

A comparison of reduplication in Limonese Creole and Akan

Samuel Gyasi Obeng &
Elizabeth Grace Winkler

Introduction

Limonese Creole (LC) is a second-generation English-based Creole descent Creole (JC). For several decades preceding and following the turn of the 20th 10 000 Afro-Caribbeans, mostly from Jamaica, immigrated to Limon, Costa Rica by railway to the capital, San José. After the completion of the railroad, most remained to work for the United Fruit Company (Bryce-Laporte, 1993; Herzfeld 1993). When these Jamaicans came to Catholic Spanish-speaking Costa Rica, they not only brought their families but also much of their social infrastructure, including Protestant churches, and social clubs in which English and JC were spoken. In the years, the Afro-Limonese maintained a mostly separate society. Thus, the local dialect and over time began to develop distinctly from JC.¹ Herzfeld (1978:193) indicates that the Jamaican immigrants "came mostly from the mesolectal ranks of JC speech because of the fact that they were being hired by an American company and in positions that required literacy. In fact, there are a number of quite common forms of JC which occur only infrequently in normal LC discourse. Thus, the JC base correspond to forms of *be* for the copula in LC basilectal speech. Also, some varieties of LC only rarely use *a* + verb to indicate progressive aspect (e.g., *Shi* 'They more commonly use *be* + verb-*in* (*Shi iz gowin*).²

Aspects of the historical development of LC can be traced back through languages of West Africa, including Akan, spoken primarily in Ghana and the Ivory Coast. For example, the use and forms of reduplication in LC show a limited number of the same phenomena in varieties of Akan, including Asante-Twi, Fante, and Akuapem of the Kwa language group of the Niger-Congo family. It is not only in the use of reduplication that LC and Akan share features; in addition, they share the use of ideophones as well as common lexical items (Winkler & Obeng, 2000).

Mufwene (1990, 1996), among others (e.g. Hall, 1966; Holm, 1988; Thomaso et al., 1998), has posited that early Creole development was influenced at some level by the languages spoken by its first speakers. In this chapter, we follow Mufwene's Principle, which allows for contributions from both substrate and superstrate languages to the bioprogram:

Structural features have been predetermined to a large extent (but not exclusively) by the characteristics of the vernaculars spoken by the populations that founded the colony. The only influences in competition are structures of the lexicons of the substrate languages; the language bioprogram or Universal Grammar, which is conceived of as operating exclusively in children, regulates the selection of structures from among the options in competition among the language varieties in contact (84, 85).

Holm (1988:89) similarly accepts a broader vision of the influences on Creole development:

Studies of reduplication in Creoles and African languages reveal semantic categories to each other than to those in European languages, although there are indeed parallels suggesting the influence of language universals.

1 For a more detailed account of the sociolinguistic and historical background of the Afro-Limonese Creole see Herzfeld (1978), Purcell (1993), and Winkler (1998).

2 For other examples of differences between JC and LC see Herzfeld (1978).

Accordingly, this work will describe similarities in the use and structure of reduplication in LC and Akan which may have been the result of substrate influence during the development of JC, the progenitor of LC (§2). In addition, important differences in these systems will be noted which point to additional contributions to the development of reduplication in JC which were passed on to LC.

1 Historical evidence supporting Akan influence

We have chosen to explore the influence of West African languages on reduplication from LC, presumably inherited from JC, because sufficient historical evidence exists to support the influence of the Akan/Asante people in West Africa and in Jamaica. Support for Akan/Twi dominance on the plantations of Jamaica has long been established (Alleyne 1993; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985; McWhorter 1997b; Mufwene 1996); however, in this particular case, dominance was political in nature and not numeric: "there is evidence among Maroons and among Jamaicans in general of an inter-African syncretism and assimilation taking place within a broader framework of Asante (or Koromanti) dominance" (Alleyne 1993:177). Additionally, the influence of Kwa speakers had a greater effect in Jamaica than in some of the other English-Creole speaking areas (e.g. Barbados) because the shift from homestead farming to large-scale plantations occurred earlier in the development of JC, thus widening the gap between the number of Africans and Europeans and lessening the contact opportunities for acquisition of the lexifier language by the slaves (Mufwene 1996).

