

ENGLISH-DERIVED WORDS

IN

SIERRA LEONE KRIO

by

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## ABSTRACT

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This thesis is divided into four sections. Section One is introductory, and starts with a mention of the theories about the origins, and definitions of pidgin and creole languages. It also discusses the historical and linguistic background to Krio, tentatively postulates an acrolect-basilect continuum and undertakes to describe the dynamic state of native Krio speech. The section ends with a phonological study of Krio.

Section Two discusses the Phonology of English-derived words in Krio. It examines the eclectic nature of the British influence, discussing the systemic, phonotactic and phonetic features of the various British accents that may have contributed to the formation of modern Krio phonological structure. The contribution of the phonological structure of the African substratum is also discussed and reference is made to similarities with other creole languages. Section Two ends with a study of the correspondences between stress patterns in the English forms and tone patterns in the Krio cognates, as well as tone patterns in creolised forms and calques.

Section Three is about the Morphology of English-derived words in Krio. It deals with the effects of decreolisation on inflectional and derivational morphology as well as Krio creations from English patterns. It also examines word-compounding, and the phonology and morphology of English-derived reduplications in detail.

The final section is entitled: The Lexico-semantics of English-derived words in Krio. It considers the question of when an English word can be regarded as acceptable as a Krio word; the various historical as well as current sources of the English-derived vocabulary of Krio; conditions affecting their adoption and the lexical fields they occur in; the word classes from which adoption has taken place and word class functional shifts and splits; lexical innovations in Krio, including lexical splits and folk etymology; the semantics of reduplications; and, finally, semantic modifications.

THIS THESIS IS DEDICATED  
TO THE MEMORY OF MY MOTHER

.....  
A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S  
 .....

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Abbreviations not explained in text.

CAM = Cameroonian Pidgin

GU = Gullah

GY = Guyanese Creole

id. = idiomatically

JA  
 JC } = Jamaican Creole

K.E.D. = A Krio-English Dictionary, eds. Fyle & Jones (1980)

L.C.D.E. = Longman Modern English Dictionary (1976)

lit. = literally

O.E.D. = The Oxford English Dictionary

SM = Saramaccan

SR = Sranan

SY  
 Y } = Yoruba

FOREWORD

This thesis is a phonological, morphological and lexico-semantic study of English-derived words in Sierra Leone Krio. Two fundamental questions may be considered at the outset; the definition of an English-derived word in an English-based creole such as Krio; and, secondly, the nature of the data on which the study is based.

For the purposes of this study, an English-derived word is defined as a word whose form or the form of whose parts can be attested in English. In this respect, we can distinguish between: (i) carry-overs, i.e. forms that have been lifted whole from English and that have undergone minimal phonological and/or semantic change in Krio; (ii) calques, i.e. compound words that are 'translations' into English-derived words of African lexical items (see Chapter 10); (iii) incoinings, i.e. words created by combining existing morphemes to give new lexical items that have different meanings from those of their individual components.

Although English-derived components are our main concern, cases of mixed etymology (e.g. African + English or vice versa) will also be considered.

In spite of the fact that (ii) and (iii) involve non-English-derived features, they will be considered as pertinent because they involve English-derived lexical material. Furthermore, the boundaries between these categories are not always easy to discern, partly because the source may not be known and partly because a word may have a multiple source, i.e., it may resemble a word from another language

as well as one from English, and indeed both these sources may have contributed to the form or the meaning in Krio.

The data for this work come primarily from my intuition as a native speaker of Krio. It could be objected that intuition is unreliable because of its subjectivity. To take account of this objection, wherever possible, these intuitions have been supported by reference to A KRIO-ENGLISH DICTIONARY by Fyle and Jones (OUP,1980) - I was one of the editorial assistants of this work - and other native speakers of Krio (about 20) whom I came into contact with during the period of my research. Furthermore, any other method of research would not have been practicable for a study of this kind. The collection of an adequate corpus would not have been possible within the time available, if indeed it would have been possible at all. A corpus is in any case open to many more objections, especially the arbitrary limit it imposes upon the data to be examined.

A further discussion of all these matters is undertaken in Chapter 12.

SECTION ONE:  
INTRODUCTION



## THEORIES AND DEFINITIONS OF PIDGINS AND CREOLES

1.1 Theories about the origins of Pidgins and Creoles

One question that has exercised the minds of creolists since the early twentieth century is whether pidgins and creoles have a common 'genetic' origin. This has given rise to conflicting theories.

First was the POLYGENETIC THEORY or theory of parallel, independent development. As early as 1914, Schuchardt - the 'undisputed father of pidgin - creole studies' (De Camp, in Hymes 1971, p.31; in Valdman, 1977, p.9) - wrote: 'there exists no common Negro creole ... we have no divergence, but rather a parallelism' (1914c, p.95). Later writers, e.g. Gobl-Galdi(1934), Hjelmslev (1939), Bloomfield (1933, pp.472-5), Hall, (1966) and Koefoed (in Hancock, 1979) demonstrated their polygenetic sympathies by postulating what has been called the 'baby talk' theory. This theory states that, from the fifteenth century onwards, pidgin languages came about in this way: when a West European explorer and trader discovered territories in Africa and Asia, he was too confident of the superiority of his culture to be interested in the indigenous languages; so, he initially offered his own language to the natives, who, in turn, naturally, could only imitate it haltingly, as any language learner would do on first acquaintance with a new language. Thereupon, the European would conclude that the natives were mentally incapable of grasping the complexities of his superior language and settle for using the natives' poor imitation of his speech 'adding some of the patterns of baby talk commonly

used by mothers and nurses in his country'. The native would also transfer to the pidgin some of the features of pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary of his own language (Hall, 1966, p.5 and in Hancock, 1977 Vol.1, No.1, p.30).

Being 'the most vigorous defender of polygenesis' (De Camp, in Hymes, 1971, p.20), Hall also argues that some of the English-based pidgins and creoles, like Neo-Melanesian (now Tok Pisin), Chinese Pidgin English, Sranan and Gullah are derived from a Proto-Pidgin English, proof of which can be discovered from structural (phonological, grammatical and semantic) correspondences between the pidgins and creoles, on the one hand, and the Proto-Pidgin-English, on the other. Similarly, other pidgins and creoles, i.e. Dutch-based and French-based, for example, can be derived from their Proto-Pidgins by the comparative method 'with historic verisimilitude and resultant validity' (ibid, p.120).

The polygenetic theory has been so widely criticised that it has lost its popularity. Alleyne, for example, (in Hymes, 1971, p.177) points out that the so-called phonological correspondences necessarily result from the use of lexical items from the European base language and therefore cannot be regarded as evidence of the historical origin of the phonological system. He also comments on the 'absurdity' of referring to the African element in creoles as 'borrowings'.

The 'baby-talk' theory has also been widely criticised. Koefoed (in Hancock, 1979, p.37) asserts that there is 'solid documented evidence' for it in at least one case: that of Portuguese West African Pidgin (Naro, 1973); but Hancock (1975, pp.216-218), for example, while describing Naro's arguments as being 'attractive and convincing', treats the whole hypothesis with scepticism on the

grounds of insufficient historical evidence. Writing in 1965, Whinnom had argued, with the support of Taylor, Stewart and Valdman, that one serious reason for doubting the 'baby-talk' theory was the fact that 'while Standard French and French Creoles are not mutually intelligible (and almost certainly never were ...) the various French creoles are mutually intelligible from Louisiana to Haiti to Dominica to French Guiana to Mauritius and Réunion - in the middle of the Indian Ocean (pp.509-510).(This assertion has been denied, however. Also, Hancock (1969, p.35 n.81) maintains that 'a pidgin in its initial stages is usually comprehensible to metropolitan speakers (although not vice versa)' ). Another critic of this theory is De Camp (in Hymes, 1971, pp.19-20), who notes that the typological similarities shared by creoles of whatever stock are too great for coincidence and that the language learning process between master and slave, in the case of Jamaica at least, was reciprocal. (See also Givon, in Hancock, 1977, pp.3-33).

The theory which superseded the polygenetic was the MONOGENETIC THEORY. It states that all pidgins and creoles with European language bases originate from a fifteenth century Portuguese Pidgin, which in turn may have derived from Sabir, the Lingua Franca of the Mediteranean. This language may have come into existence around A.D. 95 (Hancock, in Valdman 1977, p.283).

In the Middle Ages, at different times and in different places, Sabir had vocabulary that was 'predominantly' either Italian, Spanish or French, with a great or less admixture of Arabic and Turkish' (Whinnom, 1965, pp.523-524). This language was 'in later centuries split into dialects by partial relexification' (ibid, p.524) or lexical replacement. Relexification is a phenomenon that is closely associated with and indeed vital to a logical explanation



of the monogenetic theory. The argument is that it was through this process that most, if not all, European-based pidgins and creoles changed their genetic affiliations from Proto-Portuguese to English, Dutch, Spanish and French, as the case may be. As Hall (1966, p.121) points out, the process of relexification is an on-going one in languages. In fact, though the monogenetic theory has also been criticised in recent times, relexification as a linguistic feature continues to engage the attention of scholars. Hancock (in Valdman and Highfield, 1980, p.63) even claims that it has become central to creole study.

The monogenetic theory began to feature as an attractive proposition when scholars like Douglas Taylor (1956, 1957, 1960 and 1961) highlighted the similarities in the verb systems of the Caribbean creoles and their many parallels with the creoles of the Far East, and suggested that both Papiamentu and Sranan were also pidgin Portuguese relexified. R.W. Thompson (1961) noted the same similarities and concluded that the West African coastal Portuguese lingua franca might be the parent of all Caribbean, African and Far Eastern pidgins and creoles. William Stewart (1962) discussed the concepts of 'restructuralisation' and 'relexification' and concluded that it was more convincing to regard creoles as relexified forms of a single prior language than as restructured forms of their European bases. Whinnom (1965, pp.522-7) suggested that Sabir was the ultimate source of all the European-based pidgins and creoles of the world. Arguing in favour of a Portuguese parent-hood, he maintained that 'if Portuguese pidgin particles survive in a pidgin or creole, this must surely be regarded as conclusive proof of a Portuguese pidgin origin' (p.520). Other supporters of the monogenetic theory include Valkhoff (1966, p.3); B. Bailey(1966,p.5)



Cassidy (1961, p.405), Voorhoeve (1973), De Granda (1976, pp.11-12).

As has been noted, the monogenetic theory has been very much criticised in recent times. Before mentioning some recent objections to it, we may note that Schuchardt had, as early as 1909, anticipated such a postulation. While acknowledging the pioneering activities of Portuguese sailors on the coasts of Africa and Asia, he considered Portuguese items in non-Portuguese-based pidgins and creoles as borrowings into these languages rather than relexifications. Nor did he seem to regard Sabir (Lingua Franca), which he analysed in some detail, as the 'ur-Creole' - to use Thompson's term (Whinnom, p.522) - (see Gilbert, 1980, p.9).

In more recent times, Hall (op.cit. p.122) for example, has observed, inter alia, that:

the argument from relexification assumes that only abstract syntactic patterns are valid criteria for determining linguistic relationships and that phonological and morphological correspondences are not relevant.

He points out that English, for example,

has been extensively relexified in the last thousand years, with morphemes from French, Latin and Greek; yet it is still to be classified as a Germanic, not a Romance, language, because its fundamental stock of morphemes shows systematic Germanic influence as do its basic syntactic structures.

Hall also asserts that relexification cannot be separated from regrammaticalisation (1975, pp.181-187).

Hancock (1969, pp.11-12) accepts the presence of a Portuguese-derived, nautically influenced proto-pidgin with the coming of the English to West Africa in the sixteenth century. Criticising the relexification hypothesis, he calls our attention to the fact that few traces of Portuguese are to be found in the Atlantic creoles today: 'Gullah and Krio each have less than one percent; Jamaican Creole about two percent and Sranan four percent' and doubts that words for such basic things like 'man, woman, eat, work, kill, etc.

would need to be replaced'. He therefore suggests the term 'supra-lexification'- lexicon-building rather than lexicon-replacement. We may note, however, that although Portuguese-derived words may form only one percent of the Krio lexicon, the frequency of usage of some of them, e.g.: sàbí (know), pikîn (child), blây (basket), nà (multi-functional preposition), is extremely high.

Alleyne (in Hymes, 1971, p.169) argues that 'very few systematic correspondences have been explicitly pointed out which have any possible relationship with Portuguese'.

Valdman (1977, p.x.n.2), Traugott (in Valdman, 1977, p.76), Chaudenson (ibid, p.259) and Bickerton (1975 and in Valdman, pp.50-62) are other critics of the monogenetic theory. They have pointed out that it is too inadequate to be truly monogenetic, since it can only be applied to some European-lexicon languages; it cannot account for non-European-based pidgins and creoles. Bickerton and Edwards (1976, p.27) even consider it preposterous. Its greatest weakness, in spite of its attractions, as Todd (1974, p.39) notes, is that it is 'not proven'.

The trouble with any one genetic approach, as recent scholars seem to maintain, is that it raises too many questions that cannot be satisfactorily answered. It is reasonable to assume, as Todd argues (ibid, p.43), that although some pidgins and creoles are undoubtedly related, others may have grown up independently. This means that both the mono- and polygenetic theories have plausible points in them.

We must also consider the UNIVERSALIST theory. (Todd, ibid, pp.42-49); Givon (in Hancock, 1979, pp.3-33); Chaudenson (in Valdman, 1977, pp.271-272). This view simply states that the 'simplification' features of pidginisation reflect an appeal to linguistic Universals and this is the commonest element in pidgins



and creoles. As Todd (p.42) puts it: 'one could express this view ... by suggesting that pidgins and creoles are alike because, fundamentally, languages are alike and simplification processes are alike'. Bickerton (in Valdman, 1977, pp.55-56) has criticised this 'universalist' view as proceeding from misguided judgements. Such a criticism does not, however, detract from its appeal.

The most recent theory about the origins of creoles has been propounded by Bickerton (1981). It is the 'LANGUAGE BIOPROGRAM' theory and it argues that questions about the origins of creole languages are directly related to questions about how children acquire language and how human language originated. It points out and discusses some striking grammatical resemblances (in the NP and VP systems) between creoles widely separated in location and origin, arguing that these several elements were not derived from their antecedent pidgins but were 'invented' in the sense that the first generation creole speakers produced rules for which there was no evidence in the previous generation's speech. This, he argues, is because

languages independently invent rules when these are demanded by the structure of the language plus functional requirements (p.55).

They are able to do so because

many of the pre-requisites for human language were laid down in the course of mammalian evolution, and ... the most critical of those prerequisites ... was the capacity to construct quite elaborate mental representations of the external world in terms of concepts rather than percepts (pp.294-5).

Bickerton concludes that

creoles, far from being "primitive" in anything but the sense of "primary", give us access to the essential bedrock on which our humanity is founded (p.300).

Interesting as this bioprogram theory is, it makes many bold claims which are beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss.

## 1.2 . Definitions of 'pidgin' and 'creole'

Much has been written about pidgin and creole languages since they began to be the subject of serious study in the nineteenth century. However, there is still no general agreement on a simple, comprehensive definition of them. As Todd puts it (op.cit., p.1): 'the many-faceted nature of human languages is unlikely to be encapsulated in a few sentences'. De Camp also notes (in Valdman, 1977,p.3) that some definitions are sociolinguistic: 'e.g. a pidgin is an auxiliary trade language'; some are historical: 'a pidgin may be spontaneously generated; a creole is a language that has evolved from a pidgin'; some include formal characteristics: 'restricted vocabulary; absence of gender, true tenses, inflectional morphology, or relative clauses, etc'; but, 'to a creolist, almost everyone else's definition of a creole sounds absurd and arbitrary' (p.4). Consequently, we are also not always sure what languages to classify as pidgins and creoles. All this points to the very complex nature of the languages that were once written about in the following disdainful tones:

'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 civilisation dropped their perfection, to adapt to ideas being born and to barbarous forms of language of half-savage peoples'.

(Bertrand-Bocande, M.1849. De la langue creole de la Guinée

Portugaise. Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris, 3 série

12: pp.57-93. This quotation: p.73, cited by Guus Meijer and Pieter Muysken in Valdman p.22).

Meijer and Muysken also note (Valdman, p.25) that the French



linguist Lucien Adam, in his book Les idiomes negro-aryen et maleo-aryen (1882), 'suggests that creole languages are nothing but non-European languages with European lexical items', adducing numerous calques to substantiate his argument.

The dramatic change of attitude towards these languages is attested by the fact that many modern linguists now agree that: 'pidginisation and creolisation have become central to linguistic theory' (Traugott, in Valdman, p.91).

Although we still have no precise definition of pidgin and creole languages, we may note some traditional observations contained in the ever-growing literature on these languages.

Robert A. Hall Jr., once celebrated as 'the greatest specialist in Pidgin and Creole' (Valkhoff, 1966, p.37 n.33), makes the following observations:

for a language to be a true pidgin, two conditions must be met: its grammatical structure and its vocabulary must be sharply reduced ... and also the resultant language must be native to none of those who use it ...

a creole language arises when a pidgin becomes the native language of a speech-community.

(1966, p.xii)

These views still have devoted adherents today, but they have also been widely criticised. This kind of definition of pidgins and creoles has, for example, been called 'static' (Muhlhausler in Valdman and Highfield, 1980, p.20). Instead of the 'static' view, the 'dynamic' view has been advanced and has been demonstrated for Tok Pisin by writers such as Sankoff and Brown (1976, pp.631-66), Muhlhausler (1976a, pp.238-450), and for Hawaiian Pidgin English by Bickerton and Odo (1976). It asserts that pidgins can only be described adequately if they are regarded as dynamic processes which change considerably with regard to their

grammatical complexity during the course of their lives. (See also Ferguson and De Bose in Valdman, 1977, pp.120-121). Moreover, there is the justifiable claim that no static model of any language is adequate.

Concerning structural reduction and what Hall (1966, p.86) describes as 'simplified versions of fundamentally European linguistic structures', reaction has been very sharp. De Camp (in Hymes, 1971, p.15) puts it urbanely when he says: 'it is now considered debatable whether the less-redundant pidgin is simpler or more complex than the standard language'. Voorhoeve (ibid, p.189) explains that 'reduction' or 'simplification' does not mean that pidgins are simpler languages than non-pidgins, but that they seem simplified in comparison to their model'. Alleyne (ibid, p.172), on the other hand, states bluntly that 'there is no linguistic evidence to support this idea of simplification' in the case of creole languages and that, on the contrary, there is 'strong linguistic evidence that English and French in their full morphological systems were used in the contact situation'. This argument seriously challenges the baby-talk theory, more criticisms of which will be noted below. In an article which seeks to highlight the difficulties involved in trying to define 'creole' typologically, Giyon (in Hancock 1979, pp.3-33) strongly argues that:

we have no shred of real-controlled-evidence to suggest that either Creoles are characterised by the lack of inflections, or that 'Creolisation' involves the reduction of inflections. All we know is that with respect to the inflectional morphology, a Creole language will follow the structure of the substratum language (which contributed the bulk of its grammar. In most creoles discussed in the literature this was a non-inflected language)\* rather than that of the lexifier language (p.20)

which in most cases was a highly inflected European language. He concludes that it is because of a poor understanding of Universal

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\* my addition



Grammar that pidgin and creole languages are condescendingly described as having reduced inflections and simplified, 'common denominator', 'minimal' (Gobl-Galdi, 1933) or 'optimal' (Hjelmslev, 1939) grammar. Todd (op.cit., p.88) also notes that 'no single feature exhibited by pidgins and creoles is unique to these languages'.

The view that a creole arises when a pidgin becomes the native language of a speech community is widely shared, but, again, it has its critics. Hymes (1971, p.84) says, for example, that 'the starting point of creolisation need not be a pidgin, but may be a pre-pidgin continuum, or a subordinated language-variety of some other sort', (see also Bickerton, 1981, p.5). Taylor (1977, p.151) comments on the unsatisfactory nature of such a definition which depends on historical knowledge that may well be lacking. Other critics of this view are Sankoff (in Valdman and Highfield, 1980, p.154); Alleyne (in Hymes, 1971, p.171) and Bickerton (1977).

Hymes's 1971 definition of pidgin and creole, though not entirely satisfactory, as the literature suggests, is still influential (Rickford in Valdman, 1977, p.191; Andersen in Valdman and Highfield, 1980, p.273). It states that:

pidginisation is that complex process of sociolinguistic change comprising reduction in inner form, with convergence, in the context of restriction in use. A pidgin is a result of such a process that has achieved autonomy as a norm .... Creolisation is that complex process of sociolinguistic change comprising expansion in inner form, with convergence, in the context of extension in use. A creole is the result of such a process that has achieved autonomy as a norm.

Modifications of these definitions have been made since then. Todd (op.cit., p.3), for example, notes that some features could be unique to the pidgin so that 'reduction in inner form' includes getting rid of redundancies. Manessy (in Valdman, 1977, p.129) comments that the word 'convergence' in Hymes's definition

does not appear, in Africa at least, 'to be necessarily related to the process of pidginisation nor entailed by it'. Ferguson and De Bose (Valdman, 1977, p.113) maintain that 'no definite point of transition from a pidgin to creole can be identified'. Note also Whinnom (in Valdman and Highfield 1980, p.208, n.1) who informs us that Sankoff and Laberge (1974) observed that the same language may exist as a pidgin and as a creole, without noticeable differences; and that Obilade (1978) remarked that in certain bilingual communities it may be impossible to regard the pidgin-creole as a discrete pidgin or creole.

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that no clear definition of pidgins and/or creoles has yet emerged.

For the purposes of this thesis, I wish to adopt John Rickford's definitions of pidginisation, creolisation and decreolisation as being useful, though not necessarily completely adequate, for my description of Krio. They are in Valdman, 1977, pp.191-2 and, as the author admits, the first two are modifications of Hymes (1971, p.84) (1971, p.84). They are as follows:

1. pidginisation begin(s) when a language is used only for very limited communication between groups who speak different languages.... It undergoes varying degrees of 'simplification' and 'admixture'.

This process is identifiable in Sierra Leone today mainly in the larger towns of the provinces.

2. creolisation is the process by which one or more pidginised variants of a language (emerging from an initial multilingual contact situation...), are extended in domains of use and in the range of communicative and expressive functions they must serve. Frequently, but not necessarily, this process is associated with native use by children born into the contact situation. The pidginised variants are usually assumed to undergo 'complication' and 'expansion' of linguistic resources in the process, and the term creole may be used for any new stable variety that results from this process.



This is probably the historical explanation for what we know as modern Krio.

3. In decreolisation the creolised varieties lose their distinctive features and begin to level in the direction of the original target language. This change occurs in the multilingual contact situation as the social and economic pressures to use the target language in more and more domains become increasingly pronounced, and as opportunities to master the language improve. A (post-) creole continuum of dialect varieties exhibiting varying approximations to the standard form of the target language is one typical result.

Fyle (1977,p.5) maintains: 'the present-day orientation of Krio is towards the languages of Nigeria and of Sierra Leone'.

I prefer to describe the influences from these languages as interesting instances of 'admixture' which are not significant enough to signal an orientation towards them. They are to be perceived in the pidginised varieties of Krio. Fyle in fact 'hasten(s) to add' that 'it is not possible to justify on linguistic grounds (his) own thesis'.

In Sierra Leone today there exists a clear acrolect-basilect continuum.



## CHAPTER TWO

## BACKGROUND TO KRIO

2.1 Historical Background

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to settle on the Upper Guinea Coast in the mid-fifteenth century (Fyfe, 1962, p.1; Kup, 1961, p.8; Rodney, 1970, p.14; Peterson 1969, p.19). The coast was divided into five 'trades' or districts (Kup, p.12) and Sierra Leone was one of them. Serra Lyoa was the original name the Portuguese explorer Pedro da Sintra gave to the peninsula in 1462 because of its 'wild-looking, leonine mountains' (Fyfe, p.1). The Italians were famous for map-making in the sixteenth century and their influence helped to create the modern form Sierra Leone (Kup, p.3). Since the nineteenth century, the name has been used to refer to the whole country, the present boundaries of which were delimited in 1897 (Fyfe, pp.544,549).

The chief occupation of the Portuguese in Sierra Leone was trading. They exchanged European goods for slaves, ivory, (Fyfe, p.1) and gold (Kup, p.8). They enjoyed a comfortable relationship with the natives and some of them - the lancados (those who had 'thrown themselves' among the natives) (Rodney, p.74) or tangomoas (those who had adopted the local religion and customs) (Rodney, p.74; Boxer, 1969, p.31) who their own countrymen regarded as renegades (Kup, p.12) - even married the local women (Kup, p.12; Fyfe, p.1; Rodney, p.84; Mathurin-Mair, 1978, pp.20-21). There emerged along the coast a significant Afro-Portuguese community whose dominating influence lasted till the end of the eighteenth century. It comprised a few whites, many blacks and a powerful mulatto core. Rodney (p.203) says of them: 'generally racial admixture was

matched by cultural hybridisation'. Their peculiarities of language, dress and religion identified them as 'a community with a different heritage and a different social purpose from the mass of the Africans'.

Portuguese influence in the area dwindled significantly in the early to mid-seventeenth century (Kup, pp. 13-26, Rodney, p.126) and the British 'ousted the Portuguese almost without opposition' (Rodney, p.127). A similar pattern of miscegenation, practised mainly by British traders and pirates, quickly created Afro-British half-castes 'augmented by black grumetes sharing their values' (Rodney, p.216). These mulattoes merged with the Afro-Portuguese to form a group of about 12,000 by the end of the eighteenth century (ibid. from Machat, 1966, p.129; Mathurin-Mair, p.21). They continued to exhibit traits of their cultural ambivalence in their life-style and may have formed the 'indigenous' nucleus of the Creole-type society that was to emerge in the nineteenth century.

Two centuries after the British became involved in the trans-Atlantic slave trade, they succumbed to rising humanitarian appeals for its abolition. A botanist called Henry Smeathman, who had lived for three years (1771-4) on the Banana Islands near the Sierra Leone river, considered the place ideal for the establishment of an agricultural settlement based on free labour. He dreamed of a 'free community of equal black and white citizens living in a society based on the principles of democratic liberalism' (Peterson, p.18, from P.D. Curtin, 1965, pp.16, 96-97). At that time, the island was governed by the Caulkers, an Afro-English family. However, Smeathman died before he could realise his dream and it was Granville Sharp, an even more ardent philanthropist, who was to give the idea a 'radical, exciting governmental form'

(Peterson, p.20). His own vision was 'rational and humanitarian' (*ibid*, p.22). Evangelists, liberal reformers and a group of social reformers, called the Clapham Sect, helped to strengthen the campaign. As a result of their efforts, a group of 411 destitute but emancipated African ex-slaves (*ibid* ; p.22-23; Asiegbu, 1969; Wyse, 1980 (2), p.5) and some English women (Hancock, 1971, 1.1.0.3; Fyfe, p.19) arrived from London in 1787. They were called THE BLACK POOR. These people had been slaves, in overseas plantations, who had escaped to London or had accompanied their masters to the metropolis. In their destitution they had created a social problem for the British government. When they arrived on the coast, Captain Thompson, who led the expedition, purchased land for the settlement from the Temne chief, King Tom, and called it Granville Town - after Sharp (Peterson, pp.23-24; Fyfe, p.20). Today, part of the site is occupied by State House, the official residence of the Head of State (Fyfe, p.20).

However, the adverse weather, disease, war with the Temnes and the fact that some fled to other parts of the coast to rediscover their roots (Hancock, 1.1.0.3) reduced their number to forty-eight by 1791 (Wyse, p.6; Hancock, *ibid.*; Peterson, p.27).

The next group to arrive were THE NOVA SCOTIANS. They were ex-slaves, from the American colonies, who had bought their freedom by fighting with the British during the American war of independence. One of their number, Thomas Peters, had gone to London to complain about the ill-treatment of his fellow freed slaves who had been offered asylum in the British settlement in Nova Scotia. Peters secured redress when the British government decided to transport, free, to Sierra Leone 'those ... negroes who wished to depart' (Porter, 1963, p.25).



In March 1792, a little over 1,100 'Nova Scotians' reached Sierra Leone, forty of whom died within the first few weeks of their arrival there (Wyse, p.8). They were joined by the survivors from the 'Black Poor' group and together they began the colony they named Free Town, with Lt. John Clarkson of the Royal Navy, who had led them to the settlement, becoming the first Governor of Sierra Leone.

In September 1794, the settlement was razed to the ground by the French, who left behind 120 European sailors taken from ships they had previously captured (Peterson, p.31). Hancock (1.1.0.7) suggests that this attack almost annihilated the settlers, but we learn that the survivors rebuilt the town, albeit with great strain, and 'Freetown became more comparable in plan to a European or American commercial town of the early nineteenth century' (Peterson, p.32). Streets were also given British names like 'Water', 'Oxford', and 'Westmoreland' - names that remained in use till the early 1970s.

The third group of settlers were THE MAROONS. They were descendants of slaves who originally came from the Gold Coast but had been taken to Jamaica in the West Indies. They had fought several times against the British and were eventually persuaded to lay down their arms in return for an amnesty (Porter, p.33, from Dallas, 1803). Instead of being granted an amnesty, however, they were expelled to Halifax in Nova Scotia, where the bitter winter of 1796-7 forced them to petition to be removed to a more agreeable climate (Fyfe, p.80). But it was not until 1800 that 550 of them were brought to Sierra Leone. They were to have been settled in the Banana Islands, south of the peninsula, but had arrived at a timely moment to be used, with their escort soldiers, to crush a local rebellion. They were, therefore, settled in the colony.



By the end of the decade, however, the original number had dwindled, as some had migrated to their original home and others had died from disease.

Between 1808 and 1864, a large group of LIBERATED AFRICANS or RECAPTIVES arrived in the colony from as near as Bullom, only a few miles away, to as far away as Zanzibar in East Africa (Hancock, 1.1.3.0). They were people who had been illegally enslaved after the abolition pronouncement of 1808. The British Navy 'recaptured' them off the Guinea Coast and resettled them in Freetown.

Wyse (pp.5-6), citing the contemporary records, strongly makes the point that 'at least until the 1820s, the vast bulk of emancipated slaves came from the vicinity of Sierra Leone and neighbouring Guinea' and that it was after 1820 that names of predominantly Yoruba origin began to appear in the registers. This was because of the Yoruba wars in the nineteenth century and the fact that prisoners of war, who were being shipped to America as slaves, became recaptives.

Their large numbers - 7,114 out of about 11,100 Liberated Africans (1848 census) - and their resilience ensured that they

long maintained their individuality and exercised a pervasive influence on the society of the colony. The culture and attitudes which they brought with them from their homeland contributed to most aspects of social life and custom.

(Bradshaw, 1966, p.61).

These were the main heterogeneous groups that formed the Creole society of Freetown in the nineteenth century.

## 2.2 Linguistic Background

There does not seem to be total agreement about when and where the Krio language started. Some writers have argued that Krio started in the Americas, as a result of the Atlantic slave

trade, and was later brought to Sierra Leone. This, they maintain, happened when Freetown, its capital, was established as a haven for freed slaves towards the end of the eighteenth century.

The following are some statements which support the argument:

- (1) The basis of Krio is, no doubt, the Jamaican dialect of the Maroons (Berry and Ross, 1962, p.4);
- (2) Krio ... may be said to have begun with the arrival of the Maroons in Freetown in 1800 (von Bradshaw, p.12);
- (3) An offshoot of Jamaican Creole is found in Africa ... under the name of Krio (Hall, 1966, p.17);
- (4) It is clear, at least, that the origins of Krio stretch to the other side of the Atlantic; to the United States and the West Indies where survivals seem to indicate the development of distinct creole dialects before the return of the Sierra Leone settlers in 1787 (Jones, 1971 pp.66-67).

Hancock (1981, p.248) suggests that Berry was the first person to make this assertion and that he may have been influenced by Cassidy's Jamaica Talk (1961). This work neither asserts nor suggests a Jamaican origin for Krio, though its contents show that Jamaican Creole has many similarities with Krio.

To support his argument, Jones (1971) cites Cassidy and Le Page (1961) and Hancock (in Spencer, 1971). But none of these authors states or even implies a Jamaican origin for Krio. Hancock in fact declares (pp.115-116): 'the origins of Sierra Leone Krio go back perhaps two centuries beyond the date generally given for its origin, that is c.1800'.

The Americo-Caribbean origin theory has been re-stated by more recent writers on the subject, some of whom cite the traditional sources. In Spitzer (1974, p.140) for example, we read:

The basic form of this language had probably been shaped in the West Indies and the United States by the ancestors of the Maroons and other ex-slaves who eventually settled in Sierra Leone.

Fyle and Jones (1980, pp.xvii & xviii.) also strongly suggest this view and Kelly (1981, p.2655) relies on Spitzer (1974).



It is possible that these writers were influenced by the following facts:

- (i) the Freetown settlement was established by the British over a century after they had colonized the West Indies (Le Page, 1960, pp.10-18; Cassidy and Le Page, 1961, p.18). Alleyne, (1980, p.24) gives the following chronology of British expansion in the Caribbean: 1623 - St. Kitts, Nevis; 1625 - Barbados; 1628 - Barbuda, Redonda; 1632 - Antigua, Montserrat; 1651 - Surinam; 1655 - Jamaica; 1670 - South Carolina (U.S.);
- (ii) for some time, the creole language most widely studied and in the greatest detail was the Jamaican variety - (see Cassidy and Le Page, 1967, pp.xvii-xxxii: for extensive bibliography dating from the seventeenth century);
- (iii) some of these works on Jamaican Creole had revealed very interesting grammatical and lexical parallels with Krio (e.g. Cassidy and Le Page, 1961, pp.17-32; Cassidy 1961; Bailey, 1966).
- All this may have led these scholars to conclude that Krio must have been brought to Freetown by the Maroons who came from Jamaica in 1800. For one thing, The Maroons were probably the most stable, homogeneous group to be settled in Freetown when the colony was established. If the above reasons were indeed responsible for the Americo-Caribbean origin theory, then it is perhaps not superfluous to observe that, while the presence of parallels in two or more languages may indicate their relatedness, we cannot determine which language preceded which merely by the date of the earliest literature on them. Indeed, from Cassidy and Le Page, (1967, pp.xli-xlii) we learn that Jamaican Creole probably has sixteenth century links with Pidgin Portuguese and Pidgin English. Note the following:

in particular, its patterns may have been influenced by those already established ... for the pidgin Portuguese and subsequent pidgin English of the West African trade.

As we shall see later, this is probably true for Krio too.

Another theory of the origin of Krio argues that the language started in Freetown, after the founding of the settlement, in the early to mid-nineteenth century, as a result of the contact between the diverse groups of settlers. This view is stated in Jones (1956, pp.97-98); J. Berry (1959, p.289; 1961, p.1); J. Peterson (op. cit. p.286), who is here quoted: 'Krio, the language of the Creole, had developed from the Liberated African's earliest contact with the English Language'. This second theory seems quite logical. In the light of historical evidence, however, it needs some qualification. This leads to the third theory.

The scholar who has done the most to advance this third - domestic but pre-settlement - theory is Hancock (e.g. 1969, pp.12-13; 1971 (1.2.0.0, 1.2.4.0); 1972 p.7; 1974, p.23; 1977a, p.161; 1977b, p.282; 1980, pp.17-19; 1981, pp.247-8). Some other supporters of this theory are Fyfe, who writes (1964, p.219): (Krio was) 'based originally on the lingua franca English spoken on the coast in the eighteenth century'; Wilson et al. (1964, p.4): 'perhaps its earliest form was the lingua franca spoken along the Guinea Coast between the first European traders and the indigenous West African populations'; Alleyne (in Hymes, 1971, p.185 n.10):

It is convenient but not strictly acceptable to assume that Krio was brought to Africa by Jamaicans who were 'repatriated' there in the 18th century. The dialect brought to Sierra Leone by Jamaicans may have found a similar English-based dialect existing there. My work ... suggests that the dialect brought by Jamaicans found another similar English dialect already existing in Sierra Leone

(cf. Jones (1962, pp.19-26). Jones is represented in all three conflicting camps, Berry in the first two. This suggests their



lack of any strong conviction about the origins of the language); Dillard (1972, p.140). The documented argument follows.

Before the ascendancy of the British and during the period of Portuguese domination between the late fifteenth and early to mid-seventeenth centuries, the language spoken along the Upper Guinea Coast was 'Creole Portuguese' (Valkhoff, 1966, Ch.II, pp.51-76, 241; Rodney, op.cit., p.203). An important reason for the spread of this Portuguese Pidgin, as it really was, is this. Before the arrival of the Portuguese, there were indigenous lingua francas in the area - e.g. the Temnes and Bulloms, who lived in the Northern parts of Sierra Leone in 1594, spoke Sherbro (Kup, op.cit., p.128) - and Manding was the most important one. (Dalby, 1970/71, p.285). These lingua francas answered to the socio-linguistic needs of particularly the inland natives (ibid, p.286). But when the Portuguese came, the West Africans had to learn their language or a modified form of it, to communicate with them (ibid). One does not have to believe in the monogenetic theory to accept this argument since Portuguese control of the area at this time is an established and undisputed fact. The Portuguese language has in fact left an indelible mark on the linguistic complexion of Sierra Leone, because, as Hancock (1971, 11.2.2.0) notes, Portuguese-derived lexical items survive substantially in other indigenous Sierra Leonean languages apart from Krio.

As has been noted above, (1.2.1), Portuguese power declined and faded away in the seventeenth century, giving way to British ascendancy. At first, the British had to speak the Portuguese-based lingua franca (Dillard, in Hancock, 1979, pp.261-263); but they promptly showed that they:

preferred to stick to their mother tongue and to implant it in the foreign country; hence such present day Creoles as Krio in Sierra Leone.

(Valkhoff, op.cit., p.57).

We learn of early signs of a Pidgin English from Moore (1734, p.294):

The English have in the River Gambia much corrupted the English Language by words or Literal Translations from the Portuguese or Mundingoes.

Hancock (1969, p.13) adduces further evidence of a pre-1800

English-derived pidgin on the West African coast by quoting an example of the pidgin recorded in the journal of Captain Hugh Crow, written around 1780. It is the speech of a fifteen year-old African boy being brought to England on board his ship. The pidgin is as follows:

Massa Crow, something bite me too much, and me no can see 'im, and me want you for give me some was' mouth, and two-mouth tacken.

Hancock translates this extract into modern Krio, thus demonstrating the remarkable structural similarity between the two states of the language. The translation is as follows: 'Mása Kró, sɔntín de bét mi túmɔs; a nɔ́ ébul fɔ sí ǎ. A wǎ mék ju gí mi sɔ́ wasmót, ẽ wǎ trɔ́sís' (p.32, n.32). Hancock, in fact, maintains (p.12) that the English-derived pidgin developed alongside the Portuguese pidgin soon after the English came in the sixteenth century. This has been challenged by Voorhoeve (1973, p.137), whose assertion that 'the earliest mention of the existence of a local African English dates from 1734' does not touch the pre-settlement hypothesis.

Refuting Berry's (1959) assertion, Dalby (ibid, p289) refers to

clear evidence - in the writings of Mrs Falconbridge from the early 1790s - that Black English was already in use among the Temne people of Sierra Leone when the Freetown settlement for liberated slaves was first established there.

(see also Hancock, 1969, p.13). Dalby is using 'Black English' here to mean: 'English adapted to the West African cultural and linguistic background' (p.289) and he argues that it gradually replaced Black Portuguese as the major lingua franca on the West African coast. This is the point at which Dalby and Hancock differ. Hancock (1972, p.7) suggests that the English-derived creole spoken here at this time was not 'a vehicle for trade, which already existed in the pidginised Portuguese, but ... the domestic language of several separate, limited areas'.

Hancock (1972) also notes (p.7) that the main variety of English West Africans heard in the sixteenth century was nautical and that:

in addition, in its eclectic lexical content and grammatical features, it reflected regionalisms from nearly every part of the British Isles, and differed in this important respect from all regional insular English dialects.

This was because of the different regions from which the seamen came and the distribution of the major British ports. Modern Krio retains convincing evidence of sixteenth to eighteenth century

lexical, as well as morphological and syntactic features now either geographically restricted to non-standard English dialects or which have become obsolete in modern English altogether (ibid, p.8).

Hancock also cites Matthews (1935, 1937), who studied the phonology of sailors' pronunciation of English between 1650 and 1783 after examining 200 log-books from the period, and whose findings show phonological correspondences in modern Krio 'with exact or near-exact parallels'. Here are some examples:

ivin evening ('eving' in Matthews), wēr veer ('wear'),  
laytin lightning ('liting'), wet white ('weight'),  
mɛk make ('meck'), es hoist ('heis'), neks next ('nex')

( I have substituted my own Krio orthography for Hancock's).



Hancock (1971) has a more comprehensive list.

Phonological data derived from written sources should be treated with caution, of course, but the coincidence is at least striking.

We have more, irrefutable, lexical evidence in Hancock (in Valdman, 1977, p.282), for example, Krio: kɔstament (customer) 'from a protoform "customant"... last recorded in English in 1575 (O.E.D.) ... "lighten" (lightning) (cf Krio: laytin); "even" (evening) (cf Krio: ivin); etc., obsolete in print by A.D. 1600'. Hancock also mentions phonological features which reflect sixteenth and seventeenth century British pronunciation e.g. 'muskyat (musk-rat) - itself from obsolete "musk rat" (last recorded use in fact from Sierra Leone, 1794 (O.E.D.) )'. Other features are palatalised velar as in Krio gyali (galley), kyan (can); Krio '/ai/' for modern Standard English /oi/ ... /ɛ/ as a normal reflexion of /ai/', (see also Section Two).

From the foregoing, it is clear that the pre-settlement hypothesis is the most attractive, since there is clear evidence of non-Jamaican, British sources here. If we accept it, we can add a few more facts to the linguistic background.

We may now consider how the various groups of settlers influenced the incipient Creole. One common element in the first three groups of settlers - The 'Black Poor', The 'Nova Scotians' and The 'Maroons' - was that 'they all spoke - and some wrote - some form of English' (Jones, 1956, p.9; Spencer, 1971, p.14). The 'Black Poor' had lived in London long enough to achieve proficiency in English; the advocate of the 'Nova Scotians' - an African named Thomas Peters - proved remarkably fluent and eloquent

in English when arguing their cause to a group of Members of Parliament in the House of Commons (Jones, *ibid*). Wyse (1980 (2), p.9) mentions the fact that most of the 'Nova Scotians' had been born in America and therefore spoke English. The 'Maroons' also, were said to have some knowledge of English, albeit a 'peculiar dialect of (it)' (Dallas, 1808, p.92). At this point, we may pause to consider the linguistic contribution of the 'Maroons'. A distinction between some features of 'Maroon' speech and 'Settler' ('Black Poor' and 'Nova Scotian') speech has been attested (Rankin, 1836, quoted in Jones, 1962, p.20), but we have noted (2.1) and Hancock (1981, p.248) confirms that within a decade of the arrival of the 'Maroons' in Freetown adverse circumstances and emigration had drastically reduced their numbers. Hancock (*ibid*) further notes that 'the most stable non-indigenous population during the early years consisted of the Afro-Europeans from the pre-settlement period who were scattered along the coast outside the colony'. We have no evidence of the overwhelming influence the 'Maroons' are supposed to have brought upon the incipient Krio.

Commenting on the variety of English that emerged from the interaction of the heterogeneous groups of 'Creoles', Spencer (*ibid*) says:

we may assume that London English, creolised English of the slave plantations of Carolina and elsewhere in the southern states, Jamaican English-based creole, the existing pidginised English of West Africa, the speech of British sailors, and other influences equally various, all contributed their quota to the language which eventually crystallised as Krio.

The most significant 'other influences equally various' were from the 'Liberated Africans'. Coming as they did from diverse backgrounds, they complicated the linguistic situation. Koelle (1854) reports that about 150 languages were spoken in Freetown



at that time. Standing out from the crowd was Yoruba. As Hancock (1971, III.1.3.0) says: 'with the exception of English, Yoruba has provided more lexical items in more semantic areas than any other language'. The Kwa substrate of Krio is also attested in the grammatical structure of the language. Many other lexical, semantic and particularly tonal features also demonstrate the essentially African quality of Krio.

Applying the Universal substratum theory (already mentioned), Givon (in Hancock, 1979, pp.22-23) argues that three conditions must have been met in the formation of Krio:

- (i) Lack of common language: If any one Kwa language was shared by most speakers in Freetown at the time of the inception of Krio, it is unlikely that Krio would have arisen, (since there would have been no pressing need for a new language).
- (ii) Lack of effective bilingualism: ... some members of the Kwa-speaking ... group could communicate with members of the English-speaking ... group, but could not use English to communicate with each other. Therefore English could not become the lingua franca of the Kwa population there.
- (iii) Common Language - group background: The largely Kwa grammatical structure of Krio strongly suggests that the majority of the population which participated in its rise came from a common Kwa language background.

As far as the lexical inventory of the early stages of Krio is concerned, Hancock (1969, p.31 n.25; 1971, 1.2.4.4) suggests two main periods of supralexification. The first was probably during the earliest years of pidgin acquisition, when the Africans were now attempting to communicate with the English instead of the Portuguese sailors. The second would have been perhaps a century later, i.e. about the mid-seventeenth century, when the pidgin was stable enough to sustain it.

Both these theories, particularly Givon's, sound reasonable. It is however unlikely that the Krio lexicon remained unchanged



with the advent of the four main groups of settlers. This means that there must have been further instances of supralexification. However, this too remains a matter for conjecture.

### 2.3 The origin of the term 'Krio'

There is some controversy about whether the word 'Krio' comes from English 'creole' (and ultimately from Portuguese crioulo or Spanish criollo) or from Yoruba akiriyo. Valkhoff (1966, pp.38-48) gives a detailed account of the history of the word 'creole' in the Western European languages of Portuguese, Spanish, French, English and German, concluding that the core meaning is 'persons and animals bred and nourished in the intimacy of a farmer's or colonial's household' (p.45). This reads like a benign interpretation of the master-servant, master-slave or master-subject circumstances of the original 'creole' settlers.

Wyse (1979, 1980 (1)) also discusses the history and appropriateness or otherwise of the term 'creole', noting, inter alia, that, early this century,

a new form of the old term "Creole" was introduced into the literature (on Sierra Leone). The term was "creeo" or "creo" because "that is the name the interior people know them by" (1979, p.411).

He notes further:

the term Krio rather than Creole is now preferred, and Nicol (1949) and Professor Clifford Fyle (personal communication) even derive the term from Yoruba words. Thus Kiri (verb) to walk about, and yo (adjective), full, satisfied, give Kriyo, to walk about and be satisfied. This is an attractive explanation of the origins of the term "Krio".

See also Wyse 1980 (pp.16-18) in which, relying on Fyle (cf Fyle and Jones, op.cit., p.203), he concludes that 'linguistically the form "CREOLE" could hardly be the antecedent of KRIO....' To quote

the relevant sentence from Fyle and Jones:

phonologically this derivation (i.e. from Yoruba Akiriyo) is much more plausible than Krio < Creole, especially as the disappearance of a final /l/ has not been found to occur elsewhere in the language.

(entry under Krio, p.203)

However, as Hancock points out (1981, p.252), quite a few English-derived words have lost their final /l/ in Krio, and, what is more, several are given in K.E.D., e.g. kabudu < Eng: 'caboodle'; peku-peku < Eng: 'speckle + speckle' (p.287); ramshaku < Eng: 'ramshackle' (p.308). This therefore seriously weakens Fyle's argument. Moreover, note Wyse's mention of the fact that the term 'creeo' or 'creo' - 'the name the interior people know them by' - in which the final /l/ has been dropped, did become known, early this century, as an alternative one to 'creole'. In fact, the dropping of dark /l/ after a back vowel in English-derived words regularly occurs in Cameroon Pidgin, which has been heavily influenced by Krio, e.g. botu, botru for 'bottle', kandu for 'candle', pipu for 'people'. This linguistic feature is not just African either, as it occurs in Cockney as well as Australian English.

Apart from all this, to reject the links with English 'creole' would be to turn a blind eye to the historico-sociological as well as linguistic facts associated with the word 'creole', in so far as it applies to the Krios and their language.

According to Wyse (1980 (1), pp.17-18), Nicol argues that when the Liberated Africans, who were overwhelmingly Yoruba, first arrived in Sierra Leone, they used the word Kiriyo very often in reference to the children who habitually walked and played about the streets. Hence, a typical remark about them in Yoruba would be: 'Kiriyo ni won nje; Kiriyo ni won nse (Their name is Kiriyo, and so they are, i.e. "wakabot")'. This is supposedly how the word



Krio came about. But Wyse also clearly states (p.18):

if we remember that CREOLE (spelt thus) in the mid-nineteenth century meant the "present generation", i.e. the children, an appellation which came to be applied to all the children of the Settlers and Liberated Africans generally, then the origins of the name of the people called Krio become fascinatingly simple to explain.

He is apparently inadvertently accepting not only that the word 'creole' was in fact used to refer to the Krios but also that 'Akiriyo' was the Yoruba 'explanation' from a fortuitously similar-sounding formulation from their language. (Note that, as Hancock observes (1971, III.1.4.8) 'creole' is far older than the ca. 150 years that the Yoruba have been in Sierra Leone.) But in Fyle and Jones, the claim is that

Nicol, F.S.F.O (1949) gives Y. AKIRIYO "those who habitually go about paying visits after a church service", a reference to a Krio custom which continues to the present.

Another version translates akirio as 'scrounger' (Williams, in West Africa No. 3293, 1st September 1980, p.1659 - Professor Michael Banton quoting "Pa" Mahdi, himself an Aku). Which then is the relevant interpretation of akiriyo as it applies to the Krios?

Taking all these facts into account, however, it seems reasonable to conclude that Krio comes directly from English 'creole', which certainly predates akiriyo, and that akiriyo may have later reinforced the English-derived form. This kind of reinforcement and dual etymologies are common in creoles in particular and contact languages in general. (See also Lexico-semantics section on conflation).

#### 2.4 The position of Krio in Sierra Leone today

Sierra Leone, in West Africa, has a population of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million, according to the 1974 census (Background to Sierra Leone, 1980, p.12).



Krio is spoken as a native language by the Krios, who live mainly in the Western area, with a population of 314,350 (ibid, p.233). There are eighteen tribes, each with its own language, but the main tribal groups are Mende - 30%, Temne - 25%, Limba - 8%. Apart from the 2% mother-tongue speakers of Krio, about 80% of the country's population use the language as a lingua franca (Fyle, 1973, p.4). And, as Dalby notes (1981, p.6), Krio is 'the most widely spoken second language throughout Sierra Leone as a whole'.

### 2.5 Varieties of Sierra Leone Krio

Two main dialects of Sierra Leone Krio have been recognised (Hancock, 1971, 1.3.2.0 - 1.3.3.4; A. Johnson, 1974, pp.9-12; Fyle and Jones, op.cit., pp.ix-x). They are: (1) Western Area or 'native' or 'standard' Krio (to use Johnson's terms)-the creole spoken in Freetown, also referred to as K<sup>1</sup> (Jones, 1971, pp.69-71; Hancock (ibid)); and (2) The pidginised varieties - spoken mainly in the Provinces, also referred to as K<sup>2</sup> (Jones, 1971; Hancock (ibid).) These main varieties are arguably divisible into further sub-dialects, e.g. in the Western Area, 'Aku', 'Muslim' or 'Fròbé (Fourah Bay) Krio' (spoken in the East End of Freetown); 'Village Krio' (spoken in the Mountain and Peninsular villages of the Western Area); 'Ràrèmán Krio' (spoken by 'street boys').

Although no research data can be produced to support this submission, an acrolect-basilect continuum may be tentatively postulated, which transcends geographical location and is compatible with degree of acquaintance with and proficiency in English, i.e. the greater the speaker's competence in English the likelier it is that he will speak acrolectally. A mid-mesolectal, typically Freetown, variety will be regarded as the norm. It is hoped that

a tolerable 'definition' of this variety will emerge as we progress. As a 'static' approach is not the most desirable in describing any aspect of a language, especially a creole, I shall comment on variational potential where it is relevant.

## CHAPTER THREE

## A PHONOLOGY OF KRIO

3.1 The Phonemes(a) The Consonants

Twenty-six phonemically distinctive consonants will be recognised, each tending to occur marginally or non-centrally in the syllable. They are the following:

/p b/, /t d/, /k g/, /kp gb/, /m/, /n/, /ɲ/, /ŋ/,  
 /l/, /f v/, /θ/, /s z/, /ʃʒ/, /x/, /h/, /tʃ dʒ/,  
 /w/, /j/. (see chart on p.42)

The glottal stop [ʔ] tends to occur idiolectally, for emphasis or to express surprise or disappointment, only in syllable initial position and prevocalically, as in [ʔébò] (an exclamation indicating surprise or disappointment).

The status of /θ/ and /h/ as distinctive phonemes in Krio is controversial. The only other work in which they are recorded as such is Fyle and Jones (op. cit., p.xix), where /θ/ is described as 'a marginal phoneme, occurring only in certain hypercorrected forms and in new loans, both from English'. Such 'hypercorrected' forms, e.g. /wiθ/ 'with', /θink/ 'think' are largely acrolectal. Forms like /brɛθ/ breath and /riθ/ wreathe are, presumably, what Fyle and Jones refer to as new loans. They are not acrolectal, nor



indeed are variant forms possible in modern Krio.

/h/ is usually described as a feature normally used for emphasis before vowels and is said to be not phonemically distinctive (e.g. Hancock, 1971, p.47; A. Johnson, 1974, p.13). The use of [h] for emphasis is not in dispute, but, like Fyle and Jones, I do not think it would be an exaggeration to regard it as marginally phonemic. It occurs as the indispensable initial element in four words recorded in Fyle and Jones (p.141)

- (1) hawn L (id.) adv.  
1. sound suggesting greedy & voracious eating...
- (2) sound suggesting sudden violent & unlovely death .
- (2) hawn-hawn LL (reduplicated form of prec. v. be over-greedy, be voraciously grasping, esp. for food .
- (3) he-he-he L-L-L (id) adv. sound of suppressed laughter .
- (4) hən-hən H L (id) adv. sound of croaking of many frogs.

Fyle and Jones even argue that /h̃h̃/ might be said to contrast phonemically with /ɔ-ɔ/ (expression of mild concern/surprise), but in doing so they seem to ignore the nasal vowel element in the former.

/h/ also occurs idiolectally, if erratically, as an acrolectal feature in English-derived words.

It seems reasonable to conclude that /h/ and /θ/ are recently acquired distinctive phonemes in Krio and this seems significant for the future of English-derived words in the language.

Typically, the plosives, the labio-dental, alveolar and palato-alveolar fricatives, and the palato-alveolar affricates are

in voiceless and voiced pairs. The nasals, lateral, velar fricative and approximants are voiced, and the glottal fricative is voiceless.

### The Plosives

/p/ as in /pî́t/ (spit), /pípùl/ (people), /pâp/ (tear);

/b/ as in /bî́t/ (beat), /bèb́/ (boy), /lîb/ (live);

/t/ as in /tî́/ (tea), /tî́tî́/ (girl), /î́t/ (eat);

/d/ as in /dû́/ (do), /dòdò́/ (large navel), /èd/ (head);

/kp/ as in /kpó́/ (rub down child's body), /kpékpé́/ (small bits of food), (non-final);

/gb/ as in /gbó́/ (become hardened), /àgbó́/ (a kind of herb), (non-final);

/k/ as in /kî́/ (key), /kòkò́/ (a bribe), /kâk/ (cock);

/g/ as in /gî́/ (give), /gègè́/ (a hook), /bèg/ (beg).

Krio observes the fortis/lenis opposition in plosive, and, for that matter, fricative and affricate pairs. Coomber (1969) notes that this is sometimes the only distinctive feature when the voiced consonant is devoiced or weakly voiced, especially in final position, where the voiced, devoiced and weakly voiced are often in free variation. In emphatic speech, however, no devoicing seems to occur in lenis plosives initially after a pause or finally before a pause and a final lenis plosive can be so heavily voiced as to create an auditory impression of a slight [i] following.

/p/, /t/ and /k/ are aspirated in all positions, even preconsonantly. Hancock is wrong on this point (ibid, p.48). Examples are: [ph<sup>h</sup>int] (print), [ph<sup>h</sup>iphul] (people); [th<sup>h</sup>ith] (tooth); [kh<sup>h</sup>am] (cram), [d<sup>h</sup>aks] (duck), [d<sup>h</sup>skhta] (doctor). Aspiration is heavy prevocalically and finally in the word, audible but not heavy after /s/. All stops are strongly released finally. /kp/, however, is never aspirated.

There is also a tendency towards slight affrication in the pronunciation of /t/, especially prevocalically and finally. /t/ and /d/ may be dental [t̪], [d̪] in some idiolects.

When homorganic sounds occur at word boundaries, one of the consonants, usually the final consonant of the first word, is elided, e.g. /pót tò/ (report to) becoming [pótò], /bád tìn/ (bad thing) becoming [bátìn]. No elision occurs when speech is slow or deliberate.

