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On the Beginnings of Pidgin and Creole Studies: Schuchardt and Hesseling

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The investigation of pidgins and creoles, now a major area of linguistic studies, began at the end of the nineteenth century as an offshoot of Romance Linguistics. Although only limited data were available on creoles, the early creolists were highly original in their thinking and extremely resourceful in their handling of the data. Most of the hypotheses about the genesis and development of creoles proposed today appeared then in embryonic form. A review of the early work on pidgins and creoles should prove illuminating in terms of providing a fresh perspective on the assumptions and motivations behind the various present-day hypotheses. Moreover, at least a few theoretical frameworks and hypotheses were suggested that have not yet been explored in detail, as will be shown here.

Undoubtedly, the most prominent and brilliant of the early creolists were Hugo Schuchardt and Derk Christiaan Hesseling, to whom the larger part of this essay will be devoted. But a review of the climate of ideas in which early work on pidgins and creoles took place is essential for a proper evaluation of the work of the pioneering scholars.

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT

Nineteenth-century views

Most of the nineteenth-century views on creoles were shaped by the same racism that characterized slavery. A typical exponent of these views was Bertrand-Bocandé:

It is clear that people used to expressing themselves with a rather simple language cannot easily elevate their intelligence to the genius of a European language. When they were in contact with the Portuguese and forced to communicate with them, speaking the same language, it was necessary that the varied expressions acquired during so many centuries of civilization dropped their perfection, to adapt to ideas being born and to barbarous forms of language of half-savage peoples. (1849, p. 73)

Bertrand's theory contained the following tenets:

(1) There is a direct correlation between the level of civilization and the complexity of the language.

(2) European languages contain too many morphological distinctions and syntactic categories for simple black souls, so that the languages have to be stripped of these in order to be usable by Africans. The stripping process causes the emergence of a creole language.

These generalizations were held sufficient to account for most observable facts about creole, such as its sociolinguistic position and the gradient of variation linking it to its base language. 'Base language' or 'model language' is understood here to be the language that provided most of the lexicon of a given creole.

The *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIXe Siècle*, edited by Pierre Larousse (1869), provides the following definition of creole:

The creole language, in our colonies, in Louisiana and Haiti, is a corrupted French in which several Spanish and gallicized words are mixed. This language, often unintelligible in the mouth of an old African, is extremely sweet in the mouth of white creole speakers.

A creole was a language of slaves, a corrupted European language spoken by Africans. Though being "une funeste habitude" (Bertrand, 1849, p. 75) when spoken by blacks, it carried a nice local flavor when spoken by whites.

In other words, there existed a clear notion of differentiation in the types of creole spoken. Three levels were commonly distinguished:

(1) A slightly modified European model with a "local" intonation pattern and new words added to it.

(2) A form used by whites to speak to their social inferiors, in which verbal inflection had disappeared and syntax had been slightly simplified. This was also the level at which some blacks could talk with their masters.

(3) A “creolo rachado” (the Cape Verdian expression), i.e., the form that Africans would use when speaking to each other.

Thus the nineteenth-century European intellectuals possessed a notion of creole and also realized, quite rightly, that there existed a gradation of speech varieties between a creole and its base language. However, their view of this gradation was erroneous: they considered it a linguistic one, based on degrees of corruption of the model language, rather than a social one, expressing social stratification. Nineteenth-century historical linguistics and dialectology focussed on separate lexical items and at best on morphology, neglecting syntactic structure. This approach facilitated the view of creoles as corruptions of their models.

Portugal and Coelho

While travellers and missionaries had made observations on pidgin and creole languages during previous centuries, a systematic investigation of their character did not begin until the 1880s. As the historical context of this beginning is of considerable interest, we will sketch it briefly here.

The European powers had been present in Africa since the fifteenth century, but they had limited themselves to the establishment of trading posts at various points along the coast. “In 1879, . . . only a small portion of the African continent was under European rule” (Oliver and Page, 1966, p. 181). A sudden change in this situation was triggered by the territorial ambitions of the Belgian king, Leopold II, and the Hohenzollern emperors, and it led to the intensification of European dominance over Africa and the partition of Africa among the major European powers.

The oldest European power present in Africa was Portugal, but the importance and size of its holdings along the African coast diminished greatly after the zenith of Portuguese economic power in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In any case, despite being a colonial power, Portugal was dependent upon Britain, which had gained complete control over the Portuguese economy by 1880, and had become a mere stopping-off point between England and its own colonies, a middleman and a distribution center for British industrial goods.