The Akan influence in Jamaica is evident from its impact on JC. According to Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985:47), "the largest number of Africanisms recorded in DJE [Dictionary of Jamaican English] are from the Akan (Gold Coast) languages, especially from Twi and Ewe." Cassidy & Le Page, in fact, dedicate considerable discussion to the phonological and lexical similarities between Twi and JC in their introduction to DJE (1980).

Akan influence, however, was not limited to vocabulary. McWhorter (1997a:83) points out syntactic parallels between JC and West African languages, and Alleyne (1993) notes similarities in the phonology. Alleyne further notes that "it can be demonstrated that not just the pitch, intonation, and timbre, but entire functioning languages were carried to Jamaica, and can still be found there even now" (1993:171). Presumably, these traits were carried to Limon, Costa Rica with the massive immigration of JC speakers.

2 General structure of reduplication in LC and Akan

The use of reduplication in LC is not nearly as common as in the Akan-speaking areas of West Africa, neither in frequency nor in extensiveness of function.³ Reduplication in current varieties of LC is more restricted than in Akan and is generally limited to indicating intensification, iteration, or duration, pluralization and in a very limited way, derivation. In Akan, reduplication is a very productive process and is used quite commonly for a variety of functions including intensification of adjectives and adverbs, repetition or duration of an action, pluralization, shifting the morphological or syntactic category of a word, and changing the meaning of a word.

Additionally, reduplication in LC is limited in the string that may be reduplicated: the complete stem of the word must be repeated. In Akan, there are numerous reduplications in which only part of a stem is repeated:

- (1) *kaw / kekaw* 'to bite / bite several times or several things'
fir / fifir 'to go out / to go out several times'
dɔre / dodɔre 'to be fat / several people/ animals becoming fat'⁴

There seems to be no limit, however, on the number of times a stem may be repeated in LC or Akan as will be demonstrated in the examples offered throughout this paper.

When comparing LC and Akan, we focused on two types of reduplication: retentions. Calques occur when the source language pattern is maintained, but borrowing language are substituted for the original language of the expression. Retentions, on the other hand, occur when both the language structure and the borrowing language are maintained by the borrowing language; for example, Twi *pɔtɔpɔ* been retained in LC and JC as *potopoto* 'muddy'. Although reduplicated reter possible examples of calques are quite common. For instance, the Twi word 'very young' is directly calqued into LC as *liki-liki*⁵ with the same meaning as 'This is not to exclude the possibility that these forms may have arisen independently on West African structures. Furthermore, in both LC and JC reduplication is calques and retentions of West African structures as will be discussed in the next paper.

The following sections will describe the different functions of reduplication processes associated with it.

3 Functions of reduplication in Limon Creole and Akan

3.1 Intensification

In LC, the employment of reduplication for intensification is quite common. It is restricted to the reduplication of prenominal (2) and predicate adjectives (3) as

- (2) *Mi granimaada mariid to a blak-blak-blak man*
 1S grandmother married to a black-black-black man
 'My grandmother was married to a black man'
- (3) *Jiemz tráng-tráng*
 James strong-strong 'James is very strong' ('James is strong')
- (4) *We yu vex-vex op so fa?*
 what 2S vex-vex up so for 'What is so vexing about it?'

In LC, reduplication can also be used to show the "limitedness" or "smallness" of a noun (discussed (Wright-Murray, 1974):

- (5) *wan-wán grien a kokó*
 one-one grain of cocoa 'a few grains of cocoa'

All of this holds true for Akan as well. However, where in Akan the reduplication of an adjective of quality modifying a plural noun, the adjective is both pluralized and reduplicated:

- (6) *nipa kese' / nnipa akese-akese*
 person big (=important) / PL-person big-big
 'big person, important person / big people'
- (7) *abofra tuntum / mmofra tuntum-tuntum*
 child black / PL-child black-black 'black children'

