Comparative perspectives on the origins, development and structure of Amazonian (Karipúna) French Creole

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Together known as Kheuól, Karipúna French Creole (KFC) and Galibi-Marwono French Creole (GMFC) are two varieties of Amazonian French Creole (AFC) spoken in the Uaçá area of northern Amapá in Brazil. They are socio-historically and linguistically connected with and considered to be varieties of Guianese French Creole (GFC). This paper focuses on the external history of the Brazilian varieties, and compares a selection of linguistic forms across AFC with those of GFC and Antillean varieties, including nasalised vowels, the personal pronouns and the verbal markers. St. Lucian was chosen as representative of the Antillean French creoles of the South-Eastern Caribbean, including Martinique and Trinidad, whose populations have had a history of contact with those of northern Brazil since the sixteenth century. Data have been collected from both field research and archival research into secondary sources.

1. Introduction

This study focuses on a group of languages/dialects which are spoken in Brazil, French Guiana and the Lesser Antilles, and to a lesser extent on others spoken in other parts of the Americas (as well as in the Indian Ocean). This linguistic group is variously referred to as Creole French, French Creole, French-lexicon Creole, French-lexifier Creole, French Creole languages/dialects, Haitian/Martiniquan/St. Lucian (etc.) Creole, and more recently by the adjective of the name of the country, particularly in the case of the Haiti (cf. Haitian, *le haïtien*; but cf. also *le mauricien*, *le seychellois*, *le guyanais*, etc.). The designation of these languages/dialects has not been standardised in the literature, nor in other media of academic discourse. Other aspects of these languages have also not come under general agreement among linguists; such as, for example, the very definition of "creole language". In this study, French Creole is the usage adopted by the authors. The varieties under study here are referred to by the names of

the groups that speak these varieties, for example, Karipúna French Creole (KFC) and Galibi-Marwono French Creole (GMFC).

There is a general implication in the literature that these languages/dialects form a single "family" of languages. The cover term "French Creole" is very often and routinely used to include all of them, certainly in a generic sense, if not in a genealogical sense. Throughout the history of Creole Linguistics, it has been assumed that creole languages (of whatever lexical base) constitute a specialised group of languages requiring special theories and principles outside the general frameworks established by the science of linguistics to deal with the languages of the world. A counter movement dating as far back as the 1960s (cf. Alleyne 1966, 1971), has sought, explicitly or implicitly, to question the principle of what is now being referred to as "creole exceptionalism" (see DeGraff 2003) and to show that creole languages can be accommodated within general principles established for the languages of the world (although in some cases it is the rather marginalised principles of general linguistics that are invoked), as well as through multi-disciplinary approaches including History, Social Psychology, Psycholinguistics (see, for example, the recently established sub-branch of Linguistics, "Contact Linguistics", which highlights the role of contact in language change; see Thomason and Kaufman 1988; Winford 2003).

In the context of this creole exceptionalism, Creole Linguistics has, at least implicitly, assumed that creole languages emerged abruptly within one generation, crystallised immediately and remained unchanged over the more than three centuries of their emergence, except in those cases where importations from the official languages are made, whether in the form of loans (where the two languages do not share a common lexicon, e.g., Dutch importations into Sranan) or in the context of what has come to be known as "decreolisation" (e.g., Jamaican in contact with an official language, English, of the same lexical base). In fact, very little attention has been paid to internally motivated changes of the type undergone by all human language (cf. Historical Phonology, the well-established sub-branch of Linguistics). Comparative Creole Linguistics has been content to identify and analyse structurally the common forms that these languages quite definitely exhibit (cf., for example, Goodman 1964; Holm 1989; Valdman 1978). In some cases Creole Linguistics attempts to specify the origins of these common forms either in French (Chaudenson 1992, 1995) or in African languages (Alleyne 1980) or in language universals (Bickerton 1981; Muysken and Smith 1986), giving rise to three categories of creolists: superstratists, substratists and universalists. These studies establish the typological affinity of these languages but they have not cleared up in any definitive way the genealogical affinity, as, generally speaking, Creole Linguistics, adhering consistently to the principle of creole exceptionalism, has not tackled this question (cf., however, Alleyne 1976, which examines the complexity of this question). Nor have these studies treated creole languages as the outcome of a steady historical process over the centuries with changes induced by contact as well as internally motivated changes (but cf. Arends 1995; Migge 2002; Mintz 1971; Neumann-Holzschuh and Schneider 2000).

It is, however, the case that creole languages have been, and continue to be, dynamic systems with internally generated change at all levels of language structure. As we find in other language "families," creole languages exhibit chronological layers, that is, historically based variation which reveals changes that have not (yet) gone to completion leaving older forms side by side with the newer forms and allowing comparative and internal reconstruction of the historical forms and processes. Dialects such as those spoken in Uaçá, Amapá, Brazil, become very important as they may be considered with a fair degree of authenticity to have preserved older forms which are crucial in the mapping of historical processes and the reconstruction of earlier forms.

2.   Karipúna and Galibi-Marwono[1]: The socio-historical context

This is the first study emerging from a research project entitled "A Comparative Study of French Creoles in the Southern Caribbean and Northern South America". The larger project aims to compare varieties of Lesser Antillean French Creole with varieties of French Creole spoken in the north-eastern Amazon region of Brazil and north-eastern Venezuela.[2] This present study is based on fieldwork carried out in February 1998 and July 2000 (Ferreira 1998; Wiesemann 2000), and then in May 2003,[3] as well as on secondary sources.

This article examines the French Creole language of Brazilian Amazonia in the overall context of Creole studies and in its local sociolinguistic context, mainly in Brazil and also in French Guiana. There already exist some introductory studies of Amazonian[4] French Creole (AFC), that is, Karipúna and Galibi-Marwono of Amapá (see de Andrade 1988; Ferreira 1998; Ladhams 1995; Montserrat and Silva 1984;

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1.   Or Galiby-Marwono, according to FUNAI (Fundação Nacional do Índio or the National Amerindian Foundation of Brazil). The Instituto Socioambiental lists Galibi do Uaçá, Uaçauara, and Mum Uaçá as alternate names. Among the Palikúr, they were also known as Maraoni (Diana Green, pc, February 1998). (They are not to be confused with the Galibi or Galibí do Oiapoque of Brazil and French Guiana).

2.   This article does not deal with the French Creole of Güíria and El Callao, Venezuela.

3.   The UWI-based team (Ferreira, Alleyne and Nathalie Charlery) was accompanied by Stan Anonby (SIL Brazil), Peter Samuel (St. Lucia, SIL Americas) and Adriana Carla Alves e Silva (Brazil, formerly of Missão Novas Tribos do Brasil or New Tribes Mission – NTM). The research team comprised two native speakers of French Creole varieties (Charlery of Martinique and Samuel of St. Lucia), and one L2 speaker of French Creole (Alves e Silva of Brazil). This phase of the research was funded by the UWI Research and Publications Fund Committee.

4.   Or Amerindian French Creole. Oiapoque, Amapá (AP) is situated in the north-eastern part of the Amazon.

Picanço 2003[5]; Picanço Montejo 1996; Tobler 1983, 1987; Wittmann 1987). The aim of the larger project, of which this paper is a part, is to identify, study and classify these little studied dialects of French Creole spoken in relatively isolated enclaves of Amerindian peoples of Brazilian Amazonia, and to go deeper into the phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexico-semantic structure of the language. The overall purpose is to further expose linguists, historians, anthropologists, and other Caribbean Studies scholars to a group of Amerindian peoples whose first language is French Creole, to account historically and sociolinguistically for the language shift from an Amerindian language to French Creole within Portuguese-speaking Brazil and to analyse and document the development and current state of the language.

The Amazonian French Creole dialects of Uaçá in northern Amapá are important by virtue of the fact that they are spoken by relatively isolated peoples, many of whom are now cut off from close contact with the lexifier language French and who can be assumed to be conservative rather than innovative in language. This present study will locate the French Creole dialects of these Amazonian peoples historically and comparatively within the broad family of French Creole. The hypothesis is that these dialects are the best evidence of nineteenth century French Creole and are vital for the reconstruction of the history of French Creole in general.