Around 1880 a group of liberal intellectuals and entrepreneurs in Lisbon grew increasingly dissatisfied with Portugal’s subordinate position and turned their attention to Africa. In 1878

they founded the Geographical Society of Lisbon, which sponsored exploratory expeditions to the colonies. The Bulletin of this learned society, the *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, contained reports on climatic conditions, agricultural potential, etc. Also included were articles by Adolpho Coelho, one of its members, who began studying the creoles spoken in Portuguese Africa and published in several installments "Os Dialectos Romanicos ou Neo-Latinos na Africa, Asia e América" (The Romance or Neo-Latin Dialects in Africa, Asia and America, 1880-82). In spite of the ambitious title, the vast majority of the data presented came from the Cape Verde Islands; other areas were represented by short quotations, references to other authors, etc. Coelho gathered data by correspondence. He sent general inquiries to postmasters, native minor officials, foremen, and others. Apparently the very fact of an investigation of their native creole came as such a surprise to the respondents, and their feelings were so strong about it, that some of the replies are full of social criticism (why wasn't creole taught in schools?). Thus the inquiry revealed strong local dissatisfaction with the status of the Cape Verdian Islands.

But Coelho proceeded to treat the response material in the usual philological manner: comparison of texts, listing of alternate forms, accounting for creole forms by reference to Portuguese forms, etc. Unaware of the social context within which the creole existed as an oppressed language, Coelho did not realize the difficulties involved in studying it. His data are unreliable, both because they suggest something static, and because they point to a form of creole much closer to the Portuguese than some of its varieties might have been. Many creolists have followed Coelho in uncritically adopting the descriptive techniques of dialect investigation. Nonetheless, Coelho may rightfully be regarded as a pioneer of the systematic investigation of creoles.

Lucien Adam and Coelho on creolization

The prominent motivation for studying creoles in the nineteenth century came from the field of Romance Linguistics. Traditionally, scholars engaged in this field had been preoccupied with the question of how to explain the development of Latin into a number of different, mutually unintelligible languages. Several theories had been proposed, but none of them could be proved conclusively. People began to look outside Europe to find evidence for comparison, and in particular to see whether

substratum languages played a decisive part in the formation of creoles.

In his book *Les idiomes négro-aryen et maléo-aryen* (1882) the French linguist Lucien Adam in fact suggests that creole languages are nothing but non-European languages with European lexical items. He adduces numerous supposed calques to prove his point. Similarly, he would argue for the development of the Romance languages from a mixture of Latin and the substratal vernaculars.

Coelho takes the opposite point of view and argues that creoles represent the first stage in the acquisition of a foreign language by speakers of another or other languages. The processes by which they are formed are based on universal psychological laws, and substratum languages have no influence (1880, pp. 193-95). The lowest level of second language learning, which leads to a lingua franca, takes place in an emergency contact situation. Other forms are more advanced in their acquisition of the model language. The lower status groups, reacting more spontaneously and instinctively, are responsible for the formation of creoles through the selective modification of the speech of the higher status group. The latter group might develop a kind of foreigner talk that is similar to the creole.

In support of his universality hypothesis, Coelho mentions a number of characteristics common to different creoles:

- (1) General aspectual particles:
 - ta* "durative aspect": in Ceylon, Curaçao, Cape Verde, Macao;
 - lo* "potential aspect": in Ceylon, Haiti;
 - té* "perfective aspect": in Louisiana, Haiti.
- (2) A preference for stressed pronouns in subject position;
- (3) A number of common lexical items, such as:
 - papia* "speak": in Ceylon, Curaçao, Cape Verde;
 - misté* "need": in Ceylon, Curaçao, Cape Verde, Macao;
 - pamóde* "because": in Macao, San Antao (C.V.).

Writing at a time when little research in pidgins and creoles had been undertaken, Coelho developed an attractive universalist hypothesis, involving principles of language learning. His analysis was not detailed enough, however, to warrant calling him a major precursor of modern creole studies.

SCHUCHARDT AND HESSELING: MOTIVATION AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The colonial structure of creole studies

While Coelho initiated the systematic investigation of creoles, his self-imposed task passed over to Schuchardt in a peculiar way. The latter apparently saw Coelho's first publication and reacted enthusiastically to it, as Coelho wrote in the preface to the second installment of his article:

Having awakened interest among linguists in our study, . . . we prepared to treat the matter in a way as complete as possible, when the erudite and perceptive professor of Romance Languages at the University of Graz, Mr. Hugo Schuchardt, demonstrated his intention to us to occupy himself with the creole dialects, a thing which we are happy to see in such good hands; therefore we decided to limit ourselves in publishing, in the form of simple notes, the collected materials for the special part of our study, . . . waiting for the publication of the illustrious German linguist before we treat again and in a more complete way the general question of the "Formation of the Creole Dialects", in relation to which we do not agree completely with Mr. Schuchardt. (1882, p. 451)

Coelho's own theoretical contribution, mentioned in the cited text, never appeared.

When Schuchardt took over from Coelho, the gap between the speakers of creole and those investigating it again became much wider. Creole studies published in journals like the *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* were of course intended for the *Zeitschrift's* erudite readers, and no thought was given to the lack of educational opportunities or any other matters of importance to creole speakers, as might have been the case in the Lisbon *Boletim*.