³ The LC data used in this study originates from two primary sources: a naturally-occurring corpus of interviews and candid recordings of 43 native-speakers of LC in Limon, Costa Rica. Examples were also gleaned from publications and master's and doctoral dissertations, many of which contained lengthy transcriptions of LC speech. Language examples from these sources will be individually cited. The remaining examples were collected by author Winkler. In addition, a number of examples were obtained from an LC native-speaker during sessions for the purpose of eliciting lexical items for an LC dictionary being written by Portilla, and during a brief session to elicit additional examples of reduplication. Because only limited solicitation of reduplicated forms was performed, no claims are made that certain forms do not exist. Thanks are due to LC native speaker Marcia Reid Chambers for her examples and infinite patience. The Akan data were collected from author Samuel Obeng, a native speaker of Twi and other varieties of Akan.

⁴ Examples in Twi are written in its standard orthography which includes the letters *e* and *ɔ* of these two letters is not necessarily identical to that of the corresponding IPA symbols.

⁵ The lexical item *potopoto* is also found in present-day varieties of Baule and Yoruba (Holm from Cassidy & LePage (1980).

⁶ Velarization of medial stops is not uncommon in LC, JC, and Akan.

⁷ Because many LC speakers can easily range from basilect to acrolect, there will be occasional orthography which reflect the mixture of forms used. Words that are distinctly acrolect appear in standard English orthography.

The repetition of the adjective in the following Akan utterance has two functions: to indicate the plurality of the noun and to intensify the quality of the adjective:

- (8) *mmofra tuntum-tuntum-tuntum*
 PL-child black-black-black 'very black children'

With predicate adjectives, reduplication in LC may be used to indicate the completive nature of the condition described:

- (9) *Di kyar mashop-mashop*
 the car mash up-mash up 'The car is completely wrecked' (Wright-Murray, 1974)

In both LC and Akan, roots may be repeated more than once. Several factors affect the number of repetitions produced, for example, the level of intensity the speaker wishes to convey, the extent of quality being reduplicated, or the character of the quantity being discussed. There appears to be no limit on the number of times a stem may be repeated in either LC (10) or Akan (11):

- (10) *It waz ogli-ogli-ogli. When da earth gwain to shiek*
 3S was ugly-ugly-ugly when the earth going to shake
aal yu sii iz dis kraka-kraka-kraka-kraka!
 all 2S see is this IDEO (x4)
 'It was very ugly. When the earth was shaking you heard crack crackcrack crack!'
- (11) *Me nana baa waree Obarima tun-tun-tum⁸*
 1s grandparent female marry-PAST man black-black-black
 'My grandmother was married to a very black man'

3.2 Pluralization

The morphological process of reduplicating nouns for pluralization occurs in both LC (12-14) and Akan (15, 16), though it is certainly more productive in Akan:

- (12) *Wata ipa faya-faya outsayd de*
 what-a heap-of fire-fire outside there 'What a great number of fires there are outside'
- (13) *Go tek up dem ipa ashes-ashes yu av tro ol about*
 go take up 3P heap-of ashes-ashes 2s have thrown all about
 'Go and pick up the heaps of ashes you have thrown all over'
- (14) *Kodo-kodo mi an yu gwain a go de*
 elbow-elbow 1s and 2s going to go there 'Arm in arm you and I will go there together'

(14) is particularly interesting, involving a Spanish word (*kodo*). Because practically all LC speakers are bilingual, they commonly borrow from Spanish and codeswitch to Spanish.

In Akan, the reduplicated forms may also be inflected:

- (15) *akwadaa > nkwadaa > nkwadaa-nkwadaa*
 child > PL-child > PL-child-PL-child 'child > children > many children'
- (16) *aboawa > mmoawa > mmoawa-mmoawa*
 germ > PL-germs > PL-germs-PL-germs 'germ > germs > many germs'

3.3 Iteration and duration

Reduplication of the verb by speakers of both LC (17-20) and Akan (21-25) is used to signal either continuous, lengthy actions or actions repeated over and over:

- (17) *i rien-rien*
 3s rain-rain 'It rains continuously' (Wright-Murray, 1974)