/t/ and /d/ tend to be released laterally when followed by /l/ in medial position, e.g. [wítl̥à] (whitlow), [ádl̥ì] (hardly). There is less consistency when they are pre-lateral in initial position, though aspiration seems to occur after the fortis. There is also little consistency after the other plosives. Lateral and nasal plosion never occur finally in Krio as they do in RP English with the syllabic variety of the lateral or nasal.

The labio-velar pair have been adopted from African-derived words in Krio. Each is one sound as a result of the simultaneous articulation of /k/ and /p/ in one case, and /g/ and /b/ in the other.



Both stops are released simultaneously and function as a single phoneme.

### The Nasals

/m/ as in /mí/ (me), /mámá/ (mother), /ám/ (him, her, it);

/n/ as in /ná/ (it is), /móná/ (too much), /án/ (hand);

/ɲ/ as in /ɲá/ (garish), /bùɲá/ (extra), (non-final);

/ŋ/ as in /ŋkòdó/<sup>1</sup> (good friend), /bàngá/ (palm kernel),  
/tòŋ/ (town).

/ŋ/ only occurs intervocally in compounded words, e.g. /dóŋíl/ (downhill).

The opposition between /m/, /n/, /ɲ/ and /ŋ/ is sometimes neutralised. In preconsonantal position and especially before plosives, they become homorganic with the consonant when the consonant is not separated from them by a pause, e.g. [gɲám pá], but [gɲándádí] (grandfather); [tɛɲjád] (ten yards), but [tɛŋgòd] (thank God!).

Sometimes, a prevocalic or prepausal nasal consonant is realised as the nasalisation of the preceding vowel. This is especially so in slurred or rapid speech, e.g. /dúám/ (do it) becomes [dúã], /sòméd/ (some head(s)) becomes [sòéd].

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<sup>1</sup>Only attested in this item (see K.E.D. p.258), more common in non-native speech. Some native speakers do not accept it as Krio.

Nasal consonants function syllabically only in African-derived words, e.g. /ŋkədɔ́/ (good friend) (Fyle and Jones, *ibid*, p.xix).

### The lateral

/l/ as in /lɔ́/ (law), /ólì/ (holy), /ól/ (old).

The voiced lateral non-fricative is always alveolar. It is never velarised or dark but is always clear. Wilson et al. (1964, p.8) assert, quite wrongly, that : 'Krio l-sounds are....very strongly labialised (pronounced with the lips rounded as for the vowel u)'.

As observed above, /l/ is affected by lateral plosion when following plosives and tends to be realised with slight friction when post-consonantal. After voiceless consonants in the same syllable, it also tends to be partly voiceless.

Syllabic l, [l̥], does not exist in Krio (as noted above).

### The fricatives

/f/ as in /fâ/ (far), /bâfà/ (kind of hut), /âf/ (half);

/v/ as in /vêks/ (vex), /fíva/ (fever), /sévv/ (save);

/θ/ as in /θélmà/ (Thelma), /tùθek/<sup>1</sup> (toothache), /brêθ/ (breath);

/s/ as in /sê/ (say), /sìsì/ (older sister), /ês/ (raise);

/z/ as in /zìp/ (zip), /yézá/ (razor), /bâz/ (foil plans);

/ʃ/ as in /ʃá/ (deteriorate), /áʃ/ (loose dress), /kjâʃ/ (cash;

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<sup>1</sup>this form, particularly the /θ/, is acrolectal. The usual form is /títât/.)

/ʒ/ as in /ʒìjì/ (respect), /mɛ́ʒò/ (measure), /ruʒ/ (rouge)  
(idiolectal, single example)

/ʎ/ as in /ʎés/ (rice), /ʎáʎé/ (roam the streets), /wɛʎ/ (wear);

/h/ as in /háũ(n)/ (sound suggesting greedy eating), /ɛ̃hɛ̃/ (yes),  
(non-final).

Turner (1965) says that Krio /f/ and /v/ are realised as  
and [ɸ] or [β] respectively, but Hancock rightly observes (ibid, p.49)  
that this is not the case. They are labiodental fricatives.

The r-phoneme has traditionally been described as the voiced  
uvular fricative [ʀ] (e.g. Berry, 1961, p.4; Ladefoged, 1966, p.66;  
Jones, 1972, p.39), but it is true to say that, for most KI speakers,  
the realisation of this phoneme is a retracted voiced velar fricative  
(not an advanced), as Hancock (ibid, p.50) says. This is the usual  
variety in all positions in the word, even when it is in the alveolar  
environment, e.g. after /t/ or /d/, as in: [tʎadé] (the other day),  
[dʎɛg] (drag). It is articulated with not very conspicuous friction.

/h/ has been commented on above, but two further points may  
be noted:- (i) non-native Krio speakers tend to retain initial /h/  
in English-derived words, though native speakers normally do not have it.  
(ii) in some KI idiolects, [h] is inserted initially where even English  
does not have it, e.g. /hébul/ (able).



The affricates

/tʃ/ as in /tʃ<sup>h</sup>af/ (chaff), /mátʃ<sup>h</sup>is/ (matches), /wátʃ<sup>h</sup>/ (watch)

/dʒ/ as in /dʒá/ (speak angrily), /ádʒa/ (haja),

/dʒ<sup>h</sup>dʒ/ (judge).

The approximants

/w/ as in /w<sup>h</sup>e/ (way), /sw<sup>h</sup>e/ (swear), /áw<sup>h</sup>/ (how);

/j/ as in /j<sup>h</sup>ek/ (scare), /wáj<sup>h</sup>a/ (wire), /báj<sup>h</sup>/ (buy).

They are normally voiced, but are partly devoiced when immediately preceded by a voiceless plosive in the same syllable. When final in a word, they could be considered as functioning vocally as the second element of the falling diphthongs /aw/, /aj/ and /ɔj/.

/w/ and /j/, like /h/, may also be used initially and prevocally, for emphasis - /w/ occurring before /u/ and /ɔ:/, /j/ occurring before /i:/ and /h/ before /a/, /e/, /ɛ/ and /ɔ/, e.g. /wól/, instead of /ól/ (old), /jít/, instead of /ít/ (eat) and /hêt/, instead of /êt/ (hate/eight).

		<u>Krio consonants</u>							
	Bi-labial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-Alveolar	Palatal	Labio-velar	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d			kp gb	k g	(ʔ)
Nasal	m			n		ɲ		ŋ	
Lateral				l					
Fricative		f v	θ	s z	ʃ ʒ			ɣ	h
Affricate					tʃ dʒ				
Approx- imant						j	w		

This chart contains all the phonemes in all the varieties of Krio described. The glottal stop is not phonemic in any variety, but /h/ and /θ/ are acrolectal.

(b) The Vowels

Twenty-one vowel phonemes will be recognised - eleven oral and ten nasal - each tending to occur centrally in the syllable. The articulation for each nasal vowel is similar to that for its oral counterpart, the only difference being that, for the oral sounds, there is velic closure, but not for the nasal ones. Seven of each type are normally monophthongal and are not usually diphthongised and the remaining three are diphthongal. The oral monophthongs are /i, e, ε, a, ɔ, o, u/ (in acrolectal speech /e/ and /o/ may be diphthongised to /ei/ and /ou/ or /əu/), the nasal monophthongs are /ĩ, ẽ, ɛ̃, ã, ɔ̃, õ, ã̃/, while the oral diphthongs are /ai, au, ɔi, oi/ and the nasal, /ãĩ, ãũ, ɔĩ/. /oi/ may be considered a marginal diphthong as it only occurs in the exclamations of distress: /ôĩ/, /wôĩ/, /wóíójà/. These are falling, not rising diphthongs (as Hancock (ibid, p.52) says), with their first element slightly more prominent than their second. They could also be represented as /aj, aw, ɔj/ and /ãj, ãw, ɔj/ respectively.

Other vowel sequences, e.g. /iɛ/ as in /bîɛn/ (behind), /ia/ as in /bíã/ (beer) and /iɔ/, as in /píɔ̃/ (pure), are not treated as diphthongs, but as vowel sequences (each in a different syllable).

Acrolectal diphthongs like /iə/ and /eə/ are also possible, as in /bíə/ (beer) and /dɛə/ (dare).

Vowel lengthening is only allophonic and not a phonemically distinctive feature in Krio. Conspicuous lengthening of any vowel, though, may have suprasegmental significance (see below).



Distribution of the vowels

/i/ as in /ît/ (eat), /pît/ (spit), /tî/ (tea);

/ĩ/ as in /ĩsâi/ (inside), /sĩs/ (since), /pĩ/ (ideophone expressing intensity of looking);

/e/ as in /êd/ (head), /bêd/ (bed), /dê/ (day);

/ẽ/ as in /ẽʃɛnt/ (old & shabby), /rẽtʃ/ (rinse), /grẽ/ (only);

/ɛ/ as in /ɛp/ (help), /pɛp/ (pipe), /swɛ/ (swear);

/ẽ/ as in /ẽ/ (agreement tag), /sẽs/ (sense), /fẽ/ (nothing);

/a/ as in /ât/ (hut), /pâp/ (tear), /pâ/ (old man);

/ã/ as in /ãkó/ (partner), /bãsùl/ (bounce), /pã/ (upon);

/ɔ/ as in /ɔp/ (up), /pɔt/ (pot), /rɔ/ (raw);

/õ/ as in /õtĩ/ (hunting), /sõtĩ/ (something), /hõ-hõ/ (sound of croaking frogs);

/o/ as in /op/ (hope), /pot/ (report), /do/ (door);

/õ/ as in (non-initial), /õʃó/ (an evil spirit), /kpõ/ (intensity of distance);

/u/ as in /us/ (which), /put/ (put), /ku/ (intensity of activity);

/ũ/ as in (non-initial), /kũfá/ (bluff), /ũbù/ (first name);

/ai/ as in /aid/ (hide), /said/ (side), /bai/ (buy);

/ãi/ as in (non-initial), /pãit/ (pint), /mãí/ (take care);

/au/ as in /au/ (how), /ʃaút/ (wake-keeping hymn), /nãu/ (now);

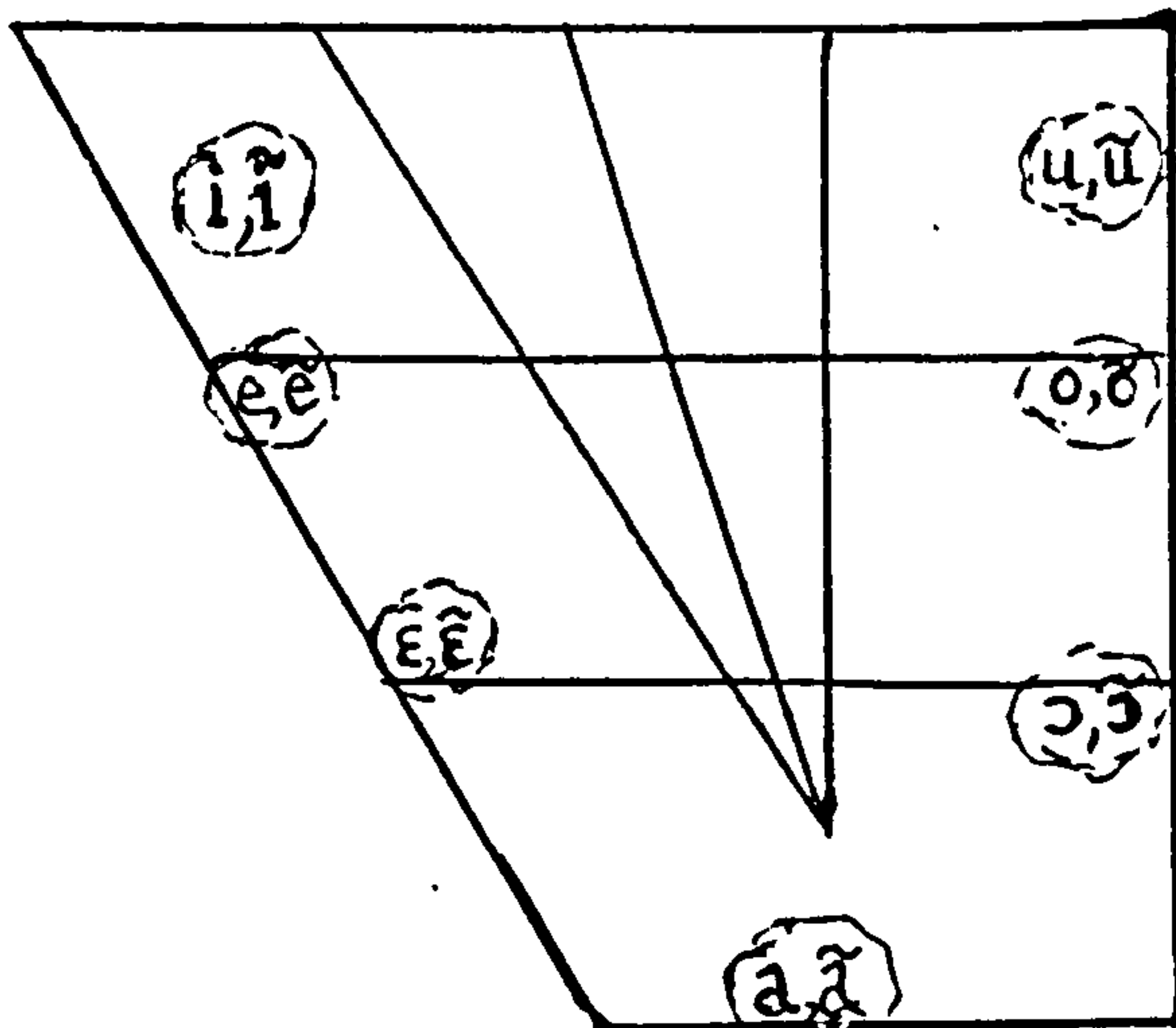
/ãu/ as in /ãus/ (ounce), /bãus/ (bounce), /bãú/ (bound);

/oi/ as in /oíl/ (oil), /soíl/ (soil), /boí/ (boy);

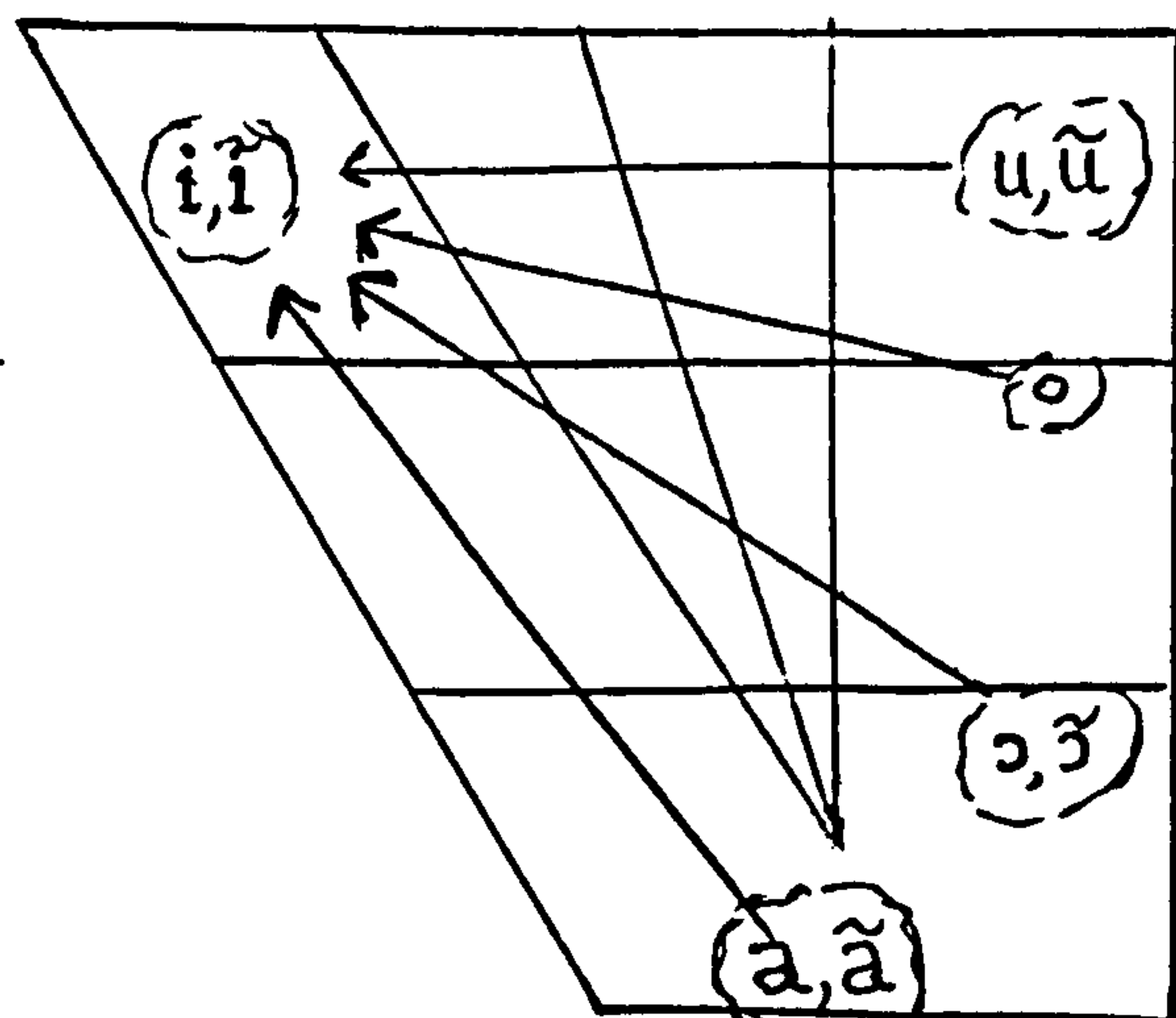
/õí/ as in /õítmēt/ (ointment), /dʒõít/ (joint), /õsõí/ (a deaf person).

The following charts will best describe the approximate places of articulation of the vowels:

1.



2.



### 3.2 Syllable Structure

In Krio, a syllable comprises a vocalic element, as its nucleus (which may or may not enter into combinations with consonantal elements) and a tone. A syllable cannot have more than one tone.

The general structural pattern of a syllable in Krio is  $C_{0-3} V C_{0-3}$ . The number of words with an initial cluster of three consonants is on the increase. Those with three final consonants are much fewer. Almost every word with two or more initial or final consonants is an English-derived word. Words from African sources tend to have a CVCV pattern. The following are the permissible combinations:

V, CV, CCV, CCCV, VC, VCC, CVC, CCVC, CCCVC, CVCC, CVCCC, CCVCC and CCCVCC.

V: All oral and nasal vowels, except /ɔi, ɔ̃, ũ, ãi, ãu/ as in /é/ (the letter a, an exclamation of surprise);

CV: as in /dá/ (that); but some consonants have restricted occurrence, e.g. /ɲ/ only occurs initially with /a/, /ɔ/ and /u/; /h/ only with /e/, /ã/, /ẽ/, /ẽ/ and /ɔ̃/; /kp/ only with /a/, /e/, /ɛ/, /o/, /ɔ/ and /u/; /gb/ only with oral vowels; /z/ does not occur with /ɔ/ or with nasal vowels. /h/ is always initial in the syllable;

CCV: as in /prê/ (pray). Words with more than one initial C tend



to be English-derived. Initial CC clusters occur as follows:-

p + l, ʃ, j; w

w after p, t, k, b, g, s, ʃ;

t + ʃ, w, j;

k + l, ʃ, j (+a, +u), w;

b + l, ʃ, j, w (+ε);

d + ʃ, j, w;

g + l, ʃ, j (+a, +u), w;

m + j (+u);

n + j;

l + j (+u);

f + l, ʃ, j;

v + j (+a + u);

s + l, w, p, t, k, m, n, j;

ʃ + ʃ (+au + ai + ε + i);

CCCV: as in /sp<sup>h</sup>e/ (spray). Initial CCC clusters occur as follows:

s + p + l, ʃ;

s + t + ʃ, j;

s + k + ʃ, j, w;

Final -V: as in /swɛ̃/ (swear). All vowels, oral as well as nasal, occur finally.

VC: as in /âk/ (hawk). /ʒ, h, kp, gb, ɲ / do not occur finally. /w/ and /j/ only occur finally as the second element of the diphthongs /aw/, /aj/ and /ɔj/.

VCC: as in /âks/ (ask). Final CC clusters occur as follows:-

p + s;

b + s;

t + s;

k + t, s;

m + p, s;

n + t, tʃ, d, dʒ, s;

ŋ + k, g, s;

l + p, t, k, b, d, tʃ, dʒ, f, v, θ, s;

f + t;

v + s;

s + p, t, k;

/ʃ, z, ʃ, ʒ, w, j, h, ŋ, kp, gb/ do not combine with other consonants in final position. /m, n, ŋ, l/ do not occupy final position in a final CC cluster; /θ, d, tʃ, dʒ, g/ are never the first element of the cluster.

- CVC: as in /tʃʌtʃ/ (church). Any C<sub>1</sub> except /ŋ/ + v + any C, except the ones excluded in VC above.
- CCVC: as in /tʃʌk/ (truck). As for CCV above + any C<sub>3</sub>, except the ones excluded in VC above.
- CCCVC: as in /spʌd/ (spread). As for CCCV above + any C<sub>4</sub>, except the ones excluded in VC above.
- CVCC: as in /bʌnk/ (sleep). Any C<sub>1</sub> + final CC clusters permissible for VCC above.
- CVCC: as in /dʒʌŋks/ (junk). This pattern is not very common.  
 C<sub>2</sub> C<sub>3</sub> = /N/ + homorganic plosive, e.g. /dʒonks/, /pʌnts/.  
 C<sub>4</sub> = /s/.
- CCVCC: as in /drʌŋk/ (drunk). As for CCV and VCC above.
- CCCVCC: as in /stʃɪŋg/ (string). As for CCCV above, except /spl-/ + final CC clusters permissible for VCC above. Items with this pattern tend to belong almost exclusively to acrolectal varieties (except e.g. /skwʌks/ (clandestine lover)).



### 3.3 Prosodic features

1. Length It has been noted (p.43) that vowel lengthening is not phonemically significant in Krio. It is however, of supra-segmental importance and is used, inter alia, for: (a) Intensification (a way of expressing superlativeness), in which case the most important word(s) in a sentence have both their vowels and their continuant consonants (to some degree) lengthened, e.g. [í s:wí:i::t] or [í: s:wí:i::t] (It is very delicious); (b) Emphasis, e.g. in what in English would be contrastive stress, e.g. [dì bòbó bétè, bət dì tí::tí::!] (The boy is tolerable, but the girl is absolutely unbearable); (c) Listing - all the words in a list except the last have their vowels lengthened, e.g. [à gɛ́ ʃú:gá:, mí:l̩k, bʏe:d, bɔ:tá; èn dʒám] (I've got sugar, milk, bread, butter and jam); (d) Surprise or disappointment, e.g. [bò : jú : sɛ ::f] (exclamation implying: 'how could you be so stupid/thoughtless/unreliable, etc.); (e) With the adverbials só(té) /té(té) = 'excessively', e.g. [í bít àm só:té::] 'he beat him excessively/mercilessly/ for a long time'.

2. Tone Krio syllables are characterized by tone, not stress. This is a feature contributed by its African sources. Three tones are distinguished - (1) // (H) - a level high which may occur in any position in the word; (2) /∧/ (F) - a high falling, which only occurs in utterance final position in some words. Within the utterance, all falling tones which may characterize isolate words become high tones; (3) /∧/ (L) - a low level, which may occur in any position in the word.

The tones are lexical, e.g. (a) /kókó/ (a swelling);

(b) /kòkó/ (a bribe), as well as grammatical, e.g. (A) /gô/ (lexical verb 'gô'), (b) /gò/ (auxiliary verb indicating futurity).

Most monosyllabic words have a high falling tone in isolate form.

The following features are observed in relation to tone:

- (a) downdrift - when two high tones are separated by a low tone, the second high being realized on a slightly lower phonetic pitch level than the first high tone, e.g. Labode H - L -  $\downarrow$ H (man's name);
- (b) downstep - typically, when the conditioning low tone which causes downdrift is lost or assimilated to the level of the preceding high tone (see Hyman & Schuh, 1974, pp.84, 92. See also Hancock 1981, p.249) who gives the examples: kushé H $\downarrow$ H (well done); wetin H $\downarrow$ H (what); yusef H $\downarrow$ H (yourself) and tuməs H $\downarrow$ H (too much).
- (c) upstep - typically before high-tone ideophones, e.g. iful pim LH $\uparrow$ H 'it is full to the brim' (Hancock, ibid).

The tonal combinations recognised are as follows:

H	as in <u>bra</u> (male chum)
F	" " <u>bre</u> (shout)
L	" " <u>go</u> (future time auxiliary)
HH	" " <u>koko</u> (swelling)

HF	as in <u>bulɔg</u> (bulldog)
HL	" " <u>kɪpa</u> (keeper)
LH	" " <u>tɛnki</u> (sense of gratitude)
LF	" " <u>kalbas</u> (Calabash)
LL	" " <u>gɛgɛ</u> (goitre)
HHH	" " <u>konani</u> (gossip)
HHF	" " <u>chatabɔks</u> (chatterbox)
HHL	" " <u>fokɔpɔ</u> (two cents)
HLL	" " <u>labɪjɛ</u> (exclamation of disbelief)
LHH	" " <u>ɪgbakɔ</u> (wooden spoon)
LLH	" " <u>ɪjakpa</u> (tortoise)
LHF	" " <u>dawnstiaz</u> (downstairs)
LLF	" " <u>kɔlɔnayz</u> (cononize)
LLL	" " <u>ɪgbalɛ</u> (the 'holy of holies')
LHL	" " <u>koluman</u> (coal woman)
HLH	" " <u>Labɔde</u> (man's name)
HLF	" " <u>yɛstade</u> (yesterday)
LLLL	" " <u>kpɔtɔ-kpɔtɔ</u> (sound of boiling)
LHHH	" " <u>abandawa</u> (very fat woman)



- LLHH as in bogobogo (rubbish)
- LLH " " rɔtimbeɪɛ (gluttony)
- HHHH " " kpatakpata (completely)
- HLLL - not attested. Hancock's fɛbiwari (1971, p.59) should be HHHL
- HLL as in fitifata (to one's heart's content)
- HHHL " " fɛbiari (February)
- HLHL " " biubiu (sound descriptive of bubbling liquid)
- HLLH - not attested. Hancock's bisabɔdi (ibid), should be LLLH.
- HLHH as in ɛsentɛɛ (dog's name)
- LLHL " " ɛlimentri (elementary)
- LHLH " " ɛkuɔdũ (Muslim Krio greeting)
- LHHL " " ɛkuɔsɛ (Muslim Krio Sunday greeting)
- LHLL " " ɛkuɔfɔ ( " " funeral greeting)
- HHLH " " bongadama (a faraway place)
- HHLH " " gbangbaode (in the open)
- LLHHH " " falamakata (imitation)
- LLHHL " " ɔpɔtyuniti (opportunity)
- LLLHL " " baniyandama (mankind)

- LHLHH as in ekelɔjoti (barefaced liar)
- LLLHH " " gerɛmɔsheke (finery)
- LLLHHL " " rɛspɔnsibiliti (responsibility).

Tone and intonation interact in Krio. For more on this and for a comprehensive treatment of tone in Krio, see A. Johnson (1974).

SECTION TWO:  
THE PHONOLOGY OF ENGLISH-DERIVED  
WORDS IN KRIO



## PART ONE: NON-TONAL FEATURES

## CHAPTER FOUR

## PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEMS

4.1 Introduction

An examination of the English input in modern Krio reveals the truly eclectic nature of the latter language. There are many phonetic and phonological features in it which have parallels in regional accents from almost every part of the British Isles. We have noted the impact of the nautical variety West Africans came into contact with in the late 16th century (see 2.2 above). Hancock (1972, p.7) notes that at that time: 'a ship bound for the Guinea Coast out of, say Glasgow, would have unloaded and taken on cargo, as well as crew, at several coastal towns (e.g. Liverpool, Bristol, Plymouth) before leaving British waters'.

Apart from the sailors, there were the colonists, mainly from Britain, North America and the West Indies, who settled in Freetown during the nineteenth century and must have brought with them different varieties of English.

While the core component of the English-derived lexicon of Krio may be traceable to the foregoing, if a faithful account of the dynamic nature of modern Krio is to be arrived at, it is essential to consider more contemporary influences. In this respect, the influence of RP calls for some discussion. It must be noted that Krio had existed as a language before RP emerged as the socially prestigious pronunciation of Standard English in England. The English contribution

to the earlier phonology of Krio could therefore not have in any way come from RP. However, RP has greatly influenced more recent English derivations; the following are some of the main reasons.

English is the official language and only language used for education in Sierra Leone. The only accent of English still considered truly 'English' is an accent modelled on RP. A book on the pronunciation of English is only considered, by most local educators, to treat the subject seriously, if it prescribes such an accent. This preference is buttressed by the fact that RP-type pronunciations tend to be the only kinds heard over the BBC World Service, which is very popular in Sierra Leone, and from which news broadcasts are relayed daily. Also, even local broadcasters in English are only considered acceptable if they can employ an accent modelled on RP.\* It is also interesting to note that West Africans in general (excluding Liberians), while revealing distinct British-oriented pronunciations, demonstrate such obvious features of local language interference that they can by no stretch of the imagination be considered RP-oriented speakers. Yet the only Oral English examination available for 'O' Level candidates all over West Africa is based on an RP model.

American varieties of English pronunciation undoubtedly inundate the local cinemas, but an American accent is not taken seriously in Sierra Leone, except when used by native Americans.

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\* the writer has personal experience of this as a freelance broadcaster on Sierra Leone's national radio.

At best it is considered 'foreign'; at worst, comic, cheaply theatrical, reckless, false. American films and literature (in the broadest sense of the term), have contributed their quota to the vocabulary of modern Krio (see Section 4), but the tendency has been for such items to be recast in the mould of the existing Krio phonological system.

In the ensuing examination and discussion of the non-tonal features of English-derived items in Krio, several factors will be taken into account. Although, it may be difficult to prove conclusively that a particular phonological feature came from a particular British accent, especially in the case of items that are pre-nineteenth century, parallels between particular accent features and Krio items will be noted where they occur. Some of the evidence has been taken from THE SURVEY OF ENGLISH DIALECTS (S.E.D.) (H. Orton et al., 1962). It is believed that the dialects described in this work were already established in or even before the seventeenth century (Mr. S. Ellis - one of the co-authors - personal communication). The accents of Welsh, Irish and Scottish English will also be seen to be germane to the discussion. The people of Wales, parts of Scotland and Ireland learnt English as a second language at about the same time that Africans were learning English. Indeed, some of them as British seafarers on the West African coast, could have provided the models which the Africans learnt.

For descriptive convenience and for the reasons already mentioned, not because it is necessarily assumed to be the source of the Krio pronunciation, RP will generally be used to represent English, but relevant features in regional accents will also be highlighted.



Krio has inevitably been and continues to be significantly influenced by its African environment. The most important phonological feature from this source has been its tonal input - for our purposes, the fact that a tone system is consistently substituted for a stress system in English-derived words. Apart from this, the phonemic systems of Krio show similarities with its West African neighbours. These will also be pointed out as will other relevant phonological parallels.

Being a creole language, Krio shares many phonological features with other pidgin and creole languages, particularly English-based ones. Where evidence is available, such parallels will be noted in the discussion.

#### 4.2 Vowel Systems

Twenty-one vowel phonemes are recognised in the Krio system - eleven oral and ten nasal. The nasal vowels are the counterparts of the oral ones. In each case, seven are monophthongal and three diphthongal.\* Compared to RP vowels, they are relatively peripheral. For the front monophthongs, four heights are represented; for the back, three. A fully open back vowel does not occur. There are no phonemic distinctions of length and vowels tend to be more on the tense than the lax side. In its vowel system and indeed its phonemic system as a whole, Krio is typically West African (see below).

(For combinatory possibilities/syllable structure, see 3.2 above).

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\* the marginal Krio diphthong /oi/ does not have a nasal counterpart.

The RP system as described by Gimson (e.g. 1980) has twenty vowels and the details show marked differences from Krio. The main differences in the phonological systems are: the distinctions between the 'pairs' ; /i:/ and /ɪ/, /æ/ and /ɑ:/, /ɒ/ and /ɔ:/, /ʊ/ and /u:/; the presence of the central vowels /ʌ/, /ə/ and /ɜ:/; the presence of the additional diphthongs /ɪə, ɛə, ʊə/; and the absence of nasal vowels. Realisation differences include the diphthongisation of /e/ to /eɪ/ and /o/ to /əu/. It has been observed that some RP diphthongs and triphthongs are becoming monophthongised. /ɔ:/ has for some time been commonly recognised as an alternative for /ʊə/, signifying a merger for pairs like poor and pore. Hughes and Trudgill (1979, p.27) note that /ɛə/ is becoming /ɛ:/, and that both /aɪə/ and /ɑʊə/ are merging with /ɑ:/ (also Wells, 1982, p.239). These changes indicate that some of the differences between RP and Krio are fading away.

By and large, the RP system can be re-stated symmetrically (grouping all the short/lax and long/tense vowels together) as follows:

(a) Short/lax monophthongs /ɪ, ɛ, æ, ʌ, ɒ, ʊ/ as in 'pit', 'pet', 'pat', 'putt', 'pot' and 'put' respectively.

/ə/ is also short/lax but it differs from the foregoing because it is usually found only in unstressed syllables, unlike the others which may be found in both stressed and unstressed syllables. It would also be possible to consider [ə] as an allophone of /ʌ/ (cf. O'Connor, 1973, p.153; Wells, 1970, p.233).

The duration of the traditionally short vowels varies according to phonetic environment and some, e.g. /æ/, have some quite long allophones.

(b) Long/tense monophthongs: /i:, a:, ɔ:, u:, ɜ:/, as in 'bead', 'bard', 'board', 'boot', 'bird'. These are usually realized as diphthongs, especially when final in open syllables - a feature not necessarily found in other British accents. The RP monophthongal system, then, is as follows:

i:	ɪ
a:	æ
ɔ:	ɒ
u:	ʊ
ɜ:	ə
	ɛ
	ʌ

(c) Diphthongs:

- (i) glides to /ɪ/ — /eɪ, aɪ, ɔɪ/, as in 'bay', 'by', 'boy';
- (ii) glides to /ʊ/ — /əʊ, aʊ/, as in 'no', 'now';
- (iii) glides to /ə/ (centring) — /ɪə, ɛə, ʊə/, as in 'sheer', 'share', 'sure'.



- (d) Triphthongs: /aɪə/, as in 'fire' and /ɑvə/, as in 'tower' have been mentioned above.

Regional accents considered potential sources of Krio vowels will now be brought into the discussion. Only systemic deviations from RP which have significance for Krio will be considered. Where mention is made of a particular accent, the broadest form of the accent is being referred to, otherwise, qualifications will be made where necessary.

1. The short (lax)/long (tense) opposition is not generally a distinctive feature of Scottish and Irish accents. The vowels of 'beat' and 'bit' are distinct in both and those of 'pot' and 'port' contrast only before /p, t, k/ in the Irish variety (Hughes & Trudgill, *ibid*, p.77), though, this is a quality distinction, not one of length or tension. Like Krio, Scottish accents have only one variety of each of the [a], [u] and [ɔ] sounds, and Irish accents, of the [a] and [u] sounds.

The 'Scottish monophthongs are "pure" - there is no trace of diphthongization' (Hughes & Trudgill, *ibid*, p.70); so are the Krio ones.

2. Northern and Midlands English accents are particularly famous for the absence of distinction between RP/ʊ/ and /ʌ/ and only have /ʊ/ which is used for both sounds, thus making 'buck' and 'book' homophonous. In fact, in Middle English, no such distinction existed. The split of Middle English short /u/ into /ʊ/ and /ʌ/ took place in the 17th century, but did not affect the 'broad' accents of

the North of England. In Krio, there are some English-derived items with an /u/ vowel where RP and other British accents have /ʌ/, e.g. from 'shove' - Southern and other accents /ʃʌv/, Northern /ʃʊv/ - we have Krio /ʃub̂/. More commonly, though, where these Southern and other accents have /ʌ/, Krio has /ɔ/. This correspondence compares better with the fact that words like 'one', 'tongue', 'none' with RP and Southern /ʌ/ have /ɒ/ in most of the North, cf. Krio /tɔ̂ŋ/, /nɔ̂n/.

Note also that RP and Southern /ʌ/ may, in a number of cases, also correspond to Krio /a/, as in /wan/ (one) - RP /wʌn/; Krio: /ŝan/ (sun) - RP /sʌn/; Krio: /rám̂p̂ul/ (rumple) - RP /'rʌmp̂l/. This compares with the Cockney realisation of /ʌ/ which is 'a front vowel ranging from a fronted [ʊ+] to a quality like that of Cardinal 4, [a]' with, e.g. 'love' being realised as [lav] (Wells, 1982, p.305).

3. In 'broad' Tyneside in the North of England, RP /ɜ:/ as in 'first' /fɜ:st/ is /ɔ:/ - /fɔ:st/, making 'first' and 'forced' homophonous (ibid, p.66). In Krio, RP /ɜ:/ is typically /ɔ/, cf. fɔ̂s (first).

4. Like Krio, Scottish English has no /ɪə, ɜ:, ɒ, ʊ, æ, ɑ:, ə/. Of these sounds, Irish English has only /ɒ/.

5. Like Krio, both Scottish and Irish accents have only three diphthongs, /aɪ, aʊ, ɔɪ/ as in 'by', 'now', 'boy'.

6. Before the 19th century, the sounds which are now /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ (diphthongs) in RP, used to be [e:] and [o:] (monophthongs) in Standard English. But, in what has been called 'Long Mid Diphthonging' (Wells, *ibid*, p.210) in the dialects from which RP was to emerge, diphthongisation to [i] and [u], respectively, took place, giving [eɪ] and [oʊ] (more recently, [əʊ]). This was around 1800 and it was only 'a realisational change involving no alteration in the system', (*ibid*). This diphthongisation has not influenced Scottish and Irish accents and has only recently begun to feature in parts of Western England (*ibid*, p.347). In the North of England, both [e:] and [eɪ] exist, the latter representing the reflex (see also, Ekwall, 1975, p.16), of a historical post-vocalic velar consonant, identifiable by g in the spelling. Thus 'eight', 'straight', 'reign' have /eɪ/, and contrast with 'late', 'rain', 'rein', which have /e/ (Wells, 1970, p.238). Here also, RP /əʊ/ is [ɔ:] (Hughes & Trudgill, *op. cit.* p.57). Welsh English has both [e:] and [eɪ] and [ou] and [o] in opposition. In some areas, /eɪ/ is used in words which have i or y in the spelling, but /e:/ is used otherwise, e.g. 'maid' is /meɪd/ but 'made' is /me:d/. These areas also have [ou] in words spelt with w, u or l, and [o] otherwise, e.g. 'know' is /nou/ but 'no' is /no/ (Wells, 1970, p.238). As in the Scottish and Irish varieties, in Krio, only /e/ and /o/ exist.

7. RP /ɪə, eə, ʊə/ do not exist in Scottish or Irish and, for that matter, other rhotic accents, especially typical of Western and North Western England. For these sounds, [ɪ(r), e(r), u(r)] are used respectively. Post-vocalic /r/ used to be typical of English pronunciation; but in the 18th century, /r/ 'disappeared before a



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consonant or in absolute final position ' (Wells, 1982, p.218). While RP and many other accents observe this dropping of /r/, the accents referred to here still retain it. Non-rhoticity is prestigious in England and Wales, but Scotland and Ireland are fairly solidly rhotic, except for a relatively small number of speakers having close class connections with England and RP' (ibid, p.221). Krio is essentially non-rhotic, but prepausal r occurs in wêr /weʔ/ (wear) and chêr /tʃeʔ/ (tear) where RP has /wɛə/ and /tɛə/, i.e. /ɛə/ in each case, cf. [jɜːɹ] and [jəɹ] as Lancashire and Yorkshire pronunciations of 'hear', RP /hɪə/ (S.E.D. VI. 4.2), though the RP vowel in this case is /ɪə/ not /ɛə/. Prepausal r also occurs in Krio bêr/beʔ/ (bury) (cf. RP /berɪ/) and kêr/keʔ/ (carry) (cf. RP/kæri/). The few instances of pre-consonantal r in Krio do not seem to be in English-derived words.

In Welsh speech, which is generally non-rhotic, RP /ɛə/ is usually realised as [ɛː] (Wells 1970, p.238). This also happens in Liverpool, where /ɜː/ also is typically [ɛː], though [ɜː] is also heard (Hughes & Trudgill, op. cit., p.61), cf. Krio /ɛ/ in wêr/ (wear) (RP/wɛə/) and in səkjúlà/ (circular) (RP /sɜːkjələ/).

Welsh speech also has no /ɪə/ or /ʊə/, so that 'fear' and 'poor', etc. are disyllabic, with vowel sequences of /i/ or /u/ plus /ə/, while 'serious', 'furious', etc. have /-ɪr/, /-iʊr/, cf. Krio /sɪ'ɹiʊs/ (serious) (RP /'sɪəriəs/). Wells (1982, p.298) notes that 'near - RP', where it is rhotic, may also allow the dropping of [ə] in these environments.

The following chart represents only the sounds we have just discussed and the accents in which they occur. They are compared with the usual Krio correspondence in each case.

<u>RP</u>	<u>Scottish</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Welsh</u>	<u>Northern/ Midlands</u>	<u>Cockney</u>	<u>Krio</u>
<u>æ</u>	a	a				a
a:						
<u>ɒ</u>	ɔ	ɔ (ɒ) <sup>1</sup>				ɔ
ɔ:						
<u>ʊ</u>	u	u				u
u:						
ʌ				ʊ(ʊ) <sup>2</sup>	[e <sub>[a]</sub> +],	ɔ (u,a) <sup>3</sup>
ɜ:				ɛ:/ɔ: <sup>4</sup>		ɔ (ɛ,a) <sup>5</sup>
eɪ	e	e	e:/ɛɪ <sup>6</sup>	e:/ɛɪ <sup>7</sup>		e
əʊ	o	o	o/əʊ <sup>8</sup>	o/ɔʊ <sup>9</sup>		o
ɪə	ɪ(r)	ɪ(r)	ɪ(+ ə)	ɪ(r)		ɪ(+j)(+a)
ɛə/ɛ:	e(r)	e(r)	ɛ:	ɛ(r)(ɛ:) <sup>10</sup>		(ɛ/e) <sup>11</sup>
ʊə	u(r)	u(r)	ɪu	u(r)		ɪ(j)u

1. /ɔ:/ and /ɒ/ contrast only before /p,t,k/.
2. Although /ʊ/ is the usual Northern and Midlands correspondence of RP /ʌ/, /ʊ/ occurs in a few common words in most of Northern England, e.g. 'one' 'tongue' and 'none' (Hughes & Tradgill, op. cit., pp.27-28).
3. RP /ʌ/ usually corresponds to Krio /ɔ/, but there are a few cases of Krio /u/ and /a/.



4. In Liverpool speech RP /ɜ:/, and also /ɛə/, are usually /ɛ:/. In 'broad' Tyneside and some other accents, RP /ɜ:/ is /ɔ:/.
5. RP /ɜ:/ usually corresponds to Krio /ɔ/, but, in a few cases, /ɛ/ and /a/ occur.
6. In some areas of Wales /ɛɪ/ is the usual correspondence of RP /eɪ/ 'where the spelling includes i or y, but /e/ (i.e. [e:] ) is used otherwise'. (Wells, 1970, p.238).
7. In parts of Northern England /ɛɪ/ is used where RP has /eɪ/, when 'eigh' occurs in the spelling (Hughes & Trudgill, op. cit. p.57). Otherwise /e:/ is the reflex.
8. In the same areas as for note 6, /əʊ/ is the usual reflex of RP /əʊ/ where the spelling includes w, u or l, but /o/ is what is found otherwise (Wells, op. cit.).
9. For some speakers, many words with ow or ou in the spelling have /ɔʊ/.
10. See Note 4 above.
11. Where RP has /ɪə/ and /ɛə/, Krio usually has only /i(j)(a)/ but in some cases, RP /ɛə/ corresponds to Krio /ɛ/ or /e/. Berry (1961, p.8) observes that the opposition between RP /ɛə/ and RP /ɪə/ is retained in Krio but only before a following syllable released by /r/. This is no longer true of current Krio, since we can find items which contradict this principle. For example, the following, hitherto acrolectal, but now increasingly mesolectal, forms should be noted:

- (1) Krio: /bi(j)áɣin/, cf. RP /'bɛərɪŋ/ (bearing);
- (2) Krio: /di(j)áɣin/, cf. RP /'dɛərɪŋ/ (daring);
- (3) Krio: /i(j)áɣiŋ(g)/, cf. RP /'ɪərɪŋ / (earring);
- (4) Krio: /i(j)áɣafta/, cf. RP /,hɪər'ɑ:ftə/ (hereafter).

Using key words as examples representing the sounds under discussion, we can re-present the chart thus:

(Note that the words chosen are also found in Krio):

	<u>RP</u>	<u>Scottish</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Welsh</u>	<u>Northern/Midlands</u>	<u>Krio</u>
hat	<u>æ</u>	a	a			a
heart	<u>ɑ:</u>					
pot	<u>ɒ</u>	ɔ	ɔ			ɔ
port	ɔ:		ɔ			
cod	<u>ɒ</u>	ɔ	ɔ			ɔ
cord	<u>ɔ:</u>					
full	<u>ʊ</u>	u	u			u
fool	<u>u:</u>					
shove	ʌ				ʊ	u
tongue					ɒ	ɔ
first	ɜ:				ɔ: *	ɔ
circular					ɛ: *	ɛ
mate				e	e:	
eight	eɪ	e	e	ɛɪ	ɛɪ	e

\*see note 4 above

	<u>RP</u>	<u>Scottish</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Welsh</u>	<u>Northern/(Midlands)</u>	<u>Krio</u>
no	əʊ	o	o	o	o	o
know				(əʊ)	(əʊ)	
serious	ɪə(r)	ɪ(r)	ɪ(r)	ɪ(+ə)(r)	ɪ(r)	i(ɣ)
swear	ɛə/ɛ(r)	e(r)	e(r)	ɛ(r)	ɛ(:)(r)	ɛ
<u>fairy</u>						e(ɣ)
<u>furious</u>	ʊə(r)	u(r)	u(r)	ɪu(r)		i(j)uɣ

From all this, we may conclude that in their vowel systems, regional British accents show many features that are similar to those of the Krio vowel system. A general pattern of simplification seems to emerge.

#### 4.3 Consonant Systems

Unlike the vowel systems, the consonant systems do not differ too much in the British accents or from the Krio system. The English accents do not have the following phonemes which Krio has: /ɲ, kp, gb/, although Wells (1982, p.179) notes that in some Irish and Scottish speech the [ɲ] in words like 'new' [ɲɛ:] could be considered to merit phonemic status rather than being regarded as a realization of /nj/. In Krio, however, the nasal in the derived word nyu is typically alveolar, followed by [j] or, in some cases, the vowel /i/, /ɲ/ only occurs in this word in some basilectal or non-mother-tongue speech.



The only English consonant phoneme that does not seem to occur in any variety of Krio is /ð/, for which /d/ is usually substituted in English-derived words. In the rest of this section, we shall see where parallels or similarities exist between regional British accents and Krio.

Starting with the /ð/ ~ /d/ correspondence, we may note that it has been observed in Chapter Three (p.37) that many idiolects have dental rather than alveolar plosives ( [t̪] , [d̪] ). This compares with Southern Irish English which also lacks /θ/ and /ð/, having /t̪/ and /d̪/ in their place and which accent may have also influenced some varieties of Scouse, which also have /t/ and /d/ instead of /θ,ð/ (Wells, 1982 pp.178, 180, 371). Some varieties of Scottish English have also lost the /t-θ, d-ð/ oppositions (ibid, p.399). Also, in Cockney and Liverpool speech, among other accents, initial /ð/ may be /d/, hence 'the' may be /də/, 'there' /dɛə/. From examples like 'wether' ['wɛðə] ((S.E.D. 111.6.8) some Southern accents) and 'farthings' ['fa:dɪn] ((S.E.D. VIII.7.2) many accents), we see that this correspondence can also occur medially. In fact, from the case of 'adder' being rendered [aðəz] (S.E.D. IV.9.4), we learn that /d/ and /ð/ are in free variation, though normally /d/ occurs after /a/ and /ð/ after /ɛ/. Here are examples of the /ð/ ~ /d/ correspondence in the accents and in Krio:

	<u>RP &amp; some other accents;</u>	<u>Southern Irish/Liverpool/ Cockney, etc.;</u>	<u>Krio</u>
this	/ðɪs/	/dɪs/	/d̪ɪs/
farthing	/'fa:ðɪŋ/	/'fa:dɪn/ (except in Liverpool & Cockney)	/fádɪn/
smooth	/smu:ð/	/smud/ (except in Liverpool & Cockney)	/smúd/

/h/ and /θ/ are, inter alia, idiolectal or acrolectal in Krio (see Chapter Three: pp.34-35). Typically, though, /h/ does not occur in an English-derived word in which there is a pronounceable h in the spelling in the English form. In the British accents, 'h-dropping' is a very common feature. It is something of a shibboleth and is associated as much with the lower classes as with geographical location. RP, some Southern accents, North-eastern England, Scottish and Irish speech tend to retain h. In South Wales and some other non-h-pronouncing areas in Britain, h tends to be pronounced only in stressed positions. This feature can be compared with Krio in which h is sometimes used for emphasis not only in places where it is pronounced in h-pronouncing accents but erratically in pre-vocalic position, e.g. [hébùl] ébùl (able). In many accents, including the following, h is variably absent: Bristol, West Midlands, Yorkshire and Liverpool (On the status and history of /h/ in English accents, see Wells 1982, p.253).

We have seen that /θ/ is a recently acquired phoneme in Krio (Chapter 3, p.35). Traditionally, where /θ/ occurs in many British accents including RP, /t/ or less commonly (and only non-initially in the word) /f/ has been the correspondence in English-derived words in Krio. However, the incidence of /θ/ is growing and spreading slowly. Parallels can be found in some British accents for the /θ/ ~ /f/ and /θ/ ~ /t/ correspondences. In Cockney, for example, and less commonly in Bristol and some other South Western areas as well as in Cheshire, the contrast between /θ/ and /f/ is lost in all positions in the word. Also, in Southern Irish English, parts of Derbyshire, Oxfordshire, Yorkshire and the Isle of Man, /θ/ becomes /t/ or /t̪/ (ibid, passim). Here are examples:

## 1. /θ/ ~ /f/

	<u>RP, etc.</u>	<u>Cockney, etc.</u>	<u>Krio</u>
both	/bɑvθ/	/bɑvʃ/	/bɔ̂ʃ/
bathtub	/'ba:θtʌb/	/'ba:ʃtʌb/	/bɔ̂ʃtɔ̂b/ (note that /bɔ̂θtɔ̂b/ is also heard acrolectally).

## 2. /θ/ ~ /t/ ( or /t̥/)

	<u>RP, etc.</u>	<u>Southern Irish/ Isle of Man, etc.</u>	<u>Krio</u>
three	/θri:/	/t̥ ri:/	/t̥ɪ̂/
teeth	/ti:θ/	/ti:t̥/	/t̥ît/

In North Wales, parts of Scotland and Ireland, where there is Gaelic influence, the RP contrasts /s/ versus /z/ and /ʃ/ versus /ʒ/ are generally absent and the voiceless fortis sounds are used in each case (Wells, 1970, p.239; 1982, pp.180, 413). The voiced lenis versus voiceless fortis distinction exists in Krio, as it does in RP and most other British accents, in the case of these sounds, but there are cases in which parallels with the local accents exist. This means that, whereas the absence of the lenis feature is systemic in the South Welsh accent, for example, in Krio it is not. It is either distributional or incidental (to use Wells' term (1970, p.243) i.e. 'the incidence of one phoneme rather than another, in a given word or a group of words'). In most words in which RP /z/ corresponds to Krio /s/, the feature occurs finally in the word. It can be medial,



as in visit (Krio: /vísit/), in a few cases. Distributionally, in RP and many other accents, words with the plural -s inflection are pronounced with /-z/ after voiced sounds and /-ɪz/ or /-əz/ after sibilants. In Krio, however, such English-derived words usually have /-s/ or /-is/.<sup>1</sup> Incidentally, the spelling of the English form of the word may affect its pronunciation when it comes into Krio, i.e. the -s in the spelling is retained as /-s/ in the pronunciation. The following examples illustrate the point:

(a) Distributional or inflectional -s:

	<u>RP, etc.</u>	<u>North Wales, etc.</u>	<u>Krio</u>
gallows	/'gæləʊz/	/'gæləʊs/	/gəlôs/
shoes	/ʃu:z/	/ʃu:s/	/sûs/
clothes	/kləʊ(ð)z/	/kləʊ(ð)s/	/klôs/

(b) Incidental or spelling -s-:

	<u>RP, etc.</u>	<u>North Wales, etc.</u>	<u>Krio</u>
as	/æz/	/æs/	/às/
nose	/nəʊz/	/nəʊs/	/nôs/
trousers	/'traʊzəz/	/'traʊsəs/	/tɾɔ̀sîs/.

The (b) examples have been categorized as incidental because, though they represent a common feature, it is by no means in every case where s occurs in the spelling of the English form of

<sup>1</sup>One exception is /boz/ probably from English bow + s = (decorate with a ribbon).

the word and is pronounced /-z-/ in most British accents, that /-s-/ also occurs in the pronunciation of the English-derived form in Krio. We see this in the case of English: 'rise' and Krio /ʔáiz/, English: 'use' and Krio /jûz/. These examples probably reveal the current influence of RP and similar accents, because these are relatively recent words in Krio and may even be considered acrolectal. Moreover, the fact that there are cases where /z/ corresponds to /s/ in spite of rather than because of the spelling of the English form, leads one to suspect that /z/ is a relatively recent phoneme in Krio, especially as the items in question usually have more recent, if acrolectal (in some cases) forms with /z/ as variants. Note the following examples:

<u>English</u>	<u>Krio (older form)</u>	<u>Krio (more recent form)</u>
drizzle	/dʒísul/	/dʒízul/ (acrolectal)
crazy	/kʒés/	/kʒézì/ (acrolectal)
lazy	/lêz/	/lézì/ (acrolectal)

Curiously, though, the correspondence may even be reversed, i.e. RP etc. /s/, but Krio /z/, in a few words, as in the examples: 'price' - RP etc. /praɪs/, but Krio /pʒáiz/, 'nursery' - RP, etc. /'nɜ:s(ə)rɪ/, but Krio /nɔ́zɪ/, 'garrison' - RP, etc. /'gærɪs(ə)n/, but Krio /gàʒízìn/.

In most cases in which /ʒ/ in RP and most other accents corresponds to /ʃ/ in Krio, the feature is incidental and the English form of the word has -sion- in the spelling, e.g. 'vision', 'decision' (cf. Matthews, 1935, p.242, in which sailors' pronunciation of words like 'occasioned' and 'provisions' is recorded as 'occashoned' and 'provishons

The Krio form in each case is /-ʃɔn/. Krio /mɛ̃ʃɔ/, the older and nowadays, basilectal, form of /mɛʒɔ/ (measure), is an exception to this general rule. Here are examples of the /ʒ/ ~ /ʃ/ correspondence:

	<u>RP, etc.</u>	<u>North Wales</u>	<u>Krio</u>
measure	/'mɛʒɔ/	/mɛʃɔ/	/mɛ̃ʃɔ/, (/mɛʒɔ/)
vision	/'vɪʒ(ə)n/	/'vɪʃ(ə)n/	/vɪʃɔn/
decision	/dɪ'sɪʒ(ə)n/	/dɪ'sɪʃ(ə)n/	/dɪsɪʃɔn/.

Berry (1961, p.12) claims that 'the opposition voiced ≠ voiceless fricative is a recent innovation in the Krio phonemic system' in the cases of /s, z, ʒ, ʒ/. In the light of the foregoing discussion one doubts if his simple verdict is true.

An important reservation must be re-iterated concerning the approach adopted here. As has been suggested earlier (p.58), it is most important to note that the comparison with systems from British regional accents is not intended to imply that these accents are the undisputed sources of the features found to be common to them and Krio. A multiplicity of factors must have contributed to the Krio systems, not the least of which were the English speakers from diverse places all over the British Isles and from whom the first Krio speakers acquired part of the English-derived vocabulary of the language. Since this thesis is concerned with English-derived lexical items in Krio, it seems reasonable that it should take account of all potential English-speaking influences on Krio pronunciation. Some of the parallels noted may be merely fortuitous. In some cases, however, it is possible to conclude with reasonable justification that a



particular accent is probably the partial source, as in the example of /ʌ/ in RP, other Southern and non-mainland accents which correspond to /ʊ/ in Northern accents, reflected in Krio: /kɔ̀kúmbà/, cf. English (Northern) /'kju: kɔ́mba/ but RP etc. /'kju: kʌmba/; Krio: /ʃú̃b/, cf. English (Northern) /ʃʊv/ but RP etc. /ʃʌv/. No non-British accent or language that has influenced Krio pronunciation to any significant extent has /ʌ/ in its phonemic system and English /ʌ/ usually corresponds to /ɔ/ or /a/ in Krio.