Creole data became a product in themselves, separated from the people to whose language they belonged. In publishing the raw data in the *Boletim* and leaving their processing to Schuchardt and his more sophisticated linguistic apparatus, Coelho was only acting out Portugal's role as a middleman in colonial export goods, as is underscored by Schuchardt's following remark:

Several years ago a friend of mine expressed his wonder about the fact that I had the courage to work on dialects which I myself had never heard spoken, in all seriousness he recommended to me overseas trips for the benefit of my creole investigations. The matter is not serious enough however to warrant such frantic ("verzweifelden") mea-

tures. . . . Moreover, this difficulty can be solved within certain bounds; for in London, Paris, Lisbon there are plenty of speakers of creole from the colonies, on the one hand, and on the other, people who are able to fleece ("entläuschen") them about small details for our purpose. Among those there are numerous ones with a higher education, who would take an active part in furthering our interests. (KS VII, p. 199)

Clearly, the historical context within which creole research came into existence was crucial in determining the nature of its development for a long time. This development had three primary characteristics:

(1) the separation of creole language studies from the interests of creole speakers;

(2) the necessity to define creoles as structurally dependent upon and as reductions of their base languages;

(3) an international division of labor between those producing, those collecting, and those analyzing creole language data.

Schuchardt's work

A major source of the attraction that pidgins and creoles had, particularly for Schuchardt, was the irregularity of their development: phonological changes were subject to a variety of factors; different languages contributed items to them in highly unexpected ways; syntactic structure was the result of the interaction of different grammars under varying circumstances. Thus creoles provided Schuchardt with another case in support of his opposition against the Neogrammarians' law of the regularity of sound-change. Nonetheless, Schuchardt's main interest in creoles did not seem to be the search for evidence against the Junggrammatiker, but rather the interaction between different grammars, as expressed in KS IV and KS IX. For him, this grew to be an important theoretical problem in its own right, separate from the substratum problem in Romance Linguistics. On this point, Schuchardt's position was somewhere between that of Adam and that of Coelho. His views on creolization were subtle and complex, to say the least. There is an additional difficulty, however, in that his work is "remarkable both for its complete continuity and for its entirely fragmentary character" (Jordan & Orr, 1970, p. 50).

Reconstructing Schuchardt's vision from about forty scattered publications, varying in size from about half a page to over two hundred pages, is no easy task. We embark upon it in the

belief that Schuchardt had the richest and most complete perception of creoles of any single scholar up to the present. He combined the passion of his time for historical development and classification with a pronounced Humboldtian mentalism. The points at which he failed should be of prime importance to us, sometimes indicating wide gaps that have yet to be filled.

His work on creoles can be divided into three parts: (1) his reviews of fellow creolists and of incidental relevant publications; (2) his systematic series of articles: the *Kreolische Studien* (9 parts), the *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des kreolischen Romanisch* (Contributions to the Study of Creole Romance, 6 parts), and the *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des englischen Kreolisch* (Contributions to the Study of English Creole, 3 parts); (3) his major articles on the Lingua Franca and on Saramaccan. While Schuchardt's period of concentrated attention to creoles was from 1881 to 1890, the articles under (3) were written in 1909 and 1914 respectively. In the thirty-year span his thinking changed on many issues, so that there is some divergence between his earlier and his later views.

The scope of his work, although much wider than that of Coelho and Adam, is different from that of modern creole research. The main Caribbean creoles such as Jamaican Creole, Papiamentu, Haitian Creole, and Sranan Tongo are referred to only rarely, while the Portuguese-based creoles and pidgins of Africa and Asia receive meticulous attention. This difference can be partly explained with reference to Schuchardt's Romance Linguistics background, partly by the sources available to him, and partly by his particular theoretical interests in language mixture.

A bibliography of Schuchardt's works and an analysis of his phonological theories can be found in Vennemann & Wilbur (1972), and an anthology of his work was edited by Leo Spitzer (1922).

Hesseling

Derk Christiaan Hesseling was educated as a classical philologist, but as a young scholar he turned to the study of Modern Greek, in which he held a chair at Leyden University from 1907 till 1929. He was interested in the formation of the Greek *koinê*: was it a direct development of the Attic dialect or the result of dialect mixture? Hesseling tried to find an answer to this question in the detailed study of a possibly similar development, the emergence of Afrikaans in the seventeenth century. He read Schuchardt's article on Malayo-Portuguese (KS IX) and was struck

by the many similarities between Afrikaans and this trade jargon of the East Indies. Consequently he developed the hypothesis that Afrikaans represents the first stage of creolization of a language under the influence of foreign languages, the most important of which was Malayo-Portuguese, spoken by the relatively large numbers of slaves that arrived at the Cape between 1658 and 1685. Via his work on Afrikaans Hesseling entered the field of creole studies, to which he would contribute until the end of his life in 1941.