- (18) *Da rasta dem dodgin-dodgin-dodgin-dodgin owt to da duor wan to da i*
 the rasta PL dodging (x4) out to the door one to the
waa sii if dem kud pik op somting
 wantsee if 3P could pick up something 'The Rastas were continuously
 one after another, to see if they c
- (19) *Di tficha laik biit-biit*
 the teacher like beat-beat 'The teacher whips constantly'
- (20) *Yu avto jompin-jompin*
 2s have to jumping-jumping 'You have to

Note that in LC examples (18) and (20), the root of the reduplicated verb is th. This is another feature in which LC and JC differ. The not-uncommon present inflection *-in* throughout LC speech reflects the fact that certain aspects of LC examples were attested in which the root without the progressive inflection in: **jomp-jumpin*. As demonstrated here, Akan reduplication involves the root which is then inflected:

- (21) *esese wohuri-huri*
 must 2s-jump-jump 'You must
- (22) *Se merekoha, esese mehye-hye-hye-hye baage akese mm*
 if 1s-am-prog-go-there if-must 1s-pack-pack-pack-pack bag-PL big thre
 'If I am going down there, I

In Akan, unlike in LC, reduplicated verbs inflect for person. Reduplication shows agreement with plural subjects or objects. Thus, in (23), the singular subject *nyin*, but the plural subject *mmofra* requires a plural verb, so *n*. In (24), the singular verb *fre* requires a singular object *abofra*, whereas the plural *fre-fre* requires the plural object *mmofra*:

- (23) *Abofra no anyin / Mmofra no anyin-yin*
 child the has-grown / PL-child the have-grow-grow
 'The child has grown / The
- (24) *Fre abofra no / Fre-fre mmofra no*
 call child the / call-call PL-child the
 'Call the child / Call the children'

The following Akan example, analogous to LC (18), involves the reduplicated verb *pue* 'to go out' and *hwe* 'to see,' along with the adverb *rehwe* 'continuously.' These examples clearly show that reduplication is quite productive in Akan:

- (25) *Na mpese-mpese fof no pue-pue nwaa-nwaa-nwaa rehwe-hwe*
 FOC Rasta-Rasta-PL the go-out-go-out slowly-slowly-slowly look-look
se wɔn nsa be ka bi a
 that their hand will touch some if
 'The Rastas were continuously c
 one after another to see if they c'

3.4 Derivation

Kouwenberg & LaCharité (2001, *this volume*) describe a type of reduplication to be unrelated to substrate influence, which they term "X-like" reduplication. The use of reduplication to cause a change in the class of a root noun or verb shift in meaning for a root adjective. "The semantic effect is to produce the at (in the case of nouns), activity (in the case of verbs), or property (in the case of adjectives) by the base as a characteristic attribute" (Kouwenberg & LaCharité, 2001:12). Reduplication of a root which is monosyllabic, then the phoneme /i/ will be added to the root. X-like reduplication contrasts in meaning with the simple reduplication of the root. This type of reduplication is also found in LC, as in (26-28). Note that the root *eat*, and *shiek* 'to shake' occur in LC, whereas **joki*, **nyami*, and **shieki* do not occur in LC to meet the 2-syllable constraint as it is in JC:

- (26) *jogi-jogi / joki-joki man* 'a man characterized by jokes, a clown' (Winkler 1998)

⁸ The stem for the word 'black' in Akan is either *tuntum*, of which *tumm* is a reduced form. One could, depending on the degree of blackness, have partial or complete reduplication. Thus, *tuntuntuntum* is blacker than *tuntuntum*.

