrd ar empti." Di fishaman wen tu
 di siy. I sez, "Hed in di eyr an teyl in di siy: fish, fish,
 15 listen° tu miy." Di fish kom op; i sez, "Wat du yu wahn?"
 I sez, "May wayf sez tu tek yu dat awr kotbowrd ar empti.
 Wi down hav a ... skromz av chiyz nar a piys av bred." Di fish
 sez tu him, "Gow bak howm." Naw hi gowin bak diskorijin bika
 hi din get no riwahrd. Hi wen an di wey howm an i luk bot di
 wayf hapi, yu now, so i kahl im in. So wel, di teybl waz wel
 20 set so dey sit dawn an enjay derself. Fyuw deyz afta di
 wayf kompleyn tu im. I sez, "A piys av chiyz an a piys
 av bred iz nat inof for a riwahrd." I sez, "Gow bak and tel
 di fish dat dis owl haws dat wi ar living intu° iz notin
 mowr° beta dan a pig pen." So i went an i kahl tu di
 fish, "Hed in di eyr an teyl in di siy, fish, fish, listen
 25 tu mi." Fish kom bak. I sez, "Wah du yu wahn?" I sez,
 "May wayf sez tu tel yu dat di haws dat wi ar livin intu
 iz nat° beta dan a pig pen." I sez, "Gow bak howm."
 An i jahrni; wen i luk, a nuw haws kom. Had inof fuwd tu
 iyt. An dey tingk...wel, dey enjay derself. A fyuw
 30 deyz leyta di owl leydi stahrt tu kompleyn agin (yu
 now, somtaym yu hav di wayf, yu now, an an yu neva get
 dem satisfay wid noting). So i went an i sez, "Gow
 bak an tel di fish dat ay wahn tu bi di kwiyn av di lan
 an hav mil...honred av sahrvan arawn mi. X X "Hed in
 35 di eyr an teyl in di siy, fish, fish, listen tu mi."
 "Wat du yu wahn?" "May wayf sez tu tel yu dat shi wahn
 tu have a palis an hav hondred ov sahrvant arawn har,
 an tu bi di kwiyn ov di lan." Fish tel im, "Gow bak howm."
 An wen i wen...an his jahrni, wen i luk deyz a byuwtiful
 40 palis, ahl di sahrvan waz dres in griyn an wayt, an di
 kwiyn waz sitin an di trown wid a byuwtiful krawn, wit a
 porpl rowbz° an. An i kom tu di dowr an di owl leydi
 sez tu im, "Yu get away from hiyr, yu ragid fishaman!"
 I sed, "Yu mos gow an liv wid di pigz!" Di owl man,

- 45 hi wen awtsayd di haws der, an i steý der. Di owl leydi
had di sahrvan-dem workin veri fayn der, dey wor ahlrayt. I
sen kahl^o di hozban agin. Di hozban kom in an i baw tu
har. I sez, "Yes, may lahrd, wa du yu wahn?" "Jos gow
50 bak an tel di fish dat ay wahn tu bi kwiyn a di siy an hav
ahl di fish for may sahrvan." So di owl man sez tu im,
i sez "Yur ahrda mos di keyrid awt." So hi went den.
Di dey dat hi wen tu di siy it waz veri, veri rof. An i
kahl tu di fish, "Hed in di eyr an teyl in di siy, fish,
fish, listen tu mi," So di fish jos--fah awt in di wata,
55 jos i teyl show op, yu siy. An i din ansa him. So den
i sez tu di fish, i sey, "May wayf sez dat shi wahn tu bi
kwiyn a di siy an hav ahl a di fish for har sahrvan."
An di fish neva giv im no mowr ansa. So an his wey howm
bak, i sey, "Naw, ay now may wayf wil fiyl veri anggri."
60 An an hi wey howm, wen i luk, di byuwtiful palis gahn,
di owl leydi in ar seym ragid klowz, seym steýt, an, wel,
shi welkom him. Shi griyt im wid lov an johy, yu now.
An dat waz di en bika, wel, shi kiyp an kompleynin wen
shi waz di kwiyn; shi mos steý tu dat.

NOTES

- 1 It waz: '(once) there was'.
- 2 yuwsa...gowz: since yuwsa (cf. 'used to') sets the time in the past,
the present tense ending modeled on 'goes' would be in-
appropriate in standard English; such hypercorrection typi-
fies the mesolect.
- 7 ayz: hypercorrect *I's*, perhaps modeled on *he's*.
- 11 kotbowrd: 'cupboard' (via folk-etymoloty); ar: is (hypercorrection).
- 11 skromz: 'crumb', via hypercorrection of the initial consonant cluster
and incorporation of the plural inflection into a new single
morpheme; see MCC:1:36n.
- 13 wi down wahn awr kotbowrd ar empti: 'We don't want our cupboard
to be empty.' This MCC construction seems to have been
borrowed from Spanish, which requires the subjunctive in
subordinate clauses after verbs of volition: *No queremos
que nuestro armario esté vacío*. Some remarkable syntactic
borrowing from Spanish is occurring as MCC borrows Spanish
lexical items. MCC falta '(there) is a need for' (from
the third person singular form of Spanish *faltar*), not only
fills a semantic gap in English but also establishes the
extraordinary syntactic category of a verb requiring no
subject in a declarative sentence:

Spanish
A: *Qué falta?*
B: *Falta hígado.*

MCC
A: *Wat falta?*
B: *Falta líva.*

English
A: *What's missing?*
B: *Liver.*

- 15 *listen*: a spelling pronunciation, suggesting that the speaker is on his best linguistic behavior.
- 23 *intu*: 'in'. This seems to be a "correction" of archaic basilectal MCC *ina* 'in', still found in Jamaican (DJE) and Rama Cay Creole (RCC:1:9). A similar general locative preposition *na* is found in creoles of French, Portuguese, and Dutch lexical bases, suggesting an early Portuguese pidgin form *na* from Portuguese *na* 'in the (feminine)' converging with "locative *na*...in Ibo with the same range of functions as in the creoles, whereas neither Ptg. *na*...nor Dutch *naar* 'to, after' has such a wide semantic range" (Taylor 1979:294-295).
- 23 *mowr beta*: 'better'; the double comparative suggests that the inflected form from English may lack the semantic force of the free morpheme.
- 28 *nat beta*: cf. SE *no better*; since MCC *no* often corresponds to SE *not* (MCC:1:13n) this is probably a hypercorrection.
- 42 *a porpl rowbz*: 'a purple robe'; the SE plural inflection /z/ has become part of the MCC root, as in *shuwz* 'shoe'.
- 47 *sen kahl*: 'summon'; cf. BIE:1:143.

4.6 *Rama Cay Creole English: Sociolinguistic History.* Rama Cay Creole (RCC) is a variety of English distinct from MCC which is spoken by the Rama Indians on Rama Cay, a small island in Bluefields Lagoon. This small ethnic group, today numbering some 500 people, appears to be the remnant of a Chibchan-speaking group that once occupied a much larger area but was decimated and displaced during contact with the Spanish, English, and Miskito. Over the past century their original language, Rama, has been undergoing replacement by RCC, which is lexically based on the MCC spoken by Creoles in nearby Bluefields, but which seems to have been influenced by the structure, phonology and semantics of Rama. Today their original language is spoken by only some twenty-five people living principally on the mainland (Wiring Cay and Cane Creek, near the Punta Gorda River) away from the majority of the group, the RCC-speakers on Rama Cay.

A further complication in RCC is the influence exerted on it by the imperfect English spoken by German missionaries in the mid-nineteenth century: "All the (Rama) children are taught English as their mother-tongue... (but) the teachers themselves--all Germans--were by no means proficient; indeed, only learners themselves" (Pim & Seemann, 1869:282). Fifty years later the group's change from Rama to RCC was almost complete, but a visiting German-speaking anthropologist noted that "The Rama Indians speak English with a certain strange intonation and pronunciation, which is strikingly reminiscent of the English spoken as a foreign language by Germans" (Conzemius 1927:339). Possible lexical influence from German on RCC includes *bay* 'at (someone's house)' (cf. G *bei*); *for triy deyz* 'three days ago' (cf. G *vor*); *sling* 'trap' (cf. G *Schlinge*); *rayt af* 'to copy (in writing)' (cf. G *abschreiben*); *stingk pásam* 'skunk' (cf. G *Stinktier*); *kech yuself op* 'recover (from an illness)' (cf. G *sich erholen*); *puuti* 'partridge' (cf. G *Pute*); *miuk* 'gnat' (cf. G *Mücke*). RCC lexicon also contains items from Rama as well as semantic extensions or folk etymologies of MCC words (Holm, 1978:360-379). Its most distinctive phonological differences from MCC include the RCC flapped or trilled /r/, as opposed to the English /r/ in MCC, and markedly different intonation and stress patterns. RCC *hu* corresponds to the MCC complementizer *fu* (see RCC:1:19n). As in MCC, there is merging of /w/ and /v/ and the voiced bilabial fricative (cf. RCC *wamit* 'vomit'), although it is unclear whether this follows the pattern in BIE (cf. BIE:1:5n). On the syntactic level, RCC differs from MCC in certain uses of preverbal tense and aspect markers (see RCC:1:1n) as well as uses of the "copula". While MCC *high-lighter iz* can only occur before noun phrases and question words, RCC *iz* can also occur before verb phrases: "I sista driym somting, bot *iz* driym somting bad" 'His sister had a dream, but it was a bad dream'. In general RCC favors basilectal constructions that modern MCC speakers know but tend to avoid, perhaps reflecting the form of MCC that served as a model for RCC when it emerged some hundred years ago.

A great deal more work needs to be done on the structure and lexicon of RCC; there is an even more urgent need for an adequate description of Rama before it becomes extinct.

4.7 Text RCC:1, Rama Cay Neighbors (Barbara Assadi). Recorded on Rama Cay in Bluefields Lagoon, Nicaragua in 1975. The two speakers are old women; they are discussing a neighbor who has gone out fishing and her baby, who is sick.