2.1   Creole languages in Brazil

In Brazil, there are four creolophone groups that speak two creole languages, one French-lexified, the other Portuguese-lexified. The variety of Portuguese-lexicon Creole is spoken in the state of São Paulo,[6] while creole languages lexically based on French are spoken in the state of Amapá in North Eastern Brazil, the Brazilian state bordering French Guiana. One variety of French Creole is spoken natively in the northern Uaçá area of Amapá by two Amerindian groups, the Karipúna[7] and the Galibi-Marwono, and the other is found in the southern area of Macapá, the capital of Amapá. The latter
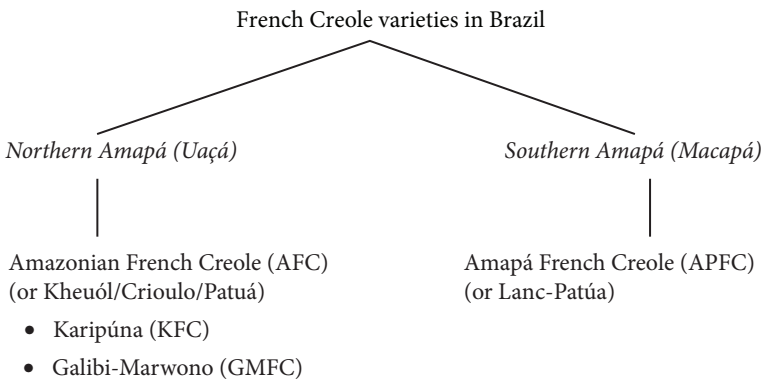
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5.   These varieties of French Creole are mentioned in do Couto 1997 and Tarallo and Alkim 1987. The groups are mentioned among other Brazilian indigenous groups, but relatively little attention is paid to them in these works as their language is not a traditional indigenous Brazilian Amerindian one (Arnaud 1966; Rodrigues 1986; Novaes 1994).

6.   According to Grimes (1996: 24), the Portuguese-based creole language, Cafundó Creole, is a secret language spoken by a group of people located about 150 miles from the city of São Paulo, and "a similar language was recently discovered in the state of Minas Gerais." Very little is known about these two languages.

7.   The Karipúna do Amapá, also known as Caripuna, are not to be confused with the Karipuná de Rondônia. The latter group speaks Karipuná (also known as Karipuná do Guaporé, Caripuna, Jau-Navo, Juanauo, and Kagwahiva). This almost extinct language belongs to the Tupi family. (See also Teixeira 1995: 306; Montserrat 1994: 101.) This Rondônia group consists of only

is referred to in the current international literature in English as Amapá French Creole (APFC), and in the Brazilian literature as Lanc-Patúa, and is said to be spoken by descendants of French Creole-speaking immigrants from the (English-official) Lesser Antilles who number approximately 25,000 (Grimes 1996: 20).[8] While the two varieties are essentially similar, the northern Amapá variety shows some evidence of both recent French (via GFC) and Portuguese influence. This is because of the speakers' proximity to, and ongoing contact with, French Guiana, as well as a relatively high degree of bilingualism in French Creole and Portuguese, especially among young people (Suely Santos, pc, 1998).[9] The southern variety, Lanc-Patúa, shows some English influence because of relatively large numbers of migrants from St. Lucia and Dominica, and also Portuguese influence.

French Creole varieties in Brazil

Northern Amapá (Uaçá)

Amazonian French Creole (AFC)
(or Kheuól/Crioulo/Patuá)

- Karipúna (KFC)
- Galibi-Marwono (GMFC)

Southern Amapá (Macapá)

Amapá French Creole (APFC)
(or Lanc-Patúa)

Figure 1. French Creole varieties in Brazil

12 to 30 people, although there may be more (Grimes 1996: 28; Ricardo 1995: 39). Their language comprises two main dialects: Jacaria and Pama (or Pamana) and some of the speakers may be bilingual in Tenharim, a neighbouring Tupi language (Grimes 1996: 28). See also Instituto Socioambiental 1999–2005.

8.   During the 2003 fieldtrip, an attempt was made by Stan Anonby and Peter Samuel to carry out fieldwork in Macapá, the capital of the state of Amapá, but this effort yielded no fruit. No Amapá French Creole (APFC) speakers were found, despite the fact that Julieta de Andrade completed her book on a group of Lanc-Patúa speakers in 1988, only 16 years ago, and despite the number of 25,000 speakers recorded by the *Ethnologue* (print and web versions). The Ethnologue.com notes that that variety of the language shows influences from English and French.

9.   FUNAI notes that "um certo número de índios fala o francês devido à proximidade com a Guiana francesa, onde muitos residem ou residiram, trabalhando em Saint-Georges ou Caiena" (2001: 9). [Translation: a certain number of Amerindians speak French owing to the proximity to French Guiana, where many reside or have resided, working in St. Georges or Cayenne.]

According to Grimes (1996: 28), the ancestors of the Karipúna of Amapá[10] once spoke Karipúna (also known as Karipúna do Uaçá[11]), an unclassified language, now extinct, that may or may not have been a Tupi-Guarani language.[12] There has been considerable psycholinguistic activity leading to language learning/acquisition and language death among Amerindian groups along the Brazilian-French Guiana border. It is evidently very important to study the linguistic, social, political and ideological conditions that underlay the death of indigenous dialects/languages and the adoption of French Creole dialects, and this area of study will be included in the larger project to be undertaken by the authors.

2.2   Location of the Amazonian French Creoles

The geographical area of study in question is the north-eastern corner of Brazil, specifically the northern point of the state of Amapá, an area bordered by the Oiyapoque[13] River, which flows northeast and forms the border with French Guiana; the Uaçá River, which flows northwest; and Highway BR156, which connects the city of Oiapoque with Macapá, the state capital. (See maps below.)

There are three Amerindian reserves in this area: Uaçá, Juminã, and Galibi divided among four Amerindian ethnic groups: Karipúna, Galibi-Marworno, Galibi do Oiapoque

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10.   The original Karipúna were possibly from the island of Marajó, according to Grimes 1996, citing Arnaud 1969. The Ethnologue.com notes that the ancestors of the modern Karipúna spoke Karipúna, an unclassified language. Picanço Montejo notes that "Algumas vezes os pajés afirmam cantar numa "língua Karipuna" que teria sido utilizada pelos seus antepassados, o que associa este conhecimento lingüístico-musical a uma reconstrução do passado do povo, aumentando seu valor sagrado" (2000). [Translation: At times the *pajés* ('medicine men') have confirmed that they sing in the "Karipúna language" which would have been used by their ancestors, and this linguistic-musical knowledge is linked to a reconstruction of the people's past, thereby increasing the sacred value of the language.] See also S.J. Tobler 1979/1980.

11.   The name for Uaçá in Palikúr (an Arawak language) is Karipura, and this Palikúr word appears to be the origin of the name of the Karipúna who come from the Uaçá area (Diana Green, pc, February 1998). The Palikúr, among whom Green and Green lived and worked for several years, have their own stories about the origins of the relative newcomers, the Karipúna and the Galibi-Marwono. Ladhams (1995) touches briefly on the Carib origin of the name Karipúna, and notes that Karipúna was the name of a Brazilian lingua franca, and also used for any non-Tupi group.

12.   FUNAI notes that many lexical items attributed to old Galibi are similar to Trió (Tyrió), a Carib language.

13.   Oyapock is the French spelling and Oiapoque is the Portuguese spelling. Oiyapoque (or Oyapoque), the spelling chosen here, is sometimes used in the Anglophone literature, cf. Ethnologue.com, and is the choice of the authors, as it represents a combination of the two orthographies.

(or Kaliña, cf. Tassinari 1998), and Palikúr. Of the three Amerindian reserves, the Uaçá is by far the largest and most important. While most of the Amerindians in this area speak French Creole to varying degrees, it is only the Karipúna and the Galibi-Marworno who speak it as their mother tongue.

LOCATION OF FRENCH CREOLE SPEAKERS IN BRAZIL
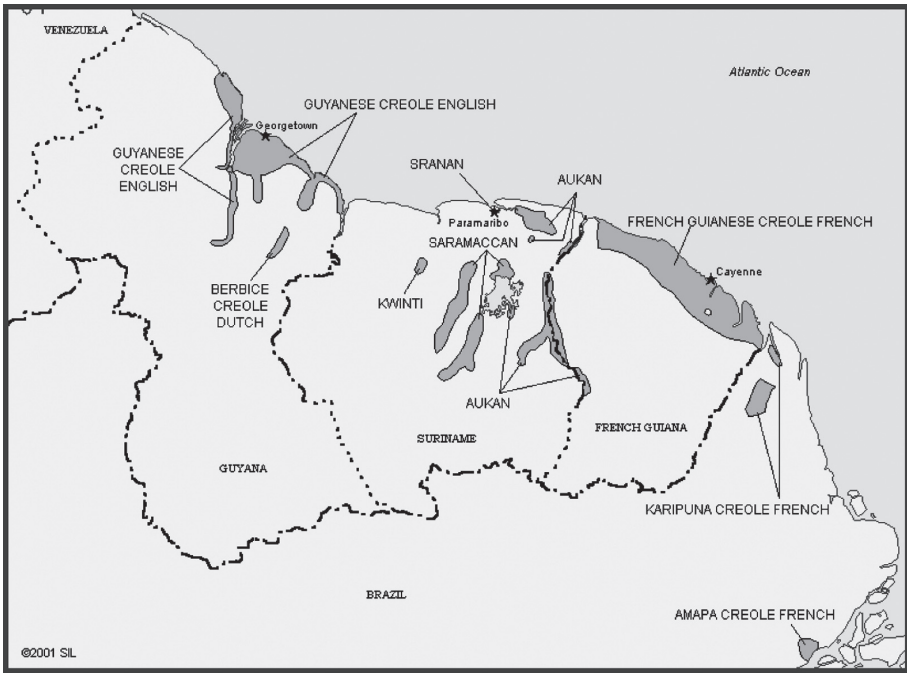
(© 2001, SIL International. Used by permission.)