Hesseling wrote two books on Afrikaans and Negerhollands (1899 and 1905, respectively), both preceded by an article in *De Gids*. After that, he repeatedly returned to the questions posed in his first contributions to creole studies, and, in addition to a revised version of "Het Afrikaans" (1923), he published nearly twenty articles and short notes in which he either defended his views on the origin of Afrikaans or presented new materials relating to Negerhollands and Papiamentu. The scope of Hesseling's work, since it dealt almost exclusively with Afrikaans, Negerhollands, and Papiamentu, is much more restricted than Schuchardt's, both descriptively and theoretically.

Hesseling was a philologist with a keen interest in spoken language and all kinds of vernacular speech, but—like Schuchardt—he never gathered creole data on the spot; instead, he relied on texts, grammatical notes, and personal communications. We have to bear in mind, however, that the phenomena he dealt with were mainly historical: the early history of Afrikaans and the nearly extinct Dutch Creole of the Virgin Islands.

SCHUCHARDT'S VIEWS ON PIDGINS AND CREOLES

Language structure

The linguistic model at the basis of Schuchardt's views stems from Humboldt, but is quite modern in appearance. It can be represented as follows:

INNER FORM

sentence construction

relation words

OUTER FORM

inflection

lexicon

The boundary between sentence construction ("Satzfügung") and relation words ("Beziehungswörter") is far from sharp, however (MALAIO, pp. 202-204). The particular way in which Schuchardt applies this model is strongly reminiscent of Stratificational Grammar.

The pidgin-creole life cycle

The idea of the creole life cycle was clearly developed by 1909, when Schuchardt's article on the Lingua Franca appeared. The question of the modes of simplification involved in pidginization received careful attention, and the resulting opinion can certainly not be reduced to the "baby talk" theory, which is often attributed to Schuchardt. Although this theory constitutes an important element in his work on pidginization, alternative theories receive equal attention.

Pidginization. In a contact situation involving two groups speaking different languages, the simplified language used for communication (the "contact language") will be based on one of the two. The choice of language is dictated by external circumstances, not by any inherent characteristics of the languages themselves. Within the contact language variations attributable to the native language background of the individual speakers may occur. A contact language may thus be related to any native language as "a tree to its roots" (LF, pp. 442-47).

Often there are several different processes of simplification involved in the development of a contact language (LF, p. 445). Two forms of simplification should be distinguished: simplification only with reference to the model language (e.g., lack of number and case), and simplification with reference to two languages. When a certain distinction a/b exists, for instance, in the model, but not in the substratum language, then the resulting creole will have either a or b , or a and b in free variation (KS IV, pp. 130-42). In many cases the choice of the particular form that the simplification will take rests with the speaker of the model language. The speaker of the substrate language will imitate him (SAR IV).

Creolization. Creoles have developed from pidgins into full-fledged, complete languages because the slaves, belonging to many different nations, had no other language in common (LF, p. 443). While creoles are lexically based on one language, many lexical items may have been contributed to them from different African languages. These African elements did not exist in the original

contact language, but were added to it when the contact language became the native language of slave communities (SAR V).

Decreolization. One of the peculiar traits of creoles is the existence of numerous degrees of similarity of the creole to its model, although this does not imply that creole is "individual broken talk" ("individuelles Radebrechen"). Thus system and variation co-occur in creoles (KS IV, p. 113). When in a given area creolized English coexists with standard English, a number of stages emerge in-between, until finally the creole speakers do not speak creole any more, but rather a modified form of standard English. In the case of other European languages coexisting with creoles, decreolization tends to occur to a much lesser degree (SAR VIII).

The special position of English

One interesting feature of Schuchardt's work that has not been clearly described is his claim that English creoles occupy a special position because of the already creolized character of their model. Both in the phase of pidginization and in the phase of decreolization, this trait is of importance. Along the coast of Africa, English could easily replace the pidginized Portuguese spoken there, "because of its already creolized character" (BEITRAGE I, p. 243). English is morphologically much more similar to a creole than are, for example, the Romance languages, and therefore English-based creoles differ from Romance-based creoles in the way both diverge from their model languages, and in the way a continuum is formed with them (SAR IX).

Monogenesis and the role of Portuguese

Because of Schuchardt's intensive preoccupation with the Portuguese-based creoles as his basis for research, one is tempted to consider him to have taken the monogenetic position in explaining the origin of creoles. Actually, his position is ambiguous, probably because for him the issue was not monogenesis versus polygenesis, but rather the relative importance of the substratum. Contrary to Voorhoeve's (1973) monogenetic position, for instance, Schuchardt did not consider Sranan Tongo to be originally Portuguese-based. The most reasonable conclusion as to Schuchardt's position would seem to be that he realized the influence of the early Portuguese-based trade language on individu-

al lexical items and expressions in later creoles, but did not consider this influence determinant in defining them. Furthermore, he assumed borrowing to be such a widespread phenomenon that he did not need a separate concept of relexification to account for the many similarities existing between the different Caribbean creoles.