Rama Cay Neighbours OO

- 1 N: Tu litl kowknot ay mi° get fram a. Da° wen ay get dat
Two little coconuts I did get from her. When was it I got that
- kowknot fram a? Yestudey?
coconut from her? Yesterday?
- O: Dey bifowr.
The day before.
- N: Dey bifowr yestudey.
Day before yesterday.
- 5 O: Di lahs kowknot.
The last coconut.
- N: On-hon.
Uh-huh.
- O: Da° Elba gi wi wan wen i key di dowri yestudey. Fo
It was Elba who gave us one when she took the boat yesterday. To
- kuk, so. I gwahn go luk fish. Gahn rayt naw.
cook. She was going to go look for fish. She's gone right now.
- Haw dey wi° kech fish if dey no go ina° dowri? I gahn leyt,
How can they catch fish if they don't go in a boat? She went late,
- 10 yu hier. Gow kech a° dow. Di weda gud. I wi
you hear. She'll catch them though. The weather is good. She will
- kech a, Owl Leydi.
catch them, Old Lady.
- N: If fishin gud, i wi kech.
If the fishing is good, she will catch some.
- O: Bot i kyahn trow net, so i gahn widawt net.
But she can't cast a net, so she went without a net.
- N: Wid huk. Wich paht°...haw truw i gahn, den?
With hooks. Which way...how did she go, then?
- 15 O: Haw? A, wel, hi wi kech alang di laguwn ej.
What? Well, she'll take the way along the edge of the lagoon.
- N: Huw-da° get dem...huw-da get lok wi kech dem, yu now.
Whoever has them...those who have luck will catch them, you know.

- O: Layk haw di, haw di weda kyahm naw. Ay hier di uman°
Like the way...the way the weather is calm now. I hear the woman's
 beybi sik bad.
baby is very sick.
- N: I mi gahn, i mi gahn hu° bay wan kowkonot tu op de.
She went, she went to buy a coconut up there.
- 20 O: On-hon.
Uh-huh.
- N: Op de i mi gahn, an i gahn, an i gahn fayn a de wid di beybi
Up there (s)he went, and he went and found her there with the baby
 sik wan°. Di siknis...mi° farget haw° di siknis neym naw.
sick! The sickness...I forget what the sickness is called now.
 Jos teyk kayna sodn. i sey. Di bey...di litl bway
It just started kind of suddenly, she said. The ba...the little boy
 mi° gud, yu now. Nat di riyl riyl beybi self°; no, nat di
was fine, you know. Not the real little baby; no, not the
- 25 riyl beybi self.
real baby.
- O: Fiyl hiyt?
Is he feverish?
- N: On-hon.
Uh-huh.
- O: So. Fiyl hiyt. Di piknini° no de hu grow°.°
So. He's feverish. The child isn't going to grow.
 So i mi gud, i sey, di piknini mi gud.
So he was fine, she said, the child was fine.
- 30 N: Wan litl bway, yu now, dat.
That boy is little, you know.
- O: Yes, ay now di litl bway.
Yes, I know the little boy.
- N: Farget haw dat piknini neym naw. Wan piknini we° don° wahk
I forget the child's name, now. A child that walks
 an tahk ahredi. Farget haw dat litl bway neym naw.
and talks already. I forget that little boy's name now.
- O: No luk gud, dem. Di piknini-dem° no luk gud.
They don't look good. Those children don't look good.

35 N: Luk sik, sik. Dem luk ahl in, ina dey feys. Luk layk dey hav
They look sick. Their faces look tired. They look like they have (no?)

blod. In a sodn i sey i teyk dat, i sey. Layk
blood. That started up all of a sudden, she said. Like they were

shaht win, i sey. "Layk azma i get?" mi
short-winded, she said. "Is that something like asthma he has?" I

ask a den. "Da° azma i get," naw i tel mi Da no
asked her then. "That's asthma he has," she tells me now. "That's not

azma, no riyl azma," i tel mi.
asthma, not real asthma," she tells me.

40 O: Rayt naw, layk haw i de (unclear) rayt naw.
Right now, the way he is (unclear) right now.

N: I gahn fayn a sik wan, a tel yu. I gahn fayn
She went and found him very sick, I tell you. She went and found

a sik. If ay neba gahn hu luk° wan kowknot, ay wudn now
him sick. If I hadn't gone to look for a coconut, I wouldn't know

se° Elba get di piknini sik agin. I ha hu sit dawn ownli wid a ina
that Elba's child is sick again. All she can do is sit with him in

hamahk... an howl am op an... bika hu mi, mi gahn fay Owlga de de°
the hammock...and hold him up and...because I went and found that Olga

45 de de° an...fray wan tortiya° ay tingk far a. Owlga de bay° a.
was there and...frying a tortilla for her, I think. Olga was at her plac

Mos° i beg hu gahn bayl° kahti° far a, meybi, or wa-da.
Probably she asked (her) to make coffee for her, maybe, or whatever.

Kafi or wa-da. Mi gahn fayn a...an Owlga de de, him° an...
Coffee or whatever. I went to find her...and Olga was there, her and...

om...Dela. An dem de, de rawn di faya sayd. Luk somting hu du
er...Dela. And they were there, around the hearth. Looking for something

hu di pik...hu di uman. Di uman get di beybi howl op--
to do for the chil...for the woman. The woman had the baby propped up--

50 kyahn du notin, i sey. Shaht, layk shaht win, ay tel yu.
couldn't do anything, she said. He seemed to be short-winded, I tell you

Haw-haw, jos layk yu siy di litl bway mi get a hu im. Hu° Liynos wan.
Just exactly like the trouble the little boy had. Linus's boy.

Lahs nayt, howl nayt, i sey, i neba° sliyp wid a, i sey.
Last night, the whole night, she said, she didn't get a wink of sleep
with him.

N: I no now wa-da° hu du, i sey, wid a. No now haw hu du,
She doesn't know what to do with him, she says. Doesn't know how to

i sey, wid a. Bot i di° tray wid a. Dey no layk wi.
manage with him, she says. But she was trying. They're not like us.