The discussion of regional British accents has only been vis a vis Krio and has not been undertaken in any detail, since that would have delved into facts irrelevant to this thesis. Indeed, we are not even sure which facts are relevant, even where there appear to be parallels.

#### English-Krio Phoneme Correspondences

<u>Vowels</u>			
	<u>English</u>		<u>Krio</u>
1.	i: I	~	i    -/î̂t/(eat); /pî̂t/ (spit)
2.	eI/e:/(ɛI) e	~	e    -/dê̂/. (day)
3.	ɛ	~	ɛ    -/ɛ̂d/ (red)
4.	æ/a ɑ:/ɑ:	~	a    -/bâ̂d/ (bad); /pâ̂t/ (part)

	<u>English</u>		<u>Krio</u>
5.	ʊ/ɔ	~	ɔ - /p <sup>h</sup> ɔt/ (pot); /n <sup>h</sup> ɔt/ (nought)
	ɔ:		
6.	əʊ/o/(ɔʊ)		o - /g <sup>h</sup> o/ (go)
7.	ʊ	~	u - /f <sup>h</sup> ul/ (full); /f <sup>h</sup> ul/ (fool)
	u:		
8.	ʌ /ʊ/(ʊ)/(a) ~		ɔ, u, a - /l <sup>h</sup> ɔv/ (love); /ʃ <sup>h</sup> ub/ (shove) /s <sup>h</sup> an/ (sun)
9.	ɜ:/ɔ:/(ɛ:) ~		ɔ, a - /w <sup>h</sup> ɔd/ (word); /l <sup>h</sup> an/ (learn)
10.	ə/(ʌ) ~		a, (ɔ) - /b <sup>h</sup> ɔtə/ (butter) and words ending in <u>-er</u> and some with <u>-or</u> , e.g. /d <sup>h</sup> ɔktə/ (doctor). Otherwise, <u>-or</u> inspires a spelling pronunciation with /ɔ/.

Note: There are no central vowels in the Krio system (8, 9, 10 above).

11.	aɪ (aɪ)	~	ai - /w <sup>h</sup> ain/ (wine)
12.	aʊ/(au)	~	au - /a <sup>h</sup> u/ (how)
13.	ɔɪ/(ɔi)	~	ɔi - /ɔ <sup>h</sup> il/ (oil)
14.	ɪə/(ɪ(r))/(ɪ(ə)) ~		i(j)a/(i)ɪ(j)a/ (dear), /si <sup>h</sup> ɪj <sup>h</sup> s/ (serious)
15.	ɛə/(ɛ:)/(e(r)) ~		i(j)a/(e)/(ɛ(ɹ)) - /b <sup>h</sup> i(j)a/ (beer), /e <sup>h</sup> ɪa/ (area), /tʃ <sup>h</sup> ɛɹ/ (tear), /sw <sup>h</sup> ɛ/ (swear)
16.	ʊə/(u(r))/ru) ~		/ijɔ/u - /ʃ <sup>h</sup> ɔ/ (sure), /p <sup>h</sup> i(j)ɔ/ (pure), /dʒ <sup>h</sup> uɪn/ (daring),
17.	aʊə	~	awa-/p <sup>h</sup> awa/ (power),
18.	aɪə	~	aja - /f <sup>h</sup> aja/ (fire).

English-Krio Phoneme CorrespondencesConsonants

	<u>English</u>		<u>Krio</u>
1.	p	~	p - /pá/ (pa)
2.	b	~	b - /bí/ (be)
3.	t	~	t - /tí/ (tea)
4.	d	~	d - /dé/ (day)
5.	k	~	k - /ká/ (car)
6.	g	~	g - /gí/ (give)
7.	∅	~	kp - /ákpa/ (wasteful)
8.	∅	~	gb - /gbó/ (old, stale)
9.	m	~	m - /mí/ (me)
10.	n	(-N) ~	n - /nó/ (no)
11.	ŋ	~	ŋ - /tôŋ/ (tongue)
12.	ɲ	~	ɲ - /ɲá/ (garish)
13.	θ	~	t, (θ) - /tíŋk/ (think); /ɣíθ/ (wreathe)
14.	ð	~	d - /dém/ (them) - (systemic)
15.	v	~	v, b, (f) - /lôv/ (love), /lîb/ (live), /múf/ (move)
16.	s	~	s - /sí/ (see)



	<u>English</u>		<u>Krio</u>
17.	z	~	z(s)-/dʒâz/ (jazz), /rózìs/ (realization of Eng. plural -s after voiced sounds)
18.	ʃ	~	ʃ -/ʃâp/ (shop)
19.	ʒ	~	ʒ (dʒ) - /mɛʒò/ (measure); /prɛstîdʒ/ (prestige)
20.	tʃ	~	tʃ - /tʃô tʃ/ (church)
21.	dʒ	~	dʒ - /dʒô dʒ/ (judge)
22.	r	~	ɾ /ɾôn/ (run)
23.	h	~	∅ (not phonemic in English-derived words)
24.	j	~	j /jɛs/ (yes)
25.	l	~	l /lô/ (law)
26.	w	~	w /wî/ (we)

#### 4.4 The Contribution of West African Phonemic Systems:

The Krio phonemic systems reveal a compromise between and synthesis of West African and British English systems, since the two major inputs from which Krio evolved were, to a great extent, pan-West African-particularly Kwa (see p.28 - Linguistic Background) - and pan-British. Because the vast majority of the first Krio speakers already had African mother tongues while acquiring the English-derived vocabulary of the Pidgin that was to be creolised, they pronounced the new words using the sound system of their mother tongues rather than

adopting the unfamiliar ones of English. This kind of substitution is an axiom in second language learning. It is also a linguistic fact that where there are common features in the two languages or language types involved in the learning situation, these common features are reinforced. Some of the features of regional British accents that we have seen occurring in Krio are also found in some of Krio's West African neighbours. The following are some of such features:

(a) Vowels:

- (i) the absence of the tense/lax distinction, with a tendency towards tenseness - this distinction is very rare in West African languages;
- (ii) the absence of central vowels - central vowels are rare in West African languages;
- (iii) the presence for monophthongs over diphthongs - diphthongs are rare in West African languages.

(b) Consonants:

- (i) the absence of the dental fricatives /θ, ð/ - these are almost universally absent in West African languages. Ladefoged (1964, p.27) notes that out of 61 languages he examined only one (Sherbro) has the voiceless dental fricative /θ/.
- (ii) the absence of the voiced alveolar fricative /z/ is a common feature of some Kwa and Manding languages;

- (iii) the absence of the voiced palatal fricative /ʒ/ is almost universal in West African languages. In fact, even in English, it is relatively recent and restricted in occurrence.

The case of the voiced labio-dental fricative /v/ deserves special comment. There are English speakers, randomly spread in both Southern and Northern England, who use /b/ or /f/ where most others would use /v/. Hence, it is possible to hear /sɛ**b**(ə)n/ for /sɛv(ə)n/ (S.E.D. VII.1.6), /sw**i**b(ə)l/ for /swiv(ə)l/ (S.E.D. 1.3.5) and /dɔ**f**kæt/ for /dAvkæt/ (S.E.D. 1.1.7).<sup>\*</sup> However, this practice seems erratic and largely idiolectal and as such, does not seem to be of systemic significance in any regional accent. Modern Krio has all the three phonemes in question but early Krio does not seem to have had /v/ in its phonemic inventory. In English-derived words with /v/ in the English form, /b/ tended to be substituted non-initially and /f/ invariably finally. Nowadays, such Krio forms are either archaic or used by very old people or are in current use but with semantic specialization, while the more recent form with /v/ is also present but may be characterised by semantic and/or collocational differences. See also English and Krio sound correspondences above. Here is an example of each:

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<sup>\*</sup>Cassidy and Le Page (1967, p. viii) referring to Wright's 'English Dialect Grammar', p.279 note: '/b/ for /v/ occurs sporadically in English dialects before /l/ or /n/ intervocalically and finally in one or two words of French origin'.



- (i) English source - 'liver' > older Krio form - /libá/; more recent Krio form /lívá/. Nowadays, the older form -/libá/ only means 'audacity', 'brashness', 'courage', as in the sentence: Bɔ́bɔ́, yù gɛ́ libà 0! = 'Boy you are really audacious!' The more recent form refers only to the body organ found in animals, as in: À wánt káw lívǎ = I'd like some cow liver.
- (ii) English source - 'move' > older Krio form -/múf/, more recent Krio form -/múv/. The older form now means 'to move house', 'to go away', 'to be very fast (of a vehicle)', while the more recent form means '(of purgative) move the bowels', '(of boy and girl friend) be going out together', '(of a young man or woman) be a great socialite'.

As far as Krio's African neighbours are concerned, quite a few of them have no /v/, e.g. Yoruba, Limba, Temne, Loko, but they all have /f/ and /b/ which they use in loan words from other languages in place of /v/.

Systemic features found in Krio from only West African sources are the palatal nasal /ɲ/, and the voiced and voiceless labio-velar plosives /kp/ and /gb/ - consonants; and the nasal vowels. No words with /kp/ and /gb/ in Krio are English-derived.

It may be noted that h-dropping is not a West African phenomenon. All the West African languages that may have influenced Krio have /h/ in their systems. It therefore seems that the feature may have been adopted from English dialect sources.

We have earlier noted that the people of Wales, parts of Scotland and Ireland, were also second language learners of English at the time of the inception of Krio. The fact that their phonemic systems share many features of simplification with Krio also reinforces the theory that in the language learning process, there is always a tendency towards simplification and towards the carry-over of mother tongue characteristics.

On the whole, however, compared with the vowel systems, the consonant systems do not reveal much evidence of simplification - except for the case of /θ/ and /ð/. Otherwise, the Krio system seems more complex than the British ones described.

#### 4.5 Systemic Similarities between Krio and other Creoles

Creole languages, by definition, have many common features, but they also differ in many details. This is true phonologically as it is true for other kinds of linguistic structure. Phonologically, some creoles are tone languages, e.g. Krio and Saramaccan (Taylor, 1977 p.157), while others are stress languages, e.g. Sranan (Echteld, 1962, p.15) and Tok Pisin. Some of them have the tense/lax distinction in their vowel systems, e.g. Jamaican Creole and Saramaccan, while others, e.g. Krio and Sranan, do not. In fact, Hall (1966, p.29) notes that the tense/lax distinction in vowels often disappeared in the earlier stages of English-based pidgins, but (p.30) was restored at a later stage (see also Alleyne, 1980, p.39). Krio, and for that matter, Sranan, it seems, are, however, cases of creole languages in which such a restoration has not taken place. (Alleyne (ibid) wrongly states that tense/lax

distinction can be found in Krio. He also discusses the possibility that English may have had this distinction during the initial contact period with the speakers of the incipient Krio and that such a distinction began to appear in English later, 'and was then transferred into Jamaican, Krio and Gullah.' If such a transfer has taken place in Jamaican and Gullah, it has not in Krio. Invariably, it seems that each pidgin or creole has its own discrete phonemic inventory which is not identical with any other pidgin's or creole's. This is more obvious in the vowel systems. But in the consonant systems too there tend to be differences. Krio, for example, shares the labio-velar plosive pair /kp, gb/ with Saramaccan, though it does not seem to do so with other non-African creoles. But, although modern Saramaccan has phonemic /h/ but no /r/ (Taylor, 1977, p.159), /h/ is not phonemic in Krio while /r/ [ʀ] is. Even Nigerian Pidgin English, which seems to come closest to the Krio systems, has phonemic /h/ (Mafeni, 1971, p.107), which Krio does not have. In short, no pidgin or creole language seems to have identical phonemic systems with Krio. It must not be forgotten that every pidgin and creole language has a historical and linguistic background that is in many ways peculiar to itself. As Hall (op.cit., p.25 says):

usually....the languages in contact have been a European tongue and some variety or varieties of speech indigenous to the area where the pidgin has been formed. Often these have been not merely one native language but several, or even a large number.... We therefore must not think of a pidgin as representing a simple bilateral fusion; it is rather a development of a single language... with strong influences from one or more others, sometimes a great many, and usually non-European .

However, there are some phonological features that may be considered characteristically creole and that, as we have seen, Krio demonstrates. Some such features are as follows:



(1) Few contrasts in vowels and the tendency for them to be peripheral almost to the exclusion of central types.

(2) The high degree of susceptibility of vowels to nasalisation, even when nasal vowels are not phonemically distinctive. Hall (*ibid*, p.29) observes that such nasalisation is not common in English-based pidgins and creoles, but is present in the French-based ones, particularly those with African substrata. It would seem that in many English-based pidgins and creoles, too, which have had contact with African languages, this phenomenon occurs; e.g. Sranan (Echteld, *op.cit.*, p.14); Jamaican Creole (Wells, 1973, p.12); Nigerian Pidgin (Mafeni, *op.cit.*, p.109); Cameroonian Pidgin (Gilman, 1979, p.277); Saramaccan, (Taylor, *op.cit.*, p.246); Saotomense (*ibid*, p.254). Alleyne (*ibid*, p.35) says all oral vowels have nasal counterparts in Saramaccan, Sranan and Ndjuka. This shows their similarity with Krio.

(3) The widespread presence of the palatal nasal /ɲ/.

(4) The general absence of the dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ for which the plosive counterparts /t/ and /d/ are used.

(5) In older forms particularly, the general absence of the contrast between the voiced labiodental fricative /v/ and the voiced bilabial plosive /b/, in which case /v/ is replaced either by /b/ or/and sometimes by its voiceless counterpart /f/. Alleyne (*ibid* pp.60-61) notes that all 'Afro-American dialects' show evidence that there was only one labial fricative at the earliest stage of development. 'English, Dutch

and Iberian /v/ was everywhere remodelled to /b/ leaving /f/ as the only labial fricative'.

(6) The tendency for [h] to be more of a phonetic than a phonemic feature in many creoles.

There are two features of systemic significance in Jamaican Creole that are of nothing more important than historical significance in Krio. They involve the diphthong /ɔɪ/ and the consonant combinations, or, as some call them, palatalized velar stops /kj/ and /gj/.

The RP diphthong /ɔɪ/ as in /tɔɪl/, /grɔɪn/ does not exist in Jamaican Creole. Instead, /aɪ/ is used; so 'toil' is pronounced /tail/ and 'groin' /grain/. This means RP /ɔɪ/ is rendered /aɪ/ in the Jamaican Creole vowel system. Krio also has a few items like /g<sup>h</sup>aɪn/ (groin), /n<sup>h</sup>ataɪ/ (nut oil) RP /ɔɪl/ /p<sup>h</sup>amaɪ/ (palm oil). But these are the exceptions rather than the rule, since RP /ɔɪ/ is normally Krio /ɔi/. Dobson (1957, Vol. II, p.262) and Cassidy and Le Page (op. cit. pp. li and lii) note that /aɪ/ was used in polite speech in English after 1700 in items in which /ɔɪ/ would be used today. Wells (1982, p.171) also notes that this feature still occurs in some rural speech in England and Ireland. Jamaican Creole has apparently consistently and invariably retained this feature, whereas in Krio it is only to be found in a few older items.

The status of /kj/ and /gj/ has also been treated as phonemic in Jamaican Creole, as the following minimal pairs show:

/kjata/ 'scatter'	and	/kata/ 'cotter';	} Cassidy & LePage (op. cit., p. lviii)
/kjaan(g)/ 'can't'	and	/kaan/ 'corn';	
/gjad/ 'gag'	and	/gad/ 'God';	
/gjaadn/ 'garden'	and	/gaadn/ 'Gordon'	

In modern Krio, however, although the /kj, gj/ sequences are also found in some older items, these combinations are by no means phonemic. As in the case of Jamaican Creole, they occur only before the low front vowel /a/. In the item /skjâmp/ (scamp) in Krio, the /kj/ is even preceded by an /s/ which has apparently never been elided, even though initial /s/, in older forms of English words spelt with sk-, st-, sp-, was usually elided when the words came into Krio. Words with /kj/ and /gj/ in Krio are either invariable in form, e.g. /gjâli/ (cf. English 'gally') = 'kitchen'; /kjâs/ (cf. English 'cask') are in common use all right, but have alternative, if acrolectal, forms without the /jod/, e.g. /kjândul/ ~ /kandul/ (candle); /gjâd/ ~ /gâd/ (guard). (See also Chapter Five on this).

Cassidy and Le Page (ibid) note that these two reflexes can be traced to '17th to 18th century British /kj/ and /gj/ before low front [a] and [a:] as contrasted with /g/ before low-back [ɔ:]'. (See also Dobson II § 379). They also point out that these combinations also occur in Twi (a Ghanaian language of the Kwa family) in which 'palatal /kj/ and /gj/ are in complementary distribution with velar /k/ and /g/'. We may also note that where /ɜ:/ occurs in most British accents, there is [ɛ] in (basilectal) Jamaican Creole (Wells, 1982, p.139), cf. Krio, in which it is commonly [ɔ] or [a] - usually, the spelling determines



which, except in b<sup>h</sup>d (bird). Features like these that are found to be common to two contributory languages to a pidgin or creole tend to be reinforced and firmly rooted in the resulting language.

## CHAPTER FIVE

## PHONOTACTIC POSSIBILITIES

Introduction

We have examined the phonotactic possibilities of Krio (3.2); we now compare them with English.

5.1 Vowels

There are differences in the occurrence of vowels in the two languages, but the majority of these are the consequence of the differences between the phonemic systems. The following points can be made.

The tense/lax distinction

We have seen that R.P. (but not Scottish and Irish accents) has a tense/lax distinction, but Krio does not. This means that the distinction of vowel types in Krio vowels is somewhat different from their corresponding RP forms.

1. Final vowels

RP has no final lax vowels (except /ə/ and /ɪ/). In Krio, in which there is no tense/lax distinction, all vowels can occur finally (but they will be 'tense'). In RP and most Northern English accents, words do not end in unstressed /i/ but rather in /I/, e.g.

/'sɪtɪ/, /'vælɪ/, /'kɒfɪ/. Only foreign words break this law. But in popular London speech, as in much of the South of England (e.g. Bristol (Wells, 1982, p.349) and Norwich (ibid, p.341) and the peripheral North (Liverpool, Newcastle, Hull, Birmingham, (ibid, p.303)) 'happy' may end with [ɪ] rather than [ɪ̃]. This compares with Krio in which /i/ is used in such English-derived words in this final position, e.g.: /sítɪ/, (city), /válɪ/ (valley), /kòfí/ (coffee), /ápɪ/ (happy). Wells (ibid, p. 166) also reports that qualities similar to [e] are the typically Scottish preference in these cases. This is not typical of Krio, but some English-derived words, particularly some (but not all) ending in the adverbial marker -li (-ly) may be pronounced with a final /e/, e.g. /níálè/ (nearly), cf. [ˈn̩, e:ɪle] which Wells (ibid, p.446) records as occurring in the Scottish-Irish area.

Wells (ibid, p.441) reports that, typically, in Belfast, /ɛ/ can occur in open syllables, while /e/ is excluded from them. The exact opposite obtains in nearly all other accents of English, which have either /e/ or /eɪ/. Krio has both /ɛ/ and /e/ in open syllables, but the opposition here is not one of tense versus lax. Examples are: /swɛ/ (swear), /te/ (stay).

In many basilectal local British accents, final /əʊ/ or /o/ is avoided and /ə/ (or /i/) preferred. Hence 'window' and 'pillow' become /'wɪndə/ and /'pɪlə/, making 'pillow' and 'pillar' homophonous (Wells, 1970, p.241). /ə/ is a lax vowel which can occur in final position. In Krio, there is no /ə/, and /ə/ regularly corresponds to /a/ in these cases (Wells also notes (1982, p.318) that, in London, the [ə] in such words being final may well be



quite open) cf. Krio: /wínda/ and /píla/ for the respective words.

We may note that /wíndo/ and /pílo/ are also acrolectal forms in Krio.

## 2. Tense/lax before -r

In RP, close, long (tense) vowels and wider diphthongs cannot occur before /-r/, without an intervening /ə/. Rhotic accents have no such restrictions, which are also less severe in most regional non-rhotic accents. There are, for example, widespread local pronunciations like /'pɪrɪəd/ (RP/'pɪərəɪəd/), /'aɪrɪʃ/ (RP/ 'aɪə rɪʃ/ or /aəɪrɪʃ/) (Wells, 1970, pp.240-241). In Krio, which has no /ə/ in its system, these vowels can occur before /r/ as in the examples: /píɾjɔd/ (period), /tʃeɾ/ (tear), /djuɾin/ (during), /aɪɾiʃ/ (Irish).

## Vowel reduction

Where RP and similar accents have /ə/ and /ɪ/ respectively in the prefixes 'con-' and 'ex-', in accents throughout the North and in parts of the Midlands, /ɒ/ and /ɛ/ (full forms) are used instead. Also, the first syllables of 'advance' and 'object' (verb) are /əd/ and /əb/ respectively in RP, but /a/ and /ɒ/ in the North (see Wells, 1970, p.245 and 1982, p.363 for more examples). This means that Northern English accents do not use the reduced forms /ə/ and /ɪ/ in these words and this makes them similar to Krio, which does not, in any case, have /ə/ and, for that matter, reduced vowels. In Krio, the foregoing examples are pronounced as follows:

(1) 'ex-' = /ɛks/ as in /ɛkspɛkt/ (expect);

(2) 'con-' = /kɔn/ as in /kɔntrɔl/ (control);

(3) 'advance' = /advâs/;

(4) 'object' = /ɔbʒɛkt/.

/ə/ and /ɪ/ are also avoided in final closed (unstressed) syllables in Welsh (Wells, 1982, p.387) and Bristol accents (Hughes and Trudgill, 1973, p.48) so that 'moment' (RP [ˈmɒmənt]) is pronounced [ˈmo:mɛnt] and 'goodness' (RP [ˈgʊdnəs/ˈgʊdnɪs]) is [ˈgʊdnɛs]. Wells also notes that suffixal '-ed' and '-est' are often pronounced [-ɛd] and [-ɛst] respectively. All this compares well with Krio, in which we have /mómɛnt/, /gúdnɛs/, /wɛtʃɛd/ (wretched), and /létɛs(t)/ (latest).

Further instances of the preference in English dialects for the full form of the vowel over the choice of /ə/ are recorded in the S.E.D. For example, for the word 'horseman' (S.E.D. 1.2.2) the pronunciation /ɔ:sman/ was recorded in parts of Yorkshire and that of /hɔsmæn/ in the Isle of Man. For 'yardman' (S.E.D. 1.2.2) /jɑ:dman/ was offered in Staffordshire; for 'cowman' (1.2.3) /kaʊman/ was also observed in Shropshire.

There are many English-derived words ending with man, which, as a suffix, has a diversity of functions that will be discussed later (see pp.243,252-5). Man is, of course, always pronounced /man/ in Krio.

### Incidental differences

These are differences in the occurrence of specific phonemes that have not been determined by differences in the English and Krio systems. They may have historical or dialectal significance.

(a) /ɒ/ and /ɑ/

One of the sound changes from Middle English that has affected many accents of current English is the backing and rounding of /a(:)/ after /w/ in words like 'wasp', 'swan', 'squat', though not before a velar, as in 'quack', 'wag' (Wells, 1982, pp.211-212; Ekwall, 1975, p.15). However, Wells argues that this pronunciation with /a/, which occurs in the Welsh-speaking areas of North and many parts of South Wales (other such words being 'wash' and 'quarry') is more 'likely to have originated as a spelling pronunciation (particularly since in Welsh orthography 'wa' always stands for /wa(:)/) than as 'an archaism preserving a Middle English vowel quality ' (pp.386-7).

In Krio, such words - which are derived from English forms in which 'a' occurs in the spelling and is pronounced with /ɒ/ after /w/ and before a non-velar in most accents of English - are, as in the Welsh accents just referred to, consistently pronounced with /ɑ/. They may have come into Krio before the backing and rounding was completed. On the other hand, as in the case of the Welsh accents, they may have been influenced by the English spelling; that is, if they were not in fact directly derived from the Welsh forms. Examples in Krio are:

(1) /w<sup>ə</sup>s<sup>w</sup>ás/ (wasp), cf. Welsh /wasp/

(2) /w<sup>ə</sup>s/ (wash), cf. Welsh /waʃ/

(3) /skwát/ (squat), cf. Welsh /skwat/

(4) /kwáɪ/ (quarry), cf. Welsh /'kwari/.

(b) /i/ and /aɪ/

These are considered here not from the standpoint of historical sound change but because they have been observed to offer a 'selectional difference' between some Northern (and other) accents on the one hand (which use /i:/ in 'either' and 'neither') and RP on the other, which uses /aɪ/ in these words (O'Connor, 1973, p.183). Wells (1982, p.78 & 291) in fact seems to acknowledge this variability between /i:/ and /aɪ/ as occurring within mainstream RP, but is unwilling to commit himself about the social implications of this. Other words affected are 'divorce' and 'direct'. In Krio, the typical choice is /aɪ/, and pronunciations with /i/, which are rare, tend towards the acrolectal.

(c) [ɛi] vs [aɪ] and Krio /ɛ/ vs /aɪ/

In the North of England, there is variation between [ɛi] and [aɪ]. O'Connor only recognises [ɛi] and does not acknowledge any variation with [aɪ] (1973, p.168), but Wells (ibid, p.376), suspects that some speakers, as in Scottish accents, may have [aɪ] before a voiced fricative and finally, but [ɛi] elsewhere. Some of his examples are



'like' [lɛik], 'mind' [mɛind], 'five' [faɪv] and 'in my time' [ɪn `maɪ ,tɛɪm]. Krio appears to be similar in the sense that it has /ɛ/ or /e/ in older forms of words which, in their English model, are pronounced with /aɪ/ in RP and similar accents but with /ɛi/ in the Northern accents we have mentioned, under the same phonological conditions. So, the Krio counterparts of the examples Wells gives are the following:

(a) /lɛ̂k/ (like), cf. Northern English [lɛik];

(b) /mɛ̂n/ (mind), cf. Northern English [mɛind];

(c) /fâɪv/ (five), cf. Northern English [faɪv];

(d) /nà mɪ tɛ̂m (in my time) cf, Northern English [ɪn `maɪ ,tɛɪm].

We must note, however, that most of the older forms in Krio with /ɛ/ or /e/ are complemented by more recent forms with /aɪ/ (deriving from RP influence) and that this has semantic and collocational consequences as well. This particular feature of semantic specialization in older and more recent derivations resulting in doublets or even triplets from the same single form in English, e.g. Krio tɛ̂m and taym from English 'time' will be discussed in greater detail in Section Four. Voorhoeve (1970, pp.53-54) also discusses this phenomenon in creoles. For now, one example will be used to illustrate how more recent variants, which are not necessarily or simply acrolectal, have semantic and collocational consequences. Using the foregoing examples, we may note the following:

<u>Form</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Usage</u>
older: /t <sup>h</sup> ɛm/	'time'	mesolectal and basilectal;
more recent: /t <sup>h</sup> aɪm/	(1) time (2) good/enjoyable time, especially at a party (3) regulate a watch, engine, etc. (4) be on the alert for an opportunity to accost, approach, revenge, etc. (Fyle & Jones, 1980, p.361)	acrolectal, mesolectal & basilectal; <u>t<sup>h</sup>ɛm</u> and <u>t<sup>h</sup>aɪm</u> only over- lap in semantic and collocational range for meaning (1) in all the lects in which they occur.

## 5.2 Consonants

### The CVCV structure

Krio and other creole languages are noted for their tendency to simplify consonant clusters in initial and final positions in the word. This tendency helps to maintain a CVCV syllable structure, which is often attributed to the African substrate influence (see West African Phonotactic Systems, 5.4 below ). Correct as this impression may be, we may also note the tendency in a number of specific developments in British accents.

#### (1) t/d elision

The practice of eliding second elements of consonant clusters, particularly /t/ and /d/ is almost universal in accents of English. This happens especially in informal speech. Wells (1982, p.327) singles out Cockney, in which he says these sounds are elided 'in non-prevocalic

environments including some where RP could not elide them'. One of his examples is: " [t'ɜ:n 'lɛf] 'turn left'." This compares well with Krio /lɛf/ (left) as in lɛf ân (left hand(ed)) and /difɛn/ (different). Also, the S.E.D. records several examples, and from various dialects, of the dropping of /t/ and /d/. For example, the dropping of /d/ is noted for 'fold' (S.E.D. 1.1.9) in Herefordshire (/fo:t/), cf. Krio /fôl/; for 'belly-band' (S.E.D. 1.5.7) in the Isle of Man and in many Southern dialects, cf. Krio /bɛlɛbân/; for 'rounds' (S.E.D. 1.7.15) in some dialects randomly spread over the British Isles, cf. Krio /râus/; for 'mouldbread' (S.E.D. 1.8.8) quite commonly in the dialects, cf. Krio /mòlbɛd/. The dropping of /t/ is also noted for 'sawdust' (S.E.D. 1.7.15) in the Isle of Man; for 'waistcoat' (S.E.D. VI.14.11) in many Northern and Southern dialects, which have a pronunciation strikingly similar to Krio's - /wɛ:s -/, cf. Krio /wɛskôt/; for 'don't care' (S.E.D. IX.4.10) in Gloucestershire (/do.ŋkja/), cf. Krio /dɔŋkja/.

In his study of Sailors' Pronunciation in the second half of the 17th century, Matthews (1935, pp.230-232) also notes instances of the non-pronunciation of /t/ and /d/ - medially often (i) before and after /s/ as in 'yeserday', 'woscots', (cf. Krio /jɛsɪdɛ/ (now obsolete)', /wɛskôt/; (ii) before and after /f/, cf. Krio /átà/ (after) in the phrase /ɔnátà/ (run after); (iii) after /n/; (iv) after /p/, as in 'capen', cf. Krio /kjápɪn/ (now archaic); (v) after /k/; finally after consonants - particularly after /s/, /n/ and /p/, as in 'nex', 'againse', 'las', 'wen' and 'kep', cf. Krio /nɛks/ (next), /àgɛns/ (against), /lâs/ (last). 'Wen' and 'kep' are the past tense forms 'went' and 'kept'. Past tense forms of English-derived words are not usually found in Krio, although exceptions like went in the unique phrase yù gò wɛnt, said in



defiance to mean: 'you will go nowhere!', brok (break), lɛf (leave), occur. The forms wɛn and kɛp are not found in Krio, however. Matthews even notes cases of the dropping of final /t/ after vowels, which does not seem to occur in Krio. The non-pronunciation of /d/ is noted in cases similar to those for /t/, but mostly after /n/, for example, medially, making 'pounds' become 'pouns', cf. Krio /páús/, 'hands' become 'hans', cf. Krio /há:s/, 'landlord' become 'lanlord', cf. Krio /lǎ(n)lɔ́d/, 'Wednesday' become 'Wensday', cf. Krio /wɛ́sdè/. We may also note what typically happens in Krio when /d/ is elided after /n/ medially - the nasal loses full realisation while the preceding, usually oral vowel, becomes nasalized; also, the s in the English orthographic form, usually pronounced with a voiced sound /z/ in most British accents, is pronounced in Krio without voicing (see also discussion on the /-ns/ sequence).

But, again, the speculative nature of this exercise must be borne in mind. Alleyne (1980, p.44) warns against the temptation to link the fact of the infrequency of occurrence of final consonant clusters consisting of C + (dental) stop (l, n + d; s, k, p, f + t) in British English dialects in the 16th - 17th century [as Wright reports (1905: p.295, 307)] and also of the 'optional rule for the deletion of the stop, especially in informal styles in some phonetic environments' in many regional varieties of modern English, on the one hand, with the status of consonant clusters in some 'Afro-American dialects' (i.e. mainly creoles). He says:

'One would have to accept that the rule which in British dialects seems to have always been optional and to have applied only to some clusters became generalized in the development of Afro-American dialects.'



He therefore concludes that, because

the phenomenon in these Afro-American dialects is so widespread and all-pervasive... it is simpler and more plausible to view it as an aspect of a syllabic structure which has its origin elsewhere than in 16th-17th century dialectal English alone.

(2) Syllabic consonants

In RP and similar accents, syllabic [l̩], [r̩] and [ŋ̩] are quite common variants of [əl], [ar] and [əŋ], which is sometimes realised as syllabic [m̩] following /p/ or /b/, or [ŋ̩] after /k/ or /g/. [l̩] and [ŋ̩] can occur medially or finally in the word, but [r̩] can only occur medially. In some Southern accents, including Cockney, there is a general tendency to use [əŋ] after fricatives, where RP has [ŋ̩] as in the words 'seven', 'prison'. Southerners also often use [ət] or [v̩t] where RP uses [t] as in: 'parcel', 'raffle', 'middle', 'table' (Wells, 1970, p.243; 1982, pp.320-1). The S.E.D. also records several instances of [v̩t] and [ət], and of [ɪŋ] and [əŋ] in both Southern and Northern British accents. Examples which show similarity with Krio are given in the following discussion.

Krio has three correspondences (not, as Hancock, 1971, p.86 maintains, two) for English final syllabic [l̩]: (a) /-ɛl/ as in /lɛbɛl/ (label), /fʌnɛl/ (funnel); (b) /-ul/ as in /ændul/ (handle); /ébul/ (able); (c) /-al/, as in /lókəl/ (local), /nóməl/ (normal).

Some examples from the S.E.D. of pronunciations similar to the Krio forms are:

- (1) S.E.D. 1.5.6 [ˈændʊt̪] (Gloucestershire), cf. Krio /áɲdùl/ (handle);
- (2) S.E.D. 1.9.11 [ˈaksʊt̪] (Oxfordshire), cf. Krio /áɲzùl/ (axle);
- (3) S.E.D. V.1.16 [ˈju:sfʊt̪] (Randomly in Northern accents and in the Isle of Man), cf. Krio /júsful/ (useful), (acrolectal);
- (4) S.E.D. V.8.7 [ˈkɛtʊt̪] (Gloucestershire), cf. Krio /kítùl/ or acrolectal - /kétùl/ (kettle);
- (5) S.E.D. V.9.4 [ˈfʌnət̪] (Isle of Man), cf. Krio /fónèl/ (funnel).

The orthography of the source forms seems to be one element determining some of the Krio correspondences, e.g. (a) ˈleɪ (as in 'label') > /-ɛl/, though there are some exceptions like 'navel' with /-ul/; (b) ˈ-əl (as in 'local') > /-al/, with the exception of 'principal' with /-ul/, apparently from confusion with 'principle'. Where the orthography has ˈ-leɪ, or ˈ-il in source form, as in 'pencil', 'civil', 'evil', 'devil', Krio has /-ul/. We have also noted 'navel' and 'principal'. Examples from the dialects and from Krio show greater incidence of the back high vowel occurring before final /l/ which in many English accents is velarised or dark [ɫ]. This velarisation may have considerably influenced the lower, more fronted vowel. [ə] that other accents have as an alternative to syllabic [l]. Krio, in turn,

may have been influenced by these accents, especially in cases where orthographic conditioning has not been strong enough. This is in spite of the fact that the typical Krio final /l/, even after a back vowel, is not velarized.

English final syllabic /n/ has the following correspondences in Krio: /-in/, /-ɔn/, /-en/, /-ɛn/, /-an/. (Hancock, 1971, p.89, acknowledges only the first two). Examples are /bɔ́tɪn/ (button), /pɔ́sɪn/ (person); /vɪʃɔ́n/ (vision), /mɪʃɔ́n/ (mission), /bɛ́ɪtɛn/ (Britain) - an acrolectal word, the more common word being /ɪŋglàn/-; /pátàn/(pattern); /ídɛ̀n/ (heathen). Hancock (ibid) notes that /-in/ 'reflects the common English pronunciation of the 17th century and continues the normal reflex of newly-acquired items with syllabic final /n/ in the source-form. The variant /-ɔn/ only occurs in anglicized vocabulary, e.g. /tɛ̀lɪvɪʃɔ́n/ (television)'. The S.E.D. also has many words with /-in/, e.g. /gja:dɪn/ (1.7.8 - Cheshire), cf. Krio /gádɪn/ (garden); /kʊʃɪn/ (V.2.10 - Lancashire & Yorkshire) cf. Krio /kúʃɪn/ (cushion); and some with /-ən/, e.g. /lɛ̀vən/ (VII.1.9 several Northern & Southern), cf. Krio /lɛ̀vɪn/ (eleven). Note also the apheetism of the first syllable of 'eleven' in both the dialects and the Krio word. /ɪlɛ̀vɪn/ is a common standard variant in Krio. The writer confirms that /-in/ is the usual Krio substitution - note the frontness in position of the articulation of /i/ and /n/ -; but it is not quite true to say that the variant /-ɔn/ only occurs in anglicized vocabulary. /bɛ́ɪtɛn/ e.g. is definitely anglicized vocabulary, but many Krio speakers would not consider /vɪʃɔ́n/ or /dʒɔ́ŋkʃɔ́n/ (junction) anglicized. It seems that /-ɔn/ is the reflex of only words spelt with 'tion' or '-sion.' in the source form. Many such words, admittedly, tend to occur in 'anglicized' or acrolectal vocabulary.



The correspondence pattern of English syllabic [ɹ] in Krio is different from that of syllabic [l] and syllabic [ŋ]. Some words (the majority) are very similar in form to the syllabic variant of their sources, while others reflect spelling pronunciations. Here are examples of both types:

Type 1 (a) /laɪbɹi/ (library), cf. English /'laɪbrɹi/;

(b) /tɹɛzɹi/ (treasury), cf. English /'tɹɛzɹi/;

(c) /lébrà/ (labourer), cf. English /'lebrə/. (The S.E.D. 1.2.4, gives /le:brə/ (some areas of Shropshire) and /'le:bə/ (parts of Durham).

The case of /səktɹi/ (secretary), cf. English /'sekɹatɹi/ shows the loss of the medial syllable in Krio.

Type 2 (a) /nésiséɹi/ (necessary), cf. English /'nɛsəsɹi/ (/nɛsəsəri/);

(b) /tɛmpɹəri/ (temporary), cf. English /'tɛmpɹi (/tɛmpərəri/).

These spelling-influenced forms are also closer to the non-syllabic alternative forms in English.

We may also note that, in English, the syllabic alternatives are variants of forms with an /ə/ which does not exist in the Krio system.

3. The linking /r/\*

The vowels /ɪə/, /ɛə/, /ʊə/, /a:/, /ɔ:/, /ɜ:/ and particularly /ə/ are usually prevented from occurring immediately before a vowel by the use of the linking /r/ in many local, particularly non-rhotic British accents (Wells, 1970, p.241; 1982, p.222 ff; Gimson, 1975, p.219). Hence we have /'fa:rə'we /, /'mɔ:rənd'mɔ:/, /ðɛər'ɪz/. The linking /r/, which could be seen as influenced by the CVCV structure, also occurs in Krio, but in relatively restricted circumstances. It is found after /a/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/ and, usually, but not always, before /am/ (Krio's epicene or perhaps 'genderless', third person singular object pronoun). Ostensibly, the feature is one of epenthesis rather than liaison. In the example /fɔ̀r̩am/ (for him/her/it), the first word /fɔ/ comes from English 'for'. In very slow speech, this example would be /fɔ am/. We may argue that r does not occur in the spelling of Krio. But this is only so if we are using a (semi-) phonetic orthography (which we are in this study); otherwise, a 'ghost' final r may be regarded as existing in the 'underlining form' of the Krio word, since r is apparent in the English orthographic model. If this argument is accepted, then we can call this feature the linking /r/. Other examples like /fɔ̀r̩am/ are:

(a) after /a/:

(1) /bɔ̀t̩ar̩am/ (butterr it);

(2) /wɔ̀t̩ar̩am/ (waterr it);

(3) /fɪb̩ar̩am/ ('favourr' i.e. resemble(s) it);

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\* /r/ will be used for both English and Krio r in this sub-section.

(b) after /ɛ/:

(4) /pɛ́pɛ̀rám/ (pepperɹ it);

(c) after /ɔ/:

(5) /fɔ̀rɛ̀vá/ (forever).

(In these examples, Krio /a/, /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ correspond to English schwa /ə/, after which the linking /r/ most commonly occurs in English);

(6) /fɔ̀rɛ̀d/ (forehead)

(d) after /o/:

(7) /bifóram/ (beforeɹ him/her/it).

In these examples, Krio /ɔ/ and /o/ correspond to English /ɔ:/.

A clear case of epenthesis involving the intrusive r is seen in the phrase /lɛ́gɔ̀rám/ (let go of him), where neither /lɛgo/ (let..go) nor /ám/ (presumably 'him') has r in the spelling in the English model. The phrase /fálarám/ (follow it) also shows an example of epenthesis, as no r occurs in either 'follow' or 'him'. It is possible in this case, however, that since /a/ is a regular Krio correspondence of /ə/, which is the commonest English vowel for final syllables with r in the spelling, final /a/ in Krio fala is, by false analogy, assumed to correspond to English /ə(r)/. Epenthesis with /r/ is relatively restricted in Krio. As in English, it does not seem to occur after words ending in /i/ or /u/ and is severely limited in incidence after



/a/ and /o/, unlike RP and similar accents, in which it is intrusive after some words without orthographic r, e.g. /'lɔ:ɹən'ɔ:da/ (law and order), /'tʃaɪnəɹən'ɹʌʃ/ (China and Russia). Another Krio example after /o/ is the phrase /tòràm/ (to him/her/it).

## Other Phenomena

### Nasals

#### A. The Velar nasal - /ŋ/

The status of the velar nasal in English is a matter of controversy. Generativists argue that English has no underlying velar nasal /ŋ/ and 'that all surface occurrences of [ŋ] are derived by rule from underlying /n/ or /ng/.' (Wells, 1982, p.61). [ŋ] is invariably the realisation of the orthographic sequence: ng or n before g or k. But we can also argue, as other phonologists do, that, from examining minimal pairs, e.g. 'sin' /sɪn/ and 'sing' /sɪŋ/, we see that /ŋ/ is not merely the phonetically environmental (assimilatory) realisation of /n/, since we have two completely different words here. In terms of phonemic theory, no other explanation seems logical than to postulate a velar nasal phoneme /ŋ/. These are synchronic explanations. Historically, however, [ŋ] is the result of a consonant cluster of nasal plus /g/, which shows that the nasal was 'always phonetically homorganic with the following plosive' (ibid, p.188). Words like 'sing', 'wrong', 'gang' ended with underlying /ng/, realized phonetically as [ŋg]. In the 17th century, the [g] ceased to be pronounced in educated London English and this gave rise to a third nasal phoneme /ŋ/ (which is always final in the syllable). Another way of putting it is to say that the two consonants, /n/ + /g/, became one - /ŋ/, referred to as NG Coalescence (ibid).

This coalescence is absent in the Midlands and Middle North of England, including Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool, in some London Jewish speech (p.189) and in parts of Wales (p.390). In these accents, 'words never end with [ŋ], at least not after a stressed vowel; and the [g] is also retained before a suffix-initial vowel or liquid, thus ['sɪŋgə], ['sɪŋgən ~ sɪŋgɪn ~ 'sɪŋgɪŋg]' (p.365). These accents also have rhymes not found in R.P., e.g. 'singer', 'finger' - /'sɪŋgə/ and /'fɪŋgə/ (Hughes & Trudgill, 1979, p.34-5 make the same point).

Krio, like the above accents, usually realises the plosive fully in English-derived words in which RP and other accents have /ŋ/, hence, we typically get /wɔ̃ŋg/ (wrong), /bɑ̃ŋg/ (bang), /sɪŋg/ (sing). This is especially prevalent when /ŋ/ occurs prevocally and prepausally. Preconsonantly, however, the /g/ may be dropped, e.g. /ʁɪŋ dɪ bɛl/ (ring the bell), but /bɔ̃ŋg əm/ (bring it). /ŋ/ can also be final in the syllable or word in Krio, as in the following instances:

- (1) /gɛŋg/ (gang) and /dɔ̃ŋg/ (dung) - cf. /dɔ̃ŋ/ (Isle of Man and Staffordshire - S.E.D. 1.3.12) - have idiolectal variants without the plosive - /gɛŋ/, /dɔ̃ŋ/ or /dɔ̃m/ (older form) (which shows that English /ŋ/ can correspond to Krio /m/, although this is untypical and archaic).
- (2) Perhaps the only example of invariant final /ŋ/ in an English-derived word with RP /ŋ/ is /tɔ̃ŋ/ (tongue). Here, an inconsistency may be noted. Krio can distinguish between 'down' and 'dung' thus: /dɔ̃ŋ/ and /dɔ̃ŋg/ (though, as we have seen [dɔ̃ŋ] may also be an idiolectal variant of /dɔ̃ŋg/) to avoid homophony. But no such avoidance of homophony is possible between 'town' and 'tongue', which are both /tɔ̃ŋ/.

At the upper end of the acrolect, /táun/ for 'town' is however conceivable.

(3) For English 'thing' Krio has the forms [tîŋ], [tîn] or [tî]; for 'things', Krio has [tîŋs] and [tîŋks]. For '-thing' words, e.g. 'anything', 'something', 'nothing', the final sound is either the alveolar nasal or a nasalised vowel -[ĩ]. Wetìn (what) (a creole creation from English 'what thing') also falls into this pattern.

These observations for (3) are true for the items when they occur in isolate form or in utterance final position. They are, of course, subject to assimilation, as all nasals in Krio are, when used within the utterance, e.g. [s̀ntíŋgáap] 'something gets up'; [s̀ntím pás] 'something passes'.

(4) Final /-ŋ/ is used in Krio in words without underlying [-ŋg] or without ng in the orthography in source form. These words are:

(a) /dŋ/ (down) - English /daʊn/;

(b) /tŋ/ (town) - English /taʊn/;

(c) /pŋ/ (1) (pound) (2) (paw) - English (1) /paʊnd/;

(2) /pɔ:n/.

In each case /ŋ/ is not subject to assimilation or any other kind of change in any position in the utterance. This may be a strong reason for recognising /ŋ/ as an independent phoneme in Krio. To further the argument, we may note the minimal pairs: (1A) /dŋ/ (finished), (note also /dŋ/ (1) 'and) then', (2) perfective marker 'has/have') - (1B) /dŋ/ (down); (2A) /tŋ/ (become, turn) - (2B) /tŋ/ (town).



We cannot find minimal pairs for the case of /pɔŋ/, except that the form /pɔ̂n/ for 'pawn' seems to be gaining some ground, but is at present only to be found in some idiolects at the acrolectal end.

It would be wrong to conclude that in Krio, all English-derived words like 'down', 'town', and 'pound', i.e. with /-aʊn(-)/ are pronounced with /-ɔŋ/, because other such words, like 'ground', 'round' and 'sound' are not pronounced in that way. They are:

(a) /gɔ̂n/ (ground) - English /graʊnd/;

(b) /ɔ̂nd/ (round) - English /raʊnd/;

(c) /sând/ (sound) - English /saʊnd/.

The pronunciation of these words with the velar nasal /ŋ/ has also been observed to be typical of the Caribbean, even for 'round' (which becomes /rʌŋ/ (Wells, 1982, p.572), 'ground' /grʌŋ/ (Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, p.211)-(my transcription based on Wells' suggestion, *ibid*)-, etc. Wells remarks that it is 'an unusual development' whose 'origin is obscure' and 'does not... appear to be due to the substratum influence of an African language although it does occur in West African Pidgin English' (*ibid*), from which he mentions the example of /grɔŋ/ (ground) (*ibid*, p. 634), which, as we have seen, however, does not occur in Krio. What seems obvious is that, in the English form, the diphthong /aʊ/ in these words has a back articulation, nearer the position for the velar than for the alveolar nasal. This, however, does not explain why items like /gɔ̂n/, /ɔ̂nd/, /sând/ and /kɔ̂nt/ (count) have not been thus affected.

They may, of course, be more recent derivations and therefore closer to the English model. Also, the cases of Krio /líŋg/ from English /li:n/ (lean), and Krio /páŋks/ from English /pænts/ (pants), with /i:/ and /æ/ being front vowels, seem to nullify the argument. We might note that Hancock's (1971, p.76) examples of final /ŋ/ in Krio - '/ɛŋ/ "hang", /trɔŋ/ "strong", /liŋ/ "lean"', i.e. without final /g/ are not typical of Krio. These words all take a final /g/ after /ŋ/.

We have noted that /pɔ́ŋ/, when it represents 'paw', has the possible acrolectal alternative form /pɔ́n/. When /pɔ́ŋ/ represents 'pound', it refers to money, i.e. either one or multiples of pounds sterling, or two leones or multiples of two leones (the 'leone' being the unit of currency in Sierra Leone and two leones being thought, by Sierra Leoneans at least, to be conceptually equal to one pound). /pɔ́ŋ/ also represents a now archaic form referring to pound(s) in weight. The form /páun/ or /páũ/ has now replaced /pɔ́ŋ/ (pound(s) in weight) and is also an acrolectal variant of /pɔ́ŋ/ (pound(s) in money). This form can also take the Krio reflex of English plural -s in both uses, realized as [páũs] (cf. RP and other accents ['paundz]), and interestingly, also with a singular denotation in some basilectal and non-native varieties, which may have an undiphthongized form - [pás], as in: wá páus/ pás tɛn 'One pound ten' (three leones). The form pɔ́ŋ cannot take the -s plural.

/dɔ́ŋ/ (locative) 'down' has a more recent and acrolectal variant /dáun/, which is usually found in certain compound words and collocations into which /dɔ́ŋ/ may or may not enter. Here are examples: (a) /dáun-átɛ̀d/ (down-hearted) - /dɔ́ŋ-átɛ̀d/ does not exist;

(b) /dãũtãũ/ (downtown) - /dòŋtãũ/ is also possible; (c) /dãũ tò àth/ (down to earth) - /dòŋtò àth/ does not exist; (d) /dãũ tò náttĩn/ (down to nothing) - /dòŋtò náttĩn/ is also possible (see Fyle & Jones, 1980, p.66 for more examples). /dãũ/ (sometimes /dãũ/) is also the Krio form of 'down' when used as a verb. The form /dòŋ/ is never used as a verb.

/tãũ/ (town) also has a more recent and acrolectal variant /tãũ/, which, like /dãũ/ (locative) may be found in compound words, as we have seen from the example /dãũtãũ/ (downtown), the variant of /dòŋtãũ/. It seems that when 'town' is part of the name of a town, the form /tãũ/ is more usual than the form /tãũ||tãũ/, which is highly acrolectal. Here are two examples:-

(i) (a) /fɹítãũ/ (Freetown) - mesolectal & basilectal;

(b) /fɹítãũ||fɹítãũ/ - acrolectal;

(ii) (a) /álèntãũ/ (Allen Town) - mesolectal & basilectal;

(b) /álèntãũ||álèntãũ/ - acrolectal.

To refer to 'town' in its locative use, i.e. parts of a town, /tãũ||tãũ/ is not usually used, except perhaps in the case of /dãũntãũ/, e.g.

(a) /bígtãũ/ 'big town' = 'city centre', whereas /bígtãũ/ = a big town;

(b) /ísaí tãũ/ 'inside town' = 'in the heart of town', whereas /tãũ/ in this context is incorrect in Krio.



When 'town' is used as part of a compound noun in which it is the first (adjectival) element, it is invariably /táun|| táú/, as in (a) /táúklâk/ (town clerk); /táunôl/ (town hall), Hancock (1971, p. 51, note 2) gives the form 'təŋól' for 'townhall' but it is now obsolete.

(5) Ideophones do not occur in English, but abound in African languages. Krio is no exception. English-derived ideophones may even be found in Krio and one at least - /kɔ́ŋ(kɔ́ŋ)/ (sound of knocking), which is a possible metathesis of English 'knock (knock)' /'nɒk (nɒk/ - has final /ŋ/.

### Nasals

#### B. English '-ing'

Broadly speaking, English-derived words with an -ing suffix in source form may function as verbs in the 'present continuous' form, nouns (abstract or concrete), or adjectives. Their grammatical behaviour is discussed more fully in Section Three below. Here, their phonological behaviour is considered. Wells (1970, p.245) notes the widespread nature in English accents of the pronunciation of -ing with /n/ as opposed to /ŋ/ in RP and similar accents. Discussing this '-ing variable', he observes (1982, p.262) that 'this variability is neither exclusively British nor a recent innovation'. He in fact declares that the form with /ŋ/ 'is now associated with higher social and more formal speech' and the form with /-ɪn/ or /ən/, 'with lower social class and less formal speech'. Using 'running' to

illustrate the point, he says that 'the special spelling "runnin'" is sometimes used to show the [n] form'. Strang (1970, p.238) says that both the alveolar [n] and velar [ŋ] forms are to be found in early Middle English and were once distinct, '-inde' ending the particle and '-ing(e)', the verbal noun. The spelling with -ing eventually became standard for both, but the pronunciation with [n] seems to have been very common in educated speech and certainly quite fashionable in 18th century England (Wells, *ibid*) In fact, Wyld (1936 p.289) (quoted in Wells, *ibid*) considers [-ɪŋ] an innovation, if not a spelling pronunciation which arose in the 1820s. In his study of sailors' pronunciation in the second half of the 17th century, Matthews (1935, p.239) also makes the point that the pronunciation of final '-ing' as [ɪn] or [ən] was common among the 17th century seamen e.g. 'stinkin', 'standin', 'partin'. But then he also records that, in the logs he examined for his study, there were almost as many spellings in which 'ng' is substituted for 'n' - the sailors, he is convinced, used phonetic spellings - as there were in which 'n' is substituted for 'ng' (p.240).

Krio most usually has /-in/ in such words, as in the following examples: (a) /fɪʃɪn/ (fishing); (b) /ánʒáitɪn/ (handwriting); (c) /ɛ̀vələ́stɪn/ (everlasting). Preconsonantly and sometimes prepausally, /-in/ is subject to the usual environmental constraints. Prevocally, the nasal preserves its alveolar identity.

There are some exceptions to the general ('-ing' > /-in/) rule however: (1) The words /àdʒɔ́ɪnɪ̀/ (adjoining) and /kɔ̀nɪ́/ (cunning) have neither a final nasal nor a final nasalised vowel in any variety of Krio. The only apparent phonetic reason for these exceptions is,

perhaps, that, because /n/ precedes /i/, an unnecessary preponderance of nasality would have been felt to be present in the words. This is also perhaps responsible for the widespread form /dai<sup>h</sup>ni<sup>h</sup>um/ (dining room), which, admittedly, has a nasalised vowel but not typically a fully realised nasal following it and before /ʃ/. But then, there are many words, similar to /ad<sup>h</sup>ʒi<sup>h</sup>ni/ and /k<sup>h</sup>ni/ in their source form, that have not undergone such a process. They may be more recent derivations. Examples are: (a) /m<sup>h</sup>ni/ (morning), (b) /t<sup>h</sup>eni/ (training), (c) /mi<sup>h</sup>ni/ (meaning). Note, however, that, in /i<sup>h</sup>vi/ (evening) we see the elision of the first /n/; but then cf. Matthews (1935, p.238), who notes how late 17th century English-speaking sailors omitted medial n before -ing, as in 'lighting || liting' and 'eving', for example.

(2) In the word /f<sup>h</sup>aip<sup>h</sup>an/ (frying pan), the '-ing' element is completely dropped, while in /flai<sup>h</sup>ʃip/ <sup>(flying ship)</sup> it is at least modified to the nasalisation of the diphthong [aĩ]. We can, however, find at least another word with the diphthong /ai/ completely unaffected - /dai<sup>h</sup>(n)m<sup>h</sup>an/ ('dying man'). The difference here may be as a result of the difference in tone pattern between the first syllable of /f<sup>h</sup>aip<sup>h</sup>an/ or /flai<sup>h</sup>ʃip/ (low tone) and that of /dai<sup>h</sup>(n)m<sup>h</sup>an/ (high tone).

In some words to which -s has been added to the '-ing', the [ŋ] is typically 'restored', sometimes accompanied by the suggestion of a very weakly articulated [k], as in this example: [ʒa<sup>h</sup>udi<sup>h</sup>ŋ<sup>k</sup>s]  
 'roundings' ((1) a kind of round, local bean cake; (2) a kind of woman's hairstyle) (cf. O.E.D., 1979, p.831 'some part of a woman's head dress - now obsolete in English). Other examples are /tai<sup>h</sup>ti<sup>h</sup>ŋs/ (tight fitting clothes), /sa<sup>h</sup>fi<sup>h</sup>ŋs/ (something very soft), /d<sup>h</sup>egi<sup>h</sup>ŋs/ (over-long, untidy, slovenly woman's dress), /sm<sup>h</sup>eli<sup>h</sup>ŋs/ (smelly thing or person), /fu<sup>h</sup>li<sup>h</sup>ŋs/ (woman's dress with full gathered sleeves). These words, most of which are Krio creations from English derivations, are only used in deliberately



humorous/familiar conversation. There is another such word which, however, does not have /ŋ/ - /flɪŋgɪns/ (flimsy dress which tosses about with the wind when worn). This is probably another case of dissimilation. All these words have the tone pattern LH, which is usual for familiar and informal words (see : Chapter Seven :).