The similarities between the creole languages are not due to a common ancestor, but to parallel development. They have been constructed out of dissimilar material, but with the same design and in the same style. The difference between the creoles spoken by African slaves and the Asian creoles is not due to African influence in the former group, but to different racial backgrounds, conditions, and experiences (SAR VII).

Schuchardt's account of Annobon creole suggests that relexification must have played some part in his conception of the genesis of creoles: when the Spanish took over Annobon from the Portuguese, the creole speakers did not start speaking Spanish, but rather a predominantly Spanish-based creole based on the earlier Lusitanian creole (ANNOBON 407).

The explanation offered for the complex Surinam creole situation is ingenious, but would nowadays be considered rather weak: originally there were two creoles in Surinam, the English-based Sranan Tongo, and the Portuguese-based Saramaccan. The first borrowed a number of infrequently used Portuguese words from Saramaccan, which in turn borrowed some frequently used English words from Sranan. Now both creoles are subdialects of the same variety. If we would express their components in a formula (N=Negro, H=Dutch, E=English, and P=Portuguese), Sranan has the composition NEP_1H , and Saramaccan NEP_5H (SAR VIII).

The influence of the substratum languages

This topic held Schuchardt's main interest, and he treated it rather extensively. The German creolist was of the opinion that there is a considerable difference between the amount of influence that the African languages exerted on the slave creoles, and the amount of influence exerted by Malay and Tagalog on the creoles in Asia. The latter constituted one single influence on the respective creoles to which they contributed, while the African languages, being numerous, neutralized rather than reinforced each other (CABO, p. 139).

The following list of examples of substratum influence in creoles excludes the Asian creoles, and is limited to the African influence in the slave creoles:

(1) Sequences such as V_i NP V_i . . . , to indicate verb-focus (SAR V):

Papiamentu: *ta lesa bo ta lesa e buki*
 read you read book
 "it's reading that you are . . . the book"

(2) Serial verbs (SAR IV):

Ashanti: *ko fa ba*
 Sranan: *go teki kom*
 English: "to fetch"

(3) Use of a verb where a European language would have a preposition (SAR IV):

Ewe: *ephle so na-m*
 Sranan: *him bai hasi gi mi*
 English: "he bought horses for me"

(4) Post-posed elements where European languages would have preferred pre-posed elements (KS VII):

Annobon: adj more than
 Portuguese: more adj than

(5) The distinction between an unmarked aorist and a marked durative (CABO, p. 138)

(6) Aversion for the /r/ and a preference for labials due to the prominently developed lips of Africans (CABO, p. 138)

(7) Numerous proverbs, folktales, and turns of speech (SAR VII).

Changes in the meaning of individual words, which in creole often vary in meaning from the model language, are due to differences in the cultural background of the new speakers or differences in the physical and cultural environment in which the creole emerges (KS IX, p. 185).

According to Schuchardt, the true criterion for classifying a "mixed" language is to be found in its inflection and its relation

words, i.e., in the inner part of the "outer form" (MALAIO, pp. 202-204). Maybe modern linguistics would rate the "inner word" higher as a criterion for classifying languages.

General features of creoles

Starting with his review of Adam's work (NAMA), Schuchardt was always very careful to distinguish between those features of creoles due to substratum influence, and the features due to universal processes of creolization. His enumeration of the latter type of features is of considerable theoretical interest, although features arising in the stage of pidginization are not kept apart from creolization features as clearly as contemporary creole research would indicate (with the exception of the very interesting point (2):

(1) "Grammatical" morphemes are replaced as much as possible by lexemes (SAR IV):

pierre+s "stones" will become:

pierre pierre, or:

pierre MANY, or:

pierre THEY

(2) All verb forms are replaced by infinitives, except for the irregular verbs, where the 3sg form is used. In a later stage, when the complete creole verbal paradigms are formed, all 3sg forms are replaced by infinitives (LF, p. 445).

(3) Unstressed weak forms are replaced by stressed strong forms (KS I, p. 142): e.g., instead of the preposition *a* "to," *por* "by, through" is used; instead of the article, a demonstrative is used.

(4) All preverbal pronoun clitics are moved or deleted (NAMA, p. 237).

(5) Verbal aspect particles are used instead of tense/aspect inflection (LF, p. 445).

(6) Prepositions are deleted when the meaning of the verb disambiguates the V - NP relation (KS IX, p. 228).

(7) When in predicate position, nouns and adjectives are not as clearly distinguished as in European languages. Thus I AM FEAR is the same as I AM AFRAID, and I HUNGER is equivalent to I HUNGRY. In creoles, the basic semantic relation is what counts (KS IX, p. 203).

(8) European reflexive verbs appear in creole without the reflexive pronoun, but with identical meanings (KS IX, p. 213).

(9) Modifiers that occur in European languages with a pre-nominal and a post-nominal element occur in creoles only as a post-nominal element (NAMA, p. 235): e.g., *ce cheval-là* "that horse over there" becomes *cheval-là* "that horse."