55 Dey now plenti medisin.
They know a lot of medicine.

O: Yu now di man gow tumoch ina di kowl an no wahn lish°. Fra°
You know the man goes out in the cold a lot and won't listen. Since

lahs nayt, fra lahs nayt dow i teyk sik, di beybi.
last night, since last night though, he has taken sick, the baby

N: I sawn layk...
He sounds like....

O: Haw i sey i neba sliyp den? Dey neba sliyp, i sey,
How is it she said he didn't sleep then? They didn't sleep, she said,

60 lahs nayt. Bika i sey di litl bway mi gud ahl di taym.
last night. Because he (?) said the little boy always used to be

I lef° fo° fayn ud° awt de. An i kom show° an
healthy. He left to find wood out there. And he came home and

i begin shawt, i tel a, "A wi biyt yu seyka° yu beybe.
he began to shout, he told her, "I'm going to beat you because of

Yu no wahn gow luk afa yu beybi.
the child. You don't want to look after your baby.

N: Wel ay tel yu, wen him gow awt eniwe him no rimemba
Well I tell you, when she (he?) goes out anywhere she doesn't remember

65 hu gow siy i pikinini bak. Hin gow de di howl dey bawt an lef
to go back to look in on the child. She gads about the whole day and

dem pow pikinini-dem self hiya. Shi sey ownli, "A jos kom show
leaves those poor children alone here. She just says, "I just got back

iyvn naw gahn siy mi beybi yet," i sey. Sow naw i gahn.
and I'm going to look in on the baby," she says. Then she's gone.

Sopow wen him gow awt an kom show, i fayn de pikinini-dem wan a dem
What if she took off and then came back to find one of the children

ded wan. Beybi-ka° ded wan. Wel, da hu fo, hu-da hu bleym?
dead. The little baby dead. Well, who is it, who's to blame?

70 Bleym piypl.
She'll blame others.

NOTES

- 1 *ay mi get*: 'I got'. Since preverbal tense and aspect markers seem to be a key feature in distinguishing between creoles, it should be noted that while MCC *di* marks the anterior, in RCC (as in BC) it marks progressive aspect, *mi* being the only anterior marker. They combine thus: /shi mi di kuk/ 'she was cooking'; RCC *mi* also precedes the equative copula *da*: /mi papa mi da wan fishaman/ 'My father was a fisherman' (unlike BC /mi papa da mi fishaman/). Like Jamaican, RCC has no progressive marker *doz*, which is present in MCC and BC. Like certain varieties of JC, RCC forms the anterior progressive with *mi* + *a* (as well as *mi* + verb + *in*). Unlike JC, RCC *mi a* can be used before *yuwsta* to form the anterior habitual.
- Da wen*: RCC *da* corresponds to MCC *a* (and *iz*) as a highlighter and introducer of noun phrases and questions words (see MCC:1:24n, 58n).
- 7 *Da Elba*: *da* here emphasizes a noun.
- 9 *Haw dey wi kech fish?*: Note lack of subject-auxiliary inversion.
- ina*: see MCC:2:23n and further RCC examples below.
- 10 *a*: any postverbal third person object pronoun.
- 14 *wich paht*: see MCC:1:90n.
- 16 *huw-da*: *da* here occurs after the question word, unlike the example above. This may be related to the *huw-da* question form (often written *who-dat*) found throughout varieties of creole English in the Caribbean and West Africa and once associated with U.S. southern blacks. This RCC use of *huw-da* in the sense of 'whoever' seems to parallel an MCC usage that may have been influenced by Spanish:
- | <u>Spanish</u> | <u>MCC</u> | <u>English</u> |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| A: <i>Quien cocina?</i> | A: <i>Huw kuk di fuwd?</i> | A: Who cooks the food |
| B: <i>Quien sea.</i> | B: <i>Huw dey get.</i> | B: Whoever they get to do it. |
- 17 *uman*: 'woman'; this pronunciation was current in eighteenth-century England (DJE).
- 19 *hu*: an infinitive marker, corresponding to MCC *fo* or *fu* (MCC:1:36n) RCC *hu* also serves as a preposition (*hu di uman*, RCC:1:49), and possessive marker (*hu Liynos wan*, RCC:1:51). The shift to /h/, possibly once the voiceless bilabial fricative /ɸ/, may have resulted from the lack of /f/ in Rama (also originally absent in Miskito), although /f/ is now a stable phoneme in RCC.
- 22 *wid di beybi sik wan*: 'with the baby sick' (i.e., not just tired). This emphasizing *wan* may be related to an obsolete use of English *one* after nouns in the sense of 'alone': "I one of all others..." (OED, -1555). Note that in Sierra Leone Krio "Wan may in fact

follow any adjective-derived adverbial as an intensifier...a *lek yu bad wan* 'I love you alot' (Hancock, 1981:6). RCC *wan* can also be used in the sense of a reflexive /*du somting yu wan*/ 'do something yourself', which is related to the sense of 'alone': /*i sista get beks an mek i own kyamp an stey, liyv i brada him wan*/ 'His sister got angry and made her own hut and stayed there, leaving her brother by himself.'

mi: as a subject pronoun is rather more frequent in RCC than MCC; the frequency of this and other archaic MCC features in RCC probably reflects the state of MCC at the time of RCC's emergence in the nineteenth century, as well as RCC's subsequent relative isolation.

haw it neym: also MCC; cf. Spanish *como se llama* (lit. 'how it's called').