Map 1. Location of Karipúna and Amapá French Creole speakers in Brazil

This paper will deal mainly with these two groups, and their language varieties will be referred to KFC and GMFC, respectively, and together grouped as Amazonian French Creole (AFC), Amapá French Creole (APFC) being reserved for the southern variety of the city of Macapá. Kheuól, Crioulo and Patuá[14] are written forms for the names of the language in the Brazilian literature, and these will be used, where appropriate, as cover terms for both varieties of northern Amazonian French Creole. (In the literature, Karipúna has generally been used as a cover term for both varieties. Here we are using AFC interchangeably with KFC and GMFC.)

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14. FUNAI also uses Patoá or Kreoul.
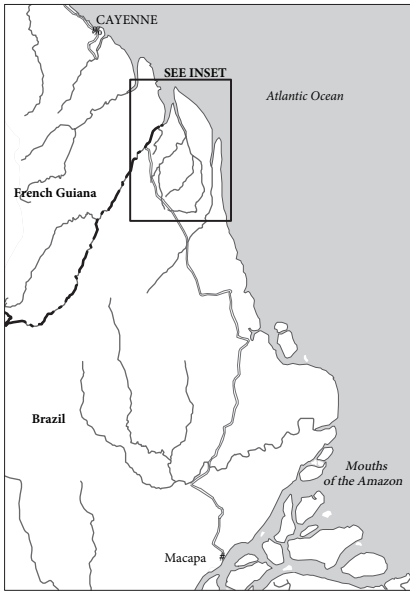
(Maps © 2003, SIL International. Used by permission.)
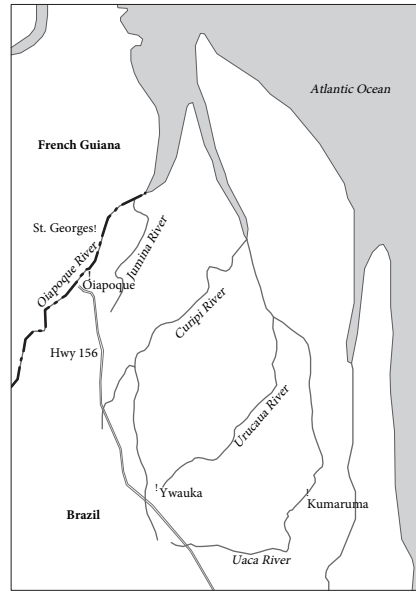
Map 2. The State of Amapá Brazil   **Map 3.** Northern Amapá

2.3   Social history of the Karipúna

While French Creole is spoken as a mother tongue by the Karipúna and the Galibi-Marwono, it is also the trade language of the area, and is understood and spoken to varying degrees by neighbouring Amerindian groups such as the Palikúr and the Wayampí (the original inhabitants of the area). The Palikúr have been more exposed to both varieties of AFC and the Wayampí to Guianese French Creole (GFC).

There is limited bilingualism among the Karipúna, some speakers having varying degrees of competence in both Portuguese and KFC and others being completely monolingual in KFC. There is, however, a higher degree of bilingualism to be found among the Galibi-Marwono, according to FUNAI (2001).

Ladhams (1995: 118; cf. Röntgen 1998) provides possibly the best synopsis of the social history of the Karipúna (very little research has been done on the origins of the Galibi-Marwono). Seeking to respond to previously unanswered questions raised by Holm (1989: 381), Ladhams's investigation provides clear answers to the uncertainty surrounding the sociohistorical origins of KFC. An understanding of the social history of the Karipúna people (and by extension, the Galibi-Marwono) is necessary for understanding the origins and development of their language.

According to Ladhams (1995: 118), "the historical scenario for the Karipúnas might be summarized as follows":

> having moved first in 1830 from Pará State in Brazil some 500 km northwards to eastern Guiana, the Amerindians were joined by a diverse mixture of ethnic groups

on the Curipi River, in what is now the Brazilian State of Amapá, having probably moved there in the 1840s. By the beginning of the present century, this amorphous community had expanded to the banks of the Oyapock River, and they were in continuous contact with French and/or Guyanais speakers.

Based on Ladhams's analysis, the various stages in the history of the Karipúna are enumerated as follows (see Ladhams 1995 for a map of both French Guiana and Brazil):

1. Because of the Cabanagem Revolt[15] in the state of Pará during the mid-1830s, several Tupi-speaking Amerindians moved away from the Breves Strait, Pará at the mouth of Amazon. This group moved north-west to the Ouanary River[16] in French Guiana.
2. They then moved further south to the Oiapoque area (Brazil), which was once territory hotly disputed by French Guiana and Brazil.
3. They then moved back east, to the north of the Curipi River (Brazil).
4. Because of a smallpox epidemic, they then moved to the south of the Curipi River.
5. They were later joined by non-Amerindian Brazilians, of a variety of origins, including French Guianese Creole speakers. These were "displaced Brazilians … called Karipúnas" from the Curipi and Oiyapoque rivers, some of whom spoke a dialect of Wayampí, a Tupi language.
6. They may have come into contact with French and French Creole-speaking missionaries in the Uaçá area.
7. A gold rush in Approuague, French Guiana (another river further west) in 1854 caused many gold miners and would-be gold miners of various origins (including French and French Creole-speaking Martiniquans[17] and others) to move to Oiapoque and Curipi in search of gold.

Ladhams (1995: 117) also notes that in the late nineteenth century, "all Amerindians, except the Palikúr, were fluent in Creole" (citing Coudreau 1893: 378).[18] Today that has changed and many Palikúr also speak Kheuól (Diana Green, pc, February 1998).[19]

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15.   The Cabanagem Revolt of 1835–37 was a separatist movement, leading to the creation of the "Republic of Pará", and involved oppressed Amerindians and Africans (formerly enslaved), as well as some Pará-based members of the Brazilian plantocracy who resented governance from the south of Brazil. The word *cabanagem* refers to a type of Amazonian dwelling used by *ribeirinhos* (river-dwellers, comprising Amerindians, Africans, and *mestiços*).

16.   The commune of Ouanary is just north of the commune of St. Georges (both communes on are the Oiyapoque river, bordering Brazil).

17.   Interestingly, the Oiyapoque area was also once known as Martinica, according to informants.

18.   It would be interesting to ascertain the extent to which the history of the Galibi-Marwono is similar to that of the Karipúna and at what point the two groups began to see themselves as different ethnic groupings.

19.   See also the Palikúr-Portuguese-Kheuól word list by Green and Green 1996, and FUNAI 2001.

Kheuól or Patuá was the lingua franca of this area that was becoming increasingly multilingual due to contact among native Amerindians speaking diverse languages from both Tupi and Carib families, Guianese French Creole speakers, Brazilian Portuguese speakers, and others. Since the Karipúna themselves were becoming more and more mixed and in need of an in-group language, GFC, as Ladhams (1995: 118) puts it, "was a prime candidate" for the language choice of the Karipúna, since it was no doubt in use among (some of) the Amerindian and (the majority of) the non-Amerindian members of the group for a number of years. Another factor in the choice of French Creole "would have been the continuous contact with speakers of French and GFC on both sides of the Oyapock River, even after the settling of the border dispute in 1900" between Brazil and France (Ladhams 1995: 118). In fact, the language of the Oiyapoque area in the 1900s was either French or French Creole (Ladhams 1995: 117–8, referring to another source, Reis 1949: 171). Today, the Karipúna people are a highly mixed group, comprising not only descendants of Amerindians, but also of Africans, Asians and Europeans, and mixtures thereof.

AFC is the only French Creole natively spoken in lusophone territory in the Americas. As the official language of Brazil, Portuguese remains the prestige language, and continues to dominate the educational system of the Oiyapoque area of Uaçá, northern Amapá. However, children in the creolophone Amerindian reserves receive bilingual education during the first three years of primary schooling, which helps to reinforce the community role of Kheuól or Patuá while at the same time introducing the children to Portuguese (Spires 1987; Tassinari 1997).[20] The result for some Karipúna and for most Galibi-Marwono is bilingualism in French Creole and Portuguese.

2.4   Demographic survey

According to FUNAI (2001: 5), the current figures for the mostly creolophone Karipúna are approximately 1,726, while the Galibi-Marwono of Uaçá number approximately 1,787 (see Tables 1 and 2). FUNAI also counts 69 bilingual mixed Palikúr-Karipúna[21] in the village of Flecha, which would bring the total up to 1,795 Karipúna (in contrast to the Ethnologue.com's figures of 672 for the whole group).

The Galibi-Marwono are concentrated mostly in one large village, Kumarumã, comprising 300 families, nearly all of whom are bilingual in Kheuól and Portuguese.