- (27) *in nyami-nyami* 'He's a glutton' (Wright-Murray, 1974)
 (28) *in shieki-shieki* 'He's very shaky' (Wright-Murray, 1974)

Although other examples of the use of reduplication for the purpose of a shift in word class were not attested in the LC data, this is not an uncommon process in Akan, where the reduplication of nouns is most often used to facilitate a change in the class of the word, as in (29), where reduplication creates a denominal adjective.⁹

- (29) *dua / nnuennua* 'tree / woody'

3.5 Non-existent base forms

There are a number of examples of reduplications in LC for which the unreduplicated form of the root stem does not exist separate from the reduplicated form:

- (29) *tukutuku* 'small, but well built' (Winkler, 1998; Portilla, 1995); **tuku*
mumu 'dummy'; **mu*
posoposo 'very old'; **poso*
finkefinke 'very skinny'; **finke*
djagadjaga 'very dirty, untidy'; **djaga*

Some of these are phonetically unaltered retentions from Akan. This is true of *tukutuku*, *mumu*, and *posoposo* (30), although the meaning of *mumu* in Akan is broader, encompassing 'stupid, deaf, ugly looking, acting'. Phonological change (consonant voicing) has altered one Akan reduplicated form: LC *djagadjaga* seems to derive from Akan *kyakakyaka* 'very untidy'. Simplex forms exist in Akan only for *tukutuku* and *posoposo*: *tukuu* 'big' and *posoo* 'old.'

- (30) *Menim nea enti a akwakora poso-poso yi rehwe-hwe me saa*
 1S-NEG-know what why old-man old-old this prog-look-look 1S that way
 'I don't know why this very old man is looking for me'

In the great majority of cases, reduplication in LC is the simple repetition of a freestanding root word; however, there are a number of examples for which the root exists in a phonetically different form:

- (31) *I duonnuo wai dis roko-roko man luk pan mi fa*
 1S don't know why this rock-rock man look on 1S for
 'I don't know why this very old man [with a rock face] is looking at me'

3.6 Sarcasm

LC appears to have a use of reduplication not identified in Akan—for derogatory expressions or sarcasm. However, this use was only attested once in the corpus: in (32), the expression *pritti-priti* is used to denote that the boy being spoken of is only good for his looks and nothing else. The tonal pattern consists of a series of high tones with some key lowering in the second set.

- (32) *Da yuut nou, dei not gwain an work naw in dowz stuor, dei duon wan*
 the youth now 3P NEG going and work nou in those store 3P don't want
da priti-priti bwaidem kom an sii dem workin intu no stuor
 the pretty-pretty boy PL come and see 3P working inside no store
 'The youths now, they are not going to work in those stores,
 they don't want the very pretty boys to come and see them working in any store'

⁹ Normal Akan phonological processes contribute to the dissimilarity between the root and the reduplication. The prefix /n/ is a plural marker; and causes the voiced stop /d/ of the root to assimilate into nasal /n/. In addition, in Akan reduplication, low -ATR vowels influenced by following +ATR vowels change to /e/. These processes combine to create the reduplicated form *nnuennua* [PL-tree-PL-tree] 'woody.'

3.7 Prosody in Limonese Creole and Akan reduplication

Prosodic features play a significant role in reduplication in both Akan and LC features found in the data include key lowering, downdrifting, and downstepping.

In the reduplications with a series of syllables characterized by low tonal clear examples of key lowering are noted. Key lowering describes a prosodic pitch lowering of low tones that continues down to the bottom of the speaker's pitch range. It applies both to LC (33) and Akan (34). Unreduplicated forms have LL structure and the reduplicated forms have LI structure. Due to the successive low tones, the pitch drop is so considerable that it reaches the speaker's pitch range.

- (33) *Der av blak man duon nuo nutin, nutin-nutin-nutin-nutin of*
 therehave black man don't know nothing, nothing (x4) of
 'There are Black men who don't know a'
- (34) *efie ho aye basà-basà-basà-basà*
 house therePERF-be untidy-untidy-untidy-untidy 'The hou

Downdrifting involves the lowering of the pitch of high tones that alternate with low tones in both Akan and Limonese, because reduplicated forms repeat the tonal structure of the root, except in some unusual cases, both high tone and low tone placement. In LC examples (35) and (36), the tonal pattern for both *taakin-taakin-taakin-taakin* and *entcasom* is H-L-H-L-H-L-H-L. The high tones fall in pitch throughout the reduplication, the presence of the intervening low tones. In these examples, the second high tone is lower than the first high tone. Because of the preceding low tones, the descent in pitch of the second high tone is greater.