The few instances of straight derivations from English '-ings' are pronounced /-ins/ or /-ɪs/ in Krio, e.g. /gɔ̀tɪns/ or /gɔ̀tɪs/ (greetings), /bédɪns/ or /bédɪs/ ('beddings'), and have the tone pattern HL.

## Nasals

### C. The /-ns/ Sequence

The sequence /-ns/ (i.e. in syllable final position) seems to be phonologically unacceptable in the South of England. The epenthesis of /t/ usually interrupts the sequence, so that 'mince' is pronounced /'mɪnts/, 'fence' /'fɛnts/ (Wells, 1970, p.242). Wells gives an explanation for this:

in a word such as 'mince' ['mɪns], for example, three adjustments of the organs of speech are required...to effect the transition from [n] to [s]: the tongue tip has to come away from the alveolar ridge, converting the complete occlusion into a fricative-type narrowing, the soft palate has to rise, converting the nasal into an oral articulation and the vocal cords have to stop vibrating. Unless all three changes happen simultaneously, a transitional segment will result. For example, if the soft palate completes rising before the tongue tip comes away from the alveolar ridge, an epenthetic plosive will come about, thus ['mɪnts] (1982, p.95).

The Krio correspondence of /-ns/ in the words which in English are 'fence', 'beans', 'rinse' and 'ants', is /-ntʃ/. The Krio forms are /fɛ̃ntʃ/, /bɪ̃ntʃ/, /ʁɛ̃ntʃ/ and /ãntʃ/. This last word does have a /t/ that is not epenthetic in its English form and, strictly speaking, should not be considered as a word with the /-ns/ sequence. In the English accents in which the epenthesis of [t] occurs, however, all such words have the sequence [-nts]. This therefore makes 'ants' look/sound similar to the other words.

Till very recently and only in highly acrolectal varieties, the sequence /-nts/ did not occur in Krio and English-derived words with /-nts/ in source form either had /-ntʃ/, as in: /ãntʃ/ (ants) or /-ŋks/, as in /pã̃ks/ (:pants). For the change from alveolar /s/ to palato-alveolar /ʃ/ fricative, we can find parallels in English accents thus: 'rinse' may be /ɹɛ̃nʃ/ or /ɹɪ̃nʃ/ in Yorkshire and /ɹɪ̃ntʃ/ - closer still to Krio - in parts of Oxfordshire (S.E.D. V.9.8.).

Not all cases of English /-ns/ have the /-ntʃ/ correspondence in Krio, as the examples of /wã̃s/ (once) and /bũ̃s/ (buns) illustrate. But when the affricate /tʃ/ does not occur in this position, the vowel before the nasal becomes nasalised and the nasal consonant is lost before final /-s/.

The Krio words under discussion have upper mesolectal-acrolectal variants which are also /ʁɛ̃s/, /fɛ̃s/, /bɪ̃s/, but not /ã̃s/, apparently to avoid homophony with the same form meaning 'hands'.

/ʒ/ and /dʒ/

The occurrence of /ʒ/ is restricted in English as it is in Krio. In English it is only found initially in loan words, e.g. 'gigolo'. It occurs commonly in medial position in words like 'vision', but is again restricted to foreign, particularly French, words in final position, e.g. 'prestige', 'garage'. In this position, it is usually replaced by /dʒ/ in many popular accents (Wells, 1982, p.180). Writing about accents in Belfast, Milroy (1981) says that /ʒ/ may not occur finally but only medially for some people.

In Krio, /ʒ/ does not occur initially in an English-derived word. We have seen (Consonant Systems, p.75) that it can occur medially, though in very few words - not in 'vision', e.g. -. Finally, like the accents referred to above, /dʒ/ is found where other accents of English have /ʒ/, as in the words /bédʒ/ (beige), /ʁúðʒ/ (rouge), /pʁèstídʒ/ (prestige), /gàʁádʒ/ (garage).

ɹ - [ʁ]

As has been observed (Consonant Systems, p.65) Krio is essentially non-rhotic, or perhaps semi-rhotic, since /ʁ/ may occur pre-pausally in certain words after /ɛ/, /e/ or /a/:- /tʃɛʁ || tʃeʁ/ (tear); /bɛʁ/ (bury), /wɛʁ/ (wear), /kɛʁ/ (carry), /áʁ/ (r) and the Arabic-derived word /náʁ/ (a kind of Bedouin).

The effect of preconsonantal ɹ on English-derived words can be found in the items /wóʁók(ò)/ ('noun/verb - labourer hired to carry load on head; engage in such labour (Fyle & Jones, 1980, p.396)').



- cf. English: 'work', and /wɔːk/ (worm), cf. English 'worm'. The dialect pronunciation /wɔːkəmz/ (S.E.D. IV.9.1), recorded for parts of Northumberland, Cumberland, Durham, Yorkshire and Derbyshire, compares somewhat with the Krio forms, also cf. Corn. 'worom' (Hancock 1971, p.142). In place of the schwa in the last two items, Krio repeats the vowel in the first syllable. This kind of identical vowel repetition is also seen in /wóʔókò/, which is a good example of a word with a CVCV structure, demonstrating one of the African influences on Krio. (On w(o)roko in Sranan cf. Alleyne, *ibid*, p.46). The forms /wóʔók(ò) and /wòʔóm/ are probably Krio modifications of superficially non-rhotic forms like /wɔːkəmz/ and it seems certain that no English-derived words have pre-consonantal r. Also see Johnson in Hancock & De Camp, 1974, pp. 120-121. In Krio, the forms without r, i.e. /fɔːk/, /wòk/; and /wóm/ also exist. /wóʔók(ò)/ has a different meaning from /wòk/ or the acrolectal variant /wòk/, which means 'work', whereas in most of its uses, /wóm/ is the acrolectal variant of /wòʔóm/. /fɔːk/ is an essentially idiolectal variant of /fɔːk/, though tending to be more common among children (rather than adults), who may, alternatively, labialise the initial /f/ - [fɔːk]. One or two instances of pre-consonantal /ʔ/ are however found in words of non-English origin - e.g. /báʔkà/ (thank you) - Madingo, Susu, etc. < Arabic ; /kàʔmɔ́kɔ́/ (teacher) - variant of /kàʔámɔ́kɔ́/, from Temne.

Wells (1970, p.242) notes that 'a tap or approximant, clearly /r/ from a synchronic point of view occurs as a reflex of post-tonic intervocalic /t/ throughout the North of England: 'get off' - /gɛr<sup>1</sup>ɸf/, 'got it' /'gɔːrɪt/'. This means that /t/ is excluded from this position in the accents in question. 'The historical origin of the T-to-R rule'

writes Wells, 'must lie in the Tapping of /t/ as [ɾ], and then the phonological reinterpretations of [ɾ] as /r/' (1982, p.370).

In some idiolects or in jocular or lighthearted speech, particularly among young people, Krio observes a similar feature, e.g. /ʃɔ̃ʔp/ (shut up); /gɛ̃ʔf/ (get off), cf. [ʃʊɹ'ʊp], [gɛɹ'ʊf] (ibid - in the middle and far north of England); /gɛ̃ʔaut/ (get out). In each of these examples, the /ʔ/ can be regarded as the realisation of the t of the first of the two words. In this case, the realisation of t for many Krio speakers is not the typical retracted velar fricative but a post-alveolar tap/flap [ɾ]. The word /gʔap/ (get up), which has been standard in Krio for a long time and is recognised as one word, is a classic case of the fusion of the two English models (with the first /ɛ/ elided, the intervocalic /t/ changing to /ʔ/, which becomes the second element of an initial cluster and the /ʌ/ of 'up' changing to /a/, (cf. /tinap/ - which seems to be the only other example of /ʌ/ in 'up' becoming /a/ - usually, it corresponds to /ɔ/, e.g. /sítɔ̃p/)).

Sometimes, this intervocalic /t/ is only subject to assimilation of voicing rather than becoming /ʔ/, /t/ ~ /d/, as in /gɛ̃dɔ̃f/, /gɛ̃daut/, /ʔaídawê/ (right away).

The Krio word /bãʔf/ (bag off - Fyle & Jones, 1980, p.26; 'bad off' - Hancock, 1971, p.73 - meaning 'resist authority noisily'. Fyle and Jones' etymology seems preferable, because /bágɔ̃f/ has a similar meaning) shows /g/ changing to /ʔ/ and not surprisingly, as the typical Krio /ʔ/ is articulated near the position for /g/.

Semi-vowels: /j, w/

In English, /j/ may or may not occur between certain consonants and /u/ in the various regional accents. In RP, for example, it is variable after /θ, s, z, l/ as in /s(j)u:t/, /rɪ'z(j)u:m/, /l(j)u:d/ (Wells, 1982, p.207). In Krio, like some (particularly Scottish) British accents, /j/ is frequent in this position, although one or two exceptions like /sût/ (suit), a derivative -/sútébùl/ (suitable) and acrolectal /lùnátìk/ (lunatic) (other lectal form - /krèsmán/) occur. K.E.D., p.356 records súsàyd (/súsàid/) as a variant of syúsàyd /sjúsàid/ (suicide), but this variation has not been confirmed by other native speakers.

/j/ may also occur initially, as in: /jês/ (ear(s)), /jâi/ (eyes), /jèrín/ (earring), /jèrî/ (hear), where /j/ is epenthetic. This feature has also been found for the pronunciation of 'hear' in several English accents: (a) S.E.D., VI.4.2 - Lancashire, /jɜ:ɪ/, Yorkshire /jəɪ / (hear), and some Southern accents; (b) S.E.D. VI.4.1 /jəɪz/, /jɛɪ / (some Northern), /jɜ:ɪ z/ (Lancashire) - 'ears'. Cassidy (1961, p.46) records that the pronunciation of 'ears' as 'years' was once widespread in England, 'whence comes the pun on the length of "donkey's years" '.

The case of Krio /ià/ (year), however, is perhaps the isolated exception and complete reverse. Many English accents have initial /j/. But cf. S.E.D. VII.3.18 /ðɪs iə/ (this year), which was recorded for many dialects. The absence of /j/ in this isolated case compares with the practice in the Swansea Valley of South Wales in which semi-vowels cannot occur before the phonetically corresponding vowels /i:i/, /u:ʊ/,



so that 'year' and 'yeast' are pronounced without initial /j/ and 'woo' and 'woman' without initial /w/ (Wells, 1970, p.242, 1982, p.390). We may also note that /ʊman/ (woman) also occurs in many Southern accents (S.E.D. VIII.1.6). Krio has more instances of items demonstrating the latter rule, e.g. /úman/ (woman)(but /wùmanâyz/ (womanize) - obviously recent, acrolectal and only in this form), and the Krio forms of English 'wh-' words - /ú(dàt/ ('who (that)'), /us/ (which/whose), etc. In Krio, however, there is no phonotactic law precluding initial /j/ and /w/ from occurring before the phonetically corresponding vowels, as the examples /jîld/ (yield) and /wûl/ (wool) show. In fact, these semi-vowels can be used as homorganic reinforcers of the vowels /i/ and /o/ or /u/, respectively, for emphasis, in certain words, e.g. [jît] (eat voraciously, greedily); [wôl] (very, very old); [wùnà] (you (emphatic)).

In Wells' analysis of long vowels and diphthongs, /j/ and /w/ occur only syllable-initially (including in syllable-initial clusters). In my analysis, the Krio diphthongs ay, aw and ɔy are treated phonologically as /aj/, /aw/ and /ɔy/, which means that /w/ and /j/ may occur finally in the syllable in Krio.

/j/ may have a different status in Krio and in RP and similar accents. In certain words which in RP and most other English accents have the initial cluster C + j (e.g. 'cure', 'pure'), the /j/ does not occur in corresponding Krio forms. This is partly because RP /juə/ sometimes corresponds to Krio /íjə/. We thus get Krio /kíjə/ and /píjə/ from RP /kjuə/, /pjuə/. (A parallel relationship exists between RP /ɪə/ and Krio /ija/ in some words, as /díjə/ ('dear' - expensive), cf. R.P. /drə/; /bíjə/ (beer, bear, bare), cf. RP /brə/ or /bɛə/).

w

The S.E.D. reports that [w] is heard after [b] and [p] in Wiltshire and Dorset in words like 'poison' (IV.11.4); 'boil' (/bwaɪ/, 6.11.6 - particularly Southern). This is a labio-velar glide in words with the vowel /ɔɪ/. The correspondences in Krio are: English (RP and similar accents) /ɔɪ/ or /əʊə/ ~ Krio /wɛ/ as in: /bʷɛl/ (boil), but not /bwɛ/ for 'boy' (the acrolectal variant /bɔɪl/ also exists); /pʷɛl/ (spoil) (/spɔɪl/ is a highly acrolectal variant but in slightly more common use in the phrase spɔɪl(t) chayld (spoilt child)); /pʷɛm/ (poem), cf. RP /pəʊəm/.

/k,g/ + /j/ + V

The initial sequences /k/ + /j/ and /g/ and /j/ occur in probably all accents of English. In RP and similar accents, /kj-/ only occurs before the high back vowels - /ɜ:/, /u:/ and /ʊ:/; and /gj-/ only before /u:/ (Gimson, 1975, p.244). In some other, regional accents, however, the sequence can occur before the front and central vowels as well (though no case before the high front vowels /i:/ or /ɪ/ seems to have been noted). This is a feature which, in some Irish accents, for example, especially in the speech of older, particularly Catholic males, has been noted to occur as a palatal onglide before /ɛ, a/, as in the examples [kjɛ:b ~ kja:b] 'cab' and in other such words like 'can' and 'car' (Wells, 1982, pp.442, 446; also Hughes & Trudgill, 1979, p.78). From the S.E.D., we also have evidence of the widespread nature of this feature in English accents. Here are examples:

- (a) S.E.D. 1.5.8. 'girth' - [gjəθ] (parts of Yorkshire);  
- [gjʌθ], [gjə<sup>r</sup>θ] (noted in Herefordshire);
- (b) S.E.D. 1.7.8 'garden' - [gja:dɪn] (noted in Cheshire);
- (c) S.E.D. VI.13.4 'gasping' - [gjɛpɛn] (Northern);  
- [gjɑ:ps], [gjɑ:ks] (noted in Gloucestershire);
- (d) S.E.D. VIII.1.3. 'girls' - [gjəl:z] (noted in Cheshire);
- (e) S.E.D. 'cartshed' - [kja:tʃɛd], [kja:tʌvs] (noted in parts of Cheshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire and Gloucestershire);
- (f) S.E.D. V.8.7. 'kettle' - [kjɛtɫ] (noted in Herefordshire);
- (g) S.E.D. IX.3.8. 'catch' [kjʌtʃ] (noted in Yorkshire and Cheshire)
- (h) S.E.D. IX.4.10. 'don't care' [doʊnkja] (noted in Gloucestershire).

Dobson (1957, Vol. II, p.952, § 379) too records the fact that the palatalisation of /k/ and /g/ before front vowels was general, particularly in 18th century Britain, and was even regarded by some as 'essential to good speech'.

In Krio, /kj/ and /gj/ occur before the back vowel /u/, as in /kjub/ (cube/ and /agju/ (argue), as in RP; but they also occur before the front vowel /a/. In this respect, Krio is unlike RP and



more restricted than other, regional accents in its allowance of the combinations before front vowels. The status of /kj/ and /gj/ in Krio has been touched on (Systemic, p.87). The following classification is intended to further illustrate their position. As a general comment, it must be said that this kind of palatalisation, as in the regional British accents, is now vestigial in Krio and is no longer productive; that is, if it ever was productive, but this residue is not entirely insignificant, as we shall see.

Alleyne (1980, pp.58-59) is wrong in saying that Krio does not 'as a rule...show the palatalised variant of /k/ before front vowels. But Jamaican and Guyanese have a 'palatalised k which occurs before /a/'.

1. Invariable /kj/ and /gj/: - /kj/
  - (a) /kjân/ (can, i.e. tin container);
  - (b) /kjándùl/ (candle). Only in compounds is the form /kándùl/ used, as in /kándùlstîk/ (candlestick); /kándùlwîk/ (candlewick).  
These are, in fact, acrolectal vocabulary. More commonly, kyándùl is used for 'candlestick' and a reference to 'candlewick' is dí kyándùl ò wîk (the candle's wick);
  - (c) /kjânt/ (cant, i.e. lean or bend to one side);
  - (d) /kjâwud/ (camwood);
  - (e) /kjâp/ (cap);
  - (f) /kjâs/ (cask);

- (g) /kjâˆt/ - rarely used to refer to a pussycat. The more common word is pús. Because of the 'stealthy' nature of a cat, the word kyâˆt is used more to mean 'thief', as in the phrase tífìn kyâˆt (thieving cat) or ì tíf lèk kyâˆt (he's a kleptomaniac.)

The form /kâˆt/ is a recent derivation, perhaps less than twenty years old, almost exclusively used by young people - in their teens and twenties - to mean 'a young party-loving male' as in the expression kúl kâˆt (attractive, 'with-it', suave, party-loving youth), (cool cat). In the 1970s, in particular, it was also used by Fourah Bay College (University of Sierra Leone) students to refer to a male who smokes cannabis or takes drugs.

A female counterpart was also described as a kâˆtəs - a Krio creation which shows a random application of the English feminine suffix '-ess'. (See also Morphology, p.226).

- (h) /kjâˆtɓwɛl/ ('cat boil' - a small but painful boil);
- (i) /kjâˆtɸi/ ('catfish' = the fish 'Arius headloti' (Fyle & Jones, 1980, p.211));
- (j) /skjâˆmp/ (scamp);

## gi

- (a) /gjâˆl/ (girl, young woman). The form /gal/ does not occur except when affected by morphological circumstance. For example, /gal/ can be the first element of the compound

/gàlfrén/ (a not particularly acrolectal variant of /gjàlfrén/ (girlfriend), (which indeed is almost basilectal)). /gal/ can also be the second element of the compound /bèbìgâl/ (a (newly-born) baby girl) a common variant of /bèbìgjâl/ or /bèbìgjàlí/ (which has the extra sarcastic meaning 'petted child/woman' and is also a female name. Finally, /gal/ can take /s/, which may function as follows:

(1) as a plural morpheme in /gáls tò gâls/ (girls to girls);

(2) as a possessive (apostrophised) plural in /gáls skul/ (girls' school; Methodist Girls' High School);

(3) as a suffix that can be used to express derision, as in

ìf yòu sí gáls ì jónks wé í bìn dè spót wìt =

'you should have seen her cheaply bought dress which she seemed to feel on top of the world/superior in'; or hypocorism, as in gâls, àdú ò! = hello, my (girl) friend!

(b) /gjàl pìkîn/ ('girl child' - pìkîn is from Spanish - (1) baby or young girl; (2) remarkable young woman;

(c) /gjàlí/ ('galley' - kitchen). This is now an archaic word only used by older people in a humorous tone. The common word now is kíchìn.

(d) /gjâp/ (gape, yawn, slap, etc.). Fyle & Jones (ibid, p.140) give 'gap' as an alternative source form to 'gape'. But the semantic overlaps between gyâp and 'gape' are adequate enough to exclude the possibility of 'gap' being a source form. Also, although /gjâp/ seems a logical reflex of 'gap', phonologically speaking, cf. [gja:ps] and [gja:ks] (Gloucestershire realisations of 'gaping' - S.E.D. VI.13.4).



2. Variable /kj/ and /gi/-/kj/

- (a) /kjám̀b̀ùl/ (Campbell) - older basilectal ; /kám̀b̀ùl/ - more recent, common;
- (b) /kjám̀b̀ùl-t̂ɔŋ/ (Campbell Town)- older basilectal; /kám̀b̀ùl-t̂ɔŋ/ - more recent, acrolectal;
- (c) /kʲán(t)/ (can't) - older basilectal ; /kan(t)/ - more recent, common;
- (d) /kjáp̀ín/ (sea captain) - older form, now obsolescent } : /kaptən/ 'captain'  
possibly because of the almost total relegation } - sea, sports  
to oblivion of the seafaring activities of the days } etc. This  
of incipient Krio. Note the similarity to } form has now  
'capen' (which also drops /t/ after /p/) } replaced  
recorded in Matthews (1935, pp.230). } /kjáp̀ín/ almost  
  
completely in  
  
every variety  
  
of Krio.
- (e) /kʲáʃ/ (cash, (a lot of) money) ; /káʃ/ ((1) (noun) small change, coins; (2) (verb) to cash a cheque).

-/gi/

- (a) /gʲád/ from 'guard' - (verb) (protect, keep an eye on) - in common use:  
/gád/ (1) noun - a railway guard; (2) (verb) only in compounds or collocations, e.g. /gád àgêns/ (guard against), /gád òfónà/ (guard of honour);

- (b) /gjadʒum/ (guardroom) older, more common :  
/gədʒum/ (guardroom) - more recent, acrolectal ;
- (c) /gjalfɛn/ (girlfriend) : /galfɛn/;
- (d) /bɛbigjal/ (baby girl) : /bɛbigal/;
- (e) /gjalik/ (garlic) - older, more common : /galik/ - more recent, acrolectal;
- (f) /gjambul/ (gamble) - (verb) play a gambling game:  
/gambul/ (verb/noun - take a risk in anticipation of gain, such a risk).

These examples also show how variant forms from single English words can be grammatically and semantically significant (see Section Four).

### 3. English vowel correspondences for /a/ after /kj, gj/

#### (a) English /æ, a:/ ~ Krio /a/

	<u>Krio</u>	<u>English</u>
(1)	/kjambul/	/k(j)æmb(ə ʊ)l/ (phonemes within brackets
(2)	/kjân/	/k(j)æ  a:n(t)/ occur in some accents).
(3)	/kjándul/	/k(j)ænd(ə ʊ)l/
(4)	/kjâp/	/k(j)æp/
(5)	/kjâpìn/	/k(j)æp(t)(ə)n/

	<u>Krio</u>	<u>English</u>
(6)	/kjás/	/k(j)æ a:sk/
(7)	/kjaʃ/	/k(j)æʃ/
(8)	/kját/	/k(j)æ t/
(9)	/skjâmp/	/sk(j)æmp/
(10)	/kjâwud/	/k(j)æmwud/
 <u>gi</u>		
(1)	/gjâd/	/g(j)a:d/
(2)	/gjâl/	/g(j)æ l/ (only in very informal speech)
(3)	/gjâlî/	/g(j)æ li/
(4)	/gjâlîk/	/g(j)a:lik/
(5)	/gjâmbul/	/g(j)æmb(ə ʊ)l/
(6)	/gjâp/ cf. Gloucestershire	
		/gjɑ:ps/, /gjɑ:ks/ (gapping).
		(S.E.D. IV.13.4).
(b)	<u>English /ə, ɜ:, e (ɪ) ~ Krio /a/</u>	

These correspondences only occur in two items with /gj/, which, as we have seen, have stylistic or regional variants that are consistent with the Krio /a/ ~ English /æ, a:/ pattern:



	<u>Krio</u>	<u>English</u>
(1)	/gjâl/	/g(j)ə   ɜ:l/
(2)	/gjap̂/	/g(j)e(ɪ)p/.

4. English /ɛə/ Krio /ja/

Normally, English /ɪə/ and /ɛə/ correspond to Krio /i(j)a/, as in 'beer' - English /bɪə/ ~ Krio /bi(j)â/.  
'bear' - English /bɛə/

This is particularly common in word final position. Two exceptions have been observed that may perhaps be regarded as Krio's attempts to reduce the number of homophonous words in its lexicon. Thus, Krio is able to distinguish between (1) 'deer', (2) 'dear (expensive)', (3) 'dare' - English /dɪə/ (1 & 2), /dɛə/ (3) ~ Krio /dîâ/, on the one hand; and 'darling' - English /dɪə/ ~ Krio /djâ/. Also, the form /îâ/ can mean (1) /hɛə/ 'hair'; (2) /jɪə/ 'year'; (3) /ɪə/ 'ear' only in English-derived compounds, e.g. /îarín || îaríŋg/ - acrolectal variant of /jɛrín/ (earrings); (4) /ɛə/ 'air' - only in English-derived compounds, e.g. /îamêl/ (airmail); (5) the first morpheme in /îarín/ (hearing) only in the phrase ád ðf íarín 'hard of hearing'; (6) the first element of the reduplication /îaîâ/ (Hear! Hear!). The regular Krio word for 'hear' is jɛrí (discussed earlier). As a contrast to /îâ/, /jâ/, as an English-derived word, means 'here'.

To return to the main issue, in keeping with the general tendency, English 'care' /kɛə/ (but cf. [dɔŋkja] 'don't care' - S.E.D. IX.4.10) corresponds to Krio /kíjâ/. But all the Krio counterparts of the derivatives of 'care' with suffixes have /kja-/. They are /kjáfùl/ (careful), /kjáfùlì/ (carefully), /kjáfùlnès/ (carefulness), /kjálès/ (careless), /kjálèsnès/ (carelessness). These are all acrolectal forms.

More commonly, forms longer than kyáful are expressed with separate morphemes, e.g. kyáful wân/fáshìn = kyáfulí.

When kyaful/kjaful/ means 'be careful', as in: yù fò kjáful wít àm ò (you should be careful with it, you know), it is not acrolectal. The form bìkyáful /bikjaful/ also exists, and can be one word, e.g. yù fò vérí bìkyáful (You should be extra careful) - non-acrolectal; or two words, e.g. yù gé(t) fò bì kyáful (you have to be careful) - acrolectal.

No cases of words with /gɛð-/ in English have been found in Krio.

To conclude this discussion of /k, g/ + /j/ + V, we may note that this kind of 'palatalisation' is not productive in Krio; more recently acquired words with English /kæ||a:~/, /gæ||a:~/ ~ Krio /ka/ and /ga/, e.g. Krio /kâmp/, cf. Eng. /kæmp/; Krio /kâ/ cf. Eng. /kɑ:/; Krio /gâs/, cf. Eng. /gæs/; Krio /gádìn/, cf. Eng. /'gɑ:d(ə) n/.

#### Metathesis of /k/ and /s/

The pronunciation /aks/ for 'ask' is quite widespread in popular English accents, (see S.E.D. IX.2.4). Crystal (1980, p.225) gives it as an example of a performance error caused by a slip of the tongue. It may perhaps be easier to pronounce than /ask/, but it is also an example of a historical pattern of metathesis. As Dobson puts it (Vol. II, p.1005, § 438): 'The OE metathesis of sc to cs accounts for ax "ask" '.

In Krio, the forms /áks/ (ask) and /dêks/ (desk) also occur, but /liks/ for 'Lisk' (family name) is very doubtful, except perhaps in non-native pronunciation. Also, /riks/ (risk) cannot be regarded as the typical Krio form, since it is definitely the non-native variant of /ɾísk/ and native speakers only use it to mock non-native Krio speakers. /kɾíps/ (crisp) seems more a case of pronunciation error, especially in very young speakers, than a typical Krio pronunciation (cf. Hancock, 1971, p.94). The point is that English final /-sk/ does not always correspond to Krio /-ks/. The final /k/ may be dropped, as in /kjás/ (cask), or the /-sk/ may be maintained, as in /ɾísk/ or /kɾísp/, or the variant, but not necessarily acrolectal, forms /ásk/ and /dêsk/. Indeed, in some circles, the form /áks/ is good-humouredly 'corrected' as! in the following exchange:

A: áks ám  
(ask him)

B: í f à áks ám í gò dáy  
(if I axe him he will die).

Of course, Speaker A may retort: nà Kríó à dè tók = 'I'm speaking Krio (not English)'. But this defence is more of a suggestion that Speaker B is being finicky than an assertion of the wrongness of the form /ásk/. It is, however, true that /áks/ and /dêks/ are older and basilectal forms and that there are more English-derived words with /-ks/ - but non-metathetical - (e.g. /wáks/ (1) 'wax'; (2) 'fail an examination'; /táks/ 'tax'; /míks/ 'mix').



The Phonotactics of RP and of English-derived words in Krio -

a summary

As has been observed earlier, RP has greatly influenced the vast majority of recent English derivations in Krio. All CCC clusters, for example, may have been derived from RP. A comparison with the phonotactics of RP, where relevant, therefore, is attempted below.

In general, there is a high degree of correspondence between the phonotactics of RP and that of the English-derived words in Krio, so the differences will be given more prominence.

RP has a potential syllable structure of  $C_{0-3} VC_{0-4}$ , whereas, as stated in the 'Krio Phonology' Chapter (p.46), that of Krio is  $C_{0-3} VC_{0-3}$ . There is a growing number of words with triconsonantal initial clusters in Krio, but triconsonantal final clusters are harder to find. As stated above, perhaps every word with triconsonantal clusters - initial or final - and, decidedly, the majority of words with bi-consonantal clusters - initial or final - are English-derived.

The following is a comparative account of the relevant phonotactics of RP (mainly from Gimson, 1980, pp.237-253) and those of English-derived words in Krio, presented in a concise but comprehensive way.

1.	<u>V</u>	
<u>RP</u>		<u>Krio</u>
/i:/ (the letter 'E'; weak form for 'he')		/i/ (the letter 'E') /ɨ/ (his/her/its) - weak form of /ĩm/, cf. English 'him'

<u>RP</u>	<u>Krio</u>
/ɑ:/ (are)	/a/ (1. exclamation, 2. usual for 'I')
/ɔ:/	/ɔ/ (or)
/ei/ (the letter A)	/e/ (1. exclamation, 2. the letter 'A')
/ai/	/ai/ (1. exclamation, 2. the letter 'I', 3. acrolectal for 'I')
/əʊ/	/o/ (1. exclamation, 2. the letter 'O' 3. 'owe' ).
/u:/ (weak form of 'who)	/u/ (usual form for 'who')
/aʊ/ (weak form of 'how)	/au/ usual form for 'how')
-	ẽ } weak forms for 'and' - usual
-	ã } form /ɛn/)

## 2. Initial V-

In RP, all vowels occur initially, except /ʊ/ and /ʊə/.

In English-derived words in Krio, all but the nasal vowels /ũ/, /ã/, /õ/ occur initially.

3. Initial CV-RP

1. /ŋ/ does not occur initially.

2. /ʒ/ has restricted occurrence word-initially and is only found in foreign words.

3. /z/ does not occur with an /ɔ/- type vowel and is relatively restricted in this position.

4. /h/ occurs normally and only syllable-initially.

5. /θ/ occurs normally.

Krio

/ŋ/ does not occur initially in English-derived words.

/ʒ/ does not occur initially in Krio.

/z/ does not occur with /ɔ/ and is also restricted in occurrence in Krio.

/h/ is also only syllable-initial but has very restricted occurrence in Krio. It is either acrolectal in a few words or, when used more commonly, has only phonetic (emphatic) significance.

/θ/ is in very restricted use and is found in this position only acrolectally in very few words. From my observation, only:

/θ/ + /a/ in /θaŋk(s)/ (thanks)

/θ/ + /ɛ/ in /θɛlma/ (Thelma)

/θ/ + /ɔ/ in /θɔŋg(s)/ (thugs)

/θ/ + /i/ in /θik/ (thick) -highly idio-

lectal.



RP

6. /ŋ/ is not phonemic in RP

4. Initial CCV-RP

p + l, r, j

t + r, j, w

k + l, r, j, w

b + l, r, j

d + r, j, w

g + l, r, j, w

m + j

n + j

l + j

f + l, r, j

v + j

Krio

/ŋ/ is phonemic and only occurs initially, before /a/, as in /ŋ<sup>h</sup>ams/ (yams) - a variant of /j<sup>h</sup>ams/ -, and /fa<sup>h</sup>iŋ<sup>h</sup>a/ (farina).

Krio

p + l, r, j, w (+ɛ)

t + r, j, w

k + l, r, j (+a, + u), w

b + l, r, j, w (+ɛ)

d + r, j, w

g + l, r, j (+a, + u), w

m + j

n + j (+a, + u) alternative to /ŋ/

l + j (+ u) only in /lj<sup>h</sup>uk/ (Luke)

f + l, r, j, (w - idiolectal in /fw<sup>h</sup>θ/ 'fourth')

v + j (rare, only in /vj<sup>h</sup>u/ (view))

<u>RP</u>	<u>Krio</u>
$\theta + r, j, w$	-
$s + l, j, w, p, t, k, m, n, \underline{f}$	$s + l, j, w, (p, t, k,) m, n$
$\int + r$	$\int + r$
$h + j$	-

- (a) In RP /Cj/ occurs only before u-type vowels. This is also largely true for English-derived words in Krio, except for the sequences /kj-/, /gj-/ and /nj-/, which can also occur before /a/.
- (b) The sequences /pw-/, /bw-/ and /fw-/ are not possible in RP, but /pw-/ and /bw-/ (+ /ɛ/) and /fw-/ (in /fw<sup>h</sup>θ/, an idiolectal variant of /f<sup>h</sup>θ/, /f<sup>h</sup>θ/) occur in Krio.
- (c) /θ/ can combine word initially with /r, j, w/ in RP, but /θ/ does not enter into consonant clusters in Krio.
- (d) The occurrence of /s/ before plosives in word initial position in English-derived words in Krio is discussed below.
- (e) /h/ can occur as the first element of an initial cluster with /j/ in RP, but it does not enter into consonantal clusters in Krio.

##### 5. Initial CCCV-

<u>RP</u>	<u>Krio</u>
$s + p + l, r, \underline{j}$	$s + p + l, r$
$+ t + r, j$	$+ t + r, j (+ \underline{a}, + u)$

<u>RP</u>	<u>Krio</u>
s + m + j	-
+ f + r	-

(a) Initial triconsonantal (CCC) clusters are quite common in and can no longer be regarded as 'foreign' to modern Krio. (cf. Alleyne, 1980, p.45, who says that in Jamaican and Krio there is a rule which deletes the initial consonant of a cluster of [s + stop] and yields forms such as kin 'skin', ton 'stone', pun 'spoon'). The first C (C<sub>1</sub>) is always [s] (which shows that initial [s], which used to be dropped in older items, e.g. tôn 'stone', pûn 'spoon') has been restored. The second C (C<sub>2</sub>) is always a fortis plosive ([p, t, k]); the third C (C<sub>3</sub>) is either a liquid ([l, r]) or an approximant ([j, w]). Here are examples: (1) /sp<sup>h</sup>en/ (sprain), (2) /sp<sup>h</sup>it/ (split), (3) /st<sup>h</sup>en/ (strain), (4) /st<sup>h</sup>ju/ (stew), (5) /sk<sup>h</sup>u/ (screw), (6) /skwájà/ (square), (7) sk<sup>h</sup>amp/ (scamp).

Items with initial triconsonantal clusters are admittedly more recent, but they already by far outnumber older forms without initial [s]. This means that Krio has many such English-derived words that have no variants that have lost initial [s]. A few examples are: (1) /sp<sup>h</sup>en/ (sprain), (2) /sp<sup>h</sup>láf/ (splash), (3) /st<sup>h</sup>ok/ (stroke), (4) /st<sup>h</sup>ju/ (stew), (5) /sk<sup>h</sup>u/ (screw), (6) /skwájà/ (square), (7) /sjk<sup>h</sup>amp/ (scamp).

All older forms without initial [s] appear to have variants with initial [s], e.g. (1) /tʃáŋgà/, /tʃ<sup>h</sup>ŋg/ ~ /st<sup>h</sup>ŋg/ (strong);



(2) /plít/ ~ /splít/ (split); (3) /kʃatʃ/ ~ /skʃatʃ/ (scratch).

None of these variants seems to be a mere alternative form of the same word. Differences in usage may not simply be lectal either; in many cases, they are semantic and/or collocational as well.

This triconsonantal structure has apparently become so familiar and nativised that items like /skwʃ/ (squash), /stʃen/ (train (of thought)) /splít/ (pleat) might have resulted as much from folk-etymology as from hypercorrection.

We may also note the case of /skʃamp/ (scamp) in which, far from discouraging a triconsonantal cluster, a third consonant - [j] has been added. This word may never have lost its initial [s].

There is also the word /skwɛks/, meaning 'paramour', and used in familiar speech, but the etymology of which is probably not English, in spite of its English-sounding word structure and the fact that it is reminiscent of Krio /skwíz/ (squeeze), which can also mean 'paramour'. It may even be a Krio creation.

(b) In RP, /CCj/ occurs only before /u:/ or /ʊə/, but, in English-derived words in Krio, it can occur before /a/ as well as /u/ in the sequence /stj-/ as in /stjʌz/ (stairs), and only before /a/ in the sequence /sjk-/ as in /skʃamp/ (scamp).

(c) Fyle and Jones (1980, p.350) record the item 'spyutɔm HL(E.) sputum....', which would make /spj-/ possible in Krio.

(d) The sequences /sfr-/ as in 'sphragid' (O'Connor, 1973, p.230) and /smj-/, in the single case of 'smew' (Gimson, 1980, p.241), have no correspondences in Krio. But, even in RP, they occur in very few words. The O.E.D., 1979, only lists (for the sequence /sfr-/ 'sphragid(e)', 'sphragistes', 'sphragistic' and 'sphragitid'. For that matter, the sequence /skl-/ is also in very restricted use in RP.

## 6. Final-V

In RP, all vowels, with the exception of /ɛ, æ, ʌ, ɒ / can occur finally. In English-derived words in Krio, all vowels, oral as well as nasal, can occur finally. Here are examples:

### Oral vowel

/tî/ (tea)

/dê/ (day)

/swê/ (swear)

/pá/ (Pa)

/ɔ̃/ (raw)

/dô/ (door)

/jû/ (you)

/bái/ (by, buy)

/nâu/ (now)

/bôl/ (boy)

### Nasal vowel

/tî̃/ weak form of /tîŋ/ (thing)

/gễ/, cf. 'grain' (only)

/dễ/ (them)

/pã/ (upon)

/dɔ̃/ (done) - weak form of /dɔ̃n/

/dỗ/ (don't)

/sû̃/ (soon)

/mãl/ (mind)

/bãũ/ (bound)

/dʒɔ̃i/ (join) - weak form of /dʒɔ̃in/

7, Final - VC

- (a) In Gimson's phonemic analysis of RP (1980) which may be taken as standard, /r, h, j, w/ do not occur finally. In English-derived words in Krio /r/ occurs finally in a few items (see p.116) but the rest do not.
- (b) In RP, /ʒ/ does occur finally, though in restricted circumstances, but in Krio every case of an English final /-ʒ/ corresponds to Krio final /-dʒ/.
- (c) In RP, /ŋ/ occurs only after /ɪ, ʌ, ʌ, ʊ/; in English -derived words in Krio, it occurs after all vowels, except /a, o, u/ and the diphthongs /ai, au, ɔi/.

Final consonant clusters

In RP, final clusters are far more complex than initial ones. This is largely because of the inflectional changes English words undergo to express the following grammatical states:

- (1) plurality/possession, third person singular concord, e.g. /-fs/, as in 'laughs'; /-dz/ as in 'words'; /-ksts/ as in 'texts';
- (2) the past tense, e.g. /-vd/, as in 'loved'; /-tʃt/, as in 'hatched'; /-kst/, as in 'jinxed';
- (3) ordinal numbers, e.g. /-fθ/, as in 'fifth'; /-ksθ/, as in 'sixth'. As O'Connor says, (ibid, p.230), if English did not have



these inflectional endings, its syllable structure would comprise no more than three-consonant clusters initially as well as finally. At present, Krio has a few English-derived items in their plural (with -s) form. Also, increasingly one or two English-derived but simple to pronounce, ordinal numbers, e.g. /fɔ̂s/ (first), /tɔ̂d/ (third), /fɔ̂θ/ (fourth), /fiθ/ (fifth), are heard. However, as the examples of /fɔ̂s/ and /fiθ/ show, Krio tends to simplify final clusters, and since there is little inflectional morphology, it tolerates only up to three final consonants in one syllable. In the remaining tabular analysis, it will be seen that the main differences between RP and Krio final cluster patterns are as a result of the inflections in question. Further examples showing how Krio modifies these 'unfamiliar' clusters are:

- (a) RP /-dθ/ Krio /-t/ as in 'width' As Berry notes (1961, p.12) 'anglicizing pronunciation gives /wit<sup>s</sup>/ and et<sup>s</sup>/.
- (b) RP /-tθ/ Krio /-t/ or /θ/ as in 'eighth'
- (c) RP /-kst/ Krio /-ks/ as in 'next'.

Another kind of modification involves the substitution of a more familiar consonant for a less familiar one, as in RP /-ŋθ/ ~ Krio /-ŋk/ in 'strength'; RP /-ŋθ/ ~ Krio /-ŋt/ in 'length'; RP /-nθ/ ~ Krio /-nt/ in 'month'. Examples like 'length' and 'strength' also show how the relative complexity of morphological forms in RP affects the ability of some English-derived words to 'settle comfortably' in Krio. In expressing abstractness, English can simply modify the form of a word, e.g. 'long' - adj. > 'length' - abstract noun,  
 'strong' - adj. > 'strength' - abstract noun.

In Krio, however, abstractness is typically expressed by a syntactic phrase, e.g. /i̇ lɔŋg wàn/ (its length); /i̇ tɔŋg wàn/ (its strength).

The cluster modifications we have discussed occur when the typical means of expression is abandoned.

8. Final -VCC

RP

Krio

p + t, θ, s

p + s

t + θ, s

t + s

k + t, s

k + t, s

b + d, z

b + s

d + z, θ

-

g + d, z

-

tʃ + t

-

dʒ + d

-

m + p, d, f, θ, z

m + p, s

n + t, d, tʃ, dʒ, θ, s, z

n + t, d, tʃ, dʒ, s

ŋ + k, d, z, θ

ŋ + k, g, s, t

l + p, t, k, b, d, tʃ, dʒ, m,

l + p, t, k, b, d, tʃ, dʒ, f, v, θ, s, ʃ

n, f, v, θ, s, z, ʃ

<u>RP</u>	<u>Krio</u>
f + t, <u>θ</u> , <u>s</u>	f + t
v + <u>d</u> , <u>z</u>	v + s
<u>θ</u> + <u>t</u> , <u>s</u>	-
<u>ð</u> + <u>d</u> , <u>z</u>	-
s + p, t, k	s + p, t, k
<u>z</u> + <u>d</u>	-
<u>ʒ</u> + <u>t</u>	-
<u>ʒ</u> + <u>d</u>	-

(a) The RP rule that voiced sounds take the voiced variety of grammatical -s, (as in /bɛdz/, /dɔgz/) does not apply to Krio. Final -s after a voiced or voiceless sound is pronounced /s/; hence /b + s/, /m + s/, /ŋ + s/, /v + s/.

(b) In RP, /g/ does not occupy final position in a final CC cluster, but in English-derived words in Krio it does, after /ŋ/.

(c) In RP, /θ/ occurs after /p, t, d, m, n, ŋ, l, f/, but in English-derived words in Krio, it only occurs after /l/ in very few words, e.g. /ɛl<sup>ˆ</sup>θ/ (health).



9. Final -VCCC

In RP, there are 49 possible final CCC combinations. (O'Connor, *ibid*; Gimson, *ibid*, p.250). Plosives, nasals, fricatives and the liquid /l/ can be the first element; all of these, except /l/ and the affricate /dʒ/ can be the second element; and /s, t, z, d, θ / can be the third element of the combination.

This pattern is rare in Krio and only English-derived words exemplify it. It is either:

(a) n + t + s, as in /p<sup>h</sup>ants/ (pants)

or:

- (b) ŋ + k + s, as in (1) /dʒ<sup>h</sup>ŋks/ cf. Eng. 'junk' - (individual groups of hair in woman's arrangement of hair (K.E.D., p.156);
- (2) /dʒ<sup>h</sup>ŋks/, cf. Eng. 'junk' (junk);
- (3) /p<sup>h</sup>ŋks/, alternative pronunciation for 'pants'
- (4) /w<sup>h</sup>ŋks/, cf. Eng. 'work' - archaic meaning of 'flog' - Fyle & Jones, (p.396) suggest that the /n/ and /s/ add an ideophonic quality to the word - (hit hard and heavily as with stick).

10. Final -VCCC

This pattern occurs in RP only rarely as a result of suffixation to CCC of a /t/ or /s/ morpheme, e.g. /-mpts/ 'prompts'..., /-mpst/

"glimpsed"... /-lfθs/ "twelfths", /-ksts/ "texts", /-ksθs/, "sixths", /-ndθs/ "thousandths" (Gimson, *ibid*, p.253). Such items simply do not exist in Krio precisely because the language's grammatical/morphological characteristics are in this respect different from those of English.

Most words of four or more syllables (excluding reduplications) are English-derived, e.g. ɔ̀pɔ̀tyúní̀tì (opportunity); rɛ̀spɔ̀nsíbilítì (responsibility).

### 5.3 Aphetism

Some English-derived words have been subject to aphetism - the disappearance of the first syllable of a word - as in the examples: /b̀t/ (about), /b̀jús/ (abuse), /ǹɔ̀f/ 'enough' (plenty of), /p̀an/ (upon), /p̀ɔ̀t/ (report). Aphetism is a feature shared by other creoles (see, e.g. Cassidy, 1961, p.37). It is probably one of the 'simplification' devices used during the pidginisation process. All the examples given here except p̀an have decreolised variants which are either acrolectal or have semantic specialisation.

### 5.4 West African Languages and Krio Phonotactics

As might be expected, similarities exist between the phonotactics of West African languages and those of Krio. Generally speaking, it is true to say that as decreolisation continues and Krio levels more and more in the direction of English, the language is losing some of the

features it has in the past shared with other West African languages. This is a general tendency in creole languages. Although this study is essentially synchronic, matters of diachronic significance cannot be overlooked if relevant to any discussion. It is in this light that the possible contribution of West African languages is here considered.

Most African languages are characterized by a (C)V syllable structure. This is not exactly a striking feature of Krio, although we can point to forms like /aʔáta/ (rat), /kàbúdu/ (caboodle)- RP /kə'bu:dl/, /gòlògóló/ (gullet) - RP /'gʌlət/. These are words which have been in the language for a long time but still have no alternative forms, unlike /wásà/ (worse), /dèdèbòdí/ (dead body), which have the more recent alternatives /wâs/ and /dàimán/ with its final nasal consonant fully realized. It is reported that early 19th century Krio had forms like /gódù/ (God), /dísì/ (this) that are now obsolete or only possible in non-native speech (Hancock, 1970, cited in Alleyne, *ibid*, p.65). On the whole, however, very few modern Krio words have been modified into a (C)V: syllable structure.

Related to this type of syllable structure is the tendency towards vowel harmony. This is a general African feature. In Krio, items with a CVCV structure usually reflect identical vowel repetition - e.g. /wákà/ (walk), /aʔáta/ (rat), /gòlògóló/ (gullet), /wènkèwènké/ (wenkle) - rather than strict vowel harmony (see Ladefoged, 1964, pp.37ff, for example, for a discussion of vowel harmony in West African Languages). See also Alleyne, *ibid*, p.41 - /bèlé/ (belly), /ókò/ (okra), /pɛtɛtɛ/ (potatoes) and p.67, where he argues that 'forms like these in Krio' may be remnants of an earlier, more widespread vowel harmony system.



He cites the examples /bɛ́lé/ 'belly', /pɛ́tɛ́tɛ́/ (potato) and /pɛ́pɛ́/ (pepper) and 'explains' the process thus: 'starting with the accented vowel (the penultimate) the harmony rules determine the other vowels of these words with the result that the vowel qualities are different from what would be expected from the regular correspondences between English and Krio'. There are a few exceptions like /jɛ́ɔ́í/ (hear) - both front, though not identical vowels (but not /fɔ́édí/ which, according to Alleyne (ibid, p.65), supposedly means 'afraid'. This word does not exist in Krio).

The tendency to simplify initial and final consonant clusters by elision is another possible consequence of a preference for a (C)V structure. This is a feature common to pidgin and creole languages and can be considered as one of 'the phonotactic similarities between Krio and other creoles. But we may note that Krio does not use vowel epenthesis to simplify such clusters, as other African languages tend to do with English loan words. Also, the tendency to elide earlier rather than later consonants in final clusters, 'something virtually unknown among speakers of English as a first language' (Wells, 1982, p.641) has been noted as a feature of African English (Tiffen, 1974 - cited in Wells (ibid)). This means that, in the word 'next', e.g., /kst/ becomes /st/, losing /k/ rather than /t/, as would happen in British English, for example. In this respect, Krio seems to have been influenced by British accents, e.g. /nɛ́ks/ (next), /tɛ́ks/ (text).

What might be called a slight modification of the CV structure, the existence of the initial consonantal sequence /kj/, /gɟ/ + /a/, has been noted for Twi (a Kwa language and an African source of Krio). As



Cassidy and Le Page suggest, in their reference to Jamaican Creole (1967, p. lviii), the retention of these forms must be because of reinforcement from this African influence.

Native speakers of West African languages are also known for their tendency, when speaking English, to nasalise a vowel in the environment of a following nasal consonant, especially in word final position. This feature is not unknown in some British accents, as will be seen later (Phonetic Features). But it is far more typical of African accents of English. This is again because of the usual CVCV structure, which means that, in the majority of African languages, a word does not end with a syllable closed by a consonant. Nasalising the vowel, therefore, compensates for the final nasal, which disappears, and ensures the maintenance of a final open syllable. In this, Krio seems to have been considerably influenced by its West African neighbours, even though the purpose in Krio is not essentially to preserve an open-ended syllable structure. Note the following examples: (1) /t<sup>h</sup>i/ (thing), (2) /b<sup>h</sup>ɜːs/ (buns). Also, this kind of nasalisation is even more common when the nasal consonant occurs before another consonant within the word or utterance than in utterance final position. Examples are: (1) /ã<sup>h</sup>bɔ̃g/ (humbug), /à<sup>h</sup>káté<sup>h</sup>l jù/ (I can't tell you).

#### /l/ ~ /r/ alternation

There is also incidental variation affecting principally /l/ and /r/, which may be attributed to West African sources.

In a good number of African languages, there is no phonemic contrast between /l/ and /r/. The difference may be dialectal, e.g. in dialects of Madingo (a widespread West African language), the word for 'mountain' may be kulu or kuru (Westermann and Ward, op. cit., p.73). In some languages, only one of the two sounds - usually /l/ - occurs (an example from Sierra Leone is Mende). In many others, /r/ and /l/ are in free variation; but some, e.g. Ewe, have /l/ and some form of /r/ in complementary distribution (Ladefoged, op. cit., p.29).

/l/ ~ /r/ alternation is also a feature of some English-based creole languages, which must have acquired it from African sources, since it is not a feature of English or British dialects (Cassidy & Le Page, op. cit. p. lxi). Alleyne (op. cit. p.45) postulates an English [-l-] ~ Afro-American [-r-] rule in the earliest form of the dialects, and although he later contradicts himself by saying that [l] was preferred in all the dialects (p. 61), he does make the point that no phonemic distinction existed between [l] and [r] in them. He also notes that Saramaccan and Ndjuka do not have [r] word initially but that in Sranan, both [l] and [r] occur, although, in Johnson (1974, p.120) we are told that Sranan seems to have had a diachronic l → r rule. One pertinent observation, as far as Krio is concerned, that Alleyne makes, is the point that many Afro-American dialects have 'only relics of the primitive [l] ~ [r] variation'. In Jamaican Creole, the few residual items show that [l] is preferred to [r]. Gullah also shows that [l] is preferred intervocalically (ibid, p.62).

As a general rule, modern Krio has both /l/ and /r/ occurring as distinct phonemes and not as allophones. However, there is evidence of residual /l/ > /r/ as well as /r/ > /l/ patterns as follows:

/l/ > /r/

One of the examples of English /l/ becoming Krio /r/ that Hancock gives (1971, p.72) is /pɛnaritɪ/ (penalty). This form is now obsolete, having been replaced by /pɛnáltɪ/. As usual, there are cases of an older form with /r/ and a more recent, not necessarily acrolectal, form - with or without semantic differences - with /l/. From English 'bellyful', e.g. we have Krio /bɛrɛfúl/ - older form and somewhat restricted to older speakers (not evidence of identical vowel repetition in /bɛrɛ-/) - and /bɛlfúl/ - more recent and more current, but with no semantic differences. English 'fling' also gives Krio /frɪŋg/ - older form, now largely idiolectal - and /flɪŋg/- more recent and more common. In acrolectal varieties, however, /flɪŋg/ can also be used in a sense in which /frɪŋg/ cannot - as a noun meaning 'a short time of satisfying one's own desires, often with no sense of responsibility' (see Procter op. cit. p.421 - meaning 3 of 'fling'), as in the example: dɛn nɔ́ dé sírís wàn, dɛn jɛs dè gét à flɪŋg nómò- 'they are not having a serious love relationship, just a fling'. A clearer case of semantic specialisation is seen in /brítʃ/ and /blítʃ/ from English 'bleach'. Apart from the basic meaning in English 'to (cause to) become whiter' (Procter, op. cit., p.99) which they share, note the following differences: /brítʃ/ - 'verb... launder clothes white by treating with limes or pawpaw leaves and exposing to sunlight' (Fyle & Jones, op. cit., p.52) and /blítʃ/- '1. noun bleach' (commercially prepared); '2. v. smoke a cigarette, esp. of woman' (ibid, p.40). We can add to meaning 1 - 'verb, (of woman) tint hair, apply skin lightening, face or body cream'. Also, from English 'lapel' comes Krio /lápɛl/ and the bahuvrihi word /ràpɛl/, which, apart from its basic reference to a coat's lapel, is also used to refer to a Safari type suit. The word is unique in this category for two reasons: (1) it



is more recent than /lápé1/; (2) its use seems more widespread among non-native Krio (particularly Temme - which language probably inspired it) speakers. Finally, in the item /fòrín/, from English 'fall in', we have an instance of an invariable form.

/r/ > /l/

Krio /lápá/ is, according to Hancock (ibid, p.76) from English 'wrapper' - the meaning which says: 'formerly, a loose outer garment for a woman' (Chambers, 1981, p.1574); but, according to Fyle and Jones (op. cit., p.214) it is from English "lapper" - small loose flap or fold of garment'. We can conclude that it is a case of conflation. However, /ràpá/ - not to be confused with /rápà/ (anything that wraps) - may also be heard. This form is admittedly less popular and essentially idiolectal and is normally used only in the sense of meaning 1. of /lápá/ in Fyle and Jones (ibid): 'a wrap, loose cloth worn round waist like a skirt', and not of meaning 2: 'a standard length of cotton or Gara cloth'. /ràpá/ is not recorded in Fyle and Jones. From English 'sprain' comes the Krio word /sprên/, but the variant form /splên/ (also not recorded in Fyle & Jones), idiolectal and less widespread, may also be heard. The case of /álmátán/ - older and now largely basilectal or non-native variant of /àmátán/ (harmattan) - seems to have arisen from a rhotic pronunciation of 'harmattan' in which the preconsonantal r is realised. The clearest instances of the /r/ > /l/ pattern are found in the items /dòŋglín/ (dungarees) and /trauzlín/ (trousering), which have no variants. Hancock suggests that the /r/ > /l/ variation may be due to the influence of Mende (ibid, p.77), but, in the light of the foregoing discussion, that suggestion sounds too restrictive.



[d] ~ [l] ~ [r]

Alleyne (op. cit., p.62) also informs us of a [d] ~ [l] ~ [r] variation in Ndjuka and Saramaccan, a few relics of which Sranan and Jamaican retain. One of the relics in Jamaican is kasara 'cassava' (cf. Trinidadian and Guyanese kasada); another is tara 'other' ('t'other → tada → tara). Alleyne adds that tara is becoming archaic while kasara is now obsolete in Jamaican, but Cassidy and Le Page (op. cit. pp.93,94) give the forms 'casara', 'casava' and 'cassada', though labelling 'casara' as a dialect form. The example of disail 'decide' is added by Alleyne to justify the [d] ~ [l] ~ [r] pattern. Krio, however, does not seem to have a [d] ~ [l] pattern, though it does have a [d] ~ [r] one. The fact of English [v] in 'cassava' becoming [d] is curious enough and is apparently a unique correspondence, at least from the point of view of Krio. The form /kàsádà/, however, seems widespread in creole languages. /kasada/ in Krio is the more common form, but /kàsárà/ may be heard, particularly among Fròbé Krios and some older folk. /tárà/ and its compounds: /táràpõt/ (kind of pot), /táràtîn/ (something quite different) and /táràwòd/ (words completely different from those expected), albeit more usually heard in village varieties, are also current. Other examples from Krio are /mérésìn/ (medicine) and /grâp/ (get up) - sometimes heard as /gédòp/.

## CHAPTER SIX

## PHONETIC FEATURES

6.1 In this chapter, similarities in phonetic realisation, found in the Krio and British systems that are their possible sources and the relevant West African systems, are discussed. Details of the realisations of Krio phonemes are given in Chapter Three. Only phonemes deemed relevant are discussed. A phoneme by phoneme treatment is not attempted. In any case, there are considerable difficulties in comparing the realisations of phonemes belonging to different systems; hence, only certain selected aspects of interest in this context will be treated.