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20.   Several didactic materials in AFC are used in the CIMI bilingual education programme among the Karipúna (Picanço Montejo 1988, 1985a, b, c, d, 1983; Tobler n.d.). There exist published traditional and translated stories also in use in the schools (Forte et al 1983; Ruffaldi and Spires 1996a, b; Spires 1997a, b; Tobler and Tobler 1983a, b).

21.   FUNAI notes that approximately 969 of the 999 Palikúr are bilingual in Palikúr (an Arawakan language) and Kheuól, and there are 30 Galibi do Oiapoque who speak Galibi (a Carib language), Kheuól and French, bringing the total number of northern Amazonian French Creole speakers up to 4,493 in the year 2000.

The Karipúna, on the other hand, are scattered among about sixteen villages, the largest of which is Manga, with 465 residents belonging to about 76 families.

The population of two other villages, in the area of Juminã, comprises a mixture of Karipúna and Galibi-Marwono people. Interestingly, the more accessible of the two villages, Juminã-Uahá (nearer to the Oiyapoque River), remains more conservative and more monolingual in Kheuól, while the more remote Juminã-Kunanã (further away from the Oiyapoque River, up the *igarapé* or creek, and therefore farther away from the city of Oiapoque) is largely bilingual in Kheuól and Portuguese. The differences are not only linguistic, but religious, since Juminã-Uahá is distinctly more Catholic, while Juminã-Kunanã is more Protestant.

Table 1. Population of Karipúna Villages

Manga	465
Zacarias	32
Japiim	33
Paxiubal	44
Santa Isabel	262
Taminã	54
Espírito Santo	351
Jõdef	64
Açaizal	91
Encruzo	25
Ariramba	62
Kunanã	76
Piquia	19
Curipi	32
Karia	29
Estrela	87
Total:	**1,726**

Table 2. Population of Galibi-Marworno Villages

Kumarumã	1,578
Uahá	81
Samauma	58
Tukay	70
Total:	**1,787**

Table 4. Population of Galibi do Oiapoque Village

Galibi	30
Total:	**30**

Table 3. Population of Palikúr Villages

Kumenê	572
Flecha	69
Tawary	44
Kamuywá	49
Kwikwit	29
Amomin	31
Puaytyeket	68
Urubu	42
Mangue II	46
Ywauka	49
Palikúr in Brazil	999
Palikúr in French Guiana*	500
Total:	**1,499**

*(Queixalós 2000: 299)

Total number of French Creole speakers: 4,493
Sources: FUNAI 2001 and Queixalós 2000.

The preceding tables list the populations of the Uaçá reservations of northern Amapá, showing the numbers according to villages.

A look at population statistics from 1943 to 2001 shows that the Karipúna population in 2001 is six times larger than it was in 1943. No comparable information is available for the Galibi-Marwono, since most academic interest has focused on the Karipúna to date (see also Azevedo 2001).

Table 5. Population statistics of the Karipúna of Amapá from 1943–2001

YEAR	TOTAL	SOURCE
1943	262	Rondon 1953: 282
1969	439	Arnaud 1969: 8
1983	400–600	S.J. Tobler 1983: 10
1988	880	Picanço Montejo 1996: 8
1989	500	Holm 1989: 381
1993	1,353	Ricardo 1995: 39
1998	1,250	D. Santa Rosa (pc 1998)
2001	1,726	FUNAI 2001

2.5   French Guianese, Karipúna and Galibi-Marwono French Creole

Social historical evidence suggests that AFC is an offshoot of one of the dialects of nine-teenth century Guianese French Creole (Corne 2002). There are conflicting reports about how different it is from GFC (for analyses of GFC, see Corne 1971; Reighard 1974[22]; Saint-Jacques-Fauquenoy 1974, 1972). According to a survey done by Graham in 1985 (referred to in Holm 1989: 381), speakers of GFC have a 77% understanding of tape recordings of KFC, and a 78% comprehension rate for St. Lucian Creole.[23]

Within AFC itself, phonetic differences between KFC and GMFC lie mainly in vowel choice. For example, of the mid front unrounded vowels, GMFC prefers the open-mid vowel [ɛ] in open syllables, while KFC prefers the close-mid vowel [e], as in *late* [late] (KFC) vs. *laté* [latɛ] (GMFC) 'earth', and *bõswe* [bõswe] (KFC) vs. *bõswé* [bõswɛ] (GMFC) 'good afternoon/evening' (Ferreira 1998). Lux Vidal (2000) and Picanço Montejo (2000) confirm this. The latter states:

> Entre os Karipuna e os Galibi Marworno que falam a mesma língua, a úni-ca diferença entre eles é de pronúncia. Os Karipuna pronunciam com um som mais fechado e os Galibi com um som mais aberto, porém a grafia é a mesma. Exemplo: Piebua—árvore (grafia comum entre os dois povos).
> [piêbua][24] (pronúncia Karipuna—som fechado)
> [piébua] (pronúncia Galibi—som aberto)[25]

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22.   See also Jennings 1995.

23.   The differences among the South American and the Lesser Antillean varieties appear to be in the areas of phonology and lexicon, with minor morpho-syntactic differences. (See Appendix II.)

24.   Note that the value of *ê* in Portuguese is [e], and *é* is [ɛ]. See Appendix I.

25.   [Translation: Between the Karipúna and the Galibi-Marwono, speakers of the same language, the only difference between the two groups is that of pronunciation. The Karipúna use a more close sound and the Galibi more open, but the orthography is the same. For example *piebua* 'tree' (same orthography for the two groups): [piêbua] [piebua] (Karipúna pronunciation – close sound), and [piébua] [piɛbua] (Galibi pronunciation – open sound).]

Other differences include the following:

> *kaná* [kaˈna][26] (KFC) vs. *kanã* [kaˈnã] (GMFC) 'duck'
> *gho* [gwo] (KFC) vs. *gro* [gro] (GMFC), and
> *pãi* [pãĩ] (KFC) vs. *pãn* [pãn] (GMFC).

2.6   Sources of Kheuól lexicon

The vast majority of AFC lexicon is, of course, derived from French. Of particular historical interest is the case of lexical items that contain agglutinated forms of the French articles. There are basically two types of agglutination: consonantal and syllabic. The following data are samples of agglutination and were retrieved from A.W. Tobler (1987: 85–86) and Corrêa and Corrêa (1998). They give an idea of the extent of the historical productivity of the process of article agglutination. According to Grant 1995 (on which the following lists are based[27]), some classes may remain open, such as Class I; others are closed, such as Class II. (Note that the transcriptions used here are for Modern AFC, as per Montserrat and Silva (1984), and for Modern Standard French. The orthography used here is the official AFC—Karipúna/Galibi—orthography.)

Cʟᴀss I

Karipúna nominal	French definite singular non-partitive article (*la, l'*) + Nominal	

Note that this class may be an open class and new words borrowed from French may keep the French article.

labu /labu/	*(la) boue* /labu/	'mud'
laduan /laduan/	*(la) douane* /ladwan/	'customs'
lãfé /lãfɛ/	*(l') enfer* /lãfɛʀ/	'hell'
lafiév /lafiɛv/	*(la) fièvre* /lafjɛvʀ/	'fever'
lafime /lafime/	*(la) fumée* /lafyme/	'smoke'
laxas /laʃas/	*(la) chasse* /laʃas/	'hunting'
lide /lide/	*(l')idée* /lide/	'idea'
lizin /lizin/	*(l')usine* /lyzin/	'factory'
ló /lɔ/	*(l')or* /lɔʀ/	'gold'
lótél /lɔtɛl/	*(l')autel* /lɔtɛl/	'altar'

Cʟᴀss II

Karipúna nominal	French definite (*les*)/, indefinite (*des*) non-partitive plural article + Nominal	
zabapē /zabapɛɛ̃/	*(les) arbres à pain* /lezaʀbʀapɛɛ̃/	'breadfruit'
zafé /zafɛ/	*(les) affaires* /lezafɛʀ/	'business'

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26.   The orthographical acute accent on *a* represents primary stress.