(10) The use of forms like *tem* or *tin* for the equivalent of the Spanish *hay* or the Portuguese *ha* "there is, there are" (KS IX, p. 194).

(11) Items originally meaning "too much" are used instead of items meaning "much" (SAR IV).

(12) Extension in the use and meaning of Portuguese *mesmo* / creole *mes* (KS IX, p. 239).

(13) Reduplicated forms such as (CABO, p. 137):

de bó + bossa = de bossa

of you your of your

(14) The frequent usage of analogy in the process of word-formation (LF, p. 445).

(15) Concrete lexical items from European languages sometimes appear in creoles with generalized or abstract meanings (LF, p. 445).

(16) A preference for visual, vivid, and simple expressions (LF, p. 444, CABO, p. 137).

HESSELING'S VIEWS

Views in common with Schuchardt

Hesseling followed Schuchardt in many respects, not only in his Humboldtian conception of language and in his rejection of Neogrammarian thinking, but also in his general approach to creolization. Although he had more sympathy for Coelho's position that creoles represent the first stages of foreign language learning, than for Lucien Adam's substratum theories, Hesseling fully agrees with Schuchardt that the real problem is to assess the different factors and to indicate their operation in every case (NEHO 2, p. 54).

Other views that Hesseling explicitly adopted from Schuchardt are the importance of the West African Portuguese pidgin in the early formative stage of creole, the possibility that pidgins are multilevel generative systems (Silverstein, 1972), and the general mechanism underlying creolization. Finally, the early creolists concur that different levels of creole coexist in the same speech community, which can be divided into different social classes and ethnic groups.

Afrikaans and Malayo-Portuguese

An evaluation of Hesseling's contribution to creole studies would not be complete without a word about his notorious (at least in South Africa) "Malayo-Portuguese theory" of the origin of Afrikaans.

The language of the slaves that were brought in large numbers to the Cape after 1658 was either Malayo-Portuguese, i.e., the broken Portuguese with Malay elements that formed the lingua franca of the East Indies (the remnants of which were described by Schuchardt), or the very similar Portuguese jargon that was used in the West African slave trade (AFRI 1, p. 54; 2, p. 37). At the Cape this Portuguese-based pidgin came into contact with Dutch, and the special social circumstances of the sudden and intimate confrontation between the two languages caused the simplification of forms that characterizes Afrikaans in comparison with Dutch itself (AFRI 1, p. 27; 2, p. 40).

Although Malayo-Portuguese was not the only factor involved in the simplification process, it was clearly the main one (AFRI 1, p. 153; 2, p. 127). The influence of the languages of the indigenous peoples of South Africa, e.g., the Hottentots, was rather restricted (mainly lexical items plus a single grammatical form), because the contacts with these peoples were of quite a different nature.

The resulting language, Afrikaans, is not a creole, but a language that stopped halfway in the process of creolization because of changing social conditions and the conservative influence of newly arrived groups from Holland (AFRI 1, pp. 70, 155; 2, pp. 60, 128).

Among the grammatical differences between Afrikaans and Dutch that have to be attributed to the influence of Malayo-Portuguese, we find:

(1) the article *die* (a demonstrative in Dutch), presumably a relexification from MP *ackel*, derived from the Portuguese demonstrative *aquel*.

(2) Possessive constructions of the form *Peter his son*.

(3) *Ons* as the first person plural pronoun—MP had one form for subject and object position, and *ons* is the Dutch object pronoun.

(4) Loss of inflection in the verb (AFRI 2, p. 116).

Creolization

Although he clearly distinguished between a trade jargon or pidgin as an auxiliary language and a creole as the native language of a speech community, Hesseling did not give much weight to the distinction between the processes of pidginization and creolization. His central concern was simplification of forms, which he saw both in the formation of a common Negro jargon on board the slave ships and in the subsequent origin of a creole during contact with white colonists (NEHO 2, p. 59).

The most striking theoretical difference between Hesseling and Schuchardt is to be found in the question of the source of the simplification: the latter considered it to be mostly the "foreigner talk" of model language speakers, while the former considered the speech of the learners to be the primary source for the simplification (ZOND, p. 485, AFRI 2, p. 125, KREO, SPA, p. 48). But even on this point Hesseling leaves room for the opposite point of view: the masters do partially adopt the broken language of their social inferiors to make themselves best understood. In theory it may be feasible to distinguish between adaptation (by the inferiors) and borrowing (by the speakers of the model language or by children learning their language from black nurses), but in practice the two processes interact and flow together (ZOND, p. 485).