24 *mi*: anterior marker.

self: like *wan*, serves to emphasize; cf. obsolete English usage: "the Poete *selfe*" (OED, -1579).

28 *piknini*: see MCC:1:68n.

de: probably locative.

32 *we*: cf. North Country *who* 'who, which' (EDD).

don: preverbal marker of completion (see MCC:1:60n). Hancock (1971:440) suggests that completive *don* represents a convergence of English *done* with "Wolof *do:n* 'past habitual action marker'". Although this particular semantic match is problematical, there is little doubt that the syntactic slot itself is African; that of Yoruba completive marker *á* (Rowlands 1969:73) corresponds to that of Jamaican *don* (Bailey 1966:42) and Haitian *fin* (Sylvain, 1936:92). It is through areal contact phenomena that white American cowboys (but no British rustics) say, "He done kicked the bucket".

34 *dem*: a pluralizer (see MCC:1:81n).

38 *da*: as well as the related basilectal *a* and mesolectal *iz* to introduce noun phrases, MCC also has the form *das*. The latter seems to represent a compromise between RCC *da* (phonologically closer to a Proto-Pidgin **na*) and standard English *that's*. Creole *das* appears to be a single morpheme; there are no other instances of /z/ contracting to /s/, and there are instances of *das* functioning like *dat*: "*Das* would be *de bes* 'place' (DJE 197). It is interesting to note the phonological similarity of BEV *tha's*, which does not follow the usual rules of copula deletion (Labov 1972:116). The fact that this form is not normally used by white Americans lends credence to the hypothesis that it is of creole origin and historically related to MCC *das*, RCC *da*, and an even earlier form, *na* or *a*.

42 *luk*: 'look for, seek'; cf. Midlands *look idem* (EDD).

- 42 *se*: 'that' see MCC:1:74n.
- 44 *Owlga de de*: 'Olga was there'; the first *de* seems to be the locative (see MCC:1:66n).
- 45 *tortiya*: cf. Spanish (and U.S. English) *tortilla*, a thin, hard pancake made of corn meal in Spanish-speaking Nicaragua but of wheat flour and baking powder in English-speaking Nicaragua (probably due to the latter's traditional trade links with the Caribbean and southern U.S.).
- bay*: 'at (someone's house)'; cf. German *bei* idem.
- 46 *mos*: cf. MCC *mosi* from English *must be*, used for conjecture; RCC *mos* and MCC *mosi* function as adverbs, however.
- bayl*: cf. German *Kaffee kochen* (lit. 'boil coffee'). RCC and MCC /ay/ as a reflex of standard /ohy/ is the survival of a pronunciation current in England until the eighteenth century (DJE lii).
- kahti*: cf. MCC *kafi-tiy* (lit. 'coffee-tea') for coffee; MCC *tiy* is used for any hot beverage.
- 47 *him*: 'she' (see MCC:1:116n).
- 51 *hu*: possessive marker (see MCC:1:100n) and RCC:1:19n).
- 52 *neba*: past negator, without the standard meaning of 'non-occurrence on more than one occasion' (see MCC:1:67). Support for the theory of relexification can be found in the use of Indo-Portuguese creole *nunca* (lit. 'never') as a past negator also (Dalgado 1900:42).
- 53 *wa-da*: note postposition of *da*; cf. RCC:1:16n.
- 54 *di*: see RCC:1:1n.
- 56 *no wahn listn*: 'won't listen'; see BC:1:1. In South African English, *He doesn't want to listen* is used in the sense of 'He won't listen' (Branford 1978:286); although Branford suggests and origin in Afrikaans *wil nie* 'doesn't want to' being mistranslated as 'will not', both this and the CAE use of *wahn* as a future marker might have arisen from the archaic or regional British usage of *will* as equivalent to 'want'.
- fra*: cf. Scots *frae* 'from the time that' (CSD) and MCC:1:21n.
- 61 *lef*: this form is not marked for tense; it is derived from West Country *leff* 'to leave' (EDD).
- fo*: possibly *hu* influenced by preceding /f/.
- ud*: an eighteenth-century English pronunciation (cf. *uman*).

- 61 *kom show*: lit. 'come ashore'; this would seem to reflect the geography of the Ramas' island home, but is probably from general nautical English given the currency of this phrase with the same meaning in the Bahamas.
- 62 *seyka*: from obsolete English (for) *sake of* (OED, -1622).
- 69 *beybi-ka*: the suffix is puzzling. Rama has no such diminutive, and this is unlikely to be the Miskito nominalizing suffix *-ka*. It is conceivable that it is derived from the German diminutive *-chen*.

4.8 *An Annotated Bibliography for Miskito Coast and Rama Cay Creole.*

ANON. 1980. "Isla del Maíz" in *Ya Veremos*, (Managua, Nicaragua) 1:5, p.28-29.

Gives population of Great Corn Island as 2,500 and of Little Corn Island as 250. "La mayoría de la población de Corn Islands es de raza negra o mezclade negro con miskito. Aun hay rastros de influencia británica, como son los estilos de las viviendas y el idioma inglés, aunque la mayoría de los habitantes habla español." (as well?)

ALEMAN Ocampo, Carlos. 1980. "Distribucion de las lenguas habladas de Nicaragua" in *La Veremos*. (Managua) 1:5, p.38-42.

"En Nicaragua, el inglés es hablado por los criollos de Bluefields , Laguna de Perlas, Corn Island, el poblado de Prinsapolka, Puerto Cabezas y en la región de Minas: Siuna, Bonanza, Rosita, etc.... En Bluefields...el español es la lengua de prestigio."