6.2 The Vowels

As we have noted (Chapter Four), there is no tense/lax distinction in Krio. All Krio vowels are more on the tense than on the lax side. They are neither as tense as the tense vowels of English, nor as lax as the lax ones.

Since Krio has only one vowel phoneme in the high front area, while British accents have two (different systems), realisations of the high front vowels are not discussed.

/e/ and /o/

Krio /e/ and /o/ correspond to the diphthongs /eɪ/ and /əʊ/, respectively in RP and many British accents. In some British accents, however, as in Krio, they are monophthongal. In many parts of Wales

and Northumberland, for example, the realisation of /e/ is that of a long vowel of cardinal [e] quality (O'Connor, op. cit., p.165); also in Wigan, North Lancashire (Wells, 1970, p.250), Tyneside (Wells, 1982, p.375); indeed, in much of the North of England, where it is [e:] or somewhat opener (Wells, 1970, p.246), in Scotland (1982, p.400), and in Dublin, Ireland (ibid, p.424).

In some Scottish, Northern, Irish, Welsh, Lancashire and Yorkshire speech, /o/ is realised as a monophthong (Wells, 1970, p.250). The Scottish and Welsh accents often achieve a vowel of cardinal [o] quality, while, in much of the North of England, a rather more open variety is realised (ibid, p.246).

Cockney speech also has the vowel [o:] , but this is the realisation of the vowel in words like 'board', 'force', which, in RP and most other British accents, is /ɔ:/ (1982, p.304). Hughes and Trudgill say this kind of realisation occurs when /ɔ:/ is non-final in the word. A distinction between pairs like 'paws' [pɔəz] and 'pause' [po:z]; 'bored' [bɔəd] and 'board' [bo:d] is therefore made on the basis of inflection. Where, for example, plural, third person singular or possessive s is added to a word-final /ɔ:/, [ɔə] is the realisation (Hughes & Trudgill, ibid, p.40). More directly relevant for Krio may be the fact that, in a non-rhotic accent, there may be the possibility of homophony between /ɔ:/ and /o:/ in parts of Wales, e.g. 'court' and 'coat' > [ko:t] (Wells, 1982, p.161); 'pork' and 'poke' > [po:k] (ibid, p.382). Even in rhotic Larne in Northern Ireland, 'horse' and 'hoarse' contrast as [hɔ:ɹs] and [ho:rs], respectively, while, in Belfast, both are usually [ho:ɹs] (Wells, 1982, p.444. See also Milroy, (1981, pp.57-58), who gives the examples of 'for', 'four' 'morn' and 'mourn'. Historically, /ɔ:/



is an instance of 'long O', derived from Middle English /ɔ:/, which is the same vowel as /o/ through the Great Vowel Shift and with /r/ following. A less common derivation is from Middle English /o:/ or /u:/ also before /r/. Words which exemplify it are usually spelt with '-or', '-ore', '-oar' and sometimes '-oor', '-our' (ibid, p.161). The similarity with Krio here is striking. The following examples are of English-derived words in Krio which have forms with /o/ but the English cognate forms of which reflect the spelling patterns just noted. Where there are variants with /ɔ/, which happens almost invariably, the differences in usage are also noted:

- (1) /f<sup>o</sup>s/ (verb) ~ /f<sup>ɔ</sup>s/ (noun) = force;
- (2) /fl<sup>o</sup>/ (noun) ~ /fl<sup>ɔ</sup>/ (verb) = floor (opposite of e.g. 1);
- (3) /k<sup>o</sup>t/ (court of law) ~ /k<sup>ɔ</sup>t/ = (a) 'acrolectal variant; (b) tennis court ;
- (4) /p<sup>o</sup>k/ (general term for 'pork') ~ /p<sup>ɔ</sup>k/ = (a) acrolectal variant; (b) cuts of pork ;
- (5) /b<sup>o</sup>d/ (wooden board) ~ /b<sup>ɔ</sup>d/ = (a) committee; (b) to board a child ;
- (6) /f<sup>o</sup>/ (in very common use) ~ /f<sup>ɔ</sup>/ = (a) acrolectal (b) idiolectal for score in a game ;
- (7) /b<sup>o</sup>/ (in very common use) ~ /b<sup>ɔ</sup>/ (restricted to 'bore' of a vehicle's engine);
- (8) /<sup>o</sup>s/ (hoarse) - no variant form.
- (9) /p<sup>o</sup>/ (poor) ~ /p<sup>ɔ</sup>/ (only in acrolectal phrases, e.g. /p<sup>ɔ</sup> ɛn nɪdɪ/ (poor and needy); /p<sup>ɔ</sup> f<sup>ɔ</sup>nd/ (poor fund).

There are exceptions to this general rule in words that may be more recent borrowings, e.g. /m<sup>o</sup>/ (more), /h<sup>o</sup>s/ (horse), /l<sup>o</sup>d/ (lord). These words have no variants with /o/. The result in Krio is, of course, a phonemic split. But the source of the split may well be the presence of this more open vowel in some British accents, e.g. RP.

### /ɛ/

A close form of /a/ could have been interpreted by Krio speakers as /ɛ/. In Belfast, for example, the vowel in 'bag' may be pronounced like an [ɛ] (Hughes and Trudgill, op. cit., p.77). This brings to mind the Krio forms: /blɛdà/ (bladder), /gɛŋ(g)/ (gang), /lɛdà/ (ladder). The more recent forms: /blada/, /gaŋg/ and /lada/ also exist, but, as the pattern has shown, they are not entirely synonymous with the older forms - /blɛdà/ refers to a football bladder, whereas /bládà/ is used for animal or human bladder; /gáŋg/ only occurs in compounds, e.g. /gáŋgstà/ (gangster), /gáŋgwè/ (gangway), or in the acrolectal phrasal verb /gáŋg-ɔ̀p/ (gang up); /ládà/ can refer to stocking ladder, food larder, as well as climbing ladder (acrolectal), inter alia, whereas /lɛdà/ tends to refer only to climbing ladder.

### /a/

RP has a relatively close and fully front [æ] and a fully open but relatively back [ɑ:]. Many English provincial (particularly Northern) accents and much Welsh, Scottish and Irish speech have fully open realisations of both the /a/ phonemes, which many of them only

distinguish by length or not at all - /a/ retracted from the position for cardinal [a], i.e. [a-], cf. RP [æ], and /a:/ advanced from the position for RP [ɑ:], cf. Wells (1983, p.134). There is therefore more similarity between Krio [a] and realisations of /a/ in non-RP British accents.

The vowel /ə/ in 'broad' Cockney may also have very open realisations in word final position, e.g. ['dɪnɜ̃] (ibid, p.305). We have already seen that /ə/, which is not found in Krio, corresponds to /a/ in word final position in a large number of cases; cf. Krio /dɪnə/ (dinner). This very open realisation of /ə/ is also characteristic of Geordie in words ending in '-er'. Historically, Wells reports, 'this quality is presumed to be due... to the influence of the [ɜ] which once followed it. Examples: "clever" ['klɛvə], "under" ['ʊndə]' (ibid, p.376). If this was one of the kinds of pronunciation that influenced Krio, and for the same historical reason, then the relatively front realisation of the Krio /a/ could be partly due to the fact that Krio typically uses a velar rather than a uvular r. But, again, Wells notes that the Geordie vowel 'is not necessarily as back as this; some speakers use a more or less front [ɛ]...' (ibid).

The vowel /ɒ/ in RP, as in 'long' may be realised as an unrounded [ɑ] in the West of England (Wells, 1970, p.246). Norfolk has a variant ranging phonetically from [ɑ] to [a] (1982, pp.339-40; see also p.347). Krio too has many English-derived words with the /ɒ/ vowel in an RP pronunciation, but which are pronounced with /a/ in Krio. Examples are: /dʒəb/ (job), /dʒəp/ (drop), /lɑŋgə/ (long), /ʔákít/ (rocket, i.e. explosive), /nák/ (knock). All these examples, except /ʔákít/, have decreolised variants with /ɔ/, but with the usual semantic differences.



/ɔ:/

Realisational characteristics affecting the choice of phoneme may be noted in respect of this phoneme. O'Connor reports that in Tyneside speech, /ɜ:/ is not distinguished from /ɔ:/ (op. cit., p.163); but Wells (1982, pp.374-5) states that this only occurs in 'the broadest Geordie' and that this backing of 'what is elsewhere a central vowel' has taken place because of the influence of the /r/[ʀ] (uvular), which once followed in words with this vowel. He notes that the S.E.D. records [ɔ:] in such words in neighbouring parts of Northumberland. Examples of such words are: 'nurse', cf. Krio: /n̂s/; 'work', cf. Krio: /ŵk/, /ŵk/; 'first', cf. Krio /f̂s/; 'shirt', cf. Krio: /ʃ̂t/; 'word', cf. Krio /ŵd/.

/ai, /au/, /ɔi/

In Hughes and Trudgill's account of the Scottish and Irish vowel inventories, the only diphthongs these accents have are /ai/, /au/ (Irish: /au/) and /ɔi/ (ibid, pp.70, 76). In this also, Krio seems similar to these accents. However, these diphthongs seem to be realised differently in Krio. Perhaps the Krio diphthongs are more like those of East Anglia, which have a tendency to realise a fully close vowel [i] or [u] as the second element rather than the [ɪ] or [ʊ] -type found in RP and other accents (Wells, 1982, p.340). O'Connor (ibid, p.168) also notes the same end point for /ai/ in Welsh and Tyneside and /ɔi/ in Tyneside, which starts from a more fronted and more central position than the Krio diphthong. The East Anglian, Welsh and Tyneside accents have more diphthongs than Krio, however.

### Nasalisation of vowels

Nasal vowels and the nasalisation of vowels are considered very much more of an African contribution to Krio phonological structure. The nasalisation of a vowel in the environment of a nasal consonant occurs in British accents, but, usually, this does not result in the disappearance of the nasal consonant and the nasalisation is, therefore, not phonemic, whereas it is in Krio. In Cockney, as in Krio, it is not uncommon for a vowel plus a following nasal (/m/, /n/ or /ŋ/) to merge into a nasalised vowel, giving, e.g.: ['sʌmθɪk, 'sʌŋɪk, 'sɔɪŋɪ, sʌmɪk], 'something' (Wells, 1982, p.317), cf. Krio: [sɔ̃tɪ̃, sɔ̃mtɪ̃, sɔ̃ntɪ̃, sɔ̃ntɪ̃n, sɔ̃mtɪ̃n].

#### 6.2.1 The contribution of West African Languages

We have already noted, for West African languages, the general absence of the tense/lax distinction and the fairly widespread tendency towards tenseness. This helps to account for the duration of typical Krio vowels.

The preference for monophthongs over diphthongs, generally in West African languages, may not only be seen as a possible reason why Krio has so few diphthongs, but may also help to account for the fact that no diphthongisation of vowels like /i/, /e/, /o/ and /u/, as in RP, for example, takes place in Krio.

In general, the vowels of African languages are consistently closer to cardinal values and thus more similar to those of Krio than to those of most British accents. Krio shows no striking differences from the general pattern.

### 6.3 The Consonants

Although this study recognises twenty-six consonants for Krio, only twenty-four are attested as occurring in English-derived words. The labio-velar plosives /kp/ and /gb/, as has been noted, (p.37 ) came into Krio from African sources and only occur in words derived from African languages (see K.E.D., passim). /kp/ and /gb/ are sometimes, and randomly, realised as [p] and [b], respectively.

The status of /θ/ and /h/ as distinctive phonemes in Krio is discussed on pp 34-5.

A phoneme by phoneme discussion is not attempted, since this might result in superfluous repetition (see Chapter Three). Only features that are considered striking are dwelt upon. The phonemic distinctions made in modern Krio may, of course, have their origins in allophonic variation in English or the African substratum, but this, too, will not be considered here. Some remarks may be found in Chapter Four above.

#### Obstruents and voicing

Krio is like most English accents in which lenis ('voiced') obstruents are only fully voiced when they occur between voiced sounds, and partly or entirely devoiced in the environment of a fortis ('voiceless') sound, or in utterance initial or final position (Wells, 1982, p.42; also, O'Connor, op. cit., pp.130-1, 139-40; Gimson, 1975, pp.154, 179. See also Chapter 3, p.36).



### Aspiration and Affrication

In the matter of the aspiration and affrication of the fortis stops, Krio is apparently unlike many creole languages, which generally have no aspirated allophones of plosives (cf. Alleyne, 1980, p.56). But in this respect, it is more similar to some British accents than to others. In RP and some other accents, these features are less prominent than in Cockney, Liverpool (Hughes & Trudgill, *op. cit.*, pp.41, 61), Welsh, and Gaelic-influenced speech of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (Wells, 1982, pp.388, 409). In these latter accents, strong aspiration is the rule, not only in initial but also in most other positions (cf. Wells, *ibid*, p.322).

Also, in Cockney and Liverpool accents, affrication may affect /p, t, k/ (particularly /t/)(Wells, *ibid*, p.323; Hughes & Trudgill, *op. cit.*, p.61).

In some West African languages, there is a phonemic distinction between aspirated and unaspirated voiceless stops. Westermann and Ward (1966, p.50) note that this kind of aspiration is a feature of African languages, e.g. Kru (a language of Liberia, which borders Sierra Leone, and of the Ivory Coast). In Krio, aspiration and affrication, particularly of /t/, occur liberally, though the distinction between aspirated and unaspirated stops is not, of course, phonemic.

Westermann and Ward (*op. cit.*, p.52) also note that strong aspiration may occur in some African languages in environments in which in many English accents no aspiration does, since the plosive is unexploded (as happens when one plosive follows another, as in: 'stopped'); in Efik (a Nigerian language), for instance, as in [ɔkɔk<sup>h</sup>de].

In Welsh accents, too, when fortis stops cluster at syllable boundaries, the first consonant of the cluster is audibly released and with aspiration, e.g. the /p/ in 'captain', the /k/ in 'actor' [ak<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>ɔ] (Wells, 1982, p.388). Krio also has this feature: [ak<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>ɔ], and thus differs from RP and most other accents in which the release is not usually audible: [æk<sup>1</sup> tɔ].

#### Palatalisation of /k, g/

The palatalisation of /k/ and /g/ before front vowels seems a common feature of creole languages (Wells, 1973 p.10; Echteld, op. cit., p.18; Cassidy and Le Page, op. cit., p. lviii). This feature is also noted by Hughes and Trudgill (op. cit., p.78) as occurring in some rural areas of Northern Ireland. Westerman and Ward (op. cit., p.106) also observe that this feature is usual in West African languages like Twi, Fante and Hausa. Whatever its historical source, however, this is no longer a matter of allophonic realisation in Krio, since the distinction between /k/ and /kj/ is now semi-phonemic (cf. the discussion under Phonotactics, i.e. Chapter 5, p.121, ff.)

#### Clear and dark /l/

In RP most, particularly southern, English accents, palatalised or clear /l/ - [l<sub>j</sub>] and velarised /l/ - [ɫ] are in complementary distribution - the clear variety occurring pre-vocalically or before /j/, and the dark variety occurring pre-consonantly, before /w/ and pre-pausally. An exception in the South is in older rural Norfolk speech in which /l/ is clear in all positions (Wells, 1982, p.341). Generally, in the North of England, there is 'no sharp clear/dark allophony' and

the farther north one goes the clearer the variety in all environments, e.g. in Tyneside (ibid, pp.370, 374; Hughes & Trudgill, op. cit., p. 66) and Cumberland (Wells, 1970, p.247). (/l/ is always dark in, e.g. Scottish accents, however).

Clear /l/ is also used in all positions in Wales (Hughes and Trudgill, op. cit., p.51; Wells, 1970, p.247), Irish English (Wells, 1982, pp.74, 431), the Gaelic and post-Gaelic areas of Scotland (p.412). Wells suggests that this is probably the result of substratum influence on the Welsh, Irish and Scottish accents.

In Krio, /l/ is also clear in all environments, which is typical of African languages in general (Westermann & Ward, op. cit., p.70), and also of West Indian creoles (Wells, 1973, p.11; 1982, p.570).

If substratum influence is to be considered, it may also be argued that the basically CVCV structure typical of the African substrate could have contributed to the use of the clear /l/ in all environments, since, in this case, /l/ would always be prevocalic. Note, however, that velarisation is perhaps evident in Krio [-ul] for [ɫ]

### /r/

The phoneme /r/ is realised differently in the different British accents. In RP and some other accents, for example, it is typically a post alveolar approximant; in South Wales, Yorkshire and Liverpool, it is normally a post alveolar tap [ɾ] (Hughes & Trudgill, op. cit., pp.51, 58, 62). In Scottish accents, it is also normally a tap, but may be a frictionless continuant (ibid, p.70). Some



accents, e.g. Bristol (*ibid*, p.47) and Belfast (*ibid*, p.76)

have a retroflex /r/.

Different realisations of /r/ also occur in different African languages. /r/ may be an alveolar tap or trill [r/ɾ], a post-alveolar approximant or fricative [ɻ]. The voiced uvular fricative, which resembles its velar counterpart, frequently occurs in some European languages as a kind of /r/, but is rare in African languages (Westermann and Ward, *op. cit.*, p.85; Ladefoged, *op. cit.*, p.2 (Table 1)). The velar fricatives are very common in West African languages (Westermann & Ward, *op. cit.*, p.84; Ladefoged, *op. cit.*, pp.45-66), though in some, they are allophones of /k/ or /g/ (*ibid*, p.28).

As far as Krio is concerned, we have seen that, intervocallically, in [ʃɔ̀p] 'shut up', [gɛ̀ʔ] 'get out', e.g. /r/ is, for some speakers, also a post-alveolar tap ('Phonotactics', p.118). The typical Krio /r/, in all positions, however, is realised as a retracted voiced velar fricative [ɻ].

A velar realization of /r/ does not seem characteristic of any British accent, though in Wells, 1982(p.432) we learn that 'there is some suggestion that /r/ may have velar or uvular variants' in the Irish counties of Louth, Tipperary/Limerick. Also, in parts of Northumberland and Durham (Hughes & Trudgill, *op. cit.*, p.67), /r/ may be a uvular fricative or approximant - 'the Northumberland burr' (Wells, 1970, p.247) - or 'occasionally a uvular tap or velar fricative' (Wells, 1982, p.368). Uvular [ʁ] is also described as being 'surprisingly common as a personal idiosyncrasy' though not a local accent feature in parts of Scotland (e.g. Aberdeen), (Wells, 1982, p.411) and is said to be 'not unknown in Wales' (Wells, 1970, p.247; 1982, p.390).

Also significant for Krio is the historical fact that the effect of uvular /r/ on a preceding vowel has brought about forms such as [bɔ̃<sup>ʁ</sup>:dz] 'birds', [wɔ̃<sup>ʁ</sup>:mz] 'worms' in Northumberland: 'the [ʁ] has not only coalesced with the vowel making it uvularised, but has also caused it to be retracted from central to back' (Wells, 1982, p.369), cf. Krio /bɔ̃<sup>ʁ</sup>d/ 'bird', /wɔ̃<sup>ʁ</sup>m||wɔ̃<sup>ʁ</sup>m(s)/ (worm(s)).

See also Hancock 1971, pp.73-74 on Krio /r/ and links with County Durham accent.

The velar /r/ - [ʁ] of Krio is not common in creole languages, but Dominican Creole is reported to have the 'labio-velar spirant /ʁ<sup>ω</sup>/ (voiced, except when following a voiceless consonant)' (Taylor, 1977, p.199) 'whose model clearly was the velar r of northern French' (ibid, p.202).

## PART TWO - TONAL FEATURES

## CHAPTER SEVEN

## STRESS - TONE CORRESPONDENCES

7.1 Introduction

In English, phonological prominence or accentuation is realised through, among other phenomena, stress. In some languages, the accentual system is fixed in the sense that a particular syllable in every word always carries the accent; e.g. the penultimate syllable in Polish, the first in Czech, and the last in French (Gimson, op.cit., p.222; O'Connor, op.cit., p.233). This is not so in English in which, although some rules may be given for the position of the accent (see S.P.E.— Chomsky and Halle, 1968), it is in many cases impossible to predict which syllable will be accented. With the exception of very few words, however, every English word in its isolate form, has its own fixed stress pattern. The stress may fall on the first syllable, as in 'petrol'; the second, as in pa'trol; the third, as in intro'duce; the fourth, as in exami'nation, etc. Also, compounds and words of three or more syllables may receive more than one stress; e.g., down'town; edu'ca-tion - with the first syllable in each case receiving the secondary stress.

As has been noted (p.50 — Phonology of Krio; see also Fyle and Jones, op.cit.; A. Johnson (1974), inter alia), Krio is a tone language, and the phenomenon of tone rather than stress is one of its African inputs. When English words come into Krio, therefore, their stress pattern is always replaced by a tone pattern. Every syllable bears a tone, unlike English in which only the most prominent syllables are stressed. However, since high tone syllables have greater prominence than low tone ones, we may still consider that some syllables are accented and others unaccented



and we can therefore compare the accentual patterns of English and Krio.

As Hancock suggests, the tone structure of Krio differs considerably from English stress patterns. In Krio and other Atlantic Creoles, e.g. Gullah, Jamaican Creole<sup>1</sup> and Guyanese Creole, there is a tendency for the accent (i.e. the high tone in Krio) to fall on the final syllable in English-derived words which have initial or medial stress in English. This, he maintains (1971, p.98), may be due to influence from coastal Manding dialects. Strevens (1965, p.117), however, argues that Krio's tonal pattern, which he claims the language has lost, came from Yoruba. He maintains that Krio has instead acquired a sentence stress and intonation pattern broadly like that of Received Pronunciation. But, as Johnson observes (op.cit. pp.18-19), there is no evidence that Krio had the tonal system of Yoruba or the feature of word stress like that of RP. For one thing, as Johnson points out, Yoruba has a different (three-tone) tonal system from Krio, which has a basically two-tone one. Also, the rhythm of English is stress-timed while that of Krio is syllable-timed. The syllable-timed nature of the African substrate of the pidgin which was later to undergo creolisation must have impinged overwhelmingly upon the stress patterns of English-derived words. We may note also, as Hancock does, (ibid, p.98), examples of Chaucerian English stress like brims'toon and cart'wheel (taken from M. Halle and S.J. Keyser 'Chaucer and The Study of Prosody', College English (December, 1966, pp.187-219). See also their English Stress, (1971), with stress patterns that Krio may have assimilated

1. Lawton (1968, pp.22-26) discusses the possibility of considering Jamaican Creole a tone language. Alleyne (1980, p.71) also notes that Saramaccan keeps West African type distinctive tones.

through dialects in which they survived, possibly till the seventeenth century or so, but have now become obsolete, since, in contemporary British dialects, variations of stress patterns are very slight.

This chapter examines the relationships between the stress pattern and tone pattern correspondences in the various categories of English-derived words. Items are considered in their isolate form, since, when they occur as parts of sentences, they sometimes undergo modification. Where germane to the argument, comment will be made on their normal position in the sentence, i.e. whether they could occur finally or not.

It is difficult to ascertain the stress patterns of the nautical varieties that contributed to the onset of Krio, since only written evidence of such varieties is available. Also, if the regional varieties have not changed significantly, probably since pre-seventeenth century days (see p.58 - Chapter Four :) and if variations of stress patterns in British accents are slight, then one accent can be chosen to represent English in the discussion. Again, for the obvious reasons of descriptive convenience and of its pervading influence, particularly synchronically speaking, RP will be used.

Three tones (or perhaps three realisations of the two tones of Krio) are distinguished (see p.50):

- (i) High level - H or / - occurs in any position in the word;
- (ii) High falling- F or ^ - occurs only in sentence final position in some words; in other positions this is a high level;
- (iii) Low level - L or \ - occurs in any position in the word.

## 7.2 Monosyllables:

In isolate form every monosyllabic word in English is stressed. The situation is more complicated in Krio, however. One reason for this is that the tones are used lexically and grammatically.

### Lexical words:

#### A. The H tone

Relatively few monosyllabic words carry the high level tone in Krio. Fyle (1970, p.2) reports that only 160 out of 1400 monosyllabic words he examined (and I can confirm the claim) had the H tone. For lexical words we may note the following categories:

(i) Personal First Names, e.g. Jo (Joe); Jon (John); Sam (Sam)

Monosyllabic surnames carry a high falling tone. When first names occur as part of a person's full name, e.g. Jò Kòl (Joe Cole), they carry a low tone, while the surnames retain their high falling tone.

(ii) Names of letters of the alphabet, e.g. E (A); Bi (B), Si (C)

(iii) The shortened forms of some words, e.g. pus (pussycat), cf

pùsíkyát; pa (papa), cf pápá; bra

((1) brother; (2) brassiere), cf bráda  
brázíá;

(iv) Unclassified

bɔs (boss) (noun); mo (cf 'moor') = 'be stuck, stranded' - (verb).

#### B. The F tone

Most monosyllabic lexical words carry a high falling tone in utterance final position; in non-final position, they have a high level tone.



C. The L tone:

Apart from first names which drop from high to low tone when they occur before surnames, titles and polite terms of address which precede names also carry a low tone, e.g., Dòk Prát (Dr. Pratt); Pròf Kól (Prof. Cole); Pà Ráyt (Mr. Wright); Brà Jón (Brother John).

Otherwise, most low tone monosyllabic words are grammatical or function words. Fyle reports that about fifty out of his 1400 monosyllabic words carry the L tone.

Grammatical Words:

A. The H tone:

We can distinguish here between words which cannot occur finally in the utterance/sentence and words which can.

1. Words which only occur pre-finally in the sentence

(a) lɛ ('let') - causative imperative auxiliary

(b) dɔn ('done'= have) - perfective auxiliary

(c) wan ('want'=wish to) - optative auxiliary

(d) da (that) - demonstrative

(e) dɛn/dɔn [(and) then] - conjunction

(f) se ('say'= that) - conjunction

(g) tu ('too'=too, very) - intensifier

(h) did ('did'=certainly) - intensifier

(i) jɔs/jɛs/jis (just) - adverbial specifier

(j) we (where, what, why, when, because, since, as, etc) - interrogative/relative

(k) us ('whose'= which) - interrogative pronominal.

(l) wan (a, one) - article/determiner.

2. Words which can occur finally in the sentence

- (a) du ('do') - sentence tag signifying harsh command or impatience, e.g. léf mí dú! = 'leave me alone!'
- (b) we ('away') - intensifier expressing continuousness, e.g.,  
ì jés dè ít wé = 'he keeps eating away'.
- (c) te ('stay=till) - preposition/adverbial, e.g., à wét té  
(à táyà) = I waited until (I was fed up)/I waited in vain'.

B. The F tone.Demonstratives

- (a) dis ('this≠this, this one)
- (b) dat (that)
- (c) dɛm/n ('them'≠those)

Modal auxiliaries

- (d) mɔ́ (must, should)
- (e) k(y)an(t) (can't)

Place locatives

- (f) ɔp (up)
- (g) dɔŋ (down)
- (h) klos ('close'=near)
- (i) de (there)
- (j) ya (here)

Time locatives

- (k) naw (now)
- (l) dɛn (then)

Negative particle

- (m) nɔ (no)

Affirmative particle

- (n) yɛs (yes)

Relative(o) u (who)Interrogative(p) aw (how)Determiners(q) ɔl (all)(r) sɔm (some)(s) nɔn (none)Comparative conjunction(t) pas ('pass': = more than)Adverbial(u) mek ('make': = why)Contrastive/Emphatic personal pronouns(v) mi ('me' = I) - 1st person singular(w) yu (you) - 2nd person singular(x) in ('him': = he, she, it) - 3rd person singular(y) wi (we) - 1st person plural(z) dě(n/m) ('them' = they) - 3rd person plural

(2nd person plural is disyllabic - unu, which, in any case, is not from English)

C. The L tone:Article/determiner(a) dɪ (the)(b) sɔ̃/sɔm (some)Clause subordinators(c) as (as, since, while)(d) sins (since, ago, because)(e) if (if, suppose)(f) lɛk ('like' = as, if)



Sentence initiator indicating doubt or conclusion(g) wɛl (well)Prepositions (All prepositions are low tone)(h) bay (by)(i) fɔ (for)(j) wit (with)(k) to (to)(l) pan (upon)'Unemphatic' auxiliaries(m) fɔ ('for' = to (infinitive), ought to)(n) go ('go' = shall/will)(o) bin ('been' - optional past tense marker)(p) mɔs ('must' = should)(q) kin (can)Unemphatic personal/possessive pronouns(r) a (I); mi (my)(s) yu (you, your)(t) i ('he' = he, she, it)(u) wi (we)(v) dɛ̃(n/m) (them, they)

The pattern that emerges is of a predominance of lexical words with the F tone and of grammatical words with the F or L tone, and most of the H tone grammatical words cannot occur finally in the sentence.

Minimal pairs, distinguished solely by tone, and distinguishing grammatical categories on the one hand, and grammatical from lexical words on the other, occur as in the following examples:

A. Grammatical : Grammatical

- |     |   |  |
|-----|---|--|
| (a) | <u>a</u> H/F (ah!) - Interjection                                 | <u>a</u> L (I) - pronoun   |
| (b) | <u>dɛ̃(m/n)</u> F (they/them) -<br>emphatic personal pro-<br>noun | <u>dɛ̃(m/n)</u> L (they, them, their) -<br>unemphatic personal/possessive<br>pronoun |
| (c) | <u>du</u> H (do) - sentence tag                                   | <u>du</u> F (do) - sentence initiator  |
| (d) | <u>yu</u> F (you) - personal pro-<br>noun                         | <u>yu</u> L (your) - possessive pro-<br>noun   |
| (e) | <u>ya</u> H (here) -sentence ini-<br>tiator                       | <u>ya</u> F - (here) - locative  |
| (f) | <u>mɔs</u> F (must) - auxiliary<br>of compulsion                  | <u>mɔs</u> L (must) - auxiliary of mild<br>obligation                                |

B. Grammatical : Lexical

- |     |   |                          |
|-----|---|--------------------------|
| (a) | <u>we</u> H (1.away 2.where, etc.)<br>1.intensifier 2.interroga-<br>tive relative | <u>we</u> F (weigh) verb |
| (b) | <u>sɔm</u> L (some) determiner  | <u>sɔm</u> F (sum) noun  |
| (c) | <u>ɛn</u> L (and) conjunction   | <u>ɛn</u> F (hen) noun   |
| (d) | <u>lɛk</u> L (like) conjunction   | <u>lɛk</u> F (like) verb |
| (e) | <u>bɔt</u> L (but) conjunction  | <u>bɔt</u> F (butt) verb |
| (f) | <u>go</u> L ('go' future tense<br>marker) auxiliary                               | <u>go</u> F (go) verb    |

The examples under B show that the lexical words consistently bear an F tone and the grammatical ones are predominantly low tone.

It is also possible to find a few minimal triplets, as in the following:

- |     |  |  |
|-----|--|--|
| (a) | <u>ya</u> H ('here' = have this)<br>verb | <u>ya</u> F (1,here 2.yes) 1.locative<br>2.Interrogative |
|     | <u>ya</u> L ('hear') sentence tag        |  |





commonly 'have the stress on the syllable which is unstressed in all other varieties of English'. He gives the examples of "[ki'tʃin] 'kitchen', [kri'pl] 'cripple'", but both these words (kíchìn and kripùl) have first syllable accentuation in Krio, which shows that, although the trend is common to both Krio and West Indian dialects, it seems to affect actual words in the two cases randomly.

Acrolectal varieties in Krio differ from other lects in relatively few cases. One such area of difference is in the accentuation of the first syllable of some first names, rather than the second, as is the case in the other lects. Examples are:

<u>Common form</u>		<u>Acrolectal</u>
<u>Jenət</u> LH	possible French influence	<u>Janət</u> HL (here with a phonemic difference)
<u>Denis</u> LH	here	<u>Dénis</u> HL
<u>Arɔl(d)</u> LH		<u>Arɔld</u> HL
<u>Sera</u> LH		<u>Sera</u> HL

Age and class also help determine which form is to be preferred. Younger, educated referents are usually addressed by the acrolectal variety.

Stress/tone correspondences:

A. ' - ~ HH - This is a very rare pattern for English-derived words.

'Father      Fada (see above)

'nothing      katiŋ ('nothing) ideophone.

shenti-from monosyllabic 'shend' (obsolete, poetic) verb, be ruined, be in disgrace.

B. ' - ~ HL(HH) - A good many English-derived words retain the first syllable accentual pattern of

their source form, but have a second syllable which maintains a high tone in pre-final position but a low tone in final position, e.g. kabej HL (cabbage) > kabejde HHL (there's cabbage). Another group of words has a high tone on the first syllable and a low tone on the second, both in context and in isolation, e.g. kaptenHL > kapten gud HLF (captain is good). Also, a word of the second group usually ends with a vowel or nasal or liquid (i.e. according to patterns found in African languages) while one of the first group usually ends with a consonant other than a nasal or liquid.

(i)	'-	~	<u>HL(HH)</u>	(ii)	'-	~	<u>HL</u>
	cabbage		<u>kabej</u>		cabin		<u>kabin</u>
	cholic		<u>kɔlik</u>		jungle		<u>ɟɔngul</u>
	ashes		<u>ashis</u>		button		<u>bɔtin</u>
	leopard		<u>lɛpɛt</u>		butter		<u>bɔta</u>
	ticket		<u>tikit</u>		mercy		<u>masi</u>

Apart from the general comment above, we may note that acrolectal variants of first names with the trochaic pattern in English tend to retain the pattern in Krio and, irrespective of their phonemic ending, take the HL pattern of the second group, e.g. Janɛt HL > Janɛt de HLF (Janet is in). Examples are as follows:

(iii)	'-	~	<u>HL</u>
	Jānet		Janɛt
	Dennis		Dɛnis
	Donald		Dɔnal(d)

G. '- ~ LH/LF - The change from the trochaic accentual pattern typical of English disyllabic words to iambic is a traditionally characteristic feature of English-derived words. This is one of the patterns that emphasise the effect of creolisation. On the whole, change away from this trend has been slow. Although recent derivations tend to retain the accentual pattern of their source form, a number of them still adopt this pattern; e.g. naylon LH, cf English "nylon"; tɛli LH, cf English "'tele"; panti LH, cf English "'panties"; tɔmi LH, cf English "'tummy"; lavish LH, cf English "'lavish".

Words with the LH pattern usually end with a vowel, nasal or liquid, while those with the LF pattern normally end with any other kind of consonant. Again, there are a few exceptions, e.g. petrol LF (petrol).

(i)	<u>'- ~ LH</u>	(ii)	<u>'- ~ LF</u>
belly	<u>bɛlɛ</u>	humbug	<u>ambɔg</u>
money	<u>mɔni</u>	basket	<u>baskit</u>
body	<u>bɔdi</u>	orange	<u>ɔrinch</u>
party	<u>pati</u>	challenge	<u>chalenj</u>
taxi	<u>taksi</u>	bottom	<u>bɔtɔm</u>

But we should also note that: (a) the great majority of disyllabic first names, irrespective of their phonemic ending, have an invariable LH pattern - a few exceptions occur, e.g. Rubi (Ruby); Mavel HL (Marvel) -



(iii) ' - ~ LH

Thomas      Tɔmɔs

Joseph      Josef

Freddie      Frɛdi

Harry      Ari

Edward      Edwɔd

(b) Nicknames, generally derisive, or as sometimes, familiar, also automatically carry the LH tone pattern. Usually, the tone pattern of the word in its normal form is HL corresponding to the trochaic stress pattern in English, e.g. Inglan HL (England); taya HL ('tired); trɪmbul HL (tremble).

(iv) ' - ~ LH

'tired      taya (a loafer)

England      Inglan (a person who flaunts the fact that he's  
been to England)

tremble      trɪmbul (a flimsy pair of trousers)

coral      kɔral (derogatory term for a Lebanese 'because  
originally in Sierra Leone, they were  
traders of coral beads' (Fyle, 1970, p.7)).

LH, as a change from HL, may also signal change from adjective to noun (familiarising) e.g. pɔyntɛd, baklɛs, tolɛs, slivlɛs.

D. ' - ~ LF - English words with the iambic stress pattern always retain their accentual pattern when they come into Krio and have a falling tone on the second syllable after a low on the first. The LH pattern does not seem to occur in this category, irrespective of the phonemic ending of the word.

(i)	<u>-</u> · ~	<u>LF</u>
	before	<u>bifo</u>
	forget	<u>fɔget</u>
	confirm	<u>kɔnfam</u>
	announce	<u>anāws</u>
	behind	<u>biɛn</u>
	confer	<u>kɔ̃(n)fa</u>

E. Certain monosyllabic English words have become disyllabic in Krio (probably to conform to a CVCV syllable structure more common in older forms and because of African influences). They also invariably have (acrolectal) variants. They tend to take the HL pattern. [ Exceptions are lɛkɛ/lɛka LL, variant of lɛk L (like, as if); yɛri LH, variant of ia HL (acrolectal) (hear) ] :

<u>English</u>	<u>Krio (common form)</u>	<u>(Acrolectal) variant</u>
walk	<u>waka</u> HL	<u>wɔk</u> F
long	<u>langa</u> HL	<u>lɔng</u> F
strong	<u>tranga</u> HL	<u>(s)trɔng</u> F

F. Krio (and apparently some West Indian dialects too) can use tone alone to distinguish minimal pairs of disyllabic English-derived words. The accentual pattern in the English cognate is usually trochaic and it becomes both iambic and trochaic in Krio. The change may affect the word class, e.g.

(i)	<u>'</u> - ~ · <u>HL</u>	<u>LH</u>
	water	<u>wata</u> (verb) <u>wata</u> (noun)
	tremble	<u>trɪmbul</u> (verb) <u>trɪmbul</u> (noun)
	tire	<u>taya</u> (verb) <u>taya</u> (noun)

In many cases, the change signals a change in lexical meaning.

(ii)	' - ~	<u>HL</u>	LH
father		<u>fada</u> (father)	<u>fada</u> (monk)
mother		<u>mɔda</u> (mother)	<u>mɔda</u> (nun)
sister		<u>sista</u> (sister)	<u>sista</u> (term of address to an older but young or youngish woman)
brother		<u>brɔda</u> (brother)	<u>brɔda</u> ( the male equivalent of <u>sista</u> : LH)
country		<u>kɔntri</u> (country)	<u>kɔntri</u> (countryman, friend - used vocatively)
thank you		<u>tɛnki</u> (thanks)	<u>tɛnki</u> (gratitude)
baby		<u>bebi</u> (girlfriend, attractive young girl)	<u>bebi</u> (infant)

Sometimes, two or more source forms are involved, e.g.

'matter/mat' - mata HL; 'Martha' - mata LH

Generally, the examples show that, where English uses linguistic context to distinguish between certain words, Krio may use only tone to do so.

G. English also has a set of lexical words that are grammatically distinguishable primarily by stress pattern, i.e. trochaic if a noun, iambic if a verb. This is called shifting stress. As the following examples show, phonemic changes may also occur. Some of these words have come into Krio but they undergo no phonemic changes when they change word classes. (The English transcriptions give RP pronunciation).



<u>English</u>		<u>Krio</u>	
<u>Noun</u>	<u>verb</u>	<u>noun</u>	<u>verb</u>
'import	im'port	-	<u>impət</u> LF
'export /'ɛkspɔ:t/	ex'pɔrt /ɪks'pɔ:t/	<u>ɛkspət</u> HL	<u>ɛkspət</u> LF
'convict /'kɒnvɪkt/	con'vɪkt /kən'vɪkt/	<u>kɒnvɪkt</u> HL	-
'contract /'kɒntrækt/	con'trækt /kən'trækt/	<u>kɒntrækt</u> HL	-
'permit /'pɜ:mɪt/	per'mɪt /pə'mɪt/	<u>pamɪt</u> LF	<u>pamɪt</u> LF
'record /'rɛkɔ:d/	re'kɔrd /rɪ'kɔ:d/	<u>rɛkɔd</u> HL	<u>rikɔd</u> LF
'perfume /'pɜ:fju:m/	per'fju:m /pə'fju:m/	<u>pafyum</u> LF	<u>pafyum</u> LF
'subject /'sʌbdʒɪkt/	sub'ʒɛkt /səb'dʒɛkt/	<u>sɒbjɛkt</u> HL	<u>sɒbjɛkt</u> HL
'progress /'prɒgrɛs/	pro'grɛs /prə'grɛs/	<u>prɒgrɛs</u> HL	-
'produce /'prɒdju:s/	pro'dju:s /prə'dju:s/	-	<u>prodyus</u> LF
'contrast /'kɒntræst/	con'træst /kən'træst/	<u>kɒntræst</u> HL	-
'conduct /'kɒndʌkt/	con'dʌkt /kən'dʌkt/	<u>kɒndɔkt</u> HL	<u>kɒndɔkt</u> LF

The picture for Krio is somewhat erratic. In some cases, only the noun form of the English word exists in Krio; in other cases, only the verb form does. Usually, though, both forms are present. But, although the tone pattern for the noun form is usually HL, corresponding to English ' -, and for the verb form, LF, corresponding to English - ', there are a few cases of a noun form having the LF pattern and a verb form, the HL pattern.

#### 7.4 Trisyllabic Non-compounds

Trisyllabic words are not as common in Krio as disyllabic ones. It has in fact been observed that polysyllabic words of three or more syllables do not occur very frequently in everyday speech and that they tend to be 'loans from Yoruba or English which have been assimilated into the language or otherwise they are compounds' (Johnson, 1974, p.69). Such English-derived words-i.e.

non-compounds, e.g. gòvámènt (government) and compounds that are carryovers, e.g. dàynìnrùm (dining-room) rather than creolised, e.g. làngà-trôt (tantalise) - tend to be strongly characteristic of acrolectal vocabulary.

In most British accents, trisyllabic non-compounds may receive primary stress on the first syllable, as in 'bachelor', the second syllable, as in 'im'portant', or the third syllable, as in 'maga'zine'. In Krio, the tone patterns in many English-derived words show an irregular kind of correspondence with RP, while in a few isolated cases, they show greater correspondence with Irish or Scottish accents. These accents have some of the few stress patterns in British accents that are different from those of RP: in Scottish accents, e.g. 'verbs with the suffix "-ise", as "organ'ise" (RP etc. "organise"), and some with "-ate" as "adju-di'cate" (RP "ad'judicate")<sup>1</sup> (Wells, 1982, p.414); cf Krio ɔganayz LLF, kɔnsɛntret LLF (concentrate). Irish accents seem to be even more flexible, e.g. 'af'fluence" alongside "affluence", "dis'cipline" or "discipline", "or'chestra" or "orchestra"...<sup>1</sup> (ibid. p.436). Wells accounts for one type of stress variability by suggesting that 'the Alternative Stress Rule of SPE\* is optional in Irish English: hence the prevalence of stressings such as "concen'trate", "edu'cate", "exag'ge'rated", "recog'nise", "spe-cia'lised", "subse'quently" (all alongside RP-type initial stressed alternatives)<sup>1</sup> (ibid). But another explanation is that: (i) In Gaelic, there was vowel harmony and so two systems were in conflict, and (ii) different settlers from different parts of Britain introduced different stress patterns (Dr L. Todd - personal communication).

\* The Sound Pattern of English - N. Chomsky and M. Halle, 1968



Although no cognate form for 'affluence' exists in Krio, and disiplin has the tone pattern HHL, there are several examples of the Krio counterpart of the Irish pattern, i.e. Irish English - ' - ~Krio LHL in words which, in RP English, have the ' - - stress pattern, e.g. əkɛstrə LHL (orchestra), ɔspitul LHL (hospital), ɛlifant LHL (elephant). We may also note some examples of penultimate syllable stress in Guyanese English that are reminiscent of Krio. Wells (ibid, p.583) cites the following examples from Holder (1972, p.898): ' "ma'nager", "bi'cycle", "ba'nister", "ca'lender", "car'penter", "mi'nister", "pas'senger". Of these particular examples, only three cognates in Krio conform to the pattern in question: banista LHL, kalɛnda LHL and pasenja LHL. The rest have the HHL pattern: maneja HHL, baysikul HHL, kapinta HHL, minista HHL. This does not invalidate the point, however.

It is seen that the Krio tone pattern for these words (and also for disiplin above) is HHL, where a more symmetrical correspondence to RP ' - - should have been HLL. In fact, English-derived words with the HLL pattern have not been found in Krio. The following observations should however be taken into account: the English cognates of these words have a descending pattern of syllable prominence in RP, i.e. the first syllable is the most prominent - and the last the least prominent (see Gimson, 1980, pp.221-230) /ɔ../. In Krio, this is the same, in spite of the HHL realisation. Some remarks about tone languages vis a vis non-tone languages in Hyman and Schuh (1974) are pertinent here;(a):

'a syllable marked by high tone will typically cause surrounding non-high tone syllables to assimilate and raise their pitch. On the other hand, a syllable marked by stress will typically 'rob' neighbouring syllables of any stress they may have (McCawley (1964) stress reduction rules)' (p.81)



(b) 'It is often said that a high tone can raise a low tone to a high tone...' (p.96).

Also striking is the other pattern of coincidence between Irish accents and Krio in the matter of final syllable accentuation where RP has first syllable stress, as in e.g. ɛdʒuket LLF (educate), rɛkɔgnayz (recognise) and spɛʃhalayz LLF (specialise). This kind of final syllable accentuation has also been observed in West Indian dialects: "rea'lise" (RP "realize"), "cele'brate" (RP "celebrate") (Wells, op.cit., p.572), cf Krio rialayz LLF, sɛlibret LLF.

The possible patterns for English-derived words are LLH, LLF, LHL, HHL, and HLF. The patterns LLL, LHF, LHH, HHH, HHF, HLH and HLL have not been found to occur in English-derived words.

Stress/tone correspondences:

A. ' - - ~ HHL(HHH). It has been noted above (p.177) that some words have a high tone in pre-final position but a low one in final position.

Many, particularly recently acquired, English-derived words, retain the first syllable accentuation pattern of their source form.

(i) <u>' - -</u> ~ HHL(HHH)	(ii) <u>' - -</u> ~ HHL
hypocrite <u>ipokrit</u>	diamond <u>dayamɔn</u>
accident <u>aksidɛnt</u>	cemetery <u>sɛmitri</u>
opposite <u>ɔpozit</u>	article <u>atikul</u>
innocent <u>inosɛnt</u>	possible <u>psibul</u>
evidence <u>ɛvidɛ̃(n)s</u>	family <u>famili</u>

Acrolectal variants of first names with first syllable stress in English tend to retain the pattern in Krio and, irrespective of their phonemic ending, take the HHL pattern (cf disyllabic first names - p.177 above).

(iii) ' - -	~	<u>HHL</u>
Reginald		<u>Rɛjinal(d)</u>
Angela		<u>Anjɛla</u>
Juliet(disyllabic)		<u>Juliet</u>
Violet		<u>Vayolɛt</u>

The non-acrolectal tone patterns for such names are LLH, as for Rɛjinal, Juliet, Vayolɛt; or LHL, as for Anjɛla, Jonetan (Jonathan), Agatha (Agatha).

(iv) ' - -	~	<u>HLF</u> - This tone pattern is not very common and in fact seems more usual in words that can be regarded as compounds, since they are really bi-morphemic, with each morpheme potentially free.
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yesterday	<u>yɛstade</u>
anything	<u>ɛnitin</u>
anywhere	<u>ɛniwe</u>

B. ' - -	~	<u>LHL</u> - Change from first syllable accentuation in English to second syllable accentuation in Krio is not very common.
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(1) ' - -	~	<u>LHL(LHH)</u>	(11) ' - -	-	<u>LHL</u>
elephant		<u>ɛlifant</u>	hospital		<u>ɔspitul</u>
			character		<u>karakta</u>
			pineapple		<u>paynapul</u>

C. ' - -	~	<u>LLH/LLF</u> - The majority of English words with initial syllable accentuation acquire final syllable accentuation instead when they come into
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Krio (cf disyllabic words, p. 178 above). Again, even some of the most recent derivations adopt this pattern, e.g. vidio LLH, cf English "video"; tɛlifon LLF, cf English "telephone"; stedɪɔm LLH, cf English "stadium".

Words with a final H tone usually end with a vowel, nasal or liquid, while those with a final F tone normally end with any other kind of consonant. As usual, there are a few exceptions, e.g. amatan LLF (harmattan), ɔlide LLF (holiday), tɛlifon LLF (telephone).

(i) ' - - ~ LLH

cinema	<u>sinima</u>
property	<u>prɔpati</u>
motorcar	<u>mɔtoka</u>
somebody	<u>sɔmbɔdi</u>

(ii) ' - - ~ LLF

coverslut	<u>kabaslɔt</u>
satisfy	<u>satisfay</u> <sup>+</sup>
realize*	<u>rialayz</u> <sup>+</sup>
educate*	<u>ɛdyuket</u> <sup>+</sup>

D. - ' - ~ LHL English words with second syllable accentuation usually retain the pattern when they come into Krio.

(i) - ' - ~ LHL(LHH)

tomato	<u>tamatis</u>
important	<u>ɪmpɔtant</u>
electric	<u>ɪlɛ(k)trɪk</u>
elastic	<u>ɪlastɪk</u>

(ii) - ' - ~ LHL

mosquito	<u>maskita</u>
potato	<u>pɛtɛtɛ</u>
mulatto	<u>malata</u>
umbrella	<u>ɔmbɛɾɛla</u>

\* see p.183 above.

+ and all trisyllabic words ending in -fay, -ayz or -et.



E. - - ' ~ LLF/LLH - English words with final syllable accentuation also usually retain the pattern when they come into Krio. The usual rules apply for the choice of tone on the final syllable - H usually for vowels, nasals or liquids; F usually for other consonants.

(i)	<u>- - ' ~</u>	<u>LLF</u>	(ii)	<u>- - ' ~</u>	<u>LLH</u>
	introduce	<u>introdyus</u>		magazine	<u>magazin</u>
	recommend	<u>rɛkɔmɛnd</u>		personnel	<u>pasɔnel</u>
	cigarette	<u>sigarɛt</u>			
	understand	<u>ɔndastand</u>			

An exception to the rule that English - - ' corresponds to LLF or LLH in Krio is the case of aftanun which has the HLF pattern, cf English "afternoon".

F. At least one case of minimal pairs of trisyllabic words, distinguishable by tone alone, exists in Krio. In the following example, the change affects the meaning as well as the word class:

<u>' - - ~</u>	<u>HHL</u>		<u>LLH</u>
Violet	<u>vayɔlɛt</u> (1.adj) (of colour)	violet	<u>vayɔlɛt</u> (noun)
	(2.noun) female first name		female
	(acrolectal variant)		first name
			(non-acrolectal)

### 7.5 Tetra-syllabic Non-compounds

Tetra-syllabic non-compounds are even less common than tri-syllabic ones. The only tone patterns observed for English-derived words are : HHHL, HLLH, LHHL, LLHL, LLLH and LLLF.

- A. ' - - - ~ HHHL - The high tones on the second and third syllables have been raised by assimilation (see p.184 above). The first syllable accentuation in English is maintained when the word comes into Krio in some cases:

honourable      ɔnarebɪl

ceremony        sɛrimɔni

February        Fɛbiari

- B. ' - - - / ' - - - ~ HLLH - First syllable primary accentuation is also maintained in the examples demonstrating this pattern, with downdrift causing the H tone of the final syllable to be realised on a lower pitch than the H tone of the first syllable. These words are bi-morphemic and they preserve the tone patterns of their individual morphemes: ɛni HL + bɔdi LH; ɛvri HL + bɔdi LH.
- anybody ~ ɛnibɔdi
- everybody ~ ɛvribɔdi

- C. ' - - - ~ LHHL - This is a change from first syllable primary accentuation in English to second syllable primary accentuation in Krio. The pattern does not appear to be common. It is exemplified by criticism ~ kritisizim

- D. ' - - - ( ) ... (Gimson, op.cit. p.229) ) ~ LLLF - Here, the change is from first syllable primary accentuation in English to final syllable primary accentuation in Krio, which coincides with final syllable secondary accentuation in English: (but see pp.183-185 above):

capitalise ~ kapitalayz

The accentual shift here applies to all verbs ending in -ayz

- E. ' - - - ~ LLHL - Many items which change their accentual pattern when they come into Krio seem to fall into this pattern. It is also a feature of West Indian English, cf "agri'culture" (RP 'agriculture) (Wells, *ibid*, p.572).

agriculture agrikɔlchɔ

caterpillar katapila

appetizing apitayzin\*

helicopter ɛlikɔpta\*

educated ɛdyuketɛd\*

In the last three examples (the ones asterisked) it is secondary accentuation in English, i.e. on the penultimate syllable, that corresponds to primary accentuation in Krio. In this category also come words with the regular accentuation of the verbal suffixes -ayz and -et, (e.g. apitayzin, ɛdyuketɛd)

- F. ' - - - / ' - - - ~ LLLH - Like D above, the change is from first syllable primary accentuation in English, to final syllable primary accentuation in Krio, and like B above, the example is bimorphemic; but here, only the tone pattern of the second morpheme is retained:

busybody ~ bizibɔdi/bizabɔdi : bizi LL + bɔdi LH.



G. - ' - - ~ LHHL - Many items retain their second syllable primary accentual pattern.

(i) - ' - - ~ LHHL (LHHH) (see p.177);

advertisement      advatismɛnt

embarrasment      ɛmbarasmɛnt

certificate      satisfiket

establishment      ɛstablishmɛnt

(ii) - ' - -      LHHL

peninsula      pɛninsyula

impossible      impɔsibul

H. - ' - - ~ LLLF - Many items experience a shift in accentuation from the second syllable in English, to the last syllable, when they come into Krio. Tetrasyllabic verbs ending in -fay, -et and -ayz are particularly affected:

identify      ayɛntifay

eliminate      ɛliminet

economise      ɛkɔnɔmayz

See Wells (ibid, pp.414 and 436) for this feature in Scottish and Irish accents.

I. - - ' - ~ LLHL - Some words retain prominence on the penultimate syllable, as do their English cognates.

(i) - - ' - ~ LLHL (LIHH)

unimportant      ɔnimpɔtant

diplomatic      diploamatik

(ii) - - ' - ~ LLHL

invitation      ɪviteshɔn

competition      kɔmpitishɔn

elementary      ɛlimentri

demonstration      dɛmɔnstreshɔn

J. - - - ' ~ LLLF - English words with final syllable primary accentuation retain the pattern when they come into Krio.

misrepresent      misɾɛprizɛnt

misunderstand      misɔndastand

### 7.6: Penta-syllabic Non-compounds

Much less common still are English-derived words in this category.

A. The word ɔnbiarebul LHHHL has five syllables in Krio but it comes from a four syllable word in English - "un'bearable", with the stress pattern - ' - -. It however retains the second syllable primary accentuation pattern of its English source form.

B. - ' - - - ~ LLLHL - The only instance found of this shift in accentual pattern follows the regular pattern of the accentuation of verbs with the suffix -et:

uneducated      ɔnɛdyuketɛd

C. - - - ' - - ~ LLHHL

electricity      ilɛktrisiti

university      yunivasiti

unforgivable      ɔnfɔgivebul

international      intanashɔnal

D. - - - ' - ~ LLLHL

examination      ɛgzamineshɔn

qualification      kwalifikeshɔn

misunderstanding      misɔndastandin

antimacassar      antimakasa

### 7.7. Hexa-syllabic Non-compounds

Only a few examples of these seem to occur and they are highly acrolectal. They all seem to have the LLLHHL pattern. Some retain their accentual pattern, e.g.

- - - ' - - ~ LLLHHL  
 responsillity      responsibiliti;

some do not - second syllable primary accentuation in English becomes fourth syllable primary accentuation in Krio:

- ' - - - - ~ LLLHHL  
 unjustifiable      ɔnjɔstifayebul  
 colonialism (pentasyllabic)      kolonializim

Both these words follow regular principles according to which the verbal suffix -ay and the nominal suffix -izim are accented in Krio.

### 7.8 Compounds

We may distinguish between compounds that are carry-overs from English cognates and compounds that are Creole-created by the compounding of usually two, but in a few cases more than two, English-derived words to form new words. Some, e.g. langa (long) + trot (throat) = langatrot LLF meaning 'tantalize' are calques and are also found in other creoles.

Reduplications are also compounds, but, since they seem to be in a class of their own, they are treated in a separate chapter (Ch.11).

One feature affecting compounds that Krio seems to share with some British accents other than RP is that of resyllabication or a different kind of syllabication from RP and most other accents. In Wales, e.g. 'Bridgend' is pronounced /brɪ'dʒɛnd/, cf RP /'brɪdʒ'ɛnd/ (Wells, *ibid*, p.392); in Scotland, 'put up' is



pronounced [pu 'tʌp], 'weekend' [wi:'kɛnd] (ibid, p.414) cf Krio wi kɛnd.

Words ending with the suffix -man that are used in what Fyle (1970, p.8) calls 'a naming function', - to refer to a native of a particular country or an attribute of the person - tend to have a fixed pattern, however many syllables they may have. They have low tones on all pre-final syllables and a high tone on the last syllable. -man, e.g. (a) Inglishman LLH (Englishman), Laybiriaman LLLH (Liberian), Siriaman LLLH (Lebanese), Italiaman LLLH (Italian). There are very few exceptions, e.g. Salonman LHF (Sierra Leonean), Gambeman LHF (Gambian); (b) wangulman LLH (hustler), wataman LLH (habitual drinker), mɛrɛsinman LLLH (medicineman, sorcerer), telaman LLH (tailor). Again, there are very few exceptions, e.g. mɔniman LHF (wealthy man).

### 7.8.1 Disyllabic

#### 1. Carryovers

The English cognates normally have a single primary accent on one element of the compound, the other element bearing secondary accent or no accent at all, if the second element has the weak vowel /ə/. The most common type of compound has the primary accent on the first element (Gimson, op.cit. p.230). By contrast, the cognates of most of these compounds have prominence on the second element in Krio, the LF tone pattern being the most common. This pattern is also the most common for Krio creations. The change from first element prominence in English to second element or, in the case of trisyllabic compounds, final syllable prominence in Krio is a characteristic feature of creolisation if not Kriolisation.

Gimson's conventions (op.cit. p.230ff) are used, in the case of the English cognates, in the following correspondences:

A.	<u>ɒ</u> o*	~	<u>LF</u>	<u>ɒ</u> o	~	<u>LF</u>
	backstand		<u>bakstand</u>	crossword		<u>krɔswɔd</u>
	backdoor		<u>bakdo</u>	cardboard		<u>kadbod</u>
	backside		<u>baksay</u>	knee-cap		<u>nikap</u>
	bridesmaid		<u>braysmed</u>	tailcoat		<u>telkot</u>

B. A few such items have the LH tone pattern in Krio:

<u>ɒ</u> o	~	<u>LH</u>
washout		<u>wɔshawt</u>
windscreen		<u>windskrin</u>

C. Much less commonly and more characteristic of some relatively recent and acrolectal derivations, ɒo corresponds to HF, preserving the accentual pattern of the English source form.

<u>ɒ</u> o	~	<u>HF</u>
bulldog		<u>buldɔg</u>
earthquake		<u>athkwek</u>
footprint		<u>futprint</u>
footrule		<u>futrul</u>
lifeboat		<u>layfbot</u>

D. Items with no accentuation on the second element in the English cognates, are represented thus: ɒo. They tend to carry the LH tone pattern in Krio. Many of them are words with -man as their second element, (see treatment of -man above).

<u>ɒ</u> o	~	<u>LH</u>
postman		<u>posman</u>
watchman		<u>wachman</u>

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\*Prominent first element, secondary stress on second element.

E. In another type of compound in English, the first element does not carry the primary accent but has a secondary accent, while the second element carries the primary accent. This accentual pattern is usually preserved in Krio, e.g.

(i) <u>••</u>	~	<u>LF</u>	(ii) <u>••</u>	~	<u>LH</u>
first-class		<u>fɔsklas</u>	free-wheel		<u>friwil</u>
third-rate		<u>tɔdret</u>			

F. But a few uncharacteristic exceptions occur, changing the accentual pattern in Krio to that of first element prominence.

<u>••</u>	~	<u>HF</u>
ground-floor		<u>grawndflɔ</u>

G. In some cases, a disyllabic word in English becomes trisyllabic in Krio. But it usually observes the common pattern.

<u>••</u>	<u>LHL</u>	<u>LHF</u>
back-fire	<u>bak-faya</u>	
down-stairs		<u>dawn-stiaz</u>

## 2. Creolised Compounds

Creolised compounds abound and are the bulk of the creolised vocabulary of the language. For the purposes of this discussion, disyllabic items can be divided into lexical words and grammatical words. The most common pattern for the lexical words is LF. Many such words are calques (e.g. examples 1-4 below) or are common in English-based creoles, (e.g. 5). Each element of a compound usually receives an F, or less usually, H, tone in isolate form, but that F may become an L when the element is part of a compound.

### (1) Lexical words

A. <u>LF</u>	
<u>switpis</u>	<u>swit</u> F (sweet) + <u>pis</u> (piss) = diabetes;
<u>bigyay</u>	<u>big</u> F (big) + <u>yay</u> F (eye) = gluttonous, gluttony;



<u>kɔ́tət</u>	<u>kɔ́t</u> F (cut) + <u>at</u> F (heart) = anxiety;
<u>switmət</u>	<u>swit</u> F (sweet) + <u>mɔ́t</u> F (mouth) = a persuasive tongue;
<u>kɔ́mət</u>	<u>kɔ́m</u> F (come) + <u>ɔ́t</u> F (out) = come out, go out;

B.(i) Slightly less commonly, they may have the LH pattern:

LH

<u>anko</u>	<u>an(d)</u> F (and) + <u>ko</u> H (abbreviation for 'company') =accomplice
<u>waywɔ</u>	<u>way</u> F (why) + <u>wɔ</u> H (abbreviation for 'worry') = care-free
<u>layman</u>	<u>lay</u> F (lie) + <u>man</u> F (man) = liar
<u>dɔ́nman</u>	<u>dɔ́n</u> F (done) + (man) = a bankrupt man
<u>naytawt</u>	<u>nayt</u> F (night) + <u>awt</u> F (out) = a night out

(ii) There are a few Krio-creations each of which blends an English-derived word. (e.g. trit (street)) with the enclitic suffix -na (= tritna LH). Hancock (1977, p.164) says:

This appears originally to have been either a regular syntactic function of prepositional na with subsequent abbreviation e.g. growna 'an urchin' (<gro na trit "grow up in the streets") or perhaps from Manding languages, in which prepositional na has a similar function: Manding buŋ na "in the house".

These Krio-creations are used, like the words in ciiibon p.179, as familiar or derisive nicknames and carry the LH tone pattern.

They are:

abna ('have' + na) = a sex maniac (good humouredly): ab = 'copulate'

drayna ('dry' + na) = a very thin person

grona ('grow' + na) = a prostitute

krachna ('scratch' + na) = a goal scored in soccer with the ball grazing part of the goal post.

krayna ('cry' + na) = a cry baby

tritna ('street' + na) = a person who loves going out

layna ('lie' + na) = a liar

lasna ('last' + na) = person last in any competitive race.

A trisyllabic item is wànsàyná ('oneside' + na) = a spare object kept for a rainy day; or a person who walks in a slanted manner.

C. The HF pattern is much less common but it occurs in a good number of words.

HF

<u>gɔɔs</u>	<u>gɔd</u> F (God) + <u>ɔs</u> F (horse) = praying mantis
<u>man-dɔks</u>	<u>man</u> F (man) + <u>dɔks</u> F (duck) = a drake
<u>badwɔd</u>	<u>bad</u> F (bad) + <u>wɔd</u> F (word) = obscene language
<u>friwɔd</u>	<u>fri</u> F (free) + <u>wɔd</u> F (word) = a curt reply
<u>tangens</u>	<u>tan</u> F (stand) + <u>gens</u> F (against) = old-fashioned

(ii) Grammatical words

For grammatical words, the HF pattern seems the commonest. Hancock argues that the HF pattern attributed to graphemic units like wetin 'what', usay 'where', yusɛf 'yourself', tums 'too much'...

are in fact high-downstepped-high, since they are analyzable as sequences of two high-tone items: we + tin, us + say, yu + sɛf and tu + mɔs. The fall perceived is not a high-fall but a downstepped-high-fall, which...is realised only in utterance final position.

(1981, p.249)

This argument is compatible with the use of an F tone, particularly in utterance final position, which is equivalent to isolate position for our purposes. In this study, such cases are considered to have the sequence HF, e.g.

A. HF

<u>udat</u>	<u>u</u> H (who) + <u>dat</u> F (that) = who - interrogative pronominal
<u>wetin</u>	<u>we</u> H (what) + <u>tin</u> F (thing) = what - interrogative pronominal
<u>ɔmɔs</u>	<u>ɔ</u> H (how) + <u>mɔs</u> F (much) = how much - interrogative adjective
<u>ustɛm</u>	<u>us</u> H (which) + <u>tɛm</u> (time) = when - temporal locative
<u>yusɛf</u>	<u>yu</u> H (you) + <u>sɛf</u> F (self) = yourself - reflexive pronominal, etc.
<u>jisnɔ</u>	<u>jis</u> H (just) + <u>nɔ</u> F (now) = just now - temporal locative

B. A few cases of the HH pattern can be found in sentence coordinators or initiators:

HH

sote                    so H (so) + te H (till) = until

noṃṃ                    no F (no) + mṃ F (more) = only

tinkya                    tink F (think) + ya F (you) = can it be that?

jisṃ                    jis H (just) + ṃ F (now) = lest, for fear that

C. A few instances of the HL pattern can also be found:

HL

noṭo                    no F (not) + to L (to) = not

noḃa                    no F (not) + ba L (ever) = not ever, never,  
not usually

santɛm                    san F (sun) + tɛm F (time) = afternoon

## 7.8.2 Tri-syllabic

### 1. Carryovers

In the English cognates, the pattern may be ˊo. with some secondary prominence on the second syllable, or ˊ.o (with rhythmic and qualitative/quantitative prominence in the third syllable).

Also, the first element may not bear the primary accent but may have secondary accent, as in the cases of the patterns ●ˊ. and ●.ˊ (Gimson, op.cit. p.231).

A. As in the case of disyllabic items, the Krio forms usually have a different accentual pattern from the pattern of first element prominence of their English cognates.

(i) <u>ˊo.</u> ~ <u>LHL</u>	
post office	<u>postɔfis</u>
pussycat	<u>pusikyat</u>
grasshopper	<u>grasɔpa</u>
grandfather	<u>granfada</u>



tape-measure	<u>tepmɛzɔ</u>
(ii) <u>ɔo.</u> ~	<u>LLH</u>
landlady	<u>lanledi</u>
blackberry	<u>blakbɛri</u>
hot water	<u>ɔtwata</u>

(iii) Some, not necessarily recent but usually acrolectal, items preserve the first element prominence pattern.

<u>ɔo.</u> ~	<u>HHL</u>
dog-collar	<u>dɔgkɔla</u>
handwriting	<u>anraytin</u>
news agent	<u>nyuzejɛnt</u>

B.(i) <u>ɔ.o.</u> ~	<u>LHF</u>
copyright	<u>kɔpirayt</u>
copybook	<u>kɔpibuk</u>
honeymoon	<u>ɔnimun</u>

(ii) <u>ɔ.o.</u> ~	<u>LLF</u>
drawing-pin	<u>drɔinpin</u>
gingerbread	<u>jinjabred</u>
waiting-room	<u>wetinrum</u>
chambermaid	<u>chembamed</u>

(iii) <u>ɔ.o.</u> ~	<u>HHF</u>
chatterbox	<u>chatabɔks</u>

(iv) <u>ɔ.o.</u> ~	<u>HLF</u>
borderline	<u>bɔdalayn</u>

C.(i) <u>o.ɔ.</u> ~	<u>LHL</u>
church-warden	<u>chɔchwadin</u>
cross-question	<u>krɔskwɛstyɔn</u>
shop window	<u>shɔpwinda</u>

(ii) Changes in the prominence pattern are few but show a variety

of tone patterns.

<u>••.</u> ~	<u>HHL</u>	<u>HLF</u>
archbishop	<u>achbishɔp</u>	
down-hearted	<u>dawn-atɛd</u>	
good-looking	<u>gudlukin</u>	
safe-keeping	<u>sef-kipin</u>	
lawn-tennis		<u>lɔntɛnis</u>

D.     •••     ~

	<u>LLF</u>
double-cross	<u>dɔbulkɾɔs</u>
second-hand	<u>sɛkɛn-an</u>

## 2. Creolised Types

A. The most common pattern is LLF

### LLF

<u>rɔbamint</u>	<u>rɔba</u> HL (rubber) + <u>mint</u> F (mint) = chew- ing gum
<u>watawas</u>	<u>wata</u> LH (water) + <u>was</u> F (wash) = laundered but unironed clothes
<u>bɛlɛat</u>	<u>bɛlɛ</u> LH (belly) + <u>at</u> F (hurt) = bellyache

B. Slightly less common is the LLH pattern.

### LLH

<u>taywata</u>	<u>tay</u> F (tie) + <u>wata</u> LH (water) = float on water
<u>adɔnkɛ</u>	<u>a</u> F (I) + <u>dɔn</u> F (don't) + <u>kɛ</u> H (care) = carefree
<u>wandɔzin</u>	<u>wan</u> F (one) + <u>dɔzin</u> HL (dozen) = one's best clothes

C. Many have the LHL pattern

### LHL

<u>pletpisis</u>	<u>plet</u> F (plate) + <u>pisis</u> HL (cloth) = stupid person
<u>ɔnbrɔtɔp</u>	<u>ɔn</u> L (un) + <u>brɔt</u> + <u>ɔp</u> HL (brought up) = rude
<u>ɔpsaydɔng</u>	<u>ɔpsay</u> LH (upside) + <u>dɔng</u> L (down) = upside down
<u>rɔnoba</u>	<u>rɔn</u> F (run) + <u>oba</u> HL (over) = run over
<u>braskitul</u>	<u>bras</u> F (brass) + <u>kitul</u> HL (kettle) = ignore
<u>lefandul</u>	<u>lef</u> F (leave) + <u>andul</u> HL (handle) = drive without holding steering

D. Some items have the HLF pattern.

HLF

<u>wedɛnkɔl</u>	<u>wɛ</u> H (what) + <u>dɛn</u> L (they) + <u>kɔl</u> (call) = what's its-name
<u>ivintɛm</u>	<u>ivin</u> HL (evening) + <u>tɛm</u> F (time) = evening
<u>lilibit</u>	<u>lili</u> HL (little) + <u>bit</u> F (bit) = little bit

E. Some have the HHF or the HHL pattern:

HHL

<u>rɔnata</u>	<u>rɔn</u> F (run) + <u>ata</u> HL (after) = run after
<u>bɔgɛdɔl</u>	<u>bɔg</u> F (bugger) + <u>ɛ</u> H (it) + <u>ɔl</u> = 'bugger it all' = nothing

HHF

<u>man-kan-tɛl</u>	<u>man</u> F (man) + <u>kan</u> F (can't) + <u>tɛl</u> F (tell) = uncertain
<u>wetindu</u>	<u>wɛ</u> H (what) + <u>tin</u> (thing) + <u>du</u> F (do) = why
<u>tu-pe-tri</u>	<u>tu</u> F (two) + <u>pe</u> F (pay) + <u>tri</u> F (three) = of the same undesirable kind

F. Exceptional cases are the LHH pattern, as in:

<u>abado</u>	<u>a</u> H (I) + <u>bad</u> F (bad) + <u>o</u> H (oh) = a rascal
<u>beleme</u>	<u>bele</u> LH (belly) + <u>me</u> F (man) = a great eater

and the HLH pattern as in:

<u>bush-trɔki</u>	<u>bush</u> F (bush) + <u>trɔki</u> LH (turtle) = a bowler hat
-------------------	--

### 7.8.3 Tetra-syllabic Compounds

#### 1. Carry-overs

Very few items of this description occur in Krio. The following examples represent the patterns that have been observed.

A. <u>ɔ.ɔ.ɔ.</u> <u>~</u> <u>HHHL</u> <u>HLHL</u> <u>LLHL</u> <u>LLLH</u>	
booking-office	<u>bukin-fis</u>
carpet-sweeper	<u>kapɛtswipa</u>
dinner-jacket	<u>dina-jakit</u>
engine-driver	<u>ingin-drayva</u>



power-station		<u>pawasteshən</u>	
season-ticket		<u>sizin-tikit</u>	
tape-recorder		<u>teprikəda</u>	
B. <u>ᵛ...ᵛ</u>	~	<u>HLLF</u>	
labour-exchange		<u>lebo-əkschenj</u>	
C. <u>ᵛ...ᵛ</u>	~	<u>LHHL</u>	
dispatch-rider		<u>dispach-rayda</u>	
D. <u>ᵛ...ᵛ</u>	~	<u>HLHL</u>	<u>LLHL</u>
easy-going		<u>izi-goın</u>	
mass-production		<u>mas-prodəkshən</u>	
sergeant-major		<u>sajınmejd</u>	
E. <u>ᵛ...ᵛ</u>	~	<u>LHHL</u>	<u>HHHL</u>
postgraduate		<u>posgradyuet</u>	
vice-chancellor		<u>vayschanseld</u>	

## 2. Creolised Types

The most common patterns are LHLH, LLHL, LLLH, LHHL, and LHLF.

### A. (i) LHLH

<u>mamiwata</u>	<u>mami</u> LH (mother) + <u>wata</u> LH (water) = mermaid
<u>dətiwata</u>	<u>dəti</u> LH (dirty) + <u>wata</u> LH (water) = to an extreme
<u>mama-grani</u>	<u>mama</u> LH (mother) + <u>grani</u> (granny) = respectful title for an old grandmother
<u>kərgobringkam</u>	<u>kərg</u> F (carry) + <u>go</u> (go) + bring F (bring) + <u>kam</u> F (come) = 'tale-bearer'

### (ii) LHLF

<u>babukətlas</u>	<u>babu</u> LH (baboon) + <u>kətlas</u> LF (cutlass) = the cutlass-shaped pods of the tree 'Flame of the Forest' (Fyle and Jones, op.cit. p.22)
<u>tusaypənəf</u>	<u>tu</u> F (two) + <u>say</u> F (side) + <u>pənəf</u> LF (penknife) = 'a two-sided penknife' = a deceitful person

### B. LLHL

<u>falapatan</u>	<u>fala</u> HL (follow) + <u>patan</u> HL (pattern) = imitate
<u>bələuman</u>	<u>bələ</u> LH (belly) + <u>uman</u> HL (woman) = pregnant, woman
<u>əndasəla</u>	<u>ənda</u> HL (under) + <u>səla</u> HL (cellar) = basement

C. LLLHbɔtɔmbɛɛbɔtɔm LF (bottom) + bɛɛ (belly) = part of belly below the navelselinaweselin HL (sailing) + awe (away) = euphemism for 'dying'bebidalinbebi LH (baby) + dalin LH (darling) = a petted childD. LHHLbabumachisbabu LH (baboon) + machis HL (matches) = plant with flowers shaped like red, black tipped matchsticksmɔnkiapulmɔnki (monkey) + apul (apple) = a kind of fruitmasmasebulmasmas LF (mashed) + ebul HL (able) = fertile for making monetary gains on the side

Less common are the LLHL and LLLF patterns:

E. LLHLwatabitaswata LH (water) + bitas LF (bitters) = the leaves of a bitter vegetablefanamakitfana HL (fanner) + makit HF (market) = wares of a petty traderF. LLLFwatakakrochwata LH (water) + kakroch LF (cockroach) = giant water bugsalamabichsalama (corruption of 'son of a') + bich F = a term of abuse

Rare patterns are the following:

G. HHHHkɔtyaputyakɔt F (cut) + ya F (here) + put F (put) + ya F (here) = assign duties, be the person to do thisH. HLLFdi-wi-adodi F (thee) + wi F (we) + ado LF (adore) = death, place of the deadI. HLLHopin-to-seopin HL (hoping) + to L (to) + se H (say) = expecting that, thing expectedJ. LLHHmamatɛnkmamama LH (mother) + tɛnk F (thanks) + ma H (mother) = ill-fitting trousers

#### 7.8.4 Penta-syllabic Compounds

##### 1. Carry-overs

The few observed are as follows:

- A. ḍ . . . . HHHHL  
 cabinet-maker kabinεtmeka
- B. ḍ . . . LLHHL HHHLF  
 hot-water-bottle ḍwatabḍtul  
 waste-paper-basket wespepabaskit

##### 2. Krio-creations/Creolised Types

These are also few.

##### A. HL-HL-F

bikin-faya-bus bikin HL (beacon) + faya HL + bus F  
 (bush) = a kind of plant

##### B. LLLHL

mitmina-εlbo mit F (meet) + mi F (me) + na L (at)  
 + εlbo HL (elbow) = sauce with too  
 much water

##### C. LHLHL

ayfianofo ay F (I) + fia HL (fear) + no F (no) +  
fo F (foe) = a brashly militant person

#### 7.8.5 Septa-syllabic

One item occurs that is not exactly a Krio-creation but that has been given a Krio meaning, completely unrelated to its source meaning:

bringin-krays-to di-neshḍn HH-H-L-L-HL ('Bringing Christ to the nations') = a locally distilled harsh gin.



SECTION THREE:  
THE MORPHOLOGY OF ENGLISH-DERIVED  
WORDS IN KRIO

CHAPTER EIGHT  
INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY

8.1 Introduction

Morphology seems to rank low in the scale of interesting phenomena for scholars of creole languages. Alleyne, for example, complains about the sparseness of available data for a comparative study of the Afro-American varieties (1980, p.106). The gist of the argument has been that word order suffices to establish syntactic relationships (e.g. Johnson, 1976, p.13 note 8 -about Krio); and that these languages lost their inflections during the formation/pidginisation stage - a deliberate simplification strategy (Hall, 1966, p.58).

As Givon points out, however, (1979, p.20), there is no evidence whatsoever that creoles 'are characterised by the lack of inflections' or that the dropping of inflections is one of the processes of 'creolisation'. What seems clear is that, as far as inflectional morphology is concerned, African-related creole languages (at least) reflect the structure of the substratum language rather than that of the lexifier language. Givon also maintains (though this may be debatable) that all inflected languages tend to lose their inflections in the course of time, before developing new ones and that languages which borrow extensively from other languages tend to 'erode' the borrowed inflections without necessarily becoming creoles. Indeed, Cassidy (1961, p.52-53) also points out that English nouns have been losing their inflections for a thousand years and that the only remaining case inflection, the possessive, is itself slowly dying out. It is seldom used with

inanimate objects nowadays, e.g. not 'the table's leg' but 'the table leg' (the uninflected noun) or 'the leg of the table' (periphrasis). He also notes that the English verb 'has been discarding inflection more and more' (p.58). Cassidy's work is on Jamaican Creole, but many of the features he discusses because of their differences from English are also found in Krio. Such features have parallels in Niger-Congo languages, which formed the substratum for the Atlantic Creoles. They include the practice of not inflecting for possession, plurality (in some instances), and for tense, concord and aspect in the verb.

However, although inflections are certainly not typical of Krio, and although inflectional and derivational affixes are not as productive, profuse and as overtly functional as they are in English, some do occur. Broadly speaking, inflections and derivational affixes that have come into Krio from English tend to be wholesale transfers that the Krio speaker regards as single, indivisible units without morphemic constituents. Nevertheless, increasingly, awareness of the nuance, grammatical import or outright denotation of a particular bound morpheme tends to be manifested in its deliberate use to form words analogous in structure to English forms, but often unacceptable in English usage: e.g. from the English pattern in 'basically', Krio has coined mótíkálì (mót + i + kal + i < 'mouth + y + cal + ly) = 'orally'. This tendency has very limited productivity but suggests a trend that may develop greater significance in future. One thing that is certain at present for such forms as well as for some carryovers that are in common currency in non-acrolectal varieties is the existence of connotatory



distinctions from English usage.

In this section, the morphology of English-derived words will be examined in its four main categories: (a) inflection; (b) derivation; (c) compounding; (d) reduplication. It will be seen that Krio has been far more inventive in the area of compounding (a feature it shares with other creoles) than in the areas of derivational or inflectional morphology; in this last area it has been least innovative.

## 8.2 Inflectional Morphology

### 8.2.1 Plurality:

The most regular way to pluralise a noun in English is to add -s to it, e.g. 'book + s = books', 'chair + s = chairs', etc. There are also less regular ways like the addition of '-(r)en' as in 'ox + en = oxen' or 'child + ren = children'; or, as in the case of 'brethren', involving more radical change. We may also consider here nouns ending in '-ouse' in their singular form, which change to '-ice', in their plural form, e.g. 'louse - lice', 'mouse - mice'.

Generally speaking and particularly in non-acrolectal varieties, Krio does not inflect for plurality. This practice may be as a result of Niger Congo influence in the substratum. As Greenberg says:

The drift in Niger-Congo has been in the direction of simplification of the nominal classificational system. This has reached its climax in Mande and some of the Kwa languages in which the affixes have been entirely lost and an isolating system results.

(1966, pp.9&10).

See also Turner (1969, p.224). However, English plural-type-s does occur in Krio and will be discussed shortly. First, we may note that some marked irregular plural forms have come unmodified into Krio, while others have not. For both 'louse' and 'lice', Krio has the form lɔ̂s - 'mouse' (being the young of a 'rat') is (typically, if not typologically - see Lexico-semantics) represented by àrátà(rat); dáys (dice) in Krio (as in Jamaican Creole (Cassidy, 1961, p.51)) has a singular as well as a plural denotation. (This may also be an attempt to avoid homophony with dáy = 'expire'); the infixal change giving 'men' from 'man' is not reflected in the Krio cognate man, whereas 'teeth' has given Krio tít, which is used for both singular and plural (also cf. Jamaican Creole in Cassidy (ibid, p.50)). The English singular form 'tooth' only has cognates in the acrolectal variant of títát ('tooth hurt' - tooth ache), i.e. tùthêk and related acrolectal vocabulary in which tùth is the first element of the compounds tùthbrɔ̂sh (toothbrush), tùthpêst (toothpaste), tùthpík (toothpick). These have no variants with tít and are more recently derived, as the presence of the incoming phoneme /θ/, as in /tùθpík/, shows. The form chíldrén is only found in the compound chíldrén-s-ôm (Children's Home). Brédrén (brethren) is a carryover from English in which it is archaic. In Krio, it retains its biblical flavour in one of its meanings, i.e. 'male Christians', and its esoteric import in the other, i.e. 'fellow freemasons'. It only has a plural denotation in Krio as well.

The ways in which Krio expresses plurality are as follows:

(a) the use of a number or quantity word immediately preceding the noun, e.g. (i) tú ápùl = 'two apples'; (ii) pléntì/sòm/nóf/bòkú mangro = 'a lot of mangoes';

(b. i) the use of dɛ̃N (N may be /m/, /n/, /ɲ/ or /ŋ/ depending on its phonetic environment) immediately after the noun, cf Jamaican Creole, (Cassidy, *ibid*; Alleyne, p.100). The noun is usually unmarked in non-acrolectal varieties, but may be marked with -s, if English-derived, in acrolectal varieties: e.g. non-acrolectal: (i) chíàdɛ̃m (chairs); (ii) búk dɛ̃m (books) : - acrolectal: (i) chíàx dɛ̃m (chairs); (ii) búks dɛ̃m (books).

(b. ii) the use of dɛ̃N immediately after a collective noun, e.g. (i) Áw dì fám̀b̀ul dɛ̃m? = How are the relations? (ii) Àkédémì dɛ̃n dɔ̀n ópìn = The Albert Academy (School) has reopened.

(b. iii) the use of dɛ̃N immediately preceding, and sometimes, also succeeding (superfluously) the noun, when the interlocutors have had a previous knowledge or experience of what is referred to by the noun. The first dɛ̃N here is a kind of attenuated demonstrative (Alleyne, *ibid*, p.100). (Note that the first dɛ̃N has high tone and the post nominal dɛ̃N, low tone). Examples:

(i) Áw dɛ̃m p̀kín(dɛ̃m)? = How are the children?

(ii) À kám f̀ò dɛ̃m búk (dɛ̃m) = I've come for the books (in question).

(b. iv) the use of dɛ̃N after a person's name to mean 'and others' e.g. (i) Òlú dɛ̃n dè kám = Olu and others are coming.

As Welmers reports (1973, pp.159-248), some West African languages use pre-nominal, while others use post-nominal morphemes to form the plural. Both kinds of languages may have influenced Krio;



(c) the use of zero modification of the noun, which may or may not be ambiguous, in respect of number, in the context; e.g. :

- (i) dì mángrò nà dí s fám swít = the mangoes in this farm are delicious - (context clear, unambiguous)
- (ii) létà kám tíde = a letter/letters came today - (ambiguous)<sup>1</sup>
- (iii) pósìn dé nà dì ôs = somebody/some people is/are in the house - (ambiguous)
- (iv) bríng chíà = bring a/some chair(s) - (ambiguous)
- (v) mán bétè pás úmàn = men are better than women - (unambiguous)

As examples (i) and (v) show, when the noun is used in an indefinite sense, ambiguity does not occur.

It may be noted that post-nominal dĒN is not as strong a marker of plurality in Krio as -s is in English. DĒN could conceivably be omitted in (bi), (bii) and (biii) without the sense of plurality being lost, whereas it is essential in (biv) for the meaning 'and others'. This is also confirmed by examples ii, iii and iv of (c);

(d) the addition of the plural marker -s to the noun. This is randomly heard in acrolectal varieties and among school children and teachers - obviously because of the impinging influence of English in such circles - and is one of the results of the growing tendency towards decreolisation; e.g.:

- (i) à dè gó mít dì bôys = I am going to meet the boys (in my 'esoteric' group/conclave);

<sup>1</sup>ambiguity here is often only potential since we are dealing with a spoken language.

(ii) à dón fíksdì chíàs = I have fixed the chairs.

(iii) à léf m̀ búks nà m̀ déks = I left my books on my desk.

It seems clear that earlier (non-acrolectal) forms of English-derived words tended to discourage the use of the English plural -s marker. Indeed, as Hancock (1971, p.161) notes, this may have caused the dropping of the final /-s/ in the pronunciation of some words which do not even have a final -s in the spelling in the English cognate and, in some cases, certainly do not have a plural denotation; e.g. Jèpàní\* (Japanese), Chàyní\* (Chinese), Pòdògí/Pòtògí (Portuguese), láysìn (licence), kàpsây (capsize). The first three have now become archaic, even derogatory, forms and the forms Jèpànîz, Chàynîz and Pòtyùgîz have now gained common currency. We may add to the list of words that may have been mistaken for plural forms the examples of péshènt (patient, patience), sáylènt (silent, silence), and kòínsídènt (coincidence). Later decreolising influence has brought about péshèns, sáylèns and kòínsídèns, but they remain in acrolectal use.

However, a growing number of words - I have listed about 200 - have relatively recently come into Krio retaining the English plural marker morphophoneme {-S} - realised as /-s/, /-z/ or /-is/ as in tòys (toys), mátàz (matters) and kòmpásìs (compasses), - many of which have both a singular and a plural denotation - particularly older words, e.g. grèps (grape(s)), píls (pill(s)), sòks (sock(s)) - ; more recent words tend to have only a plural denotation, e.g.: déz (days), sénsìs (senses), àydíaz (ideas).

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\*Dr L. Todd (personal communication) notes that these forms are also common in dialectal English.

English has a very small number of words with plural-like final -s, e.g. 'shambles', 'innings', which may have a singular denotation and may be preceded by the indefinite article 'a/an'. But it is doubtful whether these words were the models of the Krio phenomenon.

The following are examples of words with final {-S}.

They have been classified in five categories:

(a) Items normally in pairs or associated with a pair:

- |                                |                               |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (1) <u>bángùls</u> = bangle(s) | (2) <u>sùs</u> = shoe(s)      |
| (3) <u>lǎngs</u> = lung(s)     | (4) <u>yês</u> = ear(s)       |
| (5) <u>sándàls</u> = sandal(s) | (6) <u>sòks</u> = sock(s)     |
| (7) <u>brèsîs</u> = braces     | (8) <u>tròsîs</u> = trousers  |
| (9) <u>sízàs</u> = scissors    | (10) <u>légìns</u> = leggings |

(b) Items normally in quantity - only occurring with -s in Krio with singular and plural denotations:

- |                               |  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| (1) <u>máchìs</u> = match(es) | (2) <u>tít</u> = tooth/teeth             |
| (3) <u>tòys</u> = toy(s)      | (4) <u>támátìs</u> = tomato(es)          |
| (5) <u>grèps</u> = grape(s)   | (6) <u>pìls</u> = pill(s)                |
| (7) <u>bòns</u> = bun(s)      | (8) <u>lòsìngìs</u> = lozenge(s)         |
| (9) <u>chìps</u> = chip(s)    | (10) <u>rozìs</u> = rose(s) <sup>1</sup> |

(c) Words normally in plural form in English cognates but which may have singular denotation in Krio:

- |                          |                           |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| (1) <u>fìks</u> = fit(s) | (2) <u>lòsìs</u> = losses |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|

<sup>1</sup>The singular form, roz is used in Krio only in a metaphorical sense to refer to females used in the elimination process to choose the bride in a typical Krio engagement ceremony.



- |                            |                              |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| (3) <u>sâms</u> = psalm(s) | (4) <u>mánàz</u> = manners   |
| (5) <u>klòs</u> = clothes  | (6) <u>áshìs</u> = ash(es)   |
| (7) <u>jâms</u> = germ(s)  | (8) <u>kwátàz</u> = quarters |
| (9) <u>brêns</u> = brains  | (10) <u>tíngs</u> = thing(s) |

(d) Krio creations and forms only 'pluralised' in Krio.

- i (1) kàmarâñks ('come around + s') = members of a low-class gang  
 (2) kríchòz ('creatures') = chunks of delicious meat and entrails in cooked sauce.  
 (3) ràwndíngs ('rounding + s') = woman's hair style
- ii (1) slângs = slang (2) bédíngs = bedding  
 (3) kyaléstòks = careless talk (4) jòñks = junk  
 (5) fulíngs ('fulling' (archaic)) = woman's dress with full gathered sleeves.

(e) Another plural form with both a singular and a plural denotation is dòks = duck(s). This may have been a conscious attempt to avoid homophony with dòk = 'dock' (for ships) and 'duck' (to dip in the water) - both nautical words that must have been some of the earliest in the Krio lexicon.

A few words which are in the plural form with -s in English have lost the -s when they have come into Krio. They are probably older derivations; e.g.

- |                                  |                                      |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (1) <u>spétíkùl</u> = spectacles | (2) <u>tríkwátà</u> = three-quarters |
| (3) <u>tríplèt</u> = triplets    | (4) <u>twín</u> = twins              |
| (5) <u>vaytámín</u> = vitamins   |                                      |

8.2.2 Possession:

One of the ways of expressing possession in English is by inflection - the use of the possessive -s, as in 'John's book' (singular) or 'the lions' dens' (plural), for animate objects (for inanimate objects see page 208). Like Niger-Congo languages, (see Turner, *ibid*, p.229) Krio (and also Jamaican Creole) does not inflect for possession. One of two ways can be used:

(i) the juxtaposition of the possessor and the possessed, in that order e.g. Àbí màmá = Abi's mother. This method is now archaic and dying out.

(ii) the possessive pronoun ím (his/her/its) or dèN (their) is (redundantly) interposed between the possessor and the possessed,

as in: (a) Jón ìm bùk = John's book

(b) dì b́y dèm ôs = The boys' house.

Some phrases involving the possessive -s have come wholesale into Krio as compound words or syntactic phrases.

(i) báchílèz ìv = bachelor's eve

(ii) báchílèz bótìn = ('bachelor's button') = a kind of flower

(iii) Chíldrèns-ôm = Children's Home

(iv) lèdí\*fvà ('lady's fever') = symptoms of pregnancy

(v) b́ys\* kòbó (from Yoruba) = bow-legged male

(vi) gáls\*skùl = girls'school/The Methodist Girls High School

(vii) lídàz-mítìn = leaders' meeting

(viii) dì Lóds prèyà = the Lord's Prayer

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\*lèdí is productive in compounds; so are b́ys, and gáls

### 8.2.3 The English and Krio Tense, Aspect Systems

In English, inflection is an important feature of morphology. In Krio, however, there is very little inflection, mainly because of the influence of the West African substrate languages in which the syntactic function of separate morphemes depends on their positions in the sentence and on the possibilities of combination with other morphemes (see Wilson, et al., 1964, p.12; Turner, 1969, pp.225-7; Welmers, 1973, ch.12). To a lesser extent, the absence of inflections may also be due to 'simplification' during the pidginisation stage of Krio. But this does not mean that grammatical categories expressed by inflection have been lost. In fact Krio has evolved a system of its own. (Givon, 1979, p.21). It is basically similar to the English system, except that it does not use inflections, but may use separate morphemes for its tenses (including the future tense) and juxtapose certain morphemes to express aspect. Also, Krio uses a separate morpheme to express habitualness, whereas English can do so with the non-past tense form. Krio, like most other creoles (Bickerton, e.g. 1981, p.71), but unlike English, also has no passive voice.

The meanings largely correspond, though, in Krio, the unmarked form, which is non-past in English, semantically includes the immediate past. The marker of remote pastness is bìn.

Although, strictly speaking, the foregoing is not part of Krio morphology, nevertheless, it is relevant for the adoption of English words into Krio.





past + future tense: bìn fò/gò dón as in:

à bìn gò/fò dón sí àm =

'I would have seen him'.

(The combination of past and future markers has temporal, rather than conditional, significance in combination with the perfect aspect marker).

(2) progressive marker: dè

unmarked (non-past) tense, as in:

à dè sí àm = 'I am seeing him',

past tense: bìn dè, as in: à bìn dè sí àm =

'I was seeing him',

future tense: gò dè, as in: à gò dè sí àm =

'I'll be seeing him,

(Past and future tense markers may again be combined with the progressive aspect - with conditional meaning, as in:

à bìn gò dè sí àm = 'I would have been seeing him (if I had known)'.

(3) perfect + progressive: dón dè

unmarked (non-past) tense, as in:

à dón dè sí àm = 'I have been seeing him',

past tense: bìn dón dè, as in :

à bìn dón dè sí àm = 'I had been seeing him',

future tense: gò dón dè, as in:

à gò dón dè sí àm = 'I will have been seeing him'.

past + future tense: bìn fò/gò dón dè, as in:

à bìn fò/gò dón dè sí àm =

'I would have been seeing him'.

(4) habitual marker: kìn (less commonly: dè, blànt), as in:

à { kìn  
dè  
blànt } sí àm = 'I usually see him'.

The habitual aspect only occurs without other aspect markers and in the non-past tense.

As in English, the syntactic order of the morphemes is invariable.

The English and Krio Tense/Aspect systems are really more similar grammatically and semantically than they look. The main differences are: (i) the fact that English inflects while Krio uses separate words, (ii) the fact that the unmarked form in Krio, unlike its English counterpart, semantically includes the immediate past, (iii) the fact that Krio has a definite future tense marker: gò<sup>1</sup>, while English only has ways of referring to future time, e.g. 'will + infinitive', 'BE -going to', 'BE -ing', 'non-past tense form + time adverbial', (iv) the fact that Krio has a habitual aspect marker: kìn, (dè, blànt).

This is a simplified overview of what is an incredibly complex phenomenon.

<sup>1</sup>even in Krio, the 'future' tense marker: gò (the equivalent of 'will') has something of a modal as well as temporal significance.



8.2.4 English-derived Inflected Verbs:(a) Verbs with the non-past marker

A small number of verbs seem to have come into Krio in the third person singular (with -s) form but are regarded as unmarked for person since they occur invariantly in the Krio infinitive and in all syntactic structures; e.g.

(1) días (dia + s) = to dare

(2) bâz (K.E.D. p.29; 'E. "bar" confine, obstruct + "s";

v.(1) (in football) to check with the foot

(2) foil plans of another person'. But cf.

Hancock (1971, p.127) who records it as a general dialect word - 'bazz' = 'a blow';

(3) bôz ('bow' + /z/) = decorate with a ribbon, e.g. woman's hair;

(4) tìklîs ('tickle' + s) = to tickle, (possible conflation with 'ticklish'). Yíkùl also occurs in Krio with (more or less) the same meaning.

The stock phrases: (a) góz òn ('go + es on') used as a term of admiration/to cheer someone jocularly; (b) góz witàwt séin ('goes without saying') = 'It's certain', also occur.

From English 'is this' (verb + demonstrative pronoun) comes a Krio compound relative - ìs-dîs-used emphatically (sometimes to reinforce the relative we) (who/which), e.g. (a) Nà mán ìs-dîs wé gét nà ân = He is a difficult man. (b) Nà pìkín ìs-dîs ì tú àmbôg = He/She is a very troublesome child.

Wholesale transfers of phrases with 'that's' have come

into Krio as stock phrases with the elision of the /t/ of 'that's' and are in common currency, e.g.:

dás-gùd = that's good;                      dás-ìt = that's it;  
dás-làyf = that's life (acrolectal); dás-òl = that's all;  
dás-ràyt = exactly.

Also, items with 'what's', which has become wés, have yielded Krio compounds like:

- (a) wéskánàbà ('which kind of a' - (variant: úskánàbà));
- (b) wésmátà ('what's (the) matter');
- (c) wésplábà ('what's (the) palaver') - (variant: wé-plábà) = why the quarrel.

But these items are only heard among older people or villagers, nowadays.

(b) Verbs with the past tense marker:

Some words are found in Krio (and in other creoles as well, e.g. Bickerton, 1975, p.28; Cassidy and Le Page, 1967, passim) in their past tense form; e.g. lêf = leave, brók = break, màrèd (marry). The irregular nature of the form in English (of the first two) may have been responsible for their wholesale transfer, although not all irregular forms have been transferred.

Kriolising tendencies should be noted as follows:

The use of the forms wênt (went), gâf (give) and bât (bought),

whose English cognates are irregular forms, to indicate a decided unwillingness to do the action stated by the verb, e.g.:

- (1) à gò wênt = I won't go;
- (2) à gò bót àm fò yû = I won't buy it for you;
- (3) à gò gáf\*yû = I won't give you.

The usage in each case is 'negative, mocking/sarcastic' (K.E.D., 1980, p.118). This is a potentially productive feature.

Other items that have come in their past tense forms into Krio but which also have a present time reference are:

- (1) flêd (fled);
- (2) klông (cling);
- (3) méd (make) (only in the expression nà Gód méd àm = God made him/her);
- (4) brôt ('bring' - with semantic change - 'punish child for wrong doing');
- (5) skyâd ('scare');
- (6) lêf = 'leave';
- (7) lôs = 'lose'.

Again, their English cognates are irregular forms, except for skâyd. In some cases, the avoidance of homophony may have been responsible for this apparent anomaly, e.g. brêk tends to be used for 'interval', brîng for 'fetch', lîv for 'leave of absence'.

(c) Verbs with the -ing form

Carryovers from English with the 'progressive' (-ing) form in the infinitive of the verb also exist in Krio: Eng: '-ing' >

\*though Berry (1959, p.305) notes that 'gaf' is an obsolete preterite form of 'give'.





(4) ína` = inner;

(5) léta` = later (in common use).

Also, stock phrases:

suna` 3` léta` = sooner or later; béta` áf` = better half;

wíka` séks/vésul` = weaker sex/ vessel.

The suppletive forms: bétè` (better, very good), wís` (worse, worst), wásà` (worse) also occur. An element of superlativeness is also present in bétè`, as in e.g. nà díś` nà dì` bétè`wân` = 'this is the best one'. With the negative particle: nó`, the meaning also tends to be superlative = 'worthless', 'useless', 'given to levity', as in: dì` mán` nó` bétè` = 'the man is worthless/useless/not serious by nature'. The form wís` is also used to mean 'worse' (comparative) or 'worst' (superlative) - this could be as a result of the dropping of the final -t. wásà` - seems to have come from the now obsolete form 'worser'. Only older speakers use it nowadays.

To express the superlative, Krio uses various linguistic and paralinguistic devices. What is relevant to our discussion, however, is the use of pás(dèN)ól` ('pass them all' - 'than them all'), as in: mángro` swít` pás` dè` ól` = Mangoes are the sweetest.

The suppletive forms bés(t)` (best), wás(t)` (worst) and lís(t)` (least) and the regular form létès` (latest), also occur and in common currency.

8.2.6 Gender forms

English does not have gender, unlike some other languages, e.g. French, Latin. It has a few sex words as well as the suffix '-ess' in a limited number of items, which it uses to form the female of a noun, e.g.:

'prince - princess';      'host - hostess';  
'waiter - waitress'.

African-related Creole languages are known for their use of <sup>the</sup> sex words man, uman, preposed to the noun, to distinguish the sexes (Alleyne, *ibid*, p.106). Krio is no exception, e.g. mán-dòks = 'drake'. However, Krio has many female sex words that have been carried over from English, most of which are in common enough currency to be considered non-acrolectal. Examples are:

- (1) prins - prinsès = prince - princess (these are also personal names);
- (2) òst - òstès = host - hostess;
- (3) wetà - wétrès = waiter - waitress;
- (4) édmastà - édmistrès = headmaster - headmistress;
- (5) kòndòkt - kòndòktrès = conductor - conductress;
- (6) mánéjà - mánéjrès = manager - managress;
- (7) díkìn - díkínès = deacon - deaconess;
- (8)                    símrès = seamstress.

Even the irregular: widò - widóà = 'widow - widower' occur.



To show awareness of the suffix and its meaning as well as its potentiality for productivity, the forms kât - kâtès ('cat' - 'catess') have been coined (see p.124).

## CHAPTER NINE

## DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

9.1 Introduction

Many of the affixes and derivational endings to be found in Standard English also occur in Krio, some of them atrophied and others productive in various degrees. It is therefore extremely difficult to impose rigid categories when dealing with such a changing system.

Sometimes, even in basilectal usage, the Krio speaker utilises the base form of the English-derived word, with a derivational suffix, if some qualification or modification is needed, or without one, if the linguistic content is unambiguous. Examples are as follows:

- (i) ì nɔ̀ ɛ̀dyukət̃, cf. ì nɔ̀ ɛ̀dyukət̃ɛ̀d = 'he's uneducated';
- (ii) láj nɔ̀ gúd = 'lying is not good';
- (iii) físh nɔ̀gɛ́nɛ́shɔ̀n, cf. físh nɔ̀gɛ́nɛ́shɔ̀nəlítí (acrolectal) =  
'fish have no nationality';
- (iv) í sík (wán), cf. í síknɛ̀s = 'his illness';
- (v) sóbà wán, cf. sóbálí = 'soberly'.

But, as has been noted, some of the commonest bi- or polymorphic English words have randomly entered into currency in Krio without regard to their structure, which the Krio speaker probably considers somewhat 'fixed'; hence, it might shock him to learn that ɔ̀nàwíáz (unawares), for example, is made up of ɔ̀n + awíá + z

(three morphemes). Also, a word such as komyúníst (communist), with the suffix -íst in English, functions as a noun or adjective, but can be used in Krio with a verbal function as well - meaning: 'to gang rape'; and the word fúlish (foolish), with the suffix -ish, which, in English functions as an adjective, can also be used as a verb: (to seduce a young girl) as well as an abstract noun: (foolishness). Admittedly, this is not a common feature and not many examples can be found. But other reasons confirm one's impression about the Krio speaker's general lack of awareness of derivational affixes. First, most of the time, a more complex form of a word exists in the language, but the simpler forms either do not or are not in common use, e.g.: àsòsléshòn (or basilectal: àsòéshòn) = 'association' is more common than àsòsiét (associate), which is restricted to some acrolectal varieties; ̀ngrétful (ungrateful) is quite common, but grétful (grateful) can only occasionally be heard in highly acrolectal speech; jè̀nàréshòn (generation) is also quite common, but jè̀nàrét (generate) does not exist. Secondly, generally speaking, the productivity of English-derived affixes is strikingly low: in the case of prefixes, one can hardly speak of productivity at all. (See *infra* ).

In spite of all this, English words with derivational affixes are at present one of the largest categories of words Krio seems susceptible to, (see, e.g. K.E.D., *passim*). But, even so, the language is selective in its choice of such words - they seem to have to be associated with 'concrete', rather than abstract ideas and experiences for which the all-pervading English - the language of education, officialdom, prestige - is the ready lexifier.



At the same time, as has been noted, awareness of the nuances expressed, particularly in some English suffixes, seems to be growing in Krio, and they are being used as patterns for some Krio creations, (see *infra*).

However, if it is true for English that derivational affixes are 'of limited productivity in the sense that not all words which result from the application of the rules are acceptable', since not all gain 'institutional currency in the language' (Quirk et al., 1978, p. 996), it is far truer for Krio. Many of the items to be discussed (under Krio-created forms) may have started as nonce formations and may have gained currency through contact with other speakers and frequency of use.

## 9.2 Prefixes

As Sapir observed (1921, pp.67-8), prefixing is far less common in languages than suffixing. Very few and only some of the most common English-derived prefixes occur in Krio words; the more learned, scientific and specialised ones, e.g. 'pseudo-', 'poly-', 'neo-', 'hyper-', tend to be excluded.

The following are probably the commonest and most productive ones occurring in carry-overs, but few speakers would think of or even be able to subdivide them into prefix + root as they are done here:

- (1) kəm- (com-), as in kəmplén (complain);
- (2) kən- (con-), " " kənvát (convert);
- (3) ko- (co-) " " kó-èdyúkeshən (co-education);

- (4) kawnta- (counter) as in kawntápàt (counterpart);
- (5) awt- (out-) " " awtsáyz (outsize);
- (6) dawn- (down-) " " dawnfòl (downfall);
- (7) dis- (dis-) " " disápòynt (disappoint);
- (8) eks- (ex-) " " èkstánal (external);
- (9) nón- (non-) " " nón-kònfòmìst (non-conformist);
- (10) mis- (mis-) " " mìsòndàstánd (misunderstand);
- (11) mòlti (multi-) " " mòltíkòlà (multi-coloured);
- (12) ova- (over-) " " òvâ-ít (overheat);
- (13) ònda- (under-) " " òndagràwn (underground);
- (14) ri- (re-) " " rìfòm (reform(ed));
- (15) supa- (super-) " " sùpànàchòràl (supernatural);
- (16) tèli- (tele-) " " tèlìfòn (telephone);
- (17) trans- (trans-) " " trànsfà (transfer);
- (18) òn (un-) " " ònrèn (untrained);
- (19) inta- (inter-) " " ìntànàshònal (international);
- (20) vays- (vice-) " " vasysprìsípul (vice-principal);
- (21) èkstra- (extra-) " " èkstràòdìnàri (extra-ordinary).

Krio-created formations

A few of these prefixes have provided patterns for some Krio creations. In most cases, a particularly Krio nuance has also come about.

1. ɛkstra - in most Krio formations has a pejorative nuance, unlike the English cognate:

(a) ɛkstra-bízi 'extra-busy' means 'pretending to be busier than one actually is';

(b) ɛkstra-fayn 'extra-fine' means 'vulgarly bright, gaudy';

(c) ɛkstra-gúd 'extra-good' means 'too good to be true, sanctimonious';

(d) ɛkstra-kléva 'extra-clever' means 'too clever for one's liking';

(e) ɛkstra-swít 'extra-sweet' means 'too sweet for one's liking.

The next example, (f) ɛkstra-wɔ̀wɔ̀ 'extra-ugly', is a case of an English-derived + a non-English derived noun, in this case a Twi word meaning 'ugly' - instances of such combinations are many (as will be seen in due course) -. It means: 'extremely ugly'.

As an exception, ɛkstra-kwík 'extra-quick' has a complimentary connotation. It means 'very quick'.



2. inta- also has a pejorative connotation in :

(a) ìntàkòlò inter + collo(cation) (Fyle & Jones, *ibid*, p.148) = a person who is a gossip.

But in (b) ìntàpòk 'inter + poke' = 'pry into another person's affairs', it is pok 'poke' that seems to indicate pejoration.

3. ova- has a pejorative connotation in :

(a) òvaplòs (or its older form òbàplòs) 'over + plus' = 'more than the mark, too much';

(b) òvajáyé (English: 'over' + Yorùba 'jáyé') = 'too much happiness or comfort';

(c) òvàmàjìjì (English: 'over' + non-English 'màjìjì') = 'be over-eager to please';

(d) òvàsẁéì 'over + swell' (sẁéì here is the typically creolised, uninflected form from the participial adjective 'overswollen').

For the meaning of ova- in these examples, cf. Marchand (*ibid*, 2.28.6 p.98): "do beyond the proper limit, to excess".

In òvàngládi 'over + glad' = 'overglad, overgladness', however, ova- is complimentary.

4. ɔn - preserves its negative denotation in Krio and prefixes in two words with interesting forms:

(a) ɔ̃nchɔ̃ch 'un + church' = 'very irregular church-goer, one who does not go to church'.

There is no agentive marker like -a, is(t) or, -man in the word to indicate its class;

(b) ɔ̃ntreɲɲ 'un + training' = 'bad manners'.

This is a curious use of the prefix, which, in English is used primarily to form adjectives or verbs rather than nouns.

### 9.3 Suffixes (1)

There are far more English-derived suffixes (than prefixes) in Krio (see K.E.D.) but, of course, not all the possible ones occur. Some are far more common than others (invariably reflecting their frequency in English). Some have been used as patterns for Krio creations, while others have not. Although specialised forms have generally not been accepted in Krio, a few learned or scientific ones do occur - again, because of the massive influence of English.

The following are probably the commonest occurring in carry-overs:

(1) -a\* (er/-or) - this is probably the most productive type

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\* compounds with the -a & -in endings are treated under Compounding.

in carry-overs. In English, many sub-categories of words ending with the '-er' derivational suffix exist. Most, but not all of these sub-categories are represented in Krio.

They are:

- (a) agentive (personal noun) e.g. dráyv̀à (driver) - this is the largest group;
- (b) agentive (inanimate noun) e.g. blótà (blotter);
- (c) something having -, e.g. tùwíla (two-wheeler);
- (d) inhabitant of -, e.g. vílejá (villager);
- (e) place of the activity, e.g. kúkà (cooker);
- (f) article of clothing, e.g. swétà (sweater);
- (g) person connected with -, e.g. wóda (warder);
- (h) word ending in -ɔ (-or) which functions the same as word ending in -a, e.g. vísítɔ (visitor);

- (2) -al (-al), as in náshónal (national);
- (3) -ans/-ant (-ance/-ant), as in ínshóràns (insurance); ígnórànt (ignorant), -fns/-fnt (-ence/-ent) as in dífrens (difference); péshènt (patient).

We may note that probably because of earlier attempts to resist the /-s/ ending in Krio, because of its suggestion of plurality, péshènt means 'patience' as well as 'patient' and péshèns is a later derivation; sáyènt means 'silence' as well as 'silent' and sáyèns, a later derivation, tends to be used



imperatively only; kòínsídènt only means 'coincidence':

kòínsídèns is highly acrolectal;

- (4) -ayd (-ide), as in pròváyð (provide);
- (5) -ayt (-ite), " " móábáyð (Moabite) - this pattern is rare;
- (6) -ayz (ize), " " krítisáyð (criticize);
- (7) -bul (-ble), " " ónarébul (honourable);
- (8) -chə (-ture), " " kríchə (creature);
- (9) -dəm (-dom), " " frídəm (freedom) - rare pattern
- (10) -ej (-age), " " mánej (manage)
- (11) -et (-ate), " " èdyukèt (educate);
- (12) -éd (-ed), " " bléséd (blessed);
- (13) -fay (-fy) " " kwàlifáy (qualify);
- (14) -ful (ful) " " wóndáful (wonderful);
- (15) -i (-y) " " kəkì (cocky);
- (16) -ian (-ian) " " krístiàn (Christian);
- (17) -ik (-ic) " " mékànik (mechanic);
- (18) -iks (-ics) " " èkònómiks (economics);
- (19) -in (-ing) - this is probably the second most productive type in carry-overs. Like words ending in -a, not all the sub-categories of '-ing' words in English are represented in Krio. The ones noted are as follows:

- (a) the general practice, activity, art of -, e.g. swímìn (swimming) - this suggests the gerund, which, in most varieties of Krio, is usually expressed by fɔ̃ + the unmarked verb: e.g. fɔ̃ swím. swímìn, therefore, tends towards the acrolectal;
- (b) a particular, singular instance of -, e.g. wónìn (warning);
- (c) something material connected with the verbal idea - e.g. drésìn (dressing);
- (d) the concrete result of a verbal action - , e.g. bíldìn (building);
- (e) abstract results, e.g. lánìn (learning);
- (f) denominal, e.g. relìn (railing);
- (g) from locative particle, e.g. áwtìn (outing).

- (20) -in (-en), as in wúlìn (woollen);
- (21) -ish (-ish), " " sélfìsh (selfish);
- (22) -is(t)(-ist), " " tɔ̀rìs(t) (tourist);
- (23) -iv (-ive), " " netìv (native) - only a few nouns  
in this form.
- (24) -izim (-ism), " " kàtikìzìm (catechism) - rare pattern;

- (25) -kraft (-craft), as in wíchkraft (witchcraft) - this pattern occurs only in this word, which can mean 'witch', 'wizard' or 'witchcraft' (Hancock, 1971, p.142 says 'witchcraft' is a dialect (Norfolk) word for 'a witch' and that Yoruba also uses the same word, adzhé to mean both 'witch' and 'witchcraft'). The shortened form kraft also has the same meanings in Krio.
- (26) -lɛj (-ledge), as in nólɛj (knowledge) - rare (acrolectal) pattern;
- (27) -les (-less), " " rɛklɛs (reckless);
- (28) -li (-ly), " " dɛli (daily);
- (29) -man (-man), " " pòsmán (postman) - highly productive;
- (30) -mɛnt (-ment) " " ɛ̀ngɛj̀mɛnt (engagement) - quite productive;
- (31) -mɔ̀nga (-monger), " " ómɔ̀nga (habitual debtor); - (only example)
- (32) -nɛs (-ness), " " rúdɛ̀nɛs (rudeness);
- (33) -ɔ̀n (-ion), " " yúnyɔ̀n (union) - rare pattern;
- (34) -ɔ̀s (-ous), " " prɔ̀sprɔ̀s (prosperous);
- (35) -ship (-ship) " " skóláshìp (scholarship);
- (36) -shɔ̀n/-zhɔ̀n (-sion/-tion), as in òkɛ̀zhɔ̀n (occasion);
- (37) -ti (-ty), as in kwálítì (quality).



In English, derivational suffixes like '-ment', '-ness', '-tion' can be used to express abstract concepts, e.g. 'fairness', 'punishment', 'association.' Although Krio has many carryovers that are the cognates of English words with these endings, the chief criterion for choosing them seems to have been their ability to refer to single concrete instances of the action or concept denoted by the word: e.g. pɔ́nɪʃmɛ̀nt refers to a single instance of 'punishment' rather than the concept of 'punishment'. (When an abstract concept is being referred to, Krio speakers (particularly non-acrolectal ones) typically use the unmarked form of the word: e.g. kòlầt ('cold heart') = 'contentment'; glá̀dì ('glad') = 'happiness'; trú ('true') = 'the truth', 'truth (fulness)'; fá̀yn ('fine') = 'beauty').

Carryovers with the following suffixes exemplify the point.

They are the most productive patterns:

- (1) -al (-al): In English, this ending is used for abstract nouns, e.g. 'arrival', as well as for adjectives, e.g. 'cultural'. Some items, e.g. 'musical' can occur in both the noun and the adjective classes. The great majority of carry-overs in Krio are nouns with a concrete denotation, or are used as such: e.g. ká̀dí̀nà̀l (brand name for Cardinal floor polish; Cardinal (priest); médí̀kà̀l (Medical Department, Ministry of Health); dɛ̀ntà̀l (dental hospital); ká̀zhúà̀l (casual clothes/sandals); kémí̀kà̀l (chemicals); klásí̀kà̀l (classical music - when used as an adjective this word means 'classic'); klérí̀kà̀l (clerical robes), krímí̀nà̀l (a criminal); ko-è̀dyùkeshónà̀l (a co-educational institution); kɔ̀nvɛ̀nshónà̀l (a conventional suit);

kridéshíàl (credentials); yúzhúàl (a favourite thing); èkstánàl (Ministry of Foreign Affairs); fáyàl (final exams); flóràl (floral dress); ìnstruméntàl (an instrumental piece of music); méntàl (mental arithmetic); myúzíkàl (a musical); séntràl (the Central ward); sóshíàl (a party); tékníkàl (The Technical Institute); mótàl (a human being).

Admittedly, some of these words, e.g. kléríkàl, klásíkàl as well as others like náshónàl, lókàl, nómàl, jénàràl are used as adjectives as well, but the incidence of such use is relatively low.

(2) -mènt (-ment): àgrímènt (an agreement); àpóyntmènt (a date with a friend or lover); póníshmènt (a single instance of punishment or hardship); trítmènt (hospital treatment - this word also refers to instances of harsh treatment); èngéjímènt (an engagement ceremony); góv(á)mènt (the government); ènjóymènt (this is semantically fertile: although the general meaning of 'pleasure' is present, the word is commonly used to refer to a single instance/an enjoyable occasion, a party; also, its use to refer to the tasty chunks of meat, especially in sauce cooked in palm oil, has been noted.)

(3) -nès (-ness): fúlíshnès (a foolish act; brazen sexual advance); rúdnès (a single display of rudeness; sexual intercourse between children); síknès (a disease); wíkédnès (an act of wickedness); kyálésnès (an act of carelessness).

(4) -shòn/-zhòn (-sion/-tion): òkézhòn ('occasion' - an occasion for celebration); dístínkshòn (a distinction pass); kòlékshòn (church collection), kòmbìneshòn (good passing in soccer); kòmpòzítshòn

(an essay); kònékshòn (sexual intercourse); kònfaméshòn/rèkògníshòn (a confirmation or recognition church service); kònféshòn (a Roman Catholic confession); kòngrigéshòn (church congregation); kòpàrèshòn (euphemism for a pot belly, usually abbreviated to kòpà ; also 'Corporation Market'); kònstíttyúshòn ( a constitutional document); kònváshòn (soccer tactic); kònvénshòn (a political party meeting); kwàlifikéshòn (a certificate of qualification); àdíshòn (an addition sum); àplikéshòn (an application for a job); àsòsléshòn (the football association grounds); dàmméshòn (something that damns); dìvóshòn (school devotion); ègzàmínéshòn (a class examination), ègzìbítshòn (a public exhibition of art, crafts or books); èkstéshòn ((1) Connaught Hospital Annexe, (2) a soccer tactic); fríkshòn (a quarrel); ilékshòn (an election); ímítéshòn (an imitation object); ìnfòméshòn (the Ministry of Information); ìnjéksòn (a medical injection); míshòn (a missionary building); móshòn (a stylish movement); òpréshòn ((1) a particular, usually violent assignment (2) a surgical operation); prískrípshòn (a medical prescription); pròvìshòn (provisions); rèsítéshòn (a piece of prose or verse studied for reciting); rìsépshòn (a wedding reception); sòlyúshòn (a liquid solution); víshòn (a dream or apparition); néshòn (tribe, nationality).

Many of the suffixes have provided patterns for some creations which invariably have peculiarly Krio nuances, among other noteworthy features:

(1) -a (-er)

(a) Krio-created words with 'the agentive personal' suffix -a tend to be pejorative, e.g.:



- (i) béla (Temme: bɛl + English-type '-er') = hypocrite, person who destroys others by evil gossip;
- (ii) blínkà (variant of blínkìn fúl) = a very stupid person;
- (iii) chákà (Fula & Arabic source word chak + '-er') = drunkard;
- (iv) dáyfà (Eng.: 'dive'/'die' + '-er') = weak, feeble person;
- (v) káypà (Eng. 'keep up' + '-er') = incompetent person who keeps something going precariously;
- (vi) láyna HL (Eng.: 'line' + '-er' - one of the meanings of láyn in Krio is 'the fashionable world of pleasure and entertainment', which is not necessarily derogatory; e.g. Áyò dé nà láyn = 'Ayo seems to be in the mood for pleasure and entertainment'; or vocatively: Áyò òn láyn! = 'Ayo, you are ready for pleasure!')  
 The addition of the -a, however colours the word with pejoration so that it means 'prostitute'. Another possible source of this word is the nautical vocabulary of the earliest days of Krio. 'Liner' also means 'a passenger ship', and the practice of using a nautical metaphor to refer to prostitution has been attested - 'ákróyal - a prostitute cf. "Ark Royal", the name of a vessel....' (Hancock, 1976, p.29); 'bàmbót - a prostitute... cf. "bumboat"; women waited for these boats to bring sailors to the quayside from the ship' (ibid, p.30); 'mànáwá-píkín - illegitimate child, originally fathered by European seaman on shore leave. Cf. manawa (man-of-war) + pikín ("child" Ptg)' (ibid, p.32); 'paylòt - pimp, procurer. Cf. nautical "pilot",...extended to mean one who guides prostitutes' (ibid). Ákróyal and mànáwá-píkín are no longer

in current use, and layná seems a relatively recent acquisition or creation. If it is an acquisition, then it shows the continuing influence of the nautical phenomenon in Krio.

- (vii) ruda LH (Eng.: 'rude' + '-er' - peculiarly Krio use of the adjective rud as the stem for the agentive suffix) = a vulgar person;
- (viii) táypa (Eng.: 'type' + '-er') - a quack/untrained typist;
- (ix) bádà (Eng.: 'bad' + '-er' - another case of the use of an adjective, bad, as stem) = a very evil person;
- (x) brékà (Eng.: 'break' + '-er'. Here we have a Krio-created meaning of brek = (a difficult person; a person expert at answering back) which is already an agentive-type noun) = variant of brek;
- (xi) kránkà (Eng.: 'crank' + '-er') = an eccentric person, cf. kránk (variant of kránkà).

Some of the words can take the suffix -man instead of -a, as in bèlmán, chàkmán, bàdmán. When they do, the pejorative connotation tends to be lost; in fact, some suggestion of melioration if not superlativeness is even gained: bèlmán = 'one good at flattery; a reliable gossip'; chàkmán = a seasoned drinker who sometimes gets drunk (as opposed to a helpless, hopeless drunkard); bàdmán = a likeable, venturesome fellow.

Some carry-overs, particularly ones denoting the agent of a skill or craft, have the added suggestion of superlativeness, especially when enhanced by the lengthening of the word; e.g. dánsà = expert dancer; pléyà = expert (football or other sport) player; krámà = expert in cramming (rote-learning). Invariably, the suffix -man can be used with these words too and with the same nuance. In fact -a has only lately begun to share this nuance with -man (see infra).

The use of the suffix -a, in Krio creations, for other purposes, is not very common. The following cases have been noted:

(b) agentive (inanimate) noun, as in káchà Eng.: 'catch' + '-er' (which is redundant in English) = door catch;

(c) inanimate object, as in drómà Eng.: 'drum' + '-er' (which is, again, redundant in English) = a musical drum. The addition of the -a may have been to avoid homophony with dròm = 'a round metal container for oil or other liquid'. Nowadays, drómà is becoming archaic and dròm seems to be the incoming form;

(d) 'article of clothing', as in àgrípà (Eng.: 'grip' + '-er') = 'tight-fitting dress'. This interpretation does not explain the presence of the a- of the first syllable. One possible alternative explanation is to regard the word as a concoction from: à gríp àm = I grip him/her/it.

(e) connected with, as in ródà (Eng.: 'road' + '-er') + last drink before leaving the company', cf. 'one for the road'.



- (2) -al: two items with this suffix (which, in the case of the Krio creations, is really -ikal) have been noted:
- (i) mótíkàl (mɔt + ikal 'mouth' + '-ical') humorously used to refer to singing in church without instrumental accompaniment; or 'oral' as opposed to written. (see also mótíkálí, infra);
- (ii) màtátíkàl - the origin of this word is unclear except that it seems to have the -ikal < 'ical' ending and is used as an adjective. It always collocates with íyàz (years) and is used, particularly by older speakers, to mean something like 'donkey's years'.
- (3) -ayt: This suffix functions similarly to -a and -man, i.e., as an agentive type noun. It is always very derogatory, emotive and most of the items suggest habitualness:
- (i) chákábàyt (Krio: chak + a + b + Eng.: '-ite') = hopeless, habitual drunkard;
- (ii) fókábàyt (Eng.: 'fucker' + b + '-ite') = habitually very promiscuous male or female;
- (iii) krábónàyt (Krio: kráb(ìt) + on + 'ite') = a very miserly, or very decrepit person;
- (iv) márábàyt (Krio: màràb(ú) + 'ite') = contemptuous word for a muslim (màràbú = muslim).

Even the carryover item móábàyt (Moabite) is an abusive term, meaning 'rustic, heathenish person' and may well have influenced the formation of this type.

(4) -ayz: the single item pìkchòràyz ('picture' + 'ise') = to notice or countenance, has been noted. It is usually used in negative constructions, e.g. l` nò pìkchòràyz mí sèf 'He didn't even notice me'.

(5) -bul: Krio creations have the -ebul ending and suggest superlativeness:

(i) ájáyébùl (Yoruba source: ajay + '-able') = grossly exaggerated, fantastic, out of the ordinary;

(ii) éjébùl (Eng.: 'age' + '-able') = (of a person) 'aged, advanced in years'. Krio speakers may have confused the word 'aged' for this form.

(iii) màsmásébùl Krio: màsmàs (reduplicated from English 'mash') = 'bribe' + '-able' = fertile for shady deals.

(6) -et: two points may be made about this suffix:

(1) some carry-overs ending in -et in Krio are cognates of English words ending in '-ated' that have dropped the final -ed in the creolisation process, e.g.

èdyùkèt 'educated'; kòmplìkèt 'complicated';

màshìèt 'emaciated'.

(2) the creation òlròdikèt - Krio: ol + rod + ik + Eng. '-ate', (lit: 'hold' + 'road' + '-icate') in Krio, ól ròd = go away, depart - is used humorously to mean 'go away', 'depart', after the pattern of 'vacate'.

- (7) -éd: as has been noted (see -et), many words with the '-ed' suffix in English lose it when they come into Krio. In some carry-overs where it is retained, however, it acts as an intensifier; e.g.
- (i) kótéd ('quoted') = well, appropriately quoted: (an interpolation showing appreciation of the speaker's scholarship);
  - (ii) réchéd ('wretched') = very wretched;
  - (iii) lódéd ('loaded') = very wealthy;
  - (iv) jágéd/rágéd ('jagged', 'ragged') = very ragged;
  - (v) fíldéd ('fielded') = very good instance of fielding (in cricket);
  - (vi) notéd ('noted') = very well known, notorious;
  - (vii) fítéd ('fitted') = most appropriate;
  - (viii) éjéd ('aged') = very old (of person);
  - (ix) (a)kòséd ('accused') = hopelessly good for nothing;
  - (x) divotéd ('devoted') = very devoted;
  - (xi) fáféchéd ('far-fetched') = someone fetched from afar, a slave;



- (xii) lánɛ̀d ('learned') = admirably erudite;
- (xiii) ɔ̀nbaptayzɛ̀d ('unbaptized') noun & adjective = unbaptized  
(abusive because of the -ɛ̀d ending);
- (xiv) ɔ̀nsakɔ̀msáyɛ̀d ('uncircumsized') noun = an uncircumsized  
person (abusive because of the -ɛ̀d ending);
- (xv) ɔ̀nsivíláyɛ̀d ('uncivilized') noun = an uncivilized person  
(abusive because of the -ɛ̀d ending).

In the item (xvi) pɔ̀yntɛ̀d the tone pattern LH makes it a familiar name for shoes with pointed toe piece (see Chapter 7, p.179). The only real Krio created item noted is brɛ̀dɛ̀d - 'bread (money - U.S. slang) + '-ed' - which means the same thing as lódɛ̀d.

(8) -ful: the only item noted is saful, which, in fact, is an adverb (meaning 'softly', 'carefully', 'gently') or a verb (meaning 'take care', 'go gently') and not an adjective as the suffix suggests.

(9) -iks: English words like 'polemics', 'economics', 'aesthetics' with the '-ics' ending meaning 'the study of -', have provided the pattern for these two humorous items:

- (i) bádɔ̀dɪks (= 'bad' + 'word' + 'ics') bádɔ̀d =  
obscene language = the study of abusive, obscene  
language.

- (ii) bèdmátìks ('bed' + mat + '-ics') the pattern here seems after 'mathematics' = the art/study of lovemaking.

(10) -in (ing): from the point of view of form, the only real creation is:

- (i) bónìn (Eng.: 'born' + '-ing'; in Krio, bôn is a verb meaning, inter alia, 'bear a child') which is used adjectivally in collocation with móda (mother) or fáda (father) to mean 'natural' as opposed to 'foster' mother or father.

The other items to be discussed are not formal creations as such, but are still worthy of note:

- (ii) dáyìn (Eng.: 'dying') is also used adjectivally with a variety of meanings, depending on which word it collocates with; in: dáyìn béd, it means 'death (bed)'; in: dáyìn grév, it means 'grave of someone who has not yet died'; in: dáyìn pípùl, it means '(one's) dead (relatives)'; in: dáyìn mán it means 'a mortal'; in dáyìn wòd, it means 'last words of a dying person'; in dáyìn wòl, it means 'a world in which death is certain'.
- (iii) krísìn (Eng.: 'christening') is shortened from 'christening';
- (iv) wékìn (Eng.: 'waking') is also a shortened form, but from 'wake-keeping';

The next two items function as nouns because of the LH tone pattern. With the HL pattern, they are adjectives:

(v) fesin LH (Eng.: 'facing') = peak of a cap;

(vi) lovín LH (Eng.: 'loving') = a dear person, a sweetheart.

(11) -in (-en): No creolised forms have been noted.

However, the following items are of semantic interest:

(i) fásìn (Eng.: 'fasten')(verb) - be constantly after someone in order to harass him/her;

(ii) shótìn (Eng.: 'shorten') (verb) - be short in trading, make a loss;

(iii) wíkìn ( Eng.: 'weaken') (verb) apart from meaning 'get tired', it has also lately developed the meaning 'to dance reggae', among adolescent speakers.

(12) -ish: this suffix suggests excessiveness in a derogatory way and words with it are usually preceded by the intensifier tu (too) in the sentence:

(i) òltáymiş (Eng.: 'old' + 'time' + '-ish') = outmoded, unfashionable;

(ii) pikínish (Ptg: 'pikin' (child + '-ish') = very childish;

(iii) rénkish (Eng.: 'rank' + '-ish') = smelling offensively..



(13) -ist: the use of komyúnìst as a verb has been noted (see p.229 supra).

(14) -lès: creolised items are nominals referring to clothes or shoes and have the LH tone pattern:

- (i) bàklés (Eng.: 'back' + '-less') = woman's dress which exposes the back; woman's shoes which exposes the heels;
- (ii) slivés (Eng.: 'sleeve' + '-less') = clothes without sleeves;
- (iii) tòlés (Eng.: 'toe' + '-less') = shoe without toecap.

(15) -li: the acquisition of this adverbial suffix seems recent. Usually, Krio uses the post-modifier wân (one), or less commonly fáshìn (fashion) or wé (way), where the English suffix '-ly' would be used, as in: à ít àm sló wân = 'I ate it slowly'. However, carryovers with -li do occur (see p.238 above), sometimes with wân as well, as in non-native sóbálì wân = 'soberly', tórólì wân = 'thoroughly'. Fyle & Jones also note (p.373) an adjectival use of the -li suffix in tórólì spánkìn = 'thorough spanking'.

The creations noted are used in humorous speech:

- (i) bóníkálì (Eng.: 'bone' + 'ically') + with much zest or gusto;
- (ii) mótíkálì ( " 'mouth' + 'ically') (see p.245 above) = without instrumental accompaniment.

(16) -man: this is the most common suffix in creolised forms.

It is also used in many other English-related creoles (Alleyne, *ibid*, p.106). Cassidy (*ibid*, p.397) suggests that the creole uses of -man in Jamaican parallel those of -fo in Twi, though he does not deny the obvious link of the suffix with English sources. In Krio, as in other Creoles, -man is superfluously added to a base which already has the agentive suffix -a, as in bùchámán (butcher). This is from the pattern 'fisherman' (cf Krio fìshámán) which is not common in English. Where Krio has both forms, i.e., e.g., ̀̀ntínmán / ̀̀ntà (hunter); ̀̀sìngmán/̀̀sìngà, the item with the suffix -man tends to express superlative quality (see p.243 above), e.g.

̀̀sìngmán LH = very good singer: ̀̀sìngà HL = singer;

̀̀drífmán LH = very good at gallivanting/: ̀̀dríftà HL = one who drifts, tackling in soccer;

̀̀wàngùlmán LLH = excellent schemer: ̀̀wànglà = schemer.

The English model for this superlative nuance in Krio seems to be the subcategory described in Marchand (1969: 2.5.3.4, p.67): 'persons connected with occupations in which skill or craftsmanship is involved, as..."craftsman", ... "statesman", ... "sportsman"...' Creolised forms have been mostly of this type. We must note, however, that because of decreolising influences, from the point of view of morphological form, a, (-er) is becoming as forceful as -man (see p.244).

As Hancock notes, in most uses of 'man', English means (+ male), (+ human), (+ adult), whereas, in Krio, none of these is

obligatory; cf laymán (liar), mán-dòks (drake), mán-pikín (a boy). This is a case of 'gain (expansion), since its semantic function is broader than that of the English word "man" and at the same time loss (reduction), since the one item does the work of several in English' (1980, p.66).

However, in some creolised items, -man is not an epicene word; also, in some categories, superlativeness is not implied. The categories noted are:

(a) profession/occupation (non-superlative; non-epicene);

(i) káwmán (cowherd), (ii) kòlmán (man who sells coal)-  
(kòlúman also possible);

(iii) kàngámán : Krio: kanga(magic) + '-man' magician;

(iv) mòrimán Arabic derived: mòrid + '-man' (muslim) diviner;

(b) Person in a particular state/condition

(i) dònmán (Eng.: 'done' + -man) = a down and out man;

(ii) krèsmán/krèsumán (Eng.: 'crazy' + '-man/-uman') =  
mad man/woman;

(iii) yòngmán/yòngúman (Eng.: 'young' + '-man'/'-uman') =  
young man/woman;

(iv) bígmán (Eng.: 'big' + '-man') respectable adult man;

(v) dàymán (Eng.: 'die' + '-man') = corpse.



(c) associated with:

- (i) klɔ̀bmán (Eng.: 'club' + '-man') male member of a club;
- (ii) kɔ̀námán (Eng.: 'corner' + '-man') male favourite companion;
- (iii) kwàyámán (Eng.: 'choir' + '-man') chorister;
- (iv) sòsáyìmân (Eng.: 'society' + 'man') male member of a secret society;
- (v) fɔ̀smán (Eng.: 'first' + '-man' -epicene) = person who comes first in a competition/examination.

(d) Superlative type:

These are a very productive category, so this list is far from exhaustive:

- (i) kíkman (Eng.: 'kick' + '-man') - verb/noun + -man = noun) = powerful kicker (soccer);
- (ii) ràrémán (Eng.: 'raree-(show)' + -man - adj. + man = noun) = man very popular with women;
- (iii) wataman (Eng.: 'water' + '-man' - verb + man = noun) = seasoned drinker;
- (iv) fètman (Eng.: 'fight' + -man - verb + man = noun) = renowned fighter;
- (v) gbémán (Af. Yoruba sources: 'gbe' + -man - verb + -man = noun) = notorious thief;
- (vi) fulmán (Eng.: 'fool' + '-man' - adj./verb + -man = noun) = big fool;

- (vii) m̀nɪ́m̂n (Eng.: 'money' + 'man' - noun + -man = noun) = magnate;
- (viii) bukm̂n (Eng.: 'book' + '-man' - noun + -man = noun) = learned man;
- (ix) k̀tlásm̂n (Eng.: 'cutlass' + '-man' - noun + -man = noun) = filanderer who is also a jealous husband;
- (x) laym̂n (Eng.: 'lie' + '-man' - verb + -man = noun) = liar.

The suffix -man is also extensively used in what will be called 'ethnic constructs' - words giving the nationality, place of abode or tribe of a person. In English, there are a few instances of such words, e.g. 'Welshman', 'Scotsman', but epicene forms like '(i)an', '-ish', '-ese' are far more common. In Krio, -man in this sense is always masculine, with -uman being the feminine form. Examples are:

- (i) Gànám̂n (Ghanaian); (ii) Índlám̂n (Indian);
- (iii) Jùm̂n (Jew); (iv) Jàm̂nm̂n (German);
- (v) Ínglism̂n (Englishman) (vi) Chàyní(z)m̂n (Chinese);
- (vii) L̀nd̀n̂m̂n (Londoner); (viii) Tìm̀n̂m̂n (Temne);
- (ix) K̀nóm̂n (Kono); (x) Wàtálóm̂n (man from Waterloo  
(in Sierra Leone));
- (xi) V̀l̀éĵm̂n (Villager).

(17) -mɛnt: two of the four creations noted are used in humorous speech: (i) gbɛmɛnt (Yoruba: gbe (steal) + '-ment') = stealing;

(ii) màrámɛnt (Mende sources: mara + '-mɛnt') = coquettish or foolish behaviour;

the other two, unlike the previous two, refer to concrete things:

(i) kɔ̀s(tà)mɛnt Eng.: 'customance' (Hancock, 1971, pp.143-4) + '-ment' = customer;

(ii) kùshúmɛnt (Eng.: 'cashew' + '-ment') = a plant root boiled and water drunk for aphrodisiac effect.

(18) -nɛs: words with this suffix tend to be less abstract than English words with '-ness':

(i) ítɛnɛs (Eng.: 'heat' + '-ness') = heat - a particular instance of);

(ii) lɛknɛs (Eng.: 'like' + '-ness') = a gesture of love.

(19) -ɔ̀s: one item has been noted: ɔ̀strɔ̀s (nonsense word ɔ̀str + English: adjectival suffix '-ous') adj. (humorous), foolish, stupid.

(20) -pùl: this does not occur in carryovers, but from the analogy of 'triple', Krio has fópùl (Eng.: 'four' + '-ple') = four times.

(21) -ship: formations with this ending occur in humorous speech:

- (i) kòzínshìp (Eng.: 'cousin' + '-ship') = the status of cousin;
- (ii) lídáshìp (Eng.: 'leader + -ship') apart from the meaning of 'leadership' that this word has in Krio, it is also used derisively to mean 'the fact of being leader and all the trappings and airs associated with it'.
- (iii) mámáshìp (Eng.: 'mama' + '-ship') = status of mother;
- (iv) pàdíshìp (Eng.: 'paddy' (friend) + '-ship') = close friendship;
- (v) révrénshìp (Eng.: 'reverend + '-ship') = status of priesthood;
- (vi) sìstáshìp (Eng.: 'sister' + '-ship') = relationship through being a sister.

(22) -shòn: three items are worthy of note:

- (i) ìmprúvshòn (Eng.: 'improve' + '-sion') used sarcastically to mean the very opposite of 'improvement': 'a supposed improvement which really worsens matters!'

The other two items are not exactly creations but have semantic peculiarities:

- (ii) néshòn (Eng.: 'nation') apart from 'nation', this word means 'nationality, tribe, race' as well as 'vast throng of people'.
- (iii) ténshòn (Eng.: 'attention/tension') verb = discipline.



(23) -ti: humorous as well as sarcastic formations exist:

- (i) Èvìnésítì (Eng.: 'heaviness' + '-ity') = heaviness;
- (ii) fìbànésítì (Eng.: 'favourness' + '-ity') = resemblance;
- (iii) glàdìnésítì (Eng.: 'gladness' + '-ity') = uncalled for rejoicing;
- (iv) jòkòlárítì (Yoruba: joko (sit down) + 'arity') = the act of sitting down;

Some carry-overs have peculiarly Krio meanings:

- (v) àbílítì (Eng.: 'ability') = kind of man's hair line;
- (vi) m̀tálítì (Eng.: 'mortality') collective noun meaning 'crowds of people'.

### Suffixes (2)

Krio created derivational suffixes also exist as follows:

- (1) -i: this may be related to the English hypocoristic suffix: '-ie', as in 'shortie' (a short person). It may also have African origins (see also 'Reduplications'). It is highly productive in Krio, especially with surnames, which sometimes even lose their last syllable in favour of the -i ending in familiar speech, e.g. Tèlí < Télì (Taylor); Jònsí < Jòns (Jones), Rìchí < Ríchàds (Richards), cf. also

'Jonsey', 'Richey', used colloquially in Britain. More examples of hypocoristic formations are:

- (i) smàylí (Eng.: 'smile' + -i) = person always smiling;
- (ii) swànkí (Eng.: 'swank' + -i) = swanker;
- (iii) frèrchí (Eng.: 'French' + i) = French style suit.

Many diminutive or pejorative formations also exist, e.g.:

- (i) swítì (Eng.: 'sweet' + -i) = 'serves you right!';
- (ii) pìsàbédì (Eng.: 'piss' a + 'bed' + -i) = one who wets his bed;
- (iii) dàftí (Eng.: 'daft' + -i) = stupid person.

In the following item it has no suggestion of derogation or even hypocorism either:

pàntàpí (Eng.: 'upon' + 'top' + '-i') = 'lapa' worn by women on top of other clothes.

(2) -ina: this ending seems to have been suggested by the pattern in female names like 'Jestina' (cf Fyle & Jones, *ibid*, p.215). Alternatively, it could be a fusion of English 'thing' + '-er'. The items it occurs in are:

- (i) fàstínà (fast + ina) = precocious (of young girl);
- (ii) làstínà (last + ina) = last child born in a family.

In both cases it is used melioratively.

(3) -o: the source of this suffix is not clear. It is nominal, has superlative connotations and is used in informal speech:

- (i) daydó (die + -o) = thing/person that is cheap, feeble, worthless;
- (ii) pwéló (spoil + -o) = incompetent, stupid person;
- (iii) slaydó ('slide' + -o) = person expert at avoiding others;
- (iv) spídó ('speed' + -o) = person who drives too fast; person who does things very fast.

(4) -ɔ: the phonological form of this agentive suffix or other type of nominal marker is ɔ, probably because of vowel harmony. The usage is colloquial.

- (i) bɔ́lɔ́ (Eng.: 'ball' > Krio: 'fail an exam' + ɔ) = one who persistently fails exams;
- (ii) wɔ́tɔ́ (Eng.: 'worth' + -ɔ) = a very wealthy person, cf. wɔ́tmán.

(5) -s: this suffix is typically used hypocoristically, or sometimes diminutively with words like bɔ́y, gáɪ (note that gáɪ is not the common form in Krio, gyáɪ is), without a plural denotation.

- (i) bɔ́ys (boys) - affectionate or derisive term for a boy or man, with the meaning 'our friend', e.g.

dèn nò kòngòsá ǎ dǔ yèt nà í bóys dráp =

they'd hardly finished gossiping about him before our  
friend in question turned up;

(ii) gáls (girls) - (same usage as for bóys), e.g.

Gáls, kúshé! = Hello (girl) friend!

Hancock (1980, p.76) notes other examples of this kind of use of -s when it replaces a final consonant or consonant cluster, e.g. àjíríks 'a West Indian' (< àjírèké Yoruba); brábs 'term of address' (< bra). To these can be added bóbs - term of address (bó + s); sòjís (soldier); sènjàgs 'a prostitute' (< senjago (Port) prostitute).

(6) -u: the form of this suffix may be another case of vowel harmony:

gùdù (Eng.: 'good' + '-u') also meaning 'serves you right!'



## CHAPTER TEN

## COMPOUNDS

10.1 Introduction

In this section, compounds that are carry-overs from English cognates and creolised compounds are discussed. The term 'creolised' is used here because some of the compounds that are not carry-overs also occur in other creole languages, especially as 'grammatical' words (cf Stress-Tone Correspondences, pp.196 & 198 and see infra).

It is useful to start by defining 'compounds' in Krio. Basically, creolised compounds are created by the compounding of two or more bases or by reduplication. Usually, and except for some reduplications, each base is English-derived. In a few bi-morphemic compounds, however, either the first or the second base is derived from an African language, e.g. bàbúotó (Eng.:) 'baboon' + (Temne) wotho = ugly ; sàmbalétà (Mende) sambo 'disgrace' + (Eng.) 'letter'.

In defining a (compound) word in Krio, Johnson (1974, p.84) suggests a 'congruence of grammatical and phonological criteria', and distinguishes between 'morphological compounds', as in bigyay LF (greedy), tàntàn LF (wilful delay), and word sequences, as in big yay HF (big eyes), tàn tòn HF (to stir), by arguing that a 'suspected compound' with an initial H tone is not a compound but a word sequence (ibid, p.108). He also maintains that semantic features are not adequate to distinguish a compound from a non-compound (ibid, p.113). Fyle and Jones (op. cit., p.xxiii) also define word compounds as 'collocates which differ phonologically from the individual items

of which they are made up', adding that 'the classic test for word compounding in Krio is the change from high to low tone on the first high syllable of the compound. This change is usually accompanied by grammatical and semantic differences' (ibid). They also assert that:

when a collocate differs only semantically (not phonologically or grammatically) from its individual words, the collocate is regarded not as a compound but as an idiom

(ibid)

It is clear from the foregoing postulations that Johnson, and Fyle and Jones regard tonal change (i.e. a change of the first H tone syllable of a compound) as the essential characteristic of a compound in Krio and consider semantic change the least important criterion, if not a merely incidental result. However, while it is true that the majority of compounds have a low tone where a high would occur on the pre-final base if it were a separate word, it is also true that a good number of compounds do not undergo this phonological change and retain a pre-final H tone. Indeed, many such examples are recorded as such in K.E.D. (see *infra*). We may note that the tendency for English-derived words to have an initial low tone as a creolising feature is not exclusive to compounds, as has been noted (see *Stress-Tone Correspondences* p.178). Taking all this into account, a congruence of phonological, grammatical and semantic criteria will be used in this thesis for recognising compounds in Krio. One might add that the phonological criterion is not always reliable but the grammatical and semantic criteria usually are, and in any case, the three together are an infallible guide.

Here are two sets of examples - one with the phonological criterion working and the other without:

- A. e.g.
- (i) langatrot LLF langa (long) HL (adj.) + trot (throat) F  
(noun) verb = to tantalise;
  - (ii) lɛfandul LHL lɛf (leave) H (verb) + andul (handle) HL  
(noun) verb = to deliberately resort to wildness, or irresponsibility;
  - (iii) kakto LF kak (cocked) H (adj.) + to (Toe) F  
(noun) noun = a sore toe.

B.(e.g. - with initial H: phonological criterion not applicable):

- (i) badwɔd HF bad H (bad) (adj.) + wɔd F (word) (noun)  
noun = obscene language  
(cf Fyle & Jones, *ibid*, p.22);
- (ii) gɔdɔs HF gɔd H (God's) (noun in the possessive) + ɔs F  
(horse) (noun) noun = praying mantis;  
(cf Fyle & Jones, *ibid*, p.132).
- (iii) man-dɔks HF man H (male) (adj.) + dɔks F (duck)  
(noun) noun = drake; (not in Fyle & Jones);
- (iv) friwɔd HF fri H (free) (adj.) + wɔd F (word)  
(noun) noun = retort; (cf Fyle & Jones, *ibid*, p.114);

- (v) tangens HF tan H (stand) (verb) + gens F  
 (against) (prep.) (1) verb = work as a menial labourer  
 (2) adj. = ancient;  
 (cf Fyle & Jones, *ibid*, p.359);
- (vi) bigman HF big H (big (adj.)) + man F (man) (noun)  
 (1) noun = elderly man, man of superior status;  
 (2) adj. = mannish, uppish;  
 (cf Fyle & Jones, *ibid*, p.36);
- (vii) man-na-os H-L-F man H (man) (noun) + na L (in)  
 (prep.) + os F (house) (noun) noun = (1) male  
 name, (2) head, dependable male in household  
 (cf Fyle & Jones, *ibid* p.xxiii & pp.236 & 237);
- (viii) man-kan-tɛl H-H-F man H (man) (noun) + kan H  
 (can't) (aux. verb) + tɛl F (tell) (verb) adj.  
 = uncertain,  
 (cf Fyle & Jones, *ibid*, p.236).

Also, many grammatical words (see 'Stress-Tone Correspondences'  
 p.198; also see *infra*, and cf Fyle & Jones, *ibid*, *passim*).

In all the B examples, the grammatical and semantic criteria  
 are what help to identify them as compounds in the absence of a pre-final  
 low tone; (a) badwɔd HF (obscene language) is only distinguishable  
 in speech from (b) bad wɔd H F ('a derogatory/sarcastic remark' i.e.  
 'a bad word') grammatically (i.e. (a) = noun, (b) = adj. + noun)  
 and semantically, and not by tone.



In Krio, compound words can be nouns (e.g. nosol LF nos (nose) + ol (hole) 'nostril(s)'), verbs (e.g. mekes HF mek (make) + es (haste) = 'hurry'), adjectives (e.g. waka-bɔt LLF waka = (walk) + bɔt (about) = 'promiscuous'), adverbs (e.g. tumɔs HF tu (too) + mɔs (much) = 'too much'), (e.g. pantap LF pan (upon) + tap (top) = prepositional - 'on top of'; santɛm HL - san (sun) + tɛm (time) - temporal - 'afternoon'; yaso HL ya (here) + so (so) - place - 'here') interrogative pronouns, (e.g. udat HF u (who) + dat (that) 'who?'; wetin? we (what) + tin (thing) 'what?'), reflexive pronouns, (e.g. yusɛf HF yu (you) + sɛf (self) 'yourself'), sentence coordinators (e.g. jisnɔ HH jis (just) + nɔ (now)HH 'lest'), sentence initiators (e.g. tinkyɑ HH tink (think) + ya (you) = 'can it be that').

Also considered under compounds are multiple elements [whole phrases that have been compounded into single words - these items are hyphenated in this work - e.g. (1) mit-mi-na-elbo L-L-L-H-L (meet-me-at-the-elbow) = 'over-waterish soup'; (2) kloz-to-di L-L-H (close-to-thee) = 'affection shown by fondly keeping near a person; person showing such affection'; (3) push-mi-a-stat L-L-L-F/H (push-me-I-start) = 'car with a faulty battery, which only starts when given a push)] which fulfil our criteria. Some are calques from African languages, e.g. Example 1. - cf. Yoruba kpade mi ni gbɔwɔ, 'diluted stew', lit.: 'meet me at the elbow'; others are simple phrases lifted whole from biblical or liturgical literature and given a secular meaning, e.g. Example 2 - from the fourth line of the hymn 'Jesus, friend of little children' by Walter John Mathams; others still appear to be genuine Krio creations but may be calques that have not been traced to their source, e.g. Example 3. As the three examples show, some even

retain a non-functioning first or second person pronoun as part of the compound. They are discussed more fully in the appropriate section below.

Many of the 'compounds' discussed here are either definite or possible calques for which origins have not been found, others could be considered idioms. The dividing line between calques, idioms and compounds is often arbitrary.

## 10.2 Carry-overs

Different morphological types occur randomly. However, some types are more common than others. The commonest are as follows:-

- 1 (a) noun + noun - pilakesLLF (pila + kes) = pillow case;  
motosikul LHHL (moto + sikul) = motor cycle;
- (b) adjective + noun - majiklantan LLHL (majik + lantan) = magic lantern; evidyuti HLHL (evi + dyuti) = heavy-duty;
- (c) verb + noun - shorum LF (sho + rum) = showroom;  
stopwotch LF (stop + wotch) = stopwatch.

## 2 Phrasal verb or verb complementation types:-

verb + preposition: ful-ɔp H-F (ful + ɔp) verb,  
 adjective = fill; full;

tek-ɔf H-F (tek + ɔf) verb = take off.

(See also section on types common in Creoles).

3(a) Types with the -a(-er) derivational agentive marker:-

(i) object + agentive noun (human): getkipa LHL (get + kipa) = gatekeeper;

shumeka LHL (shu + mek + a) = shoemaker;

object + agentive noun (inanimate): shokabsoba HLHL  
(shok + absob + a) = sock absorber;

skrudrayva LHL (skru + driv + a) = screwdriver;

(ii) adverb + verb + a: ayflaya HHL (ay + flay + a) =  
high flier (high class whore);

letkoma HHL (let + koma + a) = latecomer;

(iii) preposition + verb + a: ondateka LLHL (onda + tek + a)

ovasia LLHL (ova + si + a) = overseer;

(b) Types with the -in (-ing) derivational marker:-

(i) verbal noun in -in + adverbial

(commonest form):

frayinpan LLF (usually shortened to fraypan)

(fray + in + pan) = frying pan;

swiminpul PPL (swim + in + pul) = swimming pool;

(ii) verbal noun in -in + noun (subject):

wɔshin-mashin LLLH (wɔsh + in + mashin) =  
washing machine;

flayinship LLF (usually shortened to flaynship)  
flay + in + ship) = aeroplane (This form is  
probably now obsolete in English.)

(iii) verbal noun in -in + noun (object):

chuingɔm LLF (chu + in + gɔm) = chewing gum;

foldin-chia LLHL (fold + in + chia) = folding chair;

(iv) noun (object) + verbal noun in -in:

tanksgivin LHL (tanks + giv + in) = thanksgiving;

prayzgivin LHL (prayz + giv + in) = prize giving;

(v) adjective/adverb + noun in -in:

evalastin LLHL (eva + last + in) = everlasting;

izi-goin HLHL (izi + go + in) = easy going;

adwɔkin HHL (ad + wɔk + in) = hardworking.

It should be noted that the typical Krio way of expressing the gerund is to use the base form of a verb, i.e. fɔ+MV, e.g.

fɔswim = swimming, as in inɔ̀ lɛ́k fɔ̀ swím 'I like swimming'.

Only highly acrolectal varieties and compounds of the above type use the -in (-ing) form.



### 10.3 Krio-created types based on the -a and -in models

(i) The -a ending has not been very productive. Only the item prɛsa-pin LLF (prɛs + a + pin) = 'sewing-machine foot', obviously modelled on prɛsafut LLF (presserfoot) - a very rare pattern in Krio - has been observed.

(ii) The -in ending has been productive and different types occur as follows:

(a) Creations of the swiminpul type are the most productive, e.g.

1. pakingrɔn LLF (pak + in + grɔn) = open space for parking vehicles;
2. dansinflo LLF (dans + in + flo) = dance floor;
3. dansingrɔn LLF (dans + in + grɔn) = open space used for local/native dancing;
4. dansinɔl LLF (dans + in + ɔl) = dance hall;
5. preinfil LLF (pre + in + fil) = open field where muslims pray;
6. strɛchinkom LLF (strɛch + in + kom) = comb used for straightening and styling hair.

(b) Creations of the wɔshin-mashin type, e.g.:

1. bawnsin-bebi HLLH (bawns + in + bebi) = 'plump, healthy baby; plump woman who walks with a springy step'. (The sequence 'bouncing baby' occurs in English, and is usually complemented with 'boy' or 'girl'). It is regarded as a Krio creation only because it is compounded in Krio;

2. rayzin-bɔmp LLF (rayz + in + bɔmp) = swelling from a burn;

(c) Creations of the chuingəm type, e.g.

1. chuinstik LLF (chu + in + stik) = chewing stick;

2. lɔvin-bɔy LLF (lɔv + in + bɔy) = male sweetheart (cf lover boy);

(d) Creations of the locative noun + abstract verbal noun in -in type:

1. klasmitin LHL (klas + mit + in) = church class meeting;

2. klɔbmitin LHL (klɔb + mit + in) = club meeting.

The item preamitin LLHL (prea + mit + in) = 'prayer meeting' exists as a carry-over, but the pattern is rare for carry-overs;

(e) Creations of the type: adverbial functioning noun in -in + noun (subject) are rare. Only the following item has been noted:

fesinkyap LLF (fes + in + kyap) = (cap with a facing) = peaked cap;

(f) Creations of the type: verbal noun + -in + noun (caused by the action of the verb) - a type not found in English - also occur; e.g.

1. bridinmak LLF (brid + in + mak) = varicose veins, supposed to indicate woman's fertility;

2. lɔvinbɔmp LLF (lɔv + in + bɔmp) = wart on the cheek, supposed to be a sign of being loved;

(g) Another creation on a pattern not found in English is of the type: subject = verbal noun in -in + noun (object) - denoting the activity of the noun

sɔ̃kinblɔ̃d LLF (sɔ̃k + in + blɔ̃d) = ('sucking blood') = leech.

(h) The item fesinklɔ̃t LLF (fes + in + klɔ̃t) (face + ing + cloth) = skin disease, usually of the face (lichen planus), is difficult to categorise since fesin refers to 'face', not 'facing'.

(i) The item selinaweLLH (sel + in + awe) (sailing away) verb = 'to go away gracefully'; (euphemistically) - 'to die', also demonstrates an un-English pattern since the -in form in selin is redundant.

#### 10.4 Compound Grammatical Words: a Common Creole Phenomenon

Compounding as a creative phenomenon in lexicon-building is an essential characteristic of creole languages, many of which use the same or similar principles and each of which has its own unique inventory of creations. Many English-based creoles share compound cognates the elements of which were derived from English words, but which have been compounded only in the creole languages. Such compounds may be:

(i) calques from African languages, e.g. doklin HF  
 [do ('door') = outside) + klin (clean)] = dawn- calqued from Wolof:  
bar bu set (lit: 'day clean') (Turner, op. cit. p.232); Mandinka:

dugu jera (lit: 'the land is cleaned') (Hancock, 1977, p.165) - cf  
 Jamaican Creole: de-klan (dawn); Gullah: de-klan (dawn);  
 Guyanese: de-klan (dawn); Cameroon Pidgin dei-klan (dawn).

(ii) composed of elements the English cognates of which have a very high potential for collocability, but which have been actually compounded in Krio and other creoles, e.g. mekes HF [mek (make) + es (haste)] verb ⇒ hurry - cf. Franan: mecesi (hurry);  
 Guyanese Creole: mekes (hurry), Jamaican Creole: mekies (hurry);  
 Gullah: mecés (hurry) (ibid, pp.38,39).

But the types most commonly shared by English-based creoles, in addition to being calques and/or highly collocable elements in their source forms, are grammatical as opposed to lexical words. They are mostly locatives or adverbs that have been compounded with complementising particles, e.g. jisnɔ HL [jis (just) + nɔ (now.)] = 'presently'; and interrogative and other, usually adverbial, elements that have been 'paraphrased' into two-element compounds, e.g. ustɛm HF [us ('whose' = which) + tɛm (time)] = when. Also considered in this subsection are some types whose English cognates are phrasal verbs. These notably have as their second element forms like dɔn (down), (a)we (away), ɔp/ap (up), ɔf (off) and -ɔt (out). They are, strictly speaking, not grammatical words and have only been grouped here because they are commonly found in English-based creoles.

Some of these items, particularly ones derived from English phrasal verbs, have, in Krio (as presumably in other Creoles)



undergone some phonological modification as a result of the compounding - e.g. 'come' = kam, which becomes kɔm in kòmɔt (come out, go out); 'get' = gɛ(t), which is blended, almost beyond recognition with ɔp (up), which becomes ap in grap (get up), cf English dialect form [gɛ'rʌp], -t > r in some British dialects. Also, some are synchronically hardly divisible into two elements in Krio - e.g. sìdòm is obviously diachronically derived from 'sit + down', but the verb 'to sit' is always sìdòm in Krio and there is no synchronic justification for analysing it further. Such items are only regarded as compounds, therefore, from a diachronic and/or comparative standpoint.

The following sources have been relied upon for cognates from other creoles:- Bailey, 1966, p.17; Cassidy, 1961, p.437ff; Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, passim; Ehteld, op. cit., pp.141-149; Hancock, 1969, pp.36-67; Taylor, 1977, p.244ff; Hall, 1967, pp. 57 & 62.<sup>1</sup>

For some items, only the Krio form has been given - either because they occur only in Krio, or because cognates for them in other creoles have not been found in the sources available. However, since this work is about Krio, the absence of such cognates should not matter very much, and the point about grammatical compounds being a common creole phenomenon is still made with the evidence available.

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<sup>1</sup> I am aware that comparable data is not always available on some of the other pidgins and creoles. Hancock's lists, for example, are based partly on Schneider's dictionary, which Schneider himself criticises from its phonological point of view. I cannot therefore vouch for the accuracy of the lists. They happened to be the ones available and most closely related to the discussion.

**TEXT CUT  
OFF IN  
ORIGINAL**

1. Phrasal Verb Types:

(a) verb + adverb (locative): second element - dɔN (down)

KRIO	JAMAICAN	SRANAN	SARAMACCAN	GUYANESE	GULLAH	CAMEROON	OTHER
(i) <u>sidɔN</u> LF [ <u>si</u> (sit)+ <u>dɔN</u> (down)] verb = sit	sidɔn	sidɔn	sindɔ	sidɔwŋ	sesawŋ	ʃidɔŋ	Tok Pisin sindawn
(ii) <u>lidɔN/ledɔN</u> LF [ <u>li/le</u> (lie)+ <u>dɔN</u> (down)] verb=lie (down)	lidɔŋ	lidɔn/didɔn	lidɔn/didɔn	ledɔŋ	ledawŋ	ladɔŋ	
(iii) <u>fɔdɔN</u> LF [ <u>fɔ</u> (fall)+ <u>dɔN</u> (down)] verb=fall, also mini-bus drivers' slang for 'alight'	fadɔŋ	fadon	fadon	fa:ldɔwŋ	ɸɔdawn		
(b) Verb + adverb (locative): second element - (a)we (away)							
(i) <u>trowe</u> LH [ <u>tro</u> (throw)+ <u>we</u> (away)] verb = throw	trowe	trowe	tue	trowe		trowe	
(ii) <u>ɾɔnawe</u> LLH [ <u>ɾɔn</u> (run)+ <u>awe</u> (away)] verb=escape	lowe						Tok Pisin gowe
(iii) <u>gowe</u> HF [ <u>go</u> (go)+ <u>we</u> (away)] (1)verb=go far away disappear; (2) interjection='Get out!'	gwe						

Other items in Krio are, e.g.:

- (iv) give LH [gi (give) + we (away)] verb = give away  
 (v) ktawe LLH [ktɔt (cut)+awe(away)](1)verb=slip away;  
 (2) noun = kind of style in men's shirt or jacket  
 (vi) stowe LH [sto (stow) + we (away)] verb/noun =  
 stowaway

Hall (1967, p.62) reports that the 'suffixes' /-ɔp/(up), /-awt/(out), /-dawn/(down) and /-we/(away) are freely used in Tok Pisin to form new derivatives.

(c) verb + adverb (locative): second element - ap/ɔp (up)

	KRIO	JAMAICAN	SRANAN	SARAMACCAN	GUYANESE	GULLAH	CAMEROON	OTHER
(i) <u>tinap</u> LF [ <u>ti</u> (stand) + <u>ap</u> (up)] verb = stand		tanap	tnapu/ tanopo	taamapu/ tan-a-pe	stanɔp	tanap	tanɔp	
(ii) <u>ful-ɔp</u> HF [ <u>ful</u> (full) + <u>ɔp</u> (up)] (1) verb = fill; (2) adj. = full up		ful(op)					fulɔp	<u>Tok Pisin:</u> pulap
(iii) <u>grap</u> F [ <u>ger</u> , cf. Eng.: dialect [ <u>ger</u> ](get) + <u>ap</u> (up)] verb = get up							jɔrɔp	

Krio-created items with -ɔp abound. -ɔp also appears to be a common post-verbal particle in Jamaican (Cassidy, 1961, p.437ff; Cassidy & Le Page, 1967, passim). Its main function in Krio seems to be that of intensifying the meaning of the verb. This is also one of its functions in Jamaican (Bailey, 1966, p.17). A few examples are here analysed to show the diversity of the underlying form :



- (i) bɔls-ɔp LH bɔls (balls, i.e. the testes) noun + ɔp  
(up) adverb verb = to confuse or spoil an arrangement  
(not in polite use);
- (ii) bwɛl-ɔp LH [bwɛl (boil) verb + ɔp (up) adverb] verb =  
euphemism for 'cook';
- (iii) bɔst-ɔp LH bɔst (burst) adj. + ɔp (up) adverb noun =  
brawl;
- (iv) ans-ɔp HF ans (hands) noun + ɔp (up) adverb  
(1) verb = hold upon weapon point  
(2) interjection 'put your hands up!'
- (v) bil-ɔp LH bil (built) adj + ɔp (up) adverb  
adjective = (of a person) solvent;
- (vi) chɛk-ɔp LH chɛk (check) verb + ɔp (up) adverb  
(1) verb = give person a strong warning (cf Eng:  
'investigate'); (2) noun = (a) a strong warning  
(b) a medical check-up;
- (vii) ib-ɔp HF ib (heave) verb + ɔp (up) adverb verb =  
leave, go away. This item is from nautical sources:  
'heave up', referring to pulling anchor (cf Hancock,  
1976 p.31);
- (viii) tɔnɔp LF tɔn (turned) adjective + ɔp (up) adverb  
noun = trousers with the hems turned up.

(d) verb + adverb (locative): second element - ɔt (out)

<u>KRIO</u>	<u>JA</u>	<u>SR</u>	<u>SM</u>	<u>GY</u>	<u>GU</u>	<u>CAM</u>
(i) <u>kɔmɔt</u> LF [ <u>kɔm</u> (come) + t (out)] verb = come out, go out, leave.	komɔwt	kmɔtɔ	kumutu			kɔmɔt

Krio has other items like:

(ii) tɔnɔt LF tɔn (turn) + ɔt (out) verb = grow wild, act like one who is angry;

(iii) slipɔt LH slip (sleep) + ɔt (out) verb = sleep out of home (a pejorative word).

The decreolised form of this word: slipawt LH is now more popular. It also occurs in recent derivations like brɛkawt LH, n. 'pimples or body rash'; tɔnawt LF, n. 'turnout', cf dɔN > dawn, as in brɛkdawn LH n. breakdown (of vehicle); kɔmdawn LH, n. 'a come-down, a downfall'.

(e) verb + adverb (locative): second element - bay (by)

<u>KRIO</u>	<u>JA</u>	<u>SR</u>	<u>SM</u>	<u>GY</u>	<u>GU</u>	<u>CAM</u>
<u>tambay</u> LH [ <u>tam</u> (stand)+ <u>bay</u> (by)] verb: attend, wait expectantly	tambay	stambay		stambay	tambay	

In Krio, stambay LH, noun, = sandal(s), while standbay LH noun = something to turn to if all else fails.

(f) verb + verb

<u>KRIO</u>		<u>JA</u>	<u>SR</u>
<u>lɛgo</u> HL <u>lɛ</u> (let) + <u>go</u> (go) verb =		<u>lɛgo</u>	<u>lɛgo</u>
leave, let go of, release			

In Krio, this word also has the following meanings: (1) move away into the distance; (2) (informal) defecate.

2. Grammatical types

(a) Preposition + noun (locative)

<u>KRIO</u>		<u>JA</u>	<u>SR</u>	<u>GY</u>	<u>GU</u>	<u>CAM</u>
<u>pantap</u> LF <u>pan</u> (upon)+ <u>tap</u> (top)	<u>pantap</u>	<u>na-tapoe</u>	<u>pantap</u>	<u>pantap</u>	<u>pantap</u>	<u>ntɔp</u>

(1) loc. = on top, above;

(2) noun = the top of;

(3) prep. = over & above, in addition to.

Turner (1969, p.283) notes that this item is a calque from the Yoruba expression li o ri 'on', literally: 'upon the top'.

Other Krio-created prepositions+ noun formations exist,

e.g.

- (i) ɔplayn HF [ɔp (up) + layn (line(s))] loc. = the provinces of Sierra Leone (which were commonly accessible by train till the 1960s, hence layn = railway lines);
- (ii) ɔpgarɛt LHF [ɔp (up) + (garret)] loc. = (on) the top floor;
- (iii) ɔpklawd HF [ɔp (up) + klawd (cloud)] loc. = up the sky;
- (iv) biɛnkɔna LHHL [biɛn (behind) + kɔna (corner)]  
 (1) loc. round the corner,  
 (2) adv.: surreptitiously, in secret;
- (v) biɛnyad LHF [biɛn (behind) + yad (yard)] loc. = the back yard of a house.



(b) Adverb + adverb

KRIIO

(1) ɟɟsnɔ HL [ɟɟɟs (just) + nɔ (now)]

(1) adverb = soon, presently, a short while ago; (2) H<sup>1</sup>H sentence initiator = lest, for fear that;

(11) bambay LH [ba (by) + m (and) + bay (by)]

(1) adverb = by & by, later on; (2) sentence initiator = lest; (3) noun = one's future

(111) nɔnmɔ HH nɔ (no) + mɔ (more) (1) adverb = only; (2) sentence initiator/conjunction = only.

(1v) ɟɟawe HF fa (far) + we (away) adverb = far away

	JAMAICAN	SRANAN	SARAMACCAN	GUYANESE	GULLAH	CAMEROON	OTHER
	ɟɟsnow	dɟɟonsno	ɟɟnsu	ɟɟsnɔw	ɟɟɟsnɔw	ɟɟsnɔ/ɟɟsnau	
	bambay	bambay		bambay	bambay	baɟambɟaɟ	
	nomo	nomo/nɔnmɔ	nɔɔ	nɔnmɔ	nɔnmɔ	nɔnmɔ	
	ɟɟarawɟe	ɟɟarawe		ɟɟarawe	ɟɟarawe	ɟɟawe	

(c) Adverb + adjective: second element - mɔs (much)

	JAMAICAN	SRANAN	SARAMACCAN	GUYANESE	GULLAH	CAMEROON	OTHER
KRIO	homotʃ	ɔmeni	homɛni	hɔwmɔtʃ	hamatʃ	hamɔʃ	
(1) <u>mɔs</u> HF [ <u>ɔ</u> (how) + <u>mɔs</u> (much)]							
interrogative = how much; how many							
(See also (d))							
(11) <u>tumɔs</u> HF [ <u>tu</u> (too) + <u>mɔs</u> (much)] (1) adjective = excessive; (2) adverb = excessively.	tumotʃ	tumsi	tumusi	tu:mɔtʃ	tamɔtʃ	tumɔʃ	Tok P1s tumɔtʃ
Hancock (1977, p.165) notes that this is also a calque - cf Twi: <u>dodo</u> , Yoruba: <u>kpukpɔ</u> 'too much, very much';							
(d) <u>Interrogatives - Interrogative Pronoun + noun</u>							<u>Chinese Pidgin Eng.</u> :
(1) <u>ustɛm</u> HF [ <u>us</u> (whose = which) + <u>tɛm</u> (time)]	wɛntaym	ɔten	un-te	witem	ɔataym	hustaym	hwataym
Interrogative = when;							
(11) usay HF [ <u>us</u> ('whose' = which) + <u>say</u> (side)]	wisayd	usay	use	wisay	ɔisay	husay	
Interrogative = where							

(111) uspat HF [us ('whose')] = which) + pat (part)]

Interrogative = where

opat

(1v) uda(t) HF [u (who) + dat (that)] Interrogative =

hu:(dat)

hu(dat) hudat

who

(v) wetin HF [we (what) + tin (thing)] Interrogative =

Nigerian  
Pidgin

wetl

wetin

what

(v1) wetindu HHF [we (what) + tin (thing) + du (do)]

wa-mek

wɔ-m k

Int. = Why, what's wrong? Calqued from Igbo:

genemere (lit: what (thing) does?)

Krio also has (v11) uswan HF [us ('whose' = which + wan 'one')]

Int. = which ; which one.

(v11) uskanaba HHLL [us ('whose' = which + kan (kind) + ab (of) + a (a)],

uskayn HF [us ('whose' = which + kayn (kind)]  
Int. = which kind of; which.

wuskayn

(e) Numeral + noun = adverb (locative)

KRIO	JAMAICAN	SRANAN	SARAMACCAN	GUYANESE	GULLAH	CAMEROON	OTHER
wantɛm HL [wan (one) + tɛm (time)] = adverb = now, immediately.	wantaym	wante(n)		wantaym	wantaym	wantɛm	

In Krio, this word is also a sentence initiator

meaning: (1) suddenly; (2) suppose. It

can also function adjectivally as the first

element of a complex compound, e.g. wantɛn-dengs

LL-H (dengs = ideophone expressing achievement) =

noun = something achieved at first try.

Note the change in word class and tone pattern.

(f) Adjective + locative

(1) trade LF [tra (the other) + de (day)]

tradey

trɔde

loc. = recently, the other day;

(11) nekstumara HLHL [neks (next) + tumara

tratamara oto-amara

nekstumaro

(tomorrow)] loc. the day after tomorrow.

Krio also has forms like laswik HF = last

week; & montɔn LF [mont (mont) + ɔn (done)] also a locative = the ending of the month. The combination is: possessive noun  
(mont) + verbal noun (ɔn).



(g) Other formations with -tɛm and -say as second elements

	KRIO	JAMAICAN	SRANAN	SARAMACCAN	GUYANESE	GULLAH	CAMEROON	OTHER
(i)	<u>ɔltɛm</u> HF [ <u>ɔl</u> (au) + <u>tɛm</u> (time)]		alaten				ɔltaym	
(ii)	<u>sɔntɛm</u> LH <u>sɔn</u> (some) + <u>tɛm</u> (time)							
	(loc) adv. = perhaps		sɔnten (sɔnten)	sɔnte	sɔmtaym		sɔmtaym	
(iii)	<u>fɔstɛm</u> HF <u>fɔs</u> (first) + <u>tɛm</u> (time)							
	(loc) adv. = formerly	fɔstaym	fosten	fɔsufosu	fɔstaym	bifɔtaym	fɔstaym	

In Krio, fɔstɛm is also an adjective meaning

'former', 'of bye-gone days', while the decreolised

fɔstaym LF is a noun meaning 'an ingenious lie or trick'.

(iv) oltɛm LF ol (old) + tɛm (time) adj. + noun (loc)

adj. = old-fashioned

uoltaym

owruten

awoote

oltaym

oltaym

oltaym

Writing about '/-tajm/' (cf Krio-tɛm) in Chinese

Pidgin English, Hall (ibid, p.57) says: /-tajm/, indicating time when (is) added to

nouns and to numerals indefinites, demonstratives, and interrogatives; for

example /najtajm/"when it is night, /at/night-time"; /tutajm/ "twice": /ɔltajm/

"all the time, always":/distajm/"this time":/hwatajɱ/"at what time? When?". This is based on Chinese usage (Dr. A. Fox - personal communication). In Krio, tɛm also indicates 'time when' in most of its uses. It can (i) be added to nouns and locatives, as in santɛm HL [san (sun) + tɛm (time)] locative = afternoon; detɛm HL [de (day) + tɛm (time)] locative = during the day; ivintɛm HLF [ivin (evening) + tɛm (time)] locative = in the evening;

(ii) bɛ added to wan (one) although we cannot say it is regularly added to numerals; even though 'twice' = tu tɛm, 'thrice' = tri tɛm, etc., tɛm is a separate word. The decreolised form tutaym LF - tu (two) + taym (time) - verb = 'to two-time, deceive a lover with someone else', also occurs;

(iii) be used to form indefinites, e.g. ɔltɛm HF/ɛvritɛm HLF (adj + tɛm) = all the time, always;

(iv) combine with the demonstrative da, as in datɛm HF [da (that) + tɛm] adverb = then; datɛnde HHF [da (that) + tɛm (time) + de (there)] adverb = then, at that time, datɛnwe HHH [datɛm + we (when)] adverb = when;

(v) be used to form the interrogative ustɛm HF (see supra).

(vi) be used to form adjectives, e.g. oltɛm LF (see supra); lɔntɛm HL [lɔn (long) + tɛm (time)] adj. = former, ancient.

On the functions of "/-sajd/" (cf. Krio-say) in Chinese Pidgin English (also based on Chinese usage), Hall says (ibid):

'/-sajd, indicating place where-"at..., at... 's place" - (is)added to nouns, personal pronouns, and certain adverbs or adverbial stems: for example/dɔksajd/ "at (to) the docks"; /majɔsajd/ "at my place"; /tápsajd", "at the top, above". In Krio, say also indicates 'place where', as well as 'part or area vaguely indicated'. In many of its uses it is synonymous with pat, which, however, cannot always be substituted for say, as we shall see. It can be added to:

(i) nouns, e.g.

(1) watasay LLF [wata (water) + say (side)] noun = waterside, coast  
 cf JA: wa:tasayd; SR: watrasedj; SM watasɛ; GY: wɔtasayd;  
 GU: βa:təsay;

(2) fayasay LLF [faya (fire) + say (side)] noun = fireplace (especially outdoors);

(3) baksay LF [bak (back) + say (side)] noun = backside, anus, hips - usually abusive.

pat cannot be substituted in any of these cases.

(ii) adverbials or prepositions - e.g.

(1) bifosay LHF [bifo (before) + say (side)] loc -  
 (1) the front of; (2) somewhere ahead;

(2) longsay LF 'alongside' verb = sidle up to, be obsequious (to a person) with a purpose for gain;

(3) ɔpsay LF [ɔp (up) + say (side)] (1) adj. = (of a soccer player) off side; (2) verb = frustrate another person's plans; do person out of otherwise certain benefits, etc.;

HF loc. = part or place further on or near the top.

In this locative use pat can be substituted for say.

(iii) numerals - e.g. (1) wansay LF [wan (one) + say (side)]

(1) adj. = one-sided; (2) verb = to twist to one side;

HF loc. = a certain place, in a certain direction, aside.

It would be unidiomatic to use pat instead of say here;

tusay LF adj. = two-sided; trisay LF adj. = three-sided, etc.

(iv) adjectives, - e.g. (1) rongsay LF [rɔng (wrong) + say (side)] noun = (1) the inner side of a dress; (2) the anus;

(2) chipsay LH [chip (cheap) + say (side), cf 'Cheapside'] = noun = place where goods are sold very cheaply.

pat cannot be substituted in these cases.

(v) indefinites - e.g. (i) ɔlsay HF [ɔl (all) + say (side)]

loc. = everywhere; ɔlpat HF [ɔl (all) + pat (part)] loc. = everywhere,

cf. SR: alapresi; SM: alapɛ; CAM: ɔlsay;

(ii) ɛnisay HLF [ɛni (any) + say (side)] } loc = anywhere;  
ɛnipat HLF [ɛni (any) + pat (part)] }

(vi) interrogatives - e.g. usay HF/uspat + HF (see supra).



(h) Adverb + noun

(1) pasmak LF [pas (pass) + mak (mark)] (1) adj./adv. = too much; (2) verb = be too menacingly after (somebody/something). Cognates of this word also occur in other creoles but may not have all the same meanings or uses; cf JA pa:sma:k; SR: psamarci; SM: pasamau; CAI: pasmak;

(2) fulbo HF [ful (full) + bo (bore)] adv. = at full speed.

(i) Interjection

adu LH [a (how) + du(do); apparent conflation with Yoruba: adukpe LLH (also in Krio) = greetings!] = Int. = greetings! How do you do? cf JA: howdi; SR: ɔdi/odi; SM: odi/ufi; GY: hɔwdi; GU: hɔdi.

(j) Place locative + intensifier

yaso HF [ya (here) + so (intensifier)] locative (emphatic) = here; cf JA: yaso; SR: jaso; GU: yaso.

(k) Reflexive pronouns

Krio, like some other creoles, but unlike modern English, has a form that distinguishes the second person plural from the second person singular: unu/una LL (non-contrastive) you (plural); HH (contrastive) you (plural). It is derived from lpo. It is also the first element of the reflexive pronoun meaning 'yourselves, you, yourselves'. Krio, however, unlike English, does not distinguish between the sexes or between human and non-human objects in the third person pronoun.

The full list is as follows:

- (1) misɛf HF [mi (me) + sɛf (self)] pron. = myself, me myself;
- (2) yusɛf HF [yu (you) + sɛf (self)] pron. = yourself, you yourself (sing);
- (3) insɛf HF [in (him) + sɛf (self)] pron. = himself, herself, itself;
- (4) wisɛf HF [wi (we) + sɛf (self)] pron. = ourselves, we ourselves;
- (5) unasɛf/unusɛf LLF [unu (Ibo: you (plural) + sɛf (self)] pron. = yourselves, you yourselves;
- (6) dɛnsɛf HF [dɛn (them) + sɛf (self)] pron. = themselves, they themselves.

We may note that some compound forms in English are not compounds in Krio, e.g. 'midnight' míduł nɛt.

## 10.5 Lexical Compounds - Bi-morphemic

We now turn our attention to the most productive types of compounds. These types are mostly bi-morphemic, but can also be tri-morphemic with, for example, the first two elements forming a base for further compounding, as in: sídɔmples LLF [si (sit) + dɔm (down)] + ples (place)] noun = seat; was-an-besin L-H-HL [was (wash) + an (hand)] + besin (basin)] noun = wash basin. Other types of tri- or poly-morphemic compounds are discussed in another subsection. This section concentrates on bi-morphemic types.

Alleyne (1980) observes that many lexemes in 'Afro-American dialects' have been formed on a labelling pattern by which 'objects are named in terms of an association between two primary objects' (p.114) and that this pattern 'parallels...the verb serialization and complementation in the syntax' (p.228: note 52). This observation seems reasonable. Many such items are calques from African languages. Typical examples from Krio are (1) nosol LF [nos (nose) + ol (hole)] n.= nostril (cf Igbo: oYele imi, lit.: 'nose hole'), cf Jamaican: nuoz oul, Sranan: noso oro; (2) yaywata LLH [yay (eye) + wata (water)] n = tears (cf Igbo: aña mmiri, lit.: 'eye water'); cf Jamaican: ay waata, Saramaccan: wáta wóyo, Sranan: watra ay. There are also creations or incoinings in these Creoles, based on 'an underlying semantic pattern which is most probably West African in origin' (p.115), e.g. Krio anko LH [an (and) + ko (company)] n.= an accomplice or colleague; kɔtnɛk LF [kɔt (cut) + nɛk (neck)] n.(adj.) = 'skin creases around the neck, regarded as a sign of beauty'. As Hancock says, however, it is still possible that some of these may be calques whose sources have not yet been traced (1977, p.164).

Another common feature of these Creoles that has its roots in West African languages is the use of metaphorical lexemes with concrete denotations to express concepts that are abstract in English. Alleyne even speculates on the probability that the quality that English speakers regard as abstract may be considered physical from the point of view of the West African or Creole speaker, and gives examples like: (1) tranga yes LLF (literally: 'strong ears') = stubborn(ness) cf Saramaccan: taanga yesi, Sranan: tranga yesi; Jamaican: tranga ed (strong head); Trinidadian: haad ez (hard ears); CP: trɔng hed; (2) bigyay LF (literally: 'big eye(s)') = greed(y);



[cf Sranan: bigiyay, Jamaican: bigyay; Trinidadian: bigay; also CP Guyanese: bigay, Gullah: bigay], cf Igbo: aña uku 'greed', literally: 'eye big' (see pp.115-116). But cf Eng.: Your eyes are too big for your belly, i.e. you are greedy.

Hancock (1977, p.162) also explains that even after the early states of the inception of the West African Creoles, 'the prestige, plus sheer universality of English' ensured that even after they had ceased to be a direct source for augmenting the Creoles grammatically and lexically, English-derived morphemes which were already part of the Creole were used whenever possible, in spite of the available African languages, as these were handicapped to serve the function because of their limited currency. As a result, the available English-derived morphemes were 'remodeled, after undergoing semantic modification, to yield accreted creolized forms having no English-language source' - e.g. Krio: switpis LF [swit (sweet) + pis (piss)] = 'diabetes' - an incoining. Hancock also notes that many such formations are definite calques and that calquing was facilitated by the fact that: 'while lexicons differ considerably from language to language in West Africa, structure and idiom share much greater currency, and models for calques...can be found very extensively throughout the area. Loan translations of this sort had a good chance of being widely intelligible, relying as they did upon Pan-African idiom and English derived morphemes' (p.163).

Further examples of calques, incoining and other lexical-expansion devices are given under separate sub-sections. These phenomena have had to be considered here as many of the compounds we are considering are instances of them, as we shall see.



The rest of this sub-section considers the relationships between the elements of the compounds, which are indicated by syntactic paraphrases. Some superficially similar compounds reveal different grammatical meanings in their 'deep structures' - e.g. compare

- (1) kolrɛs LF [kol (cold) + rɛs (rice)] adjective + noun > noun =  
'rice that has been left overnight but is not necessarily cold when eaten'

with

- (2) kolkyap LF [kol (cold) + kyap (cap)] noun + noun > noun =  
'cap for keeping away the cold'.

(These examples show how compounds can serve as a means for 'telegraphic speech', cf Downing, 1977, p.815).

Compare also:

- (3) kɔbably LLF [kɔba (cover) + blay (Port: basket)] noun + noun >  
noun = 'basket with a cover'

with

- (4) kɔbaklos LLF [kɔba (cover) + klos (clothes)] noun + noun > noun =  
(cloth for covering oneself) coverlet.

One reason for this superficial resemblance between many heterogeneous formations is the fact that Krio uses derivational suffixation much less than English, for example. We must note, however, that, even in English, there are many superficially similar compounds which are not homogeneous - e.g.: 'chewing-gum' (a gum for chewing) versus 'washing

machine' (a machine that washes). Also, English does not always use the resources of derivational suffixation either - e.g. 'crybaby' (rather than 'crying-baby').

1. Noun 1 + noun 2 ~ noun 2 of noun 1 - a productive type
- (a) domɔt LF do + mɔt ~ mouth of the door = (n) doorway;
- (b) gɔtayes HLF gɔtaɪyɛs ~ ears of the gutter = (n) gutter's edge;
- (c) kɔpandul HHL kɔp + andul ~ (n) handle of a cup = the handle of a cup;
- (d) nosol LF nos + ol ~ hole(s) of the nose = (n) nostrils (calque; see p.291 );
- (e) bɔdtrot LF bɔd + trot ~ throat of a bird = (n) very small throat; short, small neck;
- (f) kɔntik LF kɔn + tik ~ stick of corn = (n) corn cob;
- (g) bɛlɛat LLF bɛlɛ+ at ~ hurt(ing) of the belly = (n) stomach ache;
- (h) babuyay LLF babu + yay ~ eyes of a baboon = (n) opening of the lower eyelid with the fingers to indicate that one is shaming a person.
- (i) bɛlɛwɔd LLF bɛlɛ+ wɔd ~ word(s) of the belly = (n) confidences, private thoughts (calque, cf Mandinka: kɔrɔmakuma, lit.: 'belly (or inside) speech' (Hancock, 1977, p.166).
- (j) gridibɔmp LLF gridi + bɔmp ~ bump of greed = sty on the eye, supposedly caused by meanness.

Most of such formations can be used metaphorically, as has been noted. One of Huttar's conclusions, after studying the use of 20 morphemes in 43 languages, is pertinent here. He says: 'when morphemes are borrowed from a socially dominant language into a pidgin, and extended in usage as in a creole, the major factor determining the direction of such extensions is the linguistic background of the speakers of languages other than the dominant one' - (1975, p.684). Thus, connotations other than those expected of an English-derived morpheme may have African origins. We must note, however, that even in English, semantic extension of the kind we are discussing is responsible for phrases like 'the mouth of the river', 'the foot of the hill', 'the leg of the table'. Similarly, in Krio, dòmô can be used extensively to refer to many kinds of aperture-type openings. Of the other items, gótayês is usually a very complimentary word, used to refer to the very skilful parking of a vehicle as close to the gutter as is possible. Kópándùl also means 'one related only by marriage and not by blood'. Nòsôl is also a mildly impolite word that can be used abusively, as in ásk mì nòsôl, which is very difficult to translate. Literally it means: 'ask my nostrils', a meaningless remark in English — other body parts can be used abusively in the same way - e.g. yù dàdí gô! literally: 'your father's gut' (used mainly jocularly or by children); ásk mì rás!/ásk mì bàksây! lit.: 'ask my arse/backside!'; ásk mì nòspôs (nose post) > lit: 'ask the bridge of my nose!'; lúk yù môt! lit.: 'look at your mouth!' Also, a very strong term of abuse is the apparently harmless: Yù mami! lit: 'Your mother!' since the concept of 'mother' in Krio is sacrosanct, (not just in Krio, cf Black American etc.); Yù dàdí! lit: 'Your father!' is less emotive but nonetheless abusive. Bòd trôt, by semantic extension, is also a bahuvrihi

compound referring to a person with a short and small neck. Kòntík, apart from being a noun referring to a corn cob, usually used in laundering and whitening clothes, is also a verb meaning: 'to launder clothes using a corn cob'. Bàbúyây, bɛlɛwɔd and gridibɔmp are already metaphorical in their primary meanings.

2. Noun 1 + noun 2 ~ noun 2 is for noun 1 - a productive type

- (a) galɔnpan LLF galɔn + pan ~ pan for a gallon = (n) tin which holds a gallon (of oil, petrol, kerosene);
- (b) bɔlsbag LF bɔls + bag ~ bag for the balls = (n) the scrotum;
- (c) kaytpepa LHL kayt + pepa ~ paper for making kite = (n) crepe paper used for making paper kites;
- (d) kolkyap LF kol + kyap ~ cap for keeping away the cold = (n) a wollen cap worn at night or when it is cold;
- (e) kɔbaklos LLF kɔba + klos ~ cloth for covering with = (n) coverlet;
- (f) bɛlɛban LLF bɛlɛ + ban ~ band for the belly = (n) sash worn with men's (evening) dress;
- (g) pisbag LF pis + bag ~ bag for holding urine = (n) the bladder;
- (h) baptayz-rɛs LHF baptayz + rɛs ~ rice for christening = (n) rice cooked for the christening ceremony of a baby;
- (i) kreysad LF kres + yad ~ yard for the crazy = (n) lunatic asylum.
- (j) atkes LF at + kes ~ case for the heart = (n) seat of the heart.



Apart from its literal meaning, gàlònpàn also means 'a man who chases a woman/women unsuccessfully' (the connection is hard to see). Bòlsbâg and pìsbâg are basic, almost vulgar paraphrases for the objects they refer to, and with items like kòbàklòs, bèlèbân and krèsyâd, have an essentially descriptive or interpretative function, cf switpis LF = diabetes, bitabita LLHL = gall bladder. Kòlkyâp also means 'condom' (the shapes are similar). It is most undesirable to eat one's bàptáy-z-rê-s because that would mean that one was too old when baptised. To the Krio, the decent time to be baptised is when one is too young to take solid food. Àtkês seems to have been picturesquely analogised from 'hat case' (also atkes LF).

3. Noun 1 + noun 2 ~ noun 2 is with noun 1 - moderately productive
- (a) kòbapan LLF kòba + pan ~ pan with cover = (n) enamel dish with cover;
- (b) bèlèuman LLHL bèlè + uman ~ woman with belly (pregnancy) = (n) pregnant woman;
- (c) pèpèsup LLF pèpè + sup ~ soup with pepper = (n) very peppery soup cooked with fish or meat (served at parties or to the sick).

Note that bèlè has been used in three different senses in this section. In bèlè wòd, it transcends the physical and refers to one's deepest secrets and feelings; in bèlèbân, it refers to the outer skin of one's stomach; in bèlèuman, it refers to pregnancy. Bèlè can also be used to refer to inside the stomach and the intestines.

4. Noun 1 + noun 2 ~ noun 1 of noun 2 - moderately productive
- (a) mastaos LLF masta + os ~ master of house = (n) head of the household, landlord;
- (b) kɔnayay LLF kɔna + yay ~ corner of eye = (n) surreptitious look;
- (c) dosɔl LF dos + sɔl ~ dose of salts = (n) purgative salts (particularly Epsom salts).
- (d) mamiwata LHLH mami + wata ~ mother of water = (n) mermaid, (cf Sranan: watramama, Cameroon: mamiwata).
5. Noun 1 + noun 2 ~ noun 1 is with noun 2 - not very productive
- (a) mamayay LLF mama + yay ~ mother with eyes = (n) a sleepy-eyed female;
- (b) rɔbamint LLF rɔba + mint ~ rubber with mint = (n) chewing gum - also mintrɔba LHL.
6. Noun 1 + noun 2 ~ noun 2 is made from noun 1 - not very productive
- (a) kasadabred LF kasada + bred ~ bread made from kassava = n. bread made from grated cassava;
- (b) raysbred LF rays + bred ~ bread made from rice; n. sweet meat made from rice flour, bananas and sugar.

- (c) binchakara HLLL akara (Yoruba, Hausa < Arabic) + binch √  
cake made from beans = n. bean cake.

7. Noun 1 + noun 2 ∼ noun 1 (particular type of) + noun 2  
(general) - productive

- (a)(i) chəbɔks LF chɔ(p) + bɔks √ chop box = (n) wooden box with  
lock for carrying food;
- (ii) machisbɔks LLF machis + bɔks √ matches box = (n) matchbox;
- (b)(i) tikitul LHL ti + kitul √ tea kettle = (n) tea kettle;
- (ii) bɔnɛtkitul LLHL bɔnɛt + kitul √ bonnet kettle = (n) cylindrical  
metal container with flat cover and handle, used for keeping  
valuables;
- (c)(i) bebibred LHF bebi + bred √ 'baby' type of bread = (n) bread shaped  
like a doll;
- (ii) mɔnkibred LHF mɔnki + bred √ 'monkey' type of bread = (n)  
the fruit Adamsonia digitata.

\*Note also lofbred LF (loaf bread) versus mɔnkibred LHF, which is not really  
a type of bread.

8. Noun 1 + noun 2 ∼ noun 1 (Geographical/ethnic origin of)  
+ noun 2 - productive

- (a) Yɔk-farinya HLHL Yɔk + farinya √ York-type farina=(n)  
farina made in York;

(b) Masanke-pamayn LLLLF Masanke (place name) + pamayn √ Masanke type palm oil = (n) = palm oil made in Masanke (usually clear);

(c) Gini-kən LLF Gini + kən √ Guinea-type corn - (n) Corn from Guinea.

9. Noun 1 + noun 2 √ noun 2 is on noun 1 - not very productive

(a) fanamakit LLHF fana + makit √ market on fanner = (n) wares of a petty trader (not necessarily, but sometimes, displayed on a fanner).

10. Noun 1 + noun 2 √ noun 1 is transposed with noun 2 - not very productive

(a) bɔlyay/yaybɔl LF bɔl + yay/yay + bɔl √ ball eye/eyeball = (n) eyeball(s) metaphorically - 'a favourite person'.

English-derived + African-derived

11.(i) Noun 1 + noun 2 √ noun 1 (English-derived) + noun 2 (African-derived) not very productive

(a) fulumunku LHLH fulu + munku √ fool + fool (Af. sources) = (n) a very stupid person;

(b) mataodo LLLH mata + odo √ mortar + mortar (Yoruba) = (n) wooden mortar for pounding foodstuffs; Note that other



creoles have this item without the African derived element, see Hancock, 1969, pp.54-55. Such items are usually tautological.

(ii) Noun + adverb-not very productive

- (a) weskelele HLLH wes + kelele ↘ hips + with jerky movements  
(Mende) = (n) woman with very small hips, such small hips;
- (b) fitingbɛt LLH fitin + gbɛt ↘ fitting + exactly (Temne) = (n)  
tightfitting clothes.

(iii) Adjective + noun - not very productive

- (a) bresinteku LLLH bresin + teku ↘ brazen + wild child (Temne)  
= (adj.) wild, imprudent, unruly.

(iv) Noun + adjective - not very productive

- (a) babuoto LHLH babu + woto ↘ baboon + ugly (Temne) = (n)  
an ugly person.

African-derived + English-derived

12.(i) Adjective + noun - not very productive=

- (a) awangɔt LLF awan + gɔt ↘ mean (Yonba) + gut = (n/adj.)  
gluttonous/gluttony;

(ii) noun 1 + noun 2 - not very productive

- (a) nansitori LLLH nansi + tori √ folk (spider: Twi) + story =  
(noun) folktale;
- (b) sambalɛta LLHL samba + lɛta √ disgrace (Mende) + letter  
= (noun) unpleasant secrets of a person.

13. Numeral + noun - moderately productive - mainly bahuvrīhi type

- (a) wando LF wan + do √ one door = (n) house with only one door,  
hut;
- (b) tubɔtin LHL tu + bɔtin √ two buttons = (n) a style (of  
jacket) with two buttons;
- (c) fowil LF fo + wil √ four wheels = (n) a vehicle;
- (d) tɛnto LF tɛn + to √ ten toes = (n) one's two bare feet.

14. Numeral + adjective (corresponding to the English '-ed' type) -  
moderately productive

- (a) tusay LF tu + say √ two-sided = (adj) two-sided;
- (b) wanan LF wan + an √ one-handed = (adj) one-handed;
- (c) wanfut LF wan + fut √ one-footed = (adj.) one-footed.

15. Verbal noun + adverb - not very productive

- (a)
- libwɛl
- LF
- lib
- +
- wɛl
- √living well = (n) carefree happiness.

16. Possessive adjective + noun - not very productive

- (a)
- mayka
- LH
- may
- +
- ka
- √my car = (n) car owner-driver (as opposed to chauffeur or taxi driver). This item is a unique, relatively recent creation. It is essentially a derisive reference to car owners who also talk about 'my car'.

17. Noun + adjective (corresponding to the English '-ed' type) - productive

- (a)
- watawas
- LLF
- wata
- +
- was
- √water washed = n/adj. 'laundered but unstarched(clothes)'. Metaphorically - 'contemptible, despicable';
- 
- (b)
- sanrɛp
- LF
- san
- +
- rɛp
- √sun ripened = n/adj. (fruit) looking ripe in the sunshine but not really ripe;
- 
- (c)
- bɛlɛbɔn
- LLF
- bɛlɛ
- +
- bɔn
- √belly born = n/adj. 'one's natural (as opposed to adopted) (child).

Note that these types are usually both nouns and adjectives.

18. Noun + adjective - rare type

- (a)
- doklin
- HF
- do
- +
- klin
- √ door (outside) clean = (n) dawn (see supra).

19. Adjective + noun  $\searrow$  adjective corresponding to the English '-ed'  
(deverbal) type + noun - very productive

- (a) kaktit LF kak + tit  $\searrow$  cocked tooth/teeth = (n) protruding teeth;
- (b) drayfish LF dray + fish  $\searrow$  dried fish = (n) smoked fish;
- (c) kolat LF kol + at  $\searrow$  cooled heart = (n) peace of mind;
- (d) fraysup LF fray + sup  $\searrow$  fried soup = (n) stew;
- (e) brokoblay LLF broko + blay  $\searrow$  broken basket (blay: Portuguese) = (n) hypocrite (only metaphorical meaning);
- (f) pilnek LF pil + nek  $\searrow$  peeled neck = (n) bahuvrihi word for 'chicken with no feathers';
- (g) kot nek LF kot + nek  $\searrow$  cut neck = (n/adj) skin creases around the neck - a sign of beauty, of person with such feature;
- (h) maredwef LLF mared + wef  $\searrow$  married wife = (n) legally married, as opposed to common law, wife or paramour;
- (i) rosbif LF ros + bif  $\searrow$  roasted beef = (n) small chunks of skewered meat usually roasted over coal fire;
- (j) twismot LF twis + mot twisted mouth = (n) unevenly shaped mouth.



20. Adjective + noun ending in -in (-ing) - not very productive
- (a) aflaynin LHL af + laynin ~ half lining = (n) half lining of man's coat, coat with such ;
- (b) lasbærin LLH las + bærin ~ last burying = (n) fortieth day ceremony for a deceased person - being the last of the funeral rites .
21. Adjective (some have a verb/noun root) + noun ~ adjective corresponding to the English '-ing' type - productive
- (a) tifyay LF tif + yay ~ thieving eye = adj/abstract noun 'avaricious, avarice';
- (b) krachan LF krach + an ~ scratching hand = adj/abstract noun 'meddlesome, meddlesomeness';
- (c) lvinbomp LLF lvin + bomp ~ loving bump = noun 'wart on the cheek - a sign of being loved';
- (d) bɔnmami LLH bɔn + mami ~ (child) bearing mother = noun 'woman constantly having children';
- (e) drɔsup LF drɔ + sup drawing soup = noun 'thick, slimy sauce';
- (f) shayned LF shayn + ed shining head = n/adj. 'head with hair scraped off, bald head, bald';
- (g) rɔnbɛlɛ LLH rɔn + bɛlɛ running belly = n. 'diarrhoea, dusertery';

- (h) bɔ̃npikin LLH bɔ̃n + pikin ∼ bearing child = abstrn.  
'child bearing'.

22. Adjective + noun - very productive

- (a) ɛmtibak LLF ɛmti + bak ∼ empty back = (n) 'person without a university degree' (bahuvrihi word);
- (b) wamat LF wam + at ∼ warm heart = (n) 'short temper , short-temperedness';
- (c) badyay LF bad + yay ∼ bad eyes = (n) 'the old-fashioned look';
- (d) bigyay LF big + yay ∼ big eyes = (n/adj) 'gluttony, gluttonous' - (calque - see supra - p.291);
- (e) trangayes LLF tranga + yes ∼ strong ears = (n/adj) 'stubbornness, stubborn' (calque - see supra - p.291 );
- (f) smɔ̃lpɛɛ LHL smɔ̃l + pɛɛ ∼ small pepper = n (metaphorical) 'a formidable young person';
- (g) langatrot LLF langa + trot ∼ longthroat = noun/verb 'anxiety for food, to tantalize';
- (h) braskitul LHL bras + kitul ∼ brass kettle = verb 'refuse to countenance, deliberately ignore'. This word is always used in negative construction, as in: ì nɔ̃bràskítùl àm = 'He refused to countenance him'. This creation is unique. Brass kettles used to be very popular in Sierra Leone and

still are among people who get water from street taps.

The important feature about them as far as this formation is concerned is their conspicuousness; so, not to see a brass kettle if it is around is to ignore it. Also unusual is the fact that this word is a verb (and only used in negative constructions) and not a noun.

23. Adjective + adjective (noun/verb root used adjectivally)  
corresponding to the English '-ed' type - productive

- (a) biged LF big + ed √ big headed = n/adj 'big head', having a large head;
- (b) bolkrep LF bol + krep √ bald scraped = n. 'dome of the human head';
- (c) kresed LF kres + ed √ crazy headed = n/adj 'madness, habitually flighty'.
- (d) layted LF layt + ed √ lightheaded = n/adj 'lightheadedness, light-headed';
- (e) wɛr lɛf LF wɛr + lɛf √ worn left = noun 'clothes worn and cast aside by another'.

24. Adverb + verb - not very productive

- (a) nɛvabia LLHL nɛva + bia √ never bears = n. fruit tree which does not bear fruit;

- (b) nɛvaday LLF nɛva + day √ never dies = n 'the plant Bryophyllum pinoratum'. This word is used, metaphorically in the expression 'gí àm nɛvədáy' meaning: 'to help an old relative to continue to live' (often humorous);
- (c) nɛvataya LLHL nɛva + taya √ never tires - n (1) 'person with a great capacity for work'; (2) dog's name.

Note how in each case an adverb and a verb give a noun.

25. Verb + noun - very productive

- (a) mekes HF mek + es √ make haste = verb 'hurry';
- (b) abop HF ab + op √ have hope = verb/noun 'wait expectantly, thing depended upon (hence euphemism for a man's private parts);
- (c) tɔnyay LF tɔn + yay √ turn eyes = noun 'giddiness, dizziness';
- (d) tɔnfufu LLH tɔn + fufu √ turn fufu = verb '(of kite) somersault, dive in the air' (metaphorical)
- (e) wasfes LF was + fes √ wash face = verb 'dupe' (metaphorical);
- (f) lɛffes LF lɛf + fes √ leave face = verb 'stare in wonder';
- (g) lɛkman LF lɛk + man √ likes men = adj. '(of woman) having many lovers'.



26. Verb + noun ∼ (that which) verb + noun - moderately productive
- (a) kakbɔbi LLH kak + bɔbi ∼ (that which) cocks the breasts = (noun)  
'brassiere';
- (b) olbɛɛ LLH ol + bɛɛ ∼ (that which) holds the belly = (noun)  
'food just enough to stave off hunger';
- (c) krachbɔdi LLH krach + bɔdi ∼ (that which) scratches the  
body = (noun) 'itching skin disease';
- (d) bɛtbɔbi LLH bɛt + bɔbi ∼ (that which) bites the breasts = (noun)  
'small water animal, whose bite produces enlarged breasts';
- (e) bɔnat LF bɔn + at ∼ (that which) burns the heart = (n/adj)  
'great disappointment, greatly disappointing'.
27. African-derived + English-derived  
verb + noun ∼ verb from noun - not very productive
- (a) jɔgan LF jɔg + an ∼ 'snatch (Yoruba) from hand'.  
(1) noun = 'a snatching, a game of snatching';  
(2) verb 'appropriate to oneself what formerly belonged to  
another (usually a lover).
28. Verb/adjective + noun ∼ verb/adjective + noun (habitual/  
iterative element) - not very productive
- (1) kraybɛɛ LLH kray (verb) + bɛɛ (noun) ∼ 'cry' habitually =  
verb/noun 'grumble, complain whiningly as a habit, such  
grumbling and complaining';

- (2) angribɛlɛ LLH angri (adj.) + bɛlɛ(noun) ~ 'hungry'  
 habitually = adj/n 'habitually gluttonous, person habitually  
 gluttonous'.

In these items, bɛlɛ functions in yet another way. It is lexically meaningless but functions like an iterative or reduplicative element to modify the metaphorical meaning of kráy and ángrì, respectively.

## 10.6 Calques

As Hancock suggests (1971, pp.651-2; 1977, p.165), in the early stages of the inception of Krio, calquing was probably unnecessary since 'the Lancados were present to supply the new English lexicon as needed' (1977, p.165). It seems to have developed later, probably reaching its peak in the nineteenth century when about two hundred languages were spoken in Freetown. It is thus not always easy to trace a calque to its (ultimate) source. Indeed, it may have more than one and this would have encouraged its retention. Calques tend to be common to many creoles, but only examples from Krio are given below. The commonest types refer to parts of the body, human behaviour and food; a limited number may be described as grammatical words. (See Hancock 1971, pp.651-665; 1977, p.165-166; Turner, 1969, pp.232-5 for extensive lists). A few examples, showing the main types and their word class combinations are here given:

1. Body parts - parts of wholes > noun 1 + noun 2 ~ noun 2 is of noun 1

- (a) bɔbimɔt LHF bɔbi + mɔt < ('mouth of breast' cf Ngombe: monoko wa libeli, lit.: 'mouth of the breast') = n. 'nipple';
- (b) nosol LF nos + ol < ('hole of nose' cf Igbo: oYeLe imi, lit.: 'nose hole') = n. 'nostril';
- (c) yaypikin HLF yay + pikin < 'child (Spanish) of eye', cf Yoruba ɔmɔ l'odzu, lit.: 'child in the eye') = n. 'pupil of the eye'. Also bebiyay LHF (noun 1 is of noun 2), cf English 'eye baby' for 'pupil', and 'looking eye babies' - to stare into each other's eyes.

2. 'Abstract noun' types expressed descriptively in concrete terms > adjective + noun

- (a) kolat LF kol + at < (cool heart, cf Mende: ndilɛli, lit.: 'heart wet') = n. 'peace', 'comfort';
- (b) switmɔt LF swit + mɔt < (sweet mouth, cf Gá: nã ɲɔ̃ lɔ̃ 'flattery', lit.: 'one who has a sweet mouth'; Yoruba: ɛnũ di dũ 'persuasiveness', lit.: 'mouthsweet'; Vai: da ki na 'flattery', lit.: 'mouth sweet'; Twi: ano dɛdɛ 'flattery', lit.: 'sweet mouth') n. 'flattery';
- (c) bigyay LF big + yay < [big eye(s), cf Igbo: anya uku 'covetous', lit.: 'big eyes'; cf Yoruba: lo ɣukokoro 'covetous', lit.: to have the eye of a worm'. cf Krio: ojukokoru LHL LLL 'covetousness', 'envy' (obviously from Yoruba)]

3. Animal/Plant types

These seem to have a variety of word-class types as well as polymorphemic combinations.

- (a) gɔdɔs HF gɔd + ɔs [(possessive noun + noun (thing possessed)]  
 < (God's horse, cf Mandinka: ala suwo 'praying mantis',  
 lit.: God's horse) = n 'praying mantis';
- (b) mami-wata LHLH mami + wata [noun 1+ (of the) noun 2] <  
 ('mother of the water', cf Yoruba: iya olodo, 'mermaid',  
 lit.: 'mother of the waters') = n. mermaid;
- (c) sɛt-yu-mami-bɔbi . H-L-LH-LH sɛt + yu + mami  
 + bɔbi [verb + pronoun + noun (possessive) + noun (thing  
 possessed)] < ('Shut your mother's breasts', cf Temne:  
ya mompnɛ 'mother cover yourself' n. 'mimosa pudica'; cf.  
 also similar interpretations in Mende, Yoruba, Twi, Nzima, Ga, Fula,  
 Hausa, Igbo, Nupe and Efik. The Krio form is a euphemistic  
 version of the form found in these languages and ostensibly  
 of the Latin formation too, which should read 'genitals'  
 for 'breasts'. (See Hancock 1977, p.169 note 6);
- (d) it-(dɔn)-brok-plet H-(H)-H-F it + (dɔn) + brok + plet  
 [verb (+ completive particle) + verb + noun] < ['eat (finish)  
 and break plate', cf Yoruba: aɛ fawo (this form also in Krio)  
 lit.: 'eat and lick it'] = n 'the plant celosia laxa,  
celosia trygna (Amaranthaceae), the leaves of which are  
 cooked in palm oil and eaten as 'palaver sauce'.



4. Other descriptive types

- (a) rɔn bɛɛ LLH rɔn + bɛɛ [adjective (English '-ing' ending type) + noun] < (running belly, cf Fula: dogu redu 'diarrhoea', lit.: 'run belly')= n 'diarrhoea, dysentery';
- (b) wanpɔt LF wan + pɔt [(numeral + noun) < (one pot, cf Wolof: bɛna chin 'a kind of rice dish', lit.: 'one pot')]= n 'rice and other condiments, meat/fish cooked together in the same pot';
- (c) mit-mi-na-ɛlbo L-L-L-HL mit + mi + na + ɛlbo [(verb + pronoun + preposition + noun) < (meet me at the elbow, cf Yoruba: kpade mi ni gbɔwɔ 'diluted stew', lit.: 'meet me at the elbow')]= n. 'waterish stew or sauce'.

5. Grammatical words

- (a) pantap LF pan + tap [(prep. + locative) < (on top, cf Yoruba: li o ri 'on'; lit.: 'upon the top')]= preposition 'on, on top of';
- (b) tumɔs HF tu + mɔs [(adv. + adjective) < (too much, cf Twi: dodo, Yoruba: kpukpɔ 'too much', 'very much')]= adverb 'too much', 'very much';
- (c) wetindu HHF we + tin + du [(Interrogative + noun + verb) < (what thing does? cf Igbo: gɛnɛ mɛrɛ 'why', lit.: 'what (thing) does?')]= Interrogative 'why?'

## 10.7 Krio creations or incoinings

Incoining is a strong feature of creole languages. As a pidgin develops into a creole, it needs to expand its lexicon to cater for all possible linguistic situations. As has been noted, apart from borrowing wholesale and calquing, it also combines existing morphemes into compounds, thus creating new lexical items with different meanings from those of its individual components. This kind of lexicon expansion, which must have started during the earliest creolisation stages of Krio, is an on-going phenomenon as we shall see. Hancock treats this theme, giving several examples and noting that incoinings tend to be about daily life (1971, pp.609-615; 1977, p.164; 1980, pp.69-70). He categorizes them under (a) People and personality, e.g. ɔnbrɔtɔp LHF ɔn + brɔt + ɔp (un + brought - up) = badly behaved; (b) Anatomical, e.g. swit-pis LF swit + pis 'sweet piss' = diabetes; (c) Bodily actions, e.g. tay-wata LLH tay + wata 'tie water' = 'to float without moving'; (d) Clothing and adornment, e.g. obe-di-wind LH-L-F obe + di + wind 'obey the wind' = 'type of loose flapping trousers; (e) food, e.g. pɔtɔp LF pɔt + ɔp = 'cook a meal; (f) Technology; e.g. flaynship LF flayn + ship 'flying ship' = 'aeroplane'.

Two sets of further examples are discussed below: older and more recent incoinings. As we have already seen, they are structurally similar to calques, and a number may indeed be calques. Most of them occur in very informal speech.

1. Older incoinings:

(a) Many are phrase-types, i.e. phrases that have been compounded and that have undergone semantic modification or more radical change, cf English: 'hand-to-mouth' (noun + prep + noun) = adj. 'precarious and yielding the bare necessities only'.

Clothes

- (i) kəmatwans LLH kəm + at + wans [(verb + prep. + adv.) (come at once)] = noun 'dress for special occasions which can be put on at very short notice' (humorous usage);
- (ii) kət -ɛn -jəyn LLH kət + ɛn + jəyn [(verb<sub>1</sub> + conj. + verb<sub>2</sub>) (cut and join)] = verb/noun 'cut cloth and sew dress/clothes badly or roughly, a bad sempstress or tailor';
- (iii) mama-tɛnk-ma LL-H-H mama + tɛnk + ma [noun (vocative) + verb + noun (vocative) (mother, thanks, mother!)] = n 'ill-fitting, because grossly over-sized, trousers'. The idea is that the trousers may have been deliberately sewn large to last a growing boy a long time or may have belonged to an elderly male. In either case, the hapless beneficiary is supposed to be thankful - (derisory usage);

Household

- (iv) pət-ɛn-plet L-L-H pət + ɛn + plet [(noun<sub>1</sub> + conj. + noun<sub>2</sub>) (pots and plates)] = n 'cooking and eating utensils'.

People - (1) animal metaphor

- (v) brokəngot LHF brok + ɔn + got [(adj + noun<sub>1</sub>) + noun<sub>2</sub> (goat with a broken horn)] = n 'a glutton';

- (vi) pɔli-lɔngtɔng LLLH. pɔli + lɔng + tɔng [(noun<sub>1</sub> + (adj + noun<sub>2</sub>) (parrot with a long tongue)] = n. 'confirmed gossip';
- (vii) rɔrɔm-gɛt-sɔl LH-H-F rɔrɔm + gɛt + sɔl [(noun<sub>1</sub> + verb + noun<sub>2</sub>) (worm has salt)] n. 'person who writhes uncomfortably';
- (2) Other types
- (viii) wokfɔwɔl LLH wok + fɔ + wɔl [(verb + prep. + noun) (work for the world)] = n. 'one who stupidly does everyone's bidding' - (derogatory);
- (ix) tap-to-mi L-L-H tap + to + mi [(verb + prep + pronoun) (stop with me)] = n. 'common law wife' (derogatory);
- (x) abado LHH. a + bad + o (pronoun + adj + interjection) (I'm bad oh!)] = n. 'a hard/rascally person'. When the tone pattern is LLH this word means 'boa constrictor';
- (xi) shub-gi-mi-rod L-H-H-F shub + gi + mi + rod [(verb<sub>1</sub> + verb<sub>2</sub> + pronoun + noun) (move give me way)] n. 'woman's buttocks rubbing against each other when walking' (seemingly saying the phrase to each other). Note the verb serialisation, typical of Krio and of its African sources.
- (xii) ston-gi-mi-rod L-H-H-F ston + gi + mi + rod [noun<sub>1</sub> (vocative) + verb + pronoun + noun<sub>2</sub> (stone, give me way)] = n. person with a sore toe who limps when walking (and seems to be saying these words to the stones);



- (xiii) bɔbɔ-nɔ-ba-bia LH-H-L-HL bɔbɔ + nɔ + ba + bia [(noun + negative part + auxiliary + verb) boy (W. African sources) does not bear] = n 'shinbone' (which is too painful even for boys, who are supposed to be brave, to bear when hit).

Names of dogs - Krios usually name 'man's best friend' with an epigrammatic, philosophical or social comment:

- (xix) dɛn-go-taya L-L-HL dɛn + go + taya (pronoun + aux. + verb) 'they will be tired'. This means that a malevolent person or persons known or unknown will one day be tired of persecuting their innocent victims (usually the owner of the dog);
- (xx) fɔ-a-taym LLF fɔ + a + taym (pre. + art. + noun) 'for a time'. This is a philosophical comment on life and everything it gives - 'it is all ephemeral'.

#### Daily life

- (xxi) ɔp-ɛn-dɔng H-L-F/L-L-F ɔp + ɛn + dɔng [(loc + conjunction + loc.) (up and down)] = n.(1) 'continuous walking from place to place as part of one's duty or occupation', (2) 'the activity of living';
- (xxii) kɛr-na-rod L-L-F kɛr + na + rod [(verb + prep + noun) (carry to the road)] = v/n. (a) see(ing) off (of) (a) visitor(s) by walking a little of the way with him/her;

- (xxiii) ple-yu-win H-L-F: ple + yu + win [(verb<sub>1</sub> + pro. + verb<sub>2</sub>)  
play (and) you win] = n 'a gambling game'. This is the  
optimistic half of the full form: plé-yù-wín-plé-yù-lîs  
play (and) you win, play (and you lose);
- (xxiv) push-mi-a-stat L-L-L-H/L-L-L-F: push + mi + ay + stat  
[(verb<sub>1</sub> + pro + pro<sub>2</sub> + verb<sub>2</sub>) = (push me I start)] = n 'car  
with weak battery, which has to be pushed to start'.

(b) Some involve the use of numerals:

Clothes

- (i) wandəzin LLH: wan + dəzin [(num. + noun) (one dozen)] = n  
'the best or only good clothes or other wearing gear one has'.  
It is difficult to see the connection between the word and its  
meaning.

The use of numerals plus nouns or adjectives as compounds is quite common in Krio. The imposition of a low tone on the first syllable makes the item a compound and distinguishes it from a word sequence (which always has a high tone on the first syllable of the numeral), bringing about a grammatical as well as a semantic change -

cf: (1) wantrit LF wan + trit [(num. + noun) (one street)] = n.  
'village with only one street', versus: wan trit H F: (num.+noun) =  
'one street'; (2) tubətin LHL: tu + bətin [(num + noun) (two buttons)] =  
n. 'a jacket or coat with two buttons, versus: tu bətin H HL: (num. +  
noun) = 'two buttons'; (3) trifinga LHL: tri + finga [(num.+ noun)  
(three fingers)] = n. (1) 'hand with only three fingers, person with such;  
(2) three-fingered design (e.g. on cloth), versus tri finga H HL: (num.+noun)  
'three fingers'.

People

- (ii) wanshilin-rop LLL-F wan + shilin + rop [(num. + noun<sub>1</sub>) + noun<sub>2</sub> (one shilling rope - rope worth a shilling)] = n 'one's only or favourite child'. In the early days of the century when Sierra Leone used the pound sterling as currency, a shilling (now 10 cents) was a great deal of money to pay for a rope and only the most valuable kind would cost as much. Incidentally, the sequence wan shilin rop H HLF is now meaningless since the shilling is now an obsolete concept in Sierra Leone;

- (iii) tu-pe-tri H-H-F tu + pe + tri [(num<sub>1</sub> + verb + num<sub>2</sub>) (two pay three)] = n '(of two or more people) of the same undesirable kind'. The point here, one supposes, is that there is very little to choose between 'two' and 'three', since they follow each other so closely.

Food/drink

- (iv) eti-et LLF eti + et [(numeral) (eighty-eight)] Apart from its obvious meaning: 'eighty-eight', this word refers to the sprinkling of drops of palm oil, in the shape of the figure eighty-eight, on cooked rice.
- (v) wan-o-fayv H-H-F wan + o + fayv [(numeral) (one hundred and five)] n. 'home-distilled gin'. The reference is obscure. '105' may have been the name of a harsh kind of liquor of the nineteen forties and fifties.

(c) Some involve the compounding of letters of the alphabet

- (i) jivi HH' ji + vi (gv - the consonants of the word 'give'),  
n/v 'a lie, tell a lie'. gi F (give) also means: verb 'to tell  
lies';
- (ii) el-ay-i-tru H-H-L-F' el + ay + i + tru (lie true), n. 'a lie  
that is deliberately told to a child for a desired effect.  
The spelling of 'lie' is meant for an adult interlocutor (who  
gets the message) and is supposed to be meaningless to the child,  
who is being fooled.
- (iii) epi HH' e + pi (ap - abbreviation for à p'oyntmènt 'appointment')  
= n 'a date with a boy or girl friend'. Usage in each case  
is highly informal or humorous;
- (iv) bi-gm-ti HHF' bi + gm + ti [(b.m.t. - abbreviation for 'black  
man's time') - patterned on G.M.T. (Greenwich Mean time)] = n.  
lateness in keeping appointments, starting meetings, etc.:

(d) Miscellaneous

- (1) kakiboy LHF' kaki + boy [(adj + noun) (Khaki boy)] = n. 'Schnapps  
gin', usually wrapped in khaki-coloured paper - euphemism,  
inanimate object animated;
- (ii) emtibak LLF' emti + bak [(adj + noun) (empty back)] = n. 'person  
without a university degree' - bahuvrihi compound;
- (iii) pletpisis LHF' plet + pisis [(noun<sub>1</sub> + noun<sub>2</sub> ~ noun<sub>2</sub> is for  
noun<sub>1</sub>) (rag for dish)] = (n) 1. 'dishrag' (2) 'person who is  
exploited because of his stupidity' - metaphorical;



- (iv) braskitul LHF bras + kitul [(adj + noun) (brass kettle)] = verb 'ignore' (see p.306 above);
- (v) jɔyan LF: jɔyn + an [(verb/adjective + noun) join(ed) + hand(s)] = (1) n (1) 'cursive writing'; (2) 'co-operation' (3) verb 'to co-operate'.

(e) Dyads - (1) English-derived + African-derived, (2) African-derived + English-derived

All the examples in these groups on pp 300-2 are incoinings.

## 2. Recent Incoinings

The examples given below are of recent formations that are between ten and twenty years old and that are in daily use. Most of them refer to everyday matters and are mainly used by adolescents and young adults. They follow the established patterns.

- (a) Phrase type
- (i) put-fɔ-mi L-L-H put + fɔ + mi [(verb + prep. + pro.) (put for me)] n 'bribery';
- (b) Phrasal verb type - verb + pronoun (-am)
- (i) fenam HL fɛn + am (find it) = verb 'engage in enterprise that brings in money'. The word is used mainly by mini-bus, taxi or commercial lorry drivers, and about women who engage themselves, professionally or otherwise, in prostitution.

- (ii) ibam HL ib + am (heave it) = verb 'leave, go away'.  
This word is a variant of the older ib-ṣp (see page 277);
- (iii) paylam HL payl + am (pile it) = verb 'walk a long distance usually travelled to by a vehicle'. Associations of tediousness (as a result of heaping/or piling miles) attend this word;
- (iv) pwɛlam HL pwɛl + am (spoil it) = verb (1) 'to enjoy oneself thoroughly, e.g. at a party' (2) 'to spend money recklessly, especially revelling'. Note the attenuated meaning of pwɛl (spoil).

(c) Idiom-type - verb + noun

- (i) tek-kɔz HF/cham-kɔz HF tek/cham + kɔz (take/chew course) = verb 'study hard'. These are items used by students. Cham-kɔz is an intensified form of tek-kɔz.
- (ii) lɛf-fes/mət LF lɛf + fes/mət (leave face/mouth) = verb 'stare in blank disbelief';
- (iii) shutkrab HF shut + krab (shoot crab) = verb 'to make unsuccessful advances to a member of the opposite sex', 'to fail in any venture'. This item could have been suggested by the English/American game of 'craps' - a gambling game (hence, the many chances of losing). To play it is 'to shoot craps'. Note also the verb 'crab' - 'to obstruct, wreck, or frustrate' (Chambers, 1981, p.302), and the expression 'to catch a crab' - 'to fail to make a proper stroke (in rowing) (Longman M.E.D., 1976, p.251). Also

noteworthy is the appropriateness of the metaphor of shooting a crab, to indicate futility, because of the suggestions of imperviousness associated with the crustacean structure of a crab.

(d) Adjective + noun type

- (i) lɔngjɔni HHL lɔng + jɔni (long journey) = n 'peanuts'  
(usually chewed to pass the time, inter alia, during a long journey. The item no longer carries the suggestion of going on a (long) journey).

(e) Possessive adjective + noun type

- (i) mayka LH may + ka (my car) = n 'car owner-driver' (see p.303).

(f) Numeral type

- (i) di-etin L-LF di + etin (the eighteen - the penalty area in a soccer pitch, which is up to eighteen yards from the goal) = noun locative 'a rendezvous', 'a place of confrontation'.

(g) -African-derived + English-derived

- (i) fɔmam HL fɔm (Hausa, Twi) + am (English) = v. 'pretend, feign, trifle with it'. This word has a very wide application of negativity. It can mean 'be absent', 'fail in a venture or an examination', 'become faulty', 'threaten', 'not quite achieve a goal', 'do something embarrassing'; it is also a euphemism for 'die'.

- (ii) mumu-polis LH-LF mumu (African sources) + polis (English) (dumb policeman) = n 'traffic lights'. Trafik layt also exists, but mumu-polis emerged in the late 1970s when there was a proliferation of traffic lights in Freetown.

## 10.8 Formations from Liturgical Literature

Another interesting set of compounds found in Krio are straight lifts or formations inspired by lines in the Holy Bible, a Christian hymnal or by the Christian religion. Many Krios are devout Christians. However, these formations are invariably given secular meanings, and, together with other phrase-type compounds, have at least two striking features: (i) the elements of the composite are simple and have simple grammatical relationships; (ii) there is an often vast extension of meaning-usually metaphorical, sometimes profound or even slightly opaque, sometimes pleasantly familiar, but in some cases, mildly or highly derogatory, but always informal.

Most of them are tri- or tetra-morphemic phrase types.

### People

- (i) ay-am L-H/F [(I am - cf 'Thou shalt say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you' (Authorized Version of the Holy Bible, Exodus, Ch. 3, verse 14)\*] = n 'an overbearing person' 'pretence at being important' - sarcastic, derogatory;

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\*all biblical references are to this version



- (ii) ay-wil/ay-du L-H/L-H ('I will'/'I do' - cf Christian marriage vow 'I will', 'I do') = n. 'the marriage vow' - used in the unhappy circumstance of a marriage that has problems, e.g. nà yú dón sé ày wíl, só yù fò bíá = 'you willingly took the marriage vow so you must be patient and long-suffering';
- (iii) ɔntoum LLH ['Unto whom' - cf 'Unto whom I swear in my wrath that they should not enter into my rest' (Psalm 95, verse 11)] n. 'heathenish person, rustic, illiterate'. The verse from which this item comes gives no clue to its meaning. It is the one before it that does: 'Forty years long was I grieved with this generation, and said, it is a people that do err in their heart, and they have not known my ways' (Psalm 95, verse 10);
- (iv) kloz-to-di LLH ['close to thee' - cf 'Take my hand and ever lead me close to thee' (3rd and 4th lines of 19th Century British hymn 'Jesus, friend of little children' by Walter John Mathams)] = n. 'affection shown by fondly keeping near a person', 'person showing such affection' - mildly sarcastic;
- (v) ayfianofo LHLHF ('I fear no foe' - from the beginning of the fourth stanza of 19th century hymn 'Abide with me, fast falls the eventide') = n 'a brashly militant person';
- (vi) O-bi-joyful H-L-HL ['Oh, be joyful' - cf 'My soul shall be joyful in the Lord' (Psalm 35, verse 9); 'In the day of prosperity be joyful' (Ecclesiastes, 7