One has to distinguish between (a) a mixed language or "gemischte Sprache," (b) a "Mischsprache" or "mengeltaal" (the Dutch phrase), and (c) a creole. The first term is almost trivial since every language is in some sense mixed. The second one is applicable if the lexicon contains a very high percentage of loan words or if the grammar is affected. A creole is a kind of "mengeltaal," the defining traits of which stem from its origin (MENG, p. 319). Two conditions, one social and one linguistic, are a *sine qua non* for creolization, namely, the clash between two languages and their dissimilarity. When one of these conditions does not obtain, something different from creolization (=simplification) occurs (NEHO 2, p. 58, AFRI 2, p. 10, MENG, p. 321). The language clash arises from a sudden need to communicate intensively in daily life; one of its most extreme manifestations prevailed in slavery (NEHO 2, p. 59, MENG, p. 315). The main part in the institutionalization of the simplified forms resulting from this language clash is played by children (AFRI 2, p. 115).

The selection of a certain form (e.g., the infinitive) in the

contact language is governed by the frequency of its occurrence in the model language (KREO).

Monogenesis and the role of Portuguese

DeCamp (1971, p. 22) honors Hesseling as the first adherent to the monogenetic hypothesis for Asian and Caribbean creoles, assuming the Portuguese pidgin to be the common ancestor, and Voorhoeve (1973, p. 134) seems to imply the same. The present authors, however, could not find any passage in Hesseling's work that would warrant such a conclusion. It is true that Hesseling stressed the importance and distribution of Portuguese both in the East Indies (including the Cape) and in the West African slave trade. He even argued that Angolan and Guineese slaves who were brought to the Cape in 1658 (partly from an intercepted Portuguese slaver that was on its way from Angola to Brazil) had learned the Portuguese-based lingua franca in West Africa or on board the ship (AFRI 1, p. 53; 2, p. 39).

But in relation to Negerhollands Portuguese is only mentioned as the possible source of some lexical items: "Furthermore, in every creole dialect one can expect Portuguese words from the nautical and slave language that was widely distributed along the Gold and Slave Coasts" (NEHO 2, p. 68). Hesseling explained the creolization of Dutch in the Danish Antilles and of Spanish on Curaçao as resulting from contact with the *African* mother tongues of the slaves.

The similarities between Afrikaans and the varieties of Dutch that were once spoken in the East Indies and Ceylon can possibly be explained by the existence of a general Indo-Dutch, from which they are all derived; this Indo-Dutch already contained Malayo-Portuguese elements. Another possibility is that these similarities are due to general factors of creolization and similar circumstances of emergence (AFRI 1, p. 73; 2, p. 63; CEYL, p. 311).

The similarities between Afrikaans and Negerhollands must be attributed to the fact that both languages developed under the influence of substratum languages (NEHO 2, p. 122). The differences between the two are due to the fact that (a) the creolization of Afrikaans stopped half-way; (b) slightly different dialects of Dutch were involved; and most importantly, (c) the creolization of Negerhollands was caused by other languages than Malayo-Portuguese (NEHO 2, pp. 69, 122).

The similarities between Negerhollands and Papiamentu

can be accounted for by referring to similar substratum languages, general characteristics of creolization, and by the extensive borrowing that Negerhollands did from Papiamentu (PAP).

We may conclude that Hesseling cannot be considered to be the spiritual father of the monogenetic hypothesis. The only elements in his work that would fit within a monogenetic hypothesis are his discussion of the origin of Afrikaans and some general remarks about borrowing.

Substratum influence

According to Hesseling, creole languages do not represent the grammar of substratum languages. The syntax of African languages, their most characteristic part, differs too much from that of creole for this to be the case (e.g., the so-called nominal classifiers and serial verbs of the Bantu languages) (SPA, p. 50; NEHO 1, p. 303; 2, p. 56).

The multiplicity of African languages involved in the contact situation neutralized their influence rather than strengthening it, and what remains is their greatest common denominator (NEHO, p. 58).

Among cases of direct African substratum influence in Papiamentu and Negerhollands we find:

(1) The use of the third person plural pronoun as a plural suffix: *-sender* in NH, *-nan* in Pap. (NEHO 2, p. 94, PAP, p. 272).

(2) The use of aspect particles. In NH these are the following: (*le*) 'durative', (*lo*) 'near future/durative present', (*h*) *a* 'past', (*sa(l)*) 'future', (*ka*) 'perfect' (NEHO 2, p. 103).

(3) The placement of all particles immediately before the verb (NEHO, p. 118).

(4) A general tendency to use double and periphrastic forms (NEHO 2, p. 111).

If we compare Hesseling's listing of substratum influences with that of Schuchardt's, we notice immediately that Hesseling is considerably more cautious in postulating substratum influence, but also that (1) and (4) would be characterized by Schuchardt as general characteristics of creolization. Similarly, all the features which Hesseling postulates to be due to a Malayo-Portuguese substratum influence in Afrikaans, Schuchardt would consider to have come about in an autonomous process of creolization.

AN EVALUATION

By 1880 linguists had gone beyond the kind of racism that held that the "simplicity" of creoles was due to the limited mental capacity of Africans. Note that the conception of creole languages as "simple" stems from a conception of language as an inventory of items and of morphological distinctions. Starting from the premise that creoles were modified forms of European model languages, it was felt necessary to explain the simplification that had taken place as a concomitant of the learning situation: the "baby talk theory" and the imperfect learning theory were suggested, but not clearly kept apart.