BELL, Charles Napier. 1862. "Remarks on the Mosquito Territory, its Climate, People, Production, etc.", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 32:242-268.

Sociolinguistic data and MCC flora and fauna terms.

———. 1899. *Tangweera. Life and Adventures Among Gentle Savages*. London: Edward Arnold. xi, 318p.

Memoirs of a bidialectal Englishman raised on the Coast in the 1850's. Abundant lexical, social, and historical data passim; MCC dialogue (p. 19-27); an old Mandingo woman recounts childhood capture in Africa (p. 24); obeah chants (p. 31); Miskito (not MCC) grammar (p. 309).

BRAUTIGAM-BEER, Donavan. 1970. "Apuntes para una historia de nuestra Costa Atlántica", *La Prensa*. (Managua daily); series of 29 articles published from 19 May to 17 June.

A Bluefields historian attempts to make Creole history and culture understandable to Spanish speakers; sociolinguistic and lexical data passim, bibliography (17 June). (*La Prensa* archives were destroyed in the 1972 earthquake).

CONZEMIUS, Édouard (or Eduard). 1927. "Die Rama Indianer von Nicaragua", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 59:291-362.

Note that the Rama were in the process of giving up their own language in favor of English (Creole) (p. 339); Rama loanwords in MCC and vice versa (p. 339-340).

———. 1928. "Ethnographical Notes on the Black Carib (Garif)", *AA* 30:183-205.

Reference to the Carib's use of English as a second language (p. 185); translation of Carib terms into MCC passim.

———. 1929a. "Notes on the Miskito and Sumu Languages of Eastern Nicaragua and Honduras", *IJAL* 5:57-115.

Many Indian terms translated into MCC.

CONZENIUS (*sic* for CONZEMIUS), Edouard. 1929b. "Les Iles Corn du Nicaragua", *Geographie* 52:346-362.

*Bare mention of English spoken, but good summary of the island's history.

———. 1932. *Ethnographical Survey of the Miskito and Sumu Indians of Honduras and Nicaragua*. Washington: GPO. vii, 191 p. (BAE, Bulletin 106).

Description of the Creole population (p. 7), with many references to its linguistic and cultural impact on the Miskito; glossary of MCC terms (p. 170-177).

COTHEAL, Alexander I. 1848. "A Grammatical Sketch of the Languages Spoken by the Indians of the Mosquito Shore", *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society* 2:235-264.

Note that the Miskito "have adopted many English words" (p. 238); vocabulary (p. 257-262) glosses many Miskito words with MCC, using some terms from both which are now obsolete.

DAMPIER, William. 1699. *A New Voyage Round the World*. London.

Description of the Miskito alliance with English privateers against the Spaniards (p. 8-11); note that some Miskito "speak good English" (p. 9).

DAVIDSON, William V. 1980. "The Garifuna of Pearl Lagoon: Ethno-history of an Afro-American Enclave in Nicaragua", *Ethno-history* 27:1, p. 31-47

ESQUEMELING (or Exquemelin), John. 1893. *The Buccaneers of America*. London. 508 p.

1684 account of English privateers and their Miskito allies: "Many speak English...and some of the Pirates their Indian language.... They have among them some few negroes, who...happened to arrive there, swimming, after shipwreck made upon that coast." (P. 249-250).

FELLECHNER, A., Müller, and Hesse. 1845. *Bericht über die...bewirkte Untersuchung einiger Theile des Mosquitolands*. Berlin: Verlag von A. Duncker. 274p.

Academics' report on the possible site for a Prussian colony; many MCC words, passim; example of the Afro-Indians' "corrupt" but fluent English (p. 21, 50); valuable data on inter-ethnic attitudes; Miskito grammar and vocabulary (p. 241-268).

FLOYD, Troy S. 1967. *The Anglo-Spanish Struggles for Mosquitia*. University of New Mexico Press.

A mainly political account, focusing on the 17th and 18th centuries.

GAYO, Carlos. 1980. "La Costa Atlántica de Nicaragua: un mundo por descubrir", *Ya veremos* (Managua) 1:5, p. 30-33.

"22 muchachas y muchachos de Belize y Grenada, venidos voluntariamente a Nicaragua para alfabetizar en inglés criollo... La alfabetización en español, misquito, inglés criollo, sumo, y rama pronto dará sus frutos, y aún más, se multiplicarán cuando este litoral posea bibliotecas, institutos tecnológicos, universidad."

HEATH, G.R. 1913. "Notes on Miskito Grammar and on Other Indian Languages of Eastern Nicaragua", *AA* 15:48-62.

Remarks that the Miskito "vowel scale is exactly the same as in the Jamaican Creole dialect" (p. 51), but a later note that "in Miskito e and o scarcely exist" (p. 55) suggests that the first observation probably had more to do with their creole pronunciation of English. Much ahead of its time, however, in the call for a "comparative study of Miskito, Sumu, Garif, Arawak, Guiana Carib, the West Indian Creole dialects, and the tongues of the Guinea coast" (p. 52).

- _____. 1950. "Miskito Glossary, with Ethnographic Commentary", *IJAL* 16:20-34.

Abundant references to MCC vocabulary and culture.

- HODGSON, Col. Robert. 1822. *Some Account of the Mosquito Territory* (contained in a memoir written in 1757 etc., now first published from the ms. of the late Col. Robert Hodgson). Edinburgh.