- (35) *It's jos evalastin taakin-taakin-taakin-taakin ...*
 It's just everlasting talking (x4) 'It's ju
- (36) *Wan kàsá-kàsá-kàsá-kàsá a entcasom*
 3P talk-talk-talk-talk which 3S-not-fall ear in 'It's just continuous ta

Downstepping involves a high tone whose pitch height is lowered. Two kinds are identified: (a) automatic downstepping in which the lowering of the high tone is phonologically, since an overt low tone brings down the pitch of the following high tone; (b) non-automatic downstepping, in which the pitch height of successive high tones get lowered. In a downdrift situation, whenever there is a descending low tone, the high tone whose pitch has been lowered is classed as downstepped. Examples follow for LC (37) and Akan (38):

- (37) *Y que colera! De uno we yu av to wietin-weitin, cho!*
 [Spanish] that one which 2s have to waiting-waiting oh
 'How irritating! For that one you have
- (38) *Ne se ye fitá-fitá-fitá-fitá*
 3s teethbe white-white-white-white 'H

In these cases, the tonal pattern on the reduplication is H throughout. The pitch of the high tones are lower than those of the initial high tones. This cannot be termed as downstepping because the descent in pitch is slight and does not come close to the bottom of the speaker's pitch range.

In LC, tone alone may be the distinctive feature between two reduplications with different meanings as illustrated here:

- (39) *a gud-gúd gón / a gúd-gúd gon*
 a good-good gun / a good-good gun
 'a real gun (i.e. not a toy) / a very good gun

4 Current trends in Limonese Creole and Akan usage

The productive use of reduplication in LC has been diminishing somewhat over the years, and it is clear that the full spectrum and structure of reduplications in JC were not fully maintained in LC. Nor are either JC or LC systems exact replicas of systems like Akan or other West African languages. Furthermore, as LC begins to borrow more and more from the acrolect because of renewed access to standard varieties of English, reduplicated forms are being replaced by SE forms by certain groups within the community. In the corpus collected by the second author (Winkler, 1998), it was noted that only 44% of the interviews and the candid recordings of the male informants, contained examples of reduplication; for the women, it was more than half (57%). It may be that because many men have traditionally worked outside of the community (on vacation cruise ships and in the USA), that access to other varieties of English has encouraged the use of standard manners of expressing what was once expressed by reduplication.

Age also plays a role in the decline of reduplication in LC and in fact, in the use of the language itself. Because LC speakers now live in a predominantly Spanish-speaking community, and because virtually all LC speakers also speak Spanish, intermarriage has increased. The children of these unions are less likely to speak LC though they tend to maintain a passive understanding of it. Because many of the community's children are also receiving classes in English as a second language in the public schools, impact from the acrolect is likely to increase, accompanied by a reduction in the use of reduplication.

Unlike in LC, there is no evidence to show that the use of reduplication in Akan is on the decline. Reduplication is a deep-rooted part of the language. Correct use of reduplication, especially in formal genres, like poetry, formal discourse, and proverbs, is considered good speech, an act of creativity, part of the prestige variety of the language. This is not true of LC. Thus, a review of almost 300 LC proverbs (Herzfeld, 1991; Herzfeld & Perry, 1996, Wright-Murray, 1974) provides not a single example of reduplication.

5 Summary

It is clear, that the system of reduplication in LC, a system which is itself a subset of JC, is greatly reduced from that of Akan. Not only is reduplication less productive in LC, but the full spectrum of reduplication types found in Akan are not present in current varieties of LC, and there are reduplications in LC which may not be attributed to substrate influence. Thus, X-like reduplication, which is found in both JC and LC, cannot be explained by an Akan substrate. There are, however features which appear to be shared, for example there are some calques and retentions of specific lexemes from Akan in LC, in addition to sharing prosodic processes like key lowering and downdrift.