27.   There are many more data samples, but we have chosen the lexemes most common across varieties.

zahiko /zahiko/	(les) haricots /lezaʀiko/	'bean'
zãj /zãʒ/	(les) anges /lezãʒ/	'angel'
zam /zam/	(les) armes /lezaʀm/	'gun'
zéklé /zɛklɛ/	(les) éclaires /lezeklɛʀ/	'lightning'
zepẽ /zepɛ̃/	(les) épingles /lezepẽgl/	'pin'
zépól /zɛpɔl/	(les) épaules /lezepol/	'shoulder'
zétuél /zɛtwɛl/	(les) étoiles /lezetwal/	'star'
zo /zo/	(les) os /lezo/	'bone'

Class III

Karipúna nominal	**French indefinite singular non-partitive article (un, une) + Nominal**	
nak /nak/	(un) arc /œnaʀk/	'arch, ark'
nam /nam/	(une) âme /ynam/	'soul'
nót /nɔt/	(un) autre /œnotʀ/	'another'

Class IV

Karipúna nominal	**French (singular or plural) partitive article (du, de l', des) + Nominal**	
djife /dife/	(du) feu /dyfø/	'fire'
djilét /dilɛt/	(du) lait /dylɛ/	'milk'
djilo ~ dlo /dilo/ ~ /dlo/	(de l') eau /dəlo/	'water'
djipeẽ /dipɛ̃/	(du) pain /dypẽ/	'bread'
djisã /disã/	(du) sang /dysã/	'blood'
djisél /disɛl/	(du) sel /dysɛl/	'salt'
djize /dize/	(des) oeufs /dezœ/	'egg'
djivẽ /divẽ/ or djivã	(du) vin /dyvɛ̃/	'wine'
duhi /duhi/	(du) riz /dyʀi/	'rice'

These agglutinated forms are interesting in several ways. On the one hand, a considerable number of them are common to all French creoles. But there are also a number of forms that are attested in only one variety of French Creole or in just a few. The common forms represent a similarity that could hardly be explained as chance. They therefore support a hypothesis that French creole language varieties go back historically to some single form which was later diffused to other areas and there developed further forms. In a future project, a comparative study of French Creole varieties will be undertaken in order to determine:

1. if there is any linguistic motivation for agglutination
2. if these languages can be organised into sub-groupings based on shared agglutinated forms
3. if there are any inferences that can be made concerning the genesis and history of these languages.

Apart from the obvious French influence, a large number of words for flora and fauna are clearly Amerindian in origin, from both the Tupi and Carib families. As Corne

(1985: 233) notes, "of Tupi there appears to remain but little: some lexical items (flora, fauna. . .), the content of some tales and riddles, and perhaps other traces". Examples include the following:

> *ahe* – parrot
> *atxipa* – type of fish
> *bakurau* – type of fish
> *iaia* – type of fish
> *iauanaú* – janaú (a type of animal)
> *ipapu* – type of fish
> *kanaxi*/*kamaxi* – type of fish
> *kuabio* – cassava by-product
> *kulubhi* – colibri
> *kusiri* – type of animal
> *masuhu* – type of fish
> *tauahu* – tracajá (a species of turtle)
> *ture* – ceremonial dance (probably of Tupi origin)
> *urariri* – type of animal

Some Kheuól words are used side by side with Portuguese words, for example, *stilo* and *kanét* ('pen'), *lafinét* and *janél* ('window'). There is also some Portuguese influence in the lexicon and in the phonological shape of Portuguese loan words.[28] Some examples of Portuguese influence are seen in Portuguese words that have been integrated into AFC, which appears to prefer closed syllables. These loan words have been adapted to the phonology of AFC by syllable restructuring, specifically apocope, with the deletion of the final vowel as in List 1, and the deletion of a CV in List 3; for example:

List 1 – apocopation of final V

amig (> *amigo*)	'friend'
Joán > Joana	
kam (> *cama*)	'mattress' (lit. 'bed')
kanét (> *caneta*)	'pen'
kap (> *capa*)	'cover'
lag (> *lago*)	'lake'
pak (> *paca*)	'lappe' (*agouti paca*)
puls (> *pulso*)	'pulse'
zagai (> *zagaia*)	'type of bird'

The word *kaz* 'house' is found elsewhere in other varieties of French Creole. Informants link this word to Portuguese *casa* 'house'.

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28.   FUNAI notes that the Karipúna variety is more *aportuguesado* (Portuguese-influenced) than the Galibi-Marwono variety. This is an interesting observation, since informants in the Oyapoque area noted that most of the Galibi-Marwono village of Kumarumã was bilingual in Kheuól and Portuguese, more than for the Karipúna.

List 2 – apocopation of V.CV and VC
depós (> *depósito*)   'deposit'
lap (> *lápis*)   'pencil'

List 3 – apocopation of final CV
benefis (> *benefício*)   'favour'
hadj (> *rádio*)   'radio'
heloj (> *relógio*)   'clock'
hemed (> *remédio*)   'medicine'
hos (> *rosca*)   'coil'

List 4 – apocopation of final C
deve (> *dever*)   'to owe (money)'
fika (> *ficar*)   'to stay' (the origin is probably an older Portuguese stratum in GFC rather than due to modern Portuguese influence, cf. Goodman 1987)

Others directly from Portuguese with no syllabic restructuring include:

List 5
kaho (> *carro*)   'car'
laghimas (> *lágrimas*)   'agony' (lit. 'tears')
bhiga (> *briga*)   'fight' (the origin is probably an older Portuguese stratum in GFC rather than due to modern Portuguese influence, cf. Goodman 1987)

3.   Comparative perspective

In this final section of this paper, we deal with several issues within the scope of Historical Comparative Linguistics and of Creole Linguistics.

1.   First, to situate KFC comparatively within the family of French creoles (however *a priori* or putative may be the concept of "family" here).
2.   Then, to consider the historical evolutionary development within French creoles and to examine how KFC fits into the evolutionary schema.

These issues will lead us to look at (1) diffusion as a factor in accounting for the comparative picture, and (2) genesis in the Creole Linguistic tradition vs. evolution in the Historical/Comparative tradition as the competing explanatory models to account for KFC.

The earlier work on Karipúna did not pay much attention to the socio-historical circumstances in which this language originated, apart from an apparent assumption that it arose independently of *le guyanais* (Ladhams 1995: 115). The history of French colonial expansion, however, supports the view that the emergence of French Creole dialects in the different regions of the Americas was more of a "stepping stone" process

than an independent "mushrooming". Alleyne (1996: 26-8) summarises the historical scenario of French colonial expansion as follows:

> Les premiers établissements dans le Nouveau Monde furent d'ordre militaire ou paramilitaire, aussi bien légaux qu'illégaux. Des pirates et des filibustiers menaient, dès 1504, des opérations sur la côte brésilienne, puis ils établirent rapidement des colonies stratégiques rudimentaires aux Antilles. A partir de 1625, l'occupation se stabilise. En 1627, Belain d'Esnambuc débarqua à Saint-Christophe avec un contingent d'émigrants normands. Ce fut le point de départ d'un mode de peuplement qui se survivra jusqu'à la moitié du XVIIIème siècle, l'engagement. En 1630, un groupe d'aventuriers français et anglais occupèrent l'île de la Tortue. De là, les Français ne tardèrent pas à amorcer l'occupation de la partie occidentale de l'Ile d'Hispaniola, connue sous le nom de Saint-Domingue. Sous l'égide de la compagnie des Isles de l'Amérique fondée par Richelieu, des colons arrivèrent à la Guadeloupe en 1635, et plus tard dans la même année à la Martinique. . . . La première occupation de la Guyane se situe vers 1626, mais la première tentative de colonisation se situe vers 1642, avec l'arrivée de trois cents engagés. Après plusieurs tentatives infructueuses, une nouvelle expédition, en 1664, aboutit à la création d'une colonie plus stable. [La colonie française de la Nouvelle Orléans fut fondée en 1718].[29]

A diffusionist hypothesis is also supported by the high degree of mutual intelligibility among the dialects, consistent with the relatively short time depth of separation. In a diffusionist scenario, an evolving language (located initially in St. Kitts or Hispaniola), variable as a result of the different regional dialectal origins of the French colonists and *engagés* and as a result of the contact with the different languages of Africans (and of other peoples), began to display a further variation between older forms and newly emerging forms. In each new location, this evolving language underwent further changes, independent and divergent, but with some contact and exchanges between the different parts of the French colonial empire. We thus have a configuration

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29. [Translation: The first New World settlements were military or paramilitary, both legal and illegal. As early as 1504, pirates and filibusters were carrying out operations on the Brazilian coast, followed quickly by rudimentary strategic colonies in the Antilles. From 1625, occupation stabilized. In 1627, Belain d'Esnambuc came ashore in St. Kitts with a contingent of Normand emigrants. This was the beginning of a model of settlement which would survive up to mid 18th century, indentureship. In 1630, a group of French and English adventurers occupied Tortuga. From there, the Frenchmen soon began the occupation of the western part of Hispaniola, known as Saint-Domingue. Under the aegis of the Compagnie des Iles d'Amérique founded by Richelieu, colonists arrived in Guadeloupe in 1635, and later in the same year in Martinique. . . The French presence in Guyane dates from about 1626, but the first attempt at colonisation took place about 1642 with the arrival of 300 indentureds. After several unsuccessful attempts, a new expedition, in 1664, led to the creation of a more stable colony, [The French colony of New Orleans was founded in 1718.]]

of dialects showing a common inherited core but with a number of idiosyncratic developments in particular territories or in particular sub-zones (Haiti, Lesser Antilles, French Guiana, Louisiana, Indian Ocean). Another feature of this historical scenario is that at the present time each dialect may show changes that are not complete, that is, are not totally "regular" (i.e., they do not affect all the pertinent forms), so that there are many cases of new idiosyncratic developments existing side by side, in one and the same dialect, with earlier forms. Both the comparative configuration and the picture of individual dialects reveal a pattern of chronological layers.

This scenario is akin to that of the earlier development of Romance languages. Latin (not at all a homogeneous language but one with geographical, social and stylistic variation) is taken, to some extent progressively and chronologically, to the different regions of the Roman Empire. In each location, this relatively common core undergoes changes which show different levels of divergence from the inherited model. Both comparatively across the different emerging dialects and within any one dialect, there is variation between older forms and newer forms, representing different chronological layers. The different regions and their dialects can thus be characterised, relatively speaking, as "innovative" (French), "conservative" (Italian, Rheto-Roman), "isolated" (Romanian) (cf. Diez who states "si l'on embrasse l'ensemble de la langue française, on s'aperçoit bien vite que l'élément latin y est moins fort que dans l'espagnol et l'italien"[30] (1874: 107)).

It is very important to give KFC a rating on a conservative to innovative scale. This rating will be based on comparative and internal linguistic evidence as well as on non-linguistic socio-cultural historical data. The geographical location of KFC on the periphery of the French Creole geographical zone and its relative isolation, cutting it off from significant contact with, and influence from, other central innovating areas, are the main non-linguistic factors in rating KFC as relatively conservative. The significance of isolation is that these peoples have been cut off from meaningful societal contact with other FC speakers and the number of innovations due to borrowing will be consequently relatively small.

GFC (or *le guyanais*), which, as we said above, the social history suggests as the immediate ancestor of Karipúna, is itself, by virtue of its location on the periphery, to be considered as a relatively conservative dialect. To a large extent, KFC retains the conservative forms of GFC. It is reasonable to suppose that these forms belong to an earlier historical level of French Creole, rather than that they are innovations. Some examples are provided in the discussions below.

Because of the very complex (and complicated) regional dialect configuration of the French language in the sixteenth/seventeenth century, with *le francien* consolidating its status as the national official language, it is not always easy to determine the status of

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30.   [Translation: If we take an overall look at the French language, we immediately realise that the Latin element is less significant there than in Spanish and Italian.]

some forms in terms of the chronological layer to which they belong and their source. French Creole dialects often extend vowel nasalisation beyond the phenomenon of nasalisation in standard French. But so do many French regional dialects. French Creole dialects inherit all the nasal vowels of French (except [œ̃], the nasalized open-mid front rounded vowel). In addition, vowels in an open syllable and followed by a nasal consonant undergo regressive nasalisation, in some cases sporadic, in French Creole dialects (they normally do not in standard French):

Table 6. Examples of nasalisation in four varieties of French Creole

Haitian	Martiniquan	St. Lucian	Guadeloupean	Gloss
zãmi	zãmi	zãmi	zãmi	'friend'
lãni	lãni	lãni	lãni	'anise'
bã nu	bã nu	bã nu	bã nu	'give us'

The most outstanding nasal feature is that three of these dialects – Haitian, Martiniquan, St. Lucian – show a strong tendency towards progressive nasalisation (which is unknown in standard French), as in the following examples (Table 7):

Table 7.

Haitian	Martiniquan	St. Lucian	Guadeloupean	Karipúna	Gloss
fẽmẽ	fẽmẽ	fẽmẽ	feme	feme	'close'
rẽmẽ	ẽmẽ	ẽmẽ	ẽme	eme	'love'
bẽɲẽ	bẽɲẽ	bẽɲẽ	bẽɲe	beɲe	'bathe'
gumẽ	gumẽ	gumẽ	gume	gume	'fight'
zawẽɲẽ		zagriɲẽ		areɲe	'spider'
pãɲẽ					'basket'
ʒãmẽ					'never'

Only two such forms have so far been attested in GMFC: *kanã* 'duck' (>French *canard*), and *kanũ* 'canoe'.

Both types of nasalisation, progressive and regressive, are attested in north-western dialects (Norman and Picard) and central dialects (Angevin) of French (Faine 1939: 59). One interpretation of the French Creole phenomenon is that Haitian, Martiniquan and St. Lucian retained this early French dialectal progressive nasalisation, while the other dialects simply never had it or else underwent denasalisation change. This would, however, be counter-intuitive. Nasalisation of vowels, progressive or regressive, is far more common as a process in the languages of the world than denasalisation.

In creole languages, although both processes are present, nasalisation is the rule and denasalisation the exception. In addition there is other evidence that suggests that progressive nasalisation in the three French Creole dialects is a later exceptional development. The personal pronouns of first and second singular are based on a French root with initial [m-], [t-] respectively. (The earlier forms show a case system which

has been well preserved only in the Indian Ocean dialects.) For example, an eighteenth century Haitian text – the poem/song "*Lisette Quité la Plaine*" (DucoeurJoly 1802) – records nominative [mo] and accusative [mwe], and this latter form exists in Haiti today only in the fixed expression [ã mwe], literally 'to me' (French "*au secours*"). Haitian and the dialects of the Lesser Antilles are the only ones in which progressive nasalisation has produced the form [mwẽ]. It is reasonable to suppose that Haitian and the Lesser Antillean dialects innovated with [mwẽ]. The other dialects have no earlier attestation of [mwẽ]. In fact, the Guianese and Karipúna forms [mo] and [to] are most likely the unstressed forms of [mwe] and [twe] (cf. *zozo* > French "*des oiseaux*" [dezwazo] > [zwazo] > [zozo]).

There are other forms in Haitian which we may rate as relatively innovating, supporting our evaluation of Haitian on the basis of several non-linguistic features: geographical centrality, cultural dynamism (e.g., the number of innovative forms of music, art, religion, cuisine), social political revolution. Haitian possesses a number of highly innovative forms not to be found anywhere else and not attested in earlier historical stages of Haitian. For example:

- nasalised high vowels: /ĩ/ and /ũ/; for example, *pĩgã* 'take care' (cf. Guadeloupe [pẽgã]); [ũgã] 'priest')
- 2nd pers. plur. pron /nu/
- definite article /–la/ attached to expanded NPs and relatives
- extensive syntactic reanalysis (*capable, après, finir, aller, gagner, rester, sortir, mettre, connaître, venir* become grammatical morphemes of Tense, Mood, Aspect)
- fuller Predicate category, with a wider range of sub-categories: Proper Noun, Noun, Adjective (in addition to Verb), otherwise stated as a higher degree of multifunctionality.

Needless to say, there is little or no evidence in AFC of the type of variation observable in cases where a French Creole language exists side by side with French; sometimes referred to as a creole (or post-creole) continuum. In the case of KFC, variation is observable in the context of juxtaposition with Brazilian Portuguese and manifests itself in the phonology and in the lexicon. There are, however, some problems of analysis that require further investigation. For example, dental stops are always palatalised before the close front unrounded vowel [i] (as they are in most varieties of Brazilian Portuguese). This palatalisation is also observable in Haitian, albeit to a lesser degree. Lexical variation in the context of Brazilian Portuguese contact is less problematic (see above for examples). There is no evidence so far of syntactical variation attributable to language contact.

There are two main historical processes that will account for the comparative contemporary structure of these French Creole dialects:

1.   Variant forms from different French regional dialects entering the developing Creole dialects. This could take place either simultaneously or in waves at different

periods, resulting in different historical chronological layers in the contemporary Creole dialects. Whereas both processes (simultaneous input of different dialectal forms or waves at different periods) undoubtedly did occur, it is the first which better explains the distribution of the historical variants in a common way in all dialects. Thus there is a variation between French Creole nouns which show agglutination of a French article and nouns which do not (*lafime* 'smoke' vs. *tét* 'head'). There is, as we noted above, a remarkable sameness in the two categories of nouns across dialects, suggesting an early selection of agglutinative forms which were later taken to the other territories. But there are interesting differences as well, which point either to some vacillation, that is, hesitant crystallisation of the agglutinated forms, in the early formation, or else later agglutinations taking place in each territory where the developing language was taken.

Another example is the existence in French Creole dialects of two variant historical dialectal forms /we/ and /wa/ as reflexes of Latin Ē, Ĭ, in open syllables. /we/ is the *normand* dialect reflex and /wa/ is the *francien* reflex which eventually became the modern standard French form. There is some agreement in the historical literature that the first Frenchmen venturing into the New World, either as pirates, buccaneers or as colonists, were mainly from the Norman dialectal region. It would then be the case that the early developing language in Saint-Christophe and/or Saint-Domingue was heavily based on the Norman dialect and had /we/ forms, whereas later inputs from central dialects such as *le francien* and standard French introduced /wa/ forms. It should be noted, however, that /we/ is also an earlier *francien* dialect form which later evolved to /wa/, and that this development of /we/ to /wa/ may have been in process at the time when French was being taken to the Caribbean (late sixteenth to mid-seventeenth century). This is based on evidence that /we/ itself emerged sometime after the twelfth to thirteenth centuries (from an earlier /ei/), and the further movement of /we/ to /wa/ may then have begun around the fifteenth century. English, for example, shows /eɪ/, rather than /we/, in the words borrowed from French: *faith* (Fr. *foi*); *peas* (Fr. *pois*), *realm* (Fr. *royaume*).

2.   The other process is that of changes which take place within some but not all of the developing French Creole dialects, thus creating an inter-dialectal variation between older forms and newer forms. Within any single dialect there are changes which did/do not affect all the pertinent forms (i.e., did not go to completion), thus creating a similar intra-dialectal variation between older forms and newer forms. This allows us to reconstruct the historical evolutionary process both on the basis of comparative data and on the internal data of a single dialect.

In this framework, the linguistic data take precedence over the social historical data. Following well-established principles and methods of comparative and internal reconstruction, it is possible to reconstruct the historical linguistic processes and forms. However, it is evident that knowledge of the history of French colonial expansion can be brought to bear to enhance the linguistic analysis.

There is still, however, the important question as to whether historical linguistic derivation rules in some direct way reflect or represent real historical processes. A similar question may be asked about synchronic grammatical generative rules and real psychological processes. It seems that ideally they should. But of course in the same way that generative rules cannot and do not claim to be psychologically authentic, historical reconstructions both of earlier ancestral forms and of processes are in fact hypotheses which claim to be most efficient way to organise (or generate) the data. When historical evidence shows that they do in fact represent historical forms and processes, it validates the theory and methodology of reconstruction.

Another reinforcement of the historical linguistic analysis is, as we have already noted above, the establishment of a scale of innovative/conservative and the rating of the different French Creole dialects on this scale. This scale has to be handled very cautiously in order to avoid circularity, that is, using linguistic data to establish the scale and using the scale to validate the linguistic analysis.

We present here some comparative morphological and syntactical features which also show the relationship between French Creole dialects and the position of Karipúna within the group.

3.1   Pronouns

For pronouns, KFC/GMFC and GFC seem to have a no-case system. This system is shared by other Caribbean dialects, while the other conservative languages on the periphery (Indian Ocean and Louisiana) retain a two-case system (nominative and oblique) that was more widespread in the past. However, KFC/GMFC and GFC have retained the nominative form of the two-case system as the single form, whereas the other Caribbean dialects have opted for the oblique form.

Interestingly, KFC/GMFC has analogically regularised the form of the pronouns (/mo, to, so, no/), whereas GFC retains the form /nu/ (1st pers. plur.) (see Tables 8–10 below). KFC/GMFC and GFC show a transitional variation between /so/ and /li/ (3rd pers. sing.) and /to/ and /u/ (2nd pers. sing.), while other Caribbean dialects have opted for an invariable /li/ and /u/. For the genitive, 2nd pers. sing /u/ has totally evinced /to/, for example, /u liv/ and /u-pa liv/ "your book"; *to liv).

KFC/GMFC and GFC retain a special possessive construction: pron + /pa/ (presumably French *part*). Similar constructions using /pa/ are to be found in the northern dialect of Haitian and in Guadeloupe (both ranked as more conservative than their Caribbean sister island dialects). (In KFC, GMFC and GFC, an alternate 3rd pers. sing., genitive: *dji li* /di li/ is probably not influenced by Brazilian *dele*, except phonetically speaking.)

Table 8. Personal pronouns: first person

1st Person Pronouns	Nominative and Accusative singular	Genitive Singular	Nominative and Accusative plural	Genitive plural
Karipúna	*mo*	*mo ~ mo pa*	*no*	*no ~ no pa*
(KFC)	[mo]	[mo] ~ [mo pa]	[no]	[no] ~ [no pa]
Guianese	*mó*	*mó ~ mó pa*	*nu*	*nu pa*
(GFC)	[mɔ]	[mɔ] ~ [mɔ pa]	[nu]	[nu pa]
St. Lucian	*mwen-*	*-mwen*	*nou*	*-nou*
(SLFC)	[mwɛ̃]	[mwɛ̃]	[nu]	[nu]

Note that the nominative in St. Lucian precedes the verb, while the genitive follows the noun. The other varieties have the pronouns pre-posed at all times.

Table 9. Personal pronouns: second person

2nd Person Pronouns	Nominative and Accusative singular	Genitive Singular	Nominative and Accusative plural	Genitive Plural
Karipúna	*u ~ to*	*u ~ u pa*	*zót*	*zót ~ zót pa*
(KFC)	[u] ~ [to]	[u] ~ [u pa]	[zɔt]	[zɔt] ~ [zɔt pa]
Guianese	*u ~ tó*	*u pa ~ tó pa*	*zót*	*zót pa*
(GFC)	[u] ~ [to]	[u pa] ~ [to pa]	[zɔt]	[zɔt pa]
St. Lucian	*ou*	*-ou*	*zòt*	*-zòt*
(SLFC)	[u]	[u] ~ [w]	[zɔt]	[zɔt

Table 10. Personal pronouns: third person

3rd Person Masculine and Feminine Pronouns	Nominative singular	Accusative singular	Genitive Singular	Nominative and Accusative plural	Genitive Plural
Karipúna	*li ~ i~ so*	*li ~ l ~ so*	*so ~ so pa ~ dji li*	*ie*	*ie ~ iepa*
(KFC)	[li] ~ [i] ~ [so]	[li] ~ [ll] ~ [so]	[so] ~ [so pa] ~ [dʒi li]	[ie]	[ie] ~ [ie pa]
Guianese	*li ~ i*	*li ~ l*	*só pa*	*yé*	*yé pa*
(GFC)	[li] ~ [i]	[li] ~ [ll]	[sɔ pa]	[je]	[je pa]
St. Lucian	*li ~ i*	*li ~ i*	*-li*	*yo*	*-yo*
(SLFC)	[li] ~ [i]	[li] ~ [i]	[li]	[jo]	[jo]

Table 11. Reflexive pronouns

1st Person Pronouns	1st person singular	1st person plural	2nd person singular	2nd person plural	3rd person singular	3rd person plural
Karipúna	*mo kó*	*no kó*	*u kó*	*zót kó*	*li kó*	*ie kó*
(KFC)	[mo kɔ]	[no kɔ]	[u kɔ]	[zɔt kɔ]	[li kɔ]	[ie kɔ]
Guianese	*mó kó*	*nu kó*	*tó kò*	*? kò*	*só kò*	*yé kò*
(GFC)	[mo kɔ]	[nu kɔ]	[to kɔ]	[kɔ]	[sɔ kɔ]	[je kɔ]
St. Lucian	*kò-mwen*	*kò-nou*	*kò'w*	*kò zòt*	*kò-li ~ ko'y*	*kò-yo*
(SLFC)	[kɔ mwɛ̃]	[kɔ nu]	[kɔu]	[kɔ zɔt]	[kɔ li] ~ [kɔi]	[kɔ jo]

Note that Karipúna, Guianese and St. Lucian also use *mém ~ mem ~ menm* ([mɛm] ~ [mɛm] ~ [mɛ̃m]) for emphatic 'self', respectively.

3.2 Word order

All the possessive pronoun forms in KFC and GFC precede the noun (with the exception of /di li/), while in the other Caribbean dialects they follow. This Word Order pattern may also be observed in the case of demonstratives. Valdman (1978) noted that ante-position was a generalised feature of the earlier forms of Caribbean dialects. At the present time, only GFC and KFC have retained ante-position:

Table 12. Position of determiners

	Def. Art /la/	Demon. Pron. /sa/	Plur. /se, yo, ye/
AFC and GFC	Post	Ante	Ante
St. Lucian and Lesser Antillean	Post	Post	Ante
Haitian	Post	Post	Post

3.3 Serial verbs

As far as serial verbs are concerned, KFC has the dative/benefactive *bay* /baɪ/, the comparative *pase* /pase/ and the directional *ale* /ale/, *vini* /vini/. But the dative serial seems to alternate with a prepositional dative. The following data were retrieved from S.J. Tobler (1983), Montserrat and Silva (1984), and field research (2003).[31] For example:

> (1) *Li   pote sa <u>bay</u> mo.*
>   3sg.subj take it   give me
>   'He took it for me.'

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31. The original orthography used by the respective authors has been kept here. There are minor differences between the two, including '*i*' (Montserrat and Silva) for '*y*' (Tobler) (/j/), and '*u*' (Montserrat and Silva) for '*w*' (Tobler) (/w/). The Montserrat and Silva orthography, formulated in 1980, is today the preferred one.)

(2) *Mo   ke dji <u>bay</u> li.*
     1SG.SUBJ FUT say give 3SG.OBJ
     'I'll tell him.'

But also:

(3) *Utxi   sa   ki   mo   te   <u>bay</u> pu   u   póte   pu mo?*
     where that what 1SG.SUBJ PAST.PERF give for 2SG.OBJ carry for 1SG.SUBJ
     'Where is that thing I gave you to carry for me?'   (Tobler 1983: 77)

(4) *...utxi sa   ki   mo   te   <u>bay</u> pu   u?*
     where that what 1SG.SUBJ PAST.PERF give for 2SG.OBJ
     'Where is the thing I gave you?'   (Tobler 1983: 55)

It alternates with three argument constructions:

(5) *Pale mo   dji tan dji mo   gãgã.*
     tell 1SG.OBJ of time of 1SG.GEN grandfather
     'Tell me about the days of my grandparents.'

(6) *Li   rakõte no   un ixtwa.*
     3SG.SUBJ recount 1PL.OBJ a story
     'He told us a story.'

There is, as is usual for French creoles, no noun clause complementiser serial, and no instrumental serial. But AFC has a co-ordinating structure that, together with the Kwa instrumental serial, may have generated the Creole instrumental serial:

(7) *Li   phã   so   sab,   li   kupe-l*
     3SG.SUBJ take.Ø.PAST.PERF 3SG.SUBJ machete 3SG.SUBJ cut-3SG.OBJ
     'He cut it with his machete.'   (Tobler 1983: 73)

(8) *Mun   bhase ye   kwak <u>ke</u> un fakay.*
     people stir 3PL.GEN farine with a spatula
     'People stir their farine (cassava flour) with a spatula.'   (Tobler 1983: 36)

(9) *Li   ka   bahe   kaz   ke hipã.*
     3SG.SUBJ CONT.ASP barricade house with slat
     'He is enclosing his house with slats.'   (Tobler 1983: 72)

KFC in general has a wider range of prepositional phrases than other Caribbean creoles, including GFC:

(10) a. *Mo   ke bay de   djize pu u.*
          1SG.SUBJ fut give two egg   for you
          'I'll give you two eggs.'   (Tobler 1983: 35)

      b. *mo   ke bay u   de djize.*
          1SG.SUBJ FUT give you two egg
          'I'll give you two eggs.'   (Tobler 1983: 35)

(11)   *Mo   axte de djize <u>dji</u> u   papa.*
       1SG.SUBJ buy two egg of 2SG.GEN father
       'I bought two eggs from your father.'   (Tobler 1983: 35)

(12)   a.   *U   hot de pam <u>dji</u> mo.*
            2SG.SUBJ tall two palm of me
            'You are two palms taller than me.'   (Tobler 1983: 37)

Compare:

       b.   *Li   pi   hot pase u*
            3SG.SUBJ more   tall pass 2SG.OBJ
            'He is taller than you.'   (Montserrat and Silva 1984: 16)

(13)   *Ye   sótxi   <u>dji</u> lekól.*
       3SG.SUBJ leave.Ø.PERF of   school
       'They left school.'   (Tobler 1983: 40)

(14)   *Li   ka   kólé ke   mo.*
       3SG.SUBJ CONT.ASP angry with 1SG.OBJ
       'He is angry with me.'   (Tobler 1983: 41)

(15)   *Mo   abitwe   ke li*
       1SG.SUBJ accustomed with 3SG.OBJ
       'I am accustomed to it.'   (Tobler 1983: 41)

(16)   *Bõdje dji <u>kote</u> Pyé…*
       God   say side Peter
       'God said to Peter…'   (Tobler 1983: 55)

(17)   *A   hibā   <u>dji</u> mo   txi só.*
       that ribbon of 1SG.GEN little sister
       'It is my little sister's ribbon.'   (Tobler 1983: 111)

(18)   *Kanu dji Soda*
       canoe of Soda
       'Soda's canoe'   (Montserrat and Silva 1984: 13)

(19)   *<u>Bodji</u> aswé   ye   rive.*
       near   evening 3SG.SUBJ return.Ø.PERF
       'Towards evening they returned.'   (Tobler 1983: 112)

But also:

(20)   *Pedas lapot*
       piece door
       'A piece of the door'   (Tobler 1983: 97)

(21)   *Trip muton*
       tripe sheep
       'Sheep's innards'   (Tobler 1983: 97)

(22) *Tab-la   so   jam*
      table-DEF.ART 3SG.GEN leg
      'The feet of the table'   (Montserrat and Silva 1984: 13, sic)

(23) *Nani so   pagai*
      Nani 3SG.GEN paddle
      'Nani's paddle'   (Montserrat and Silva 1984: 13)

4. Conclusion

AFC is of considerable interest for Creole Linguistics in general and for French Creole studies in particular. They are a probably unique case of a creole language having been adopted by an indigenous population as a second language and then becoming the native language of that population. Ethnolinguistically speaking, creole languages were born in a social and cultural matrix of African-European contact, and they are still today constantly engaged with European languages linguistically, socially, politically. AFC has moved out of that matrix and is now embedded in an indigenous-Brazilian Portuguese ecology. Sranan of Suriname has also been adopted by populations not of a derived African-European ethnicity (Javanese, Hindustani), but it is supposedly used by these populations as a second language (although there are individuals of Javanese or Hindustani ancestry for whom Sranan is their first language). As we said above, there is a growing awareness that, linguistically, creole languages should be fully incorporated into the world's natural languages. The status of AFC as the native language of a new ethnicity is a further, perhaps conclusive dimension of creole languages having "arrived". Linguists should seriously consider whether it makes much sense to continue the marginalisation of these languages into a kind of scientific apartheid.

It is true that there has been of late some awareness and interest in a new approach to creole languages. There has been a marked departure from the use of concepts such as "loss" and "simplification" and "absence of morphology" to characterise these languages and a greater use of concepts such as "syntactic reanalysis" and "restructuring". These languages are being seen more and more as demonstrating "normal" patterns of language structure and "normal" processes of language change, both internal non-motivated change and externally motivated change.

AFC strengthens the case for a new approach to the study of the history of the French creole language family. This new approach would integrate two major interpretations of this history, usually presented as opposing, conflictual and mutually exclusive: the substratist (Africanist) and the superstratist (Europeanist) models of creole genesis. The historical scenario which AFC supports is that the French Creole family represents a divergent movement away from the form of 16th/17th century popular dialectal French which was transplanted in the Americas. This form of French encountered African languages in a contact situation, which, like other contact situations,

had its special characteristics. It evolved differently in the different locations through natural internal changes and through changes influenced by the new ecologies. The influence of African languages is part of the new ecologies and is most pronounced in the case of Haitian. Haitian is thus the most innovative member of the family, and its innovativeness is due, for the most part, to the relatively heavy input from African languages. Haitian's innovativeness also manifests itself in internal change. Through an ongoing process of syntactic reanalysis, a whole series of Haitian verbs or predicates are developing variants which are losing or have lost their lexical meaning, are becoming unstressed and are being reduced phonologically. These variants are appearing exclusively in pre-verbal position, taking on the character of TMA markers (e.g., *fin, vin, met, gen, kapab, sot*).

AFC, ranked as conservative and showing a number of forms that other French creoles of the Caribbean have replaced with newer forms, confirm a claim made in earlier works (Alleyne 1996 and 2000) that French creoles are derived from a process that is the opposite of the process that yielded English creoles. The claim is that English creoles are the result of an initial massive restructuring of English (best exemplified by Saramaccan) accompanied by an immediate progressive movement of convergence with English. The (post)creole continuum is thus a phenomenon going back to the earliest period of contact. The earliest forms of all English-lexicon creoles, including Saramaccan, were more removed from forms of English than the contemporary forms. The French creoles, by contrast, have undergone progressive divergence from French. Their earlier forms were closer to French language structure than their modern forms. The earliest stages of the divergent evolution of the French Creole family are best represented by *le réunionnais* (whose "creole" status is doubtful). On a scale of increasing divergence, *le mauricien* follows, then *le seychellois*. *Le guyanais* and AFC come after, followed by *le martiniquais* and *le guadeloupéen*, and finally *le haïtien*.

These opposite processes can be accounted for, and indeed have been accounted for in the paper by Faraclas et al (2004). These opposite processes place into serious question the relentless search for a single highly specialised hypothesis of genesis to which so-called Creole Linguistics has devoted itself for decades. It calls into question the very validity of the field of Linguistics called *Creole* and the validity of a categorisation of a group of the languages of the world under a rubric *creole*.

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APPENDIX I

ORTHOGRAPHICAL DIFFERENCES

The established orthography for each variety is used here, unless otherwise noted. The phone-mic transcriptions minimise differences. The following may be used as a guide.

Table 13. Phonemic values of orthographic symbols

	/e/	/ɛ/	/ẽ/	/u/	/ɔ/	/dʒ/	/tʃ/
Karipúna (KFC)	e	é	ẽ	u	ó	dj	tx
Guianese (GFC)	é	e	en	u	ó	dj	tch
St. Lucian (SLFC)	é	è	en	ou	ò	dj	tj

All other letters used are the same across the three varieties, and correspond roughly to the values of similar IPA symbols.

APPENDIX II

TMA MARKERS (VERB PARTICLES)

Table 14. TMA markers across the 3 varieties

	Present Pro-gressive	Perfective	Past Perfective	Past Progressive	Future	Conditional
Karipúna (KFC)	*ka* [ka]	#	*te* [te]	*teka* [teka]	*ke* [ke]	*teke* [teke]
Guianese (GFC)	*ka* [ka]	#	*te* [te]	*teka* [teka]	*ke* [ke]	*teke* [teke]
St. Lucian (SLFC)	*ka* [ka]	#	*té* [te]	*té ka* [teka]	*kay* [kaɪ]	*té kay* [tekaɪ]