Invaluable account of the social history of the various ethnic groups in the Mosquito Shore protectorate in the eighteenth century.

- HOLM, John. 1977. "Miskito Words in Belize Creole", *Belizean Studies* 5:6, p. 1-17.

Study of 32 MCC words derived from or influenced by Miskito which are also used in the creoles of Belize, Costa Rica, and Providence Island.

- _____. 1978. *The English Creole of Nicaragua's Miskito Coast: its sociolinguistic history and a comparative study of its lexicon and syntax*. University of London, unpub. Ph.D. diss. 727 pp.

Study of the syntactic and lexical influence on MCC of English (archaic, regional, nautical), West African languages, Amerindian languages (Miskito, Black Carib, Rama), and Spanish in the light of social history. Appendices: 2,800-item wordlist of MCC with cognates in creoles of Belize, Honduras, Limón, Providence, Caymans and Jamaica. 70 pages of tape transcriptions.

- _____. 1980a. "The Creole 'Copula' that Highlighted the World", paper presented at XIIth International Congress of Linguists, Vienna; in J. Dillard (ed.) *Perspectives on American English*. Mouton.

MCC highlighter *a/iz* (and RCC *da*) traced to similar constructions in BEV, French and West African creoles, and Yoruba.

- _____. 1980b. "Sociolinguistic History and the Creolist", paper presented at Conference on Theoretical Orientations in Creole Studies, St. Thomas; in A. Highfield and A. Valdman (eds.) *Historicity and Variation in Creole Studies*. Ann Arbor: Karoma Press.

Study of English archaisms and regionalism in MCC with discussion of their usefulness in tracing social history.

JENKINS Molieri, Jorge. 1980. "La Mosquitia en su Idiosincracia", *Ya Veremos* (Managua) 1:5, p. 34-37.

"En Nicaragua hay una tradición disimulada de discriminación contra los hermanos del Atlántico."

JONES, David W. and Carlyle A. Glean. 1971. "The English-speaking Communities of Honduras and Nicaragua", *CQ* 17(2):50-61.

Rich source of sociolinguistic information (albeit somewhat dated) about communities using MCC as first (Creole) and second language (Miskito, Black Carib); notes similarity of MCC to Belizean (p. 54).

LEHMANN, Walter. 1920. *Zentral-Amerika. Teil I: Die Sprachen Zentral-Amerikas in ihren Beziehung zueinander sowie zu Süd-Amerika und Mexiko*. 2 vols. Berlin.

Copious historical, syntactic, and lexical data (with many MCC glosses) on all the native and Afro-Indian languages of the Coast: Carib (p. 16-28), Rama (p. 416-460), Miskito and Sumu (p. 461-583).

LE PAGE, R.B. 1978. "Some Preliminary Comments on Comparative Lexicography in the Caribbean", paper presented at the Conference of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics at Cave Hill, Barbados. 11 p.

Comparison of MCC lexicon with JC, BC and the creoles of Guyana, Trinidad, and Barbados with percentages of cognates for various sections of the DJE.

MANTICA, Carlos. 1973. *El Habla Nicaragüense: Estudio Morfológico y Semántico*. San Jose, Costa Rica: Editorial Universitaria Centro-americana, 429 p.

Study of the ways in which local Spanish was shaped by indigenous languages (mainly Nahuatl); the section on morphology (p. 41-87) shows remnants of the Nahuatl-Spanish of Nicaragua. The rest of the book consists of three word-lists: Nahuatl loans, Nahuatl place names, and a comparative dictionary of seven prehispanic languages, including Miskito and Sumu. The latter is especially sketchy as the author seems unaware of Lehmann, 1920. The existence of MCC is grandly ignored.

McLEAN, Guillermo, and Ray Past. 1976. "Some Characteristics of Bluefields English", R. di Pietro & E. Blansitt, Jr. (eds.) *The Third LACUS Forum*, Columbia, S.C.: Hornbeam Press, Inc., p. 87-94.

Although written outside the context of current creole studies, McLean demonstrates accurate native-speaker insight; remarks on syntax (p. 88-91), phonology (p. 91-92); texts (p. 92-94).

NIETSCHMANN, Bernard. 1973. *Between Land and Water: the Subsistence Ecology of the Miskito Indians, Eastern Nicaragua*. New York and London: Seminar Press, 279 p.

A geographical-anthropological study with perceptive linguistic observations; abundant references to MCC lexicon with glossary (p. 259-260) and chart of some 150 plant and animal names in English, Miskito, Spanish, MCC, and Latin (p. 248-253).

NØRREGAARD, Georg P. 1948. "Forliset ved Nicaragua 1710", *Søhistoriske Skrifter*. Elsinore, Denmark: Museum of Marine History. p. 69-98.

Account of a mutiny on a Danish slave ship off Nicaragua in 1710; the Africans were set ashore and appear to have joined the Miskito to judge from Hodgson 1822:45.

NUHN, H. et al. 1972. "Zentral-Amerika; Ethno-linguistische Gliederung" (map). Universität Hamburg.

Large color-coded map of Central America showing precise location of speech communities, including MCC and other creoles.

PARSONS, James J. 1954. "English-speaking Settlement of the Western Caribbean", *Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers*, 16:2-16.

Invaluable sociolinguistic history, with map (p. 6) showing areas where English is used as a first and second language along Central America's eastern coast from Yucatán to Panama.