References

- Alleyne, Mervyn C 1993 Continuity versus creativity in Afro- American language and culture. Mufwene, Salikoko S (ed) *Africanisms in Afro-American language varieties*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 167-91.
- Bryce-Laporte Robert 1993 A lesser known chapter of the African diaspora: West Indians in Costa Rica. Harris, J. E (ed) *Global dimensions of the African Diaspora*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 137-58.
- Cassidy, Fredrick G & LePage, Robert B 1980 *Dictionary of Jamaican English*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Christaller, J G 1875 *A grammar of the Asante and Fante language called Tshi*. Basel Evangelical Missionary Society, Germany.
- Dolphyne, Florence A 1965 *The phonetics and phonology of the verbal piece in the Asante dialect of Twi*. PhD dissertation, University of London.
- Hall, Robert A Jr 1966 *Pidgin and Creole languages*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Haugen, Einar 1956 *Bilingualism in the Americas: a bibliography and research guide*. Alabama: American Dialect Society, University of Alabama Press.

- Herzfeld, Anita 1977 Second language acrolect replacement. *Kansas Working* 2:193-222.
- 1978 *Tense and aspect in Limon Creole: a sociolinguistic view towards a C* dissertation, University of Kansas.
- 1980 Creole and Standard: contact and conflict. *Zeitschrift für Dialekt* Beihefte, Heft 32. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- 1983a The Creoles of Costa Rica and Panama. Holm, John (ed.) *Cem* Heidelberg: Julius Groos Verlag, 131-56.
- 1983b Limon Creole and Panama Creole: comparison and contrast. Ca. (ed.) *Studies in Caribbean language*. St. Augustine, Trinidad: Society for C 23-37.
- 1991 The pragmatics of proverb performance in Limonese Creole. *Mi Conference Papers*. Lawrence, KA: University of Kansas Linguistics Depart
- 1994a The teasing strategy in Limonese Creole. 1994 *Mid-America Linguis* Lawrence, KA: University of Kansas Linguistics Department.
- 1994b Language and identity: the black minority of Costa Rica. *Filología y L*
- Herzfeld, Anita & Perry, Franklin 1996 Limonese Creole proverbs and *Lingüística* 22:155-93.
- Holm, John 1988 *Pidgins and Creoles* [Vol. 1] New York: Cambridge University
- Kouwenberg, Silvia & LaCharité, Darlene 2001 The mysterious case of (Christie, Pauline (ed.) *Due respect. Papers on English and English-related C* in honour of Professor Robert LePage. Barbados etc: University of the West In
- 2003 An overview of Jamaican reduplication. *This volume*, 105-10.
- Le Page, Robert & Tabouret-Keller, Andrée 1985 *Acts of identity. Creole-based and ethnicity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McWhorter, John 1997a It happened at Cormantin: locating the origin of based Creoles. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 12:59-102.
- 1997b *Towards a new model of Creole genesis*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Mufwene, Salikoko 1990 Transfer and the substrate hypothesis in creolist *Language Acquisition*, 12:1-23.
- 1996 The Founder Principle in Creole Genesis. *Diachronica* 13:83-134.
- Portilla Chaves, Mario 1994 *Reconstrucción fonológica y del sistema de TMA de atlántico*. PhD Dissertation, Universidad de Bielefeld.
- 1995 Tono en el criollo inglés de Costa Rica. *Filología y Lingüística* 20:135-39.
- 1996 Una ortografía para el criollo inglés de Costa Rica. *Filología y Lingüísti*
- [n d] Tiempo-aspecto-modo en el criollo inglés de Costa Rica. Ms.
- Purcell, Trevor W 1993 *Banana fallout: Class, color, and culture among West Ind* Angeles, CA: Center for Afro-American Studies.
- Rapp, E 1936 *An introduction to Twi*. Basel: Basel Evangelical Missionary Societ
- Thomason, Sarah G & Kaufman, Terrence 1988 *Language contact, creolization,* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Winkler, Elizabeth Grace 1998 *Limonese Creole: A case of contact induced l* dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington.
- Winkler, Elizabeth Grace & Obeng, Samuel Gyasi 2000 West Africanisms: English. *World Englishes* 19(2):155-72.
- Wright-Murray, Fernando 1974 *Limón Creole. A syntactic analysis*. MA thesis Rica.