Schuchardt developed both theories in his work, although he probably valued the first one more highly. One may assume that the reason he did not keep the different theories apart is that his primary interest was language mixture ("Sprachmischung"), not processes of simplification, which has become one of our main present concerns. It would be unfortunate if this difference in theoretical focus made Schuchardt's work irrelevant to present-day creole research, because the complex problems that Schuchardt raised have not been solved yet, and a careful review of some parts of Schuchardt's work might provide a usable theoretical framework to deal with the problem of calques, forms of borrowing and relexification.

While Schuchardt's views reached later scholars oversimplified and distorted, Hesseling's writing hardly influenced modern creole research at all. This is probably because it relates mostly to Negerhollands and Afrikaans, and because of the language in which Hesseling wrote, Dutch.

Nonetheless Hesseling's work constitutes a complete theory of creolization in its own right, and probably on many points a much less ambiguous one than Schuchardt's. Also, Hesseling avoids the baby talk theory altogether, a position appealing to most modern scholars. As was already seen, the two pioneers in creole research coincide on a great many points, particularly as regards the general characteristics of pidginization and creolization. In scope they differ considerably, however, and Schuchardt's grasp of the data was much better. A case in point is the serial verbs, which Hesseling did not recognize in creole (a reason why he may have underestimated the role of the African languages in the formation of creoles), but which Schuchardt discusses extensively.

The question of Afrikaans is the only part of Hesseling's

writing still currently under discussion. The present authors do not pretend to evaluate the different theories as to the origin of Afrikaans; Hesseling's position on this point has been taken up again by the creolist Marius Valkhof (1966), who adduces additional evidence to support Hesseling's original hypothesis and makes the premises involved more explicit. At the same time, however, Valkhof departs from his predecessor's theory in postulating two separate lingua francas at the base of modern Afrikaans.

Pidgins, creoles, and universals

Rousseau's dream of contemplating man in his natural form, stripped of all the trappings of civilization and history, reappears in the image of creole universals. Interestingly enough, Bertrand-Bocandé already assumed that the grammar of creoles was universal in corresponding to a minimal communication system, in which only the basic semantic relations could be expressed. Coelho had a similar idea, referring to the spontaneity and instincts of creole speakers. Of course, that same idea of the naturalness and universality of creoles is still with us.

Research in pidgin and creole languages has centered around three types of linguistic universals involved in the formation of creoles: (1) universals of simplification; (2) universals of elaboration or grammar formation; (3) universal characteristics of the interaction between the substratum languages and the model language.

On (1) significant progress has been made. Here Schuchardt's work is illuminating not in the conceptual frameworks it provides, but in that it makes an inventory of some of the processes playing a part in the stage of pidginization. Two of these processes are worth mentioning. First the behavioral principle later made explicit by Naro (1973, p. 447): "express each separately intuited element of meaning by a phonologically separate stress-bearing form." Second a perceptual strategy which may be formalized as follows:

$$x_1 Y (x_2) \longrightarrow \phi Y (x_2)$$

This strategy accounts for the deletion for preverbal clitics, the reflexive pronoun, and prenominal modifiers, and can easily be explained on general psychological grounds. Slobin's conclusions from comparative research of child language acquisition seem to point in the same direction (1972, p. 74).

Universals of type (2) only recently have become a focus of interest, but the initial results are promising. Here the early creolists have next to nothing to contribute, as they were limited by their view that creoles are no more than reductions of their models.

Work on universals of type (3) has barely started. It is precisely on this point that Schuchardt's writing could be of relevance, once the articles on Asian creoles have been reviewed and evaluated carefully. The distinction between "inner" and "outer" forms enabled Schuchardt to adopt a powerful theory of linguistic interaction for Malaysian Portuguese and Philippine Spanish (KS IV, KS IX). Their Asian inner forms would have been filled up by a Romance lexicon, and the result, also partly due to morphological simplification, is classified by Schuchardt as Romance.

While Schuchardt made this relexification theory quite explicit in the Asian case and provided an interesting formalism to describe it (KS IX), he did not apply it to the Caribbean creoles. In the case of Saramaccan, where it is characterized as "language chemistry" ("Sprachchemie"), it appears diluted and vague.

Schuchardt and Hesseling gathered a tremendous body of data on creoles, and particularly on the Portuguese- and Dutch-based ones, which until the present moment have remained little studied. Their views on the general processes of pidginization and creolization are widely held now. Thus, they created a new field of linguistic investigation and at the same time contributed more to it than anyone else. If their work appears unsatisfactory because clear conceptual distinctions (e.g., between pidgins and creoles) remain blurred, and too many possible answers are suggested to undefined questions, then we must realize that only a small part of modern creole research conforms to the standards that we would like to set for the early creolists.

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