PERIODICAL ACCOUNTS *Relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren Established Among the Heathen*. 1846-1950. London.

A moving series of reports by Moravian missionaries; uniquely valuable observations of language use with abundant MCC lexicon, passim.

PIM, B. & B. Seemann. 1869. *Dottings on the Roadside in Panama, Nicaragua, and Mosquito*. London.

Useful historical insights into MCC and RCC speech communities.

REYBURN, William D. 1975. "Assessing Multilingualism: an Abridgement of 'Problems and Procedures in Ethnolinguistic Surveys'", Ohannessian et al. (eds.) *Language Surveys in Developing Nations*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, p. 87-114.

Results of 1955 survey of the use of Spanish, English and Miskito in Bluefields, Puerto Cabezas, and several smaller towns on the Coast. Tables (p. 107-112) need conversion from absolute numbers to percentages to be readable; since no sampling procedures were followed, the results are best regarded as a very random and partial census. Honduran data show English declining with Miskito population.

ROBERTS, Orlando W. 1827. *Narrative of Voyages and Excursions on the East Coast and in the Interior of Central America*. Edinburgh.

Valuable observations of language use; samples of Miskito MCC and lexicon, *passim*.

RYAN, J.M. et al. 1970. *Area Handbook for Nicaragua*. The American University, Washington, D.C.: GPO.

Chapter 5, "Ethnic Groups and Languages" (p. 61-74) contains data from the 1963 census showing 22% of the people on the Coast do not speak Spanish. Nicaragua's Negro population estimated at 9% (or 150,000), but no figures for the total number of English-speakers is given.

SLOANE, Hans. 1707. *A Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica with a Natural History...* London.

Notes that the Miskito are "endeared to those of the English nation. The Men generally speak broken English" (lxxvii).

SORSBY, W.S. 1969. *The British Superintendency of the Mosquito Shore, 1749-1787*, unpub. Ph.D. diss., University College, London, Department of History.

Valuable social history, with references and samples of language, *passim*.

SQUIER, E.G. (under pseudonym of Samuel A. BARD). 1855. *Waikna, or Adventures on the Mosquito Shore*. New York.

An unsympathetic account (Creole is "abominable, unintelligible Congo-English") by a U.S. ambassador, but built on an informed core of fact that preserves the book's value; many references to language use, culture, and social relations, with samples of MCC (and pseudo-MCC) *passim*.

STRANGEWAYS, Thomas. 1822. *Sketch of the Mosquito Shore, Including the Territory of Poyais*, Edinburgh.

Booster for an ill-fated Scottish colony, S. presents the Coast's attractions with scholarly care, nonetheless; numerous references to flora and fauna in local English, plus some ethnographic material.

SUNRISE OF THE PEOPLE: *Workbook and Teacher's Guide*. 1980. 2 vols. Managua: Ministry of Education. 139 and 106 pp., paperback.

The first book in English for Nicaraguans; published by the Sandinista government to teach literacy to MCC and RCC speakers. Photographs, a poem partly in MCC, and a statement of the new policy of cultural and linguistic pluralism.

VAUGHAN-WARMAN, Adolfo I. 1962. *Diccionario trilengüe: miskito-español-inglés*. Managua: Misión Católica de Waspam, Río Coco. 794 p.

Monumental work by a Miskito-Creole scholar; many glosses are MCC, and the massive borrowing into Miskito from Creole rather than general English is immediately apparent.

VON HAGEN, V. Wolfgang. 1940. "The Mosquito Coast of Honduras and its Inhabitants", *Geographical Review* 30:238-259.

Many Miskito "do not know a word of Spanish, but most of them understand a pidgin (sic) English" (p. 255); data on this isolated region may no longer be current due to Miskito migration to Nicaragua following the resolution of the border dispute (cf. Reyburn, 1975).

W., M. 1732. "The Mosquito Indian and his Golden River", *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*. A. Churchill (ed.), London, vol. 6., p. 285-298.

Written in the 1690's, this account contains the first references to MCC terms for local plants and animals, plus valuable socio-linguistic data.

WILLIAMS, William. 1969. *Mr. Penrose: the Journal of Penrose, Seaman*, edited by D.H. Dickason. Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press.

1783 fictionalized account of a Welshman castaway among the Rama; lexical evidence suggests this was based on fact; fascinating reading with a claim to being the first American novel.

WILSON, John F. 1975. *Obra Morava en Nicaragua: trasfondo y breve historia*, tesis para Licenciado en Teología, Seminario Bíblico Latino-americano, San José, Costa Rica; 337 p., mimeo.

Rich source of data on social history and language issues in education. The cultural influence of the Creoles is seen in that the Moravian church's congregation, once mainly Creole, is now 79% indigenous (p. 324).

YOUNG, Thomas. 1842. *Narrative of a Residence on the Mosquito Shore, During the Years 1839, 1840 & 1841: With an Account of Truxillo, and the Adjacent Islands of Bonacca and Roatan*. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 2d ed. 1847. iv, 172 p.

Some of earliest samples of Miskito MCC (p. 12, 27-29, 46) and Black Carib MCC (p. 131); abundant MCC terms, passim and in Miskito vocabulary (p. 170-172); also good source of social data.

ZIOCK, Heinrich. 1894. *Dictionary of the English and Miskito Languages*, Herrnhut, Saxony. 338 p.

Compiled by a Moravian missionary after many years on the Coast; a German-speaker, English for him was MCC, whence many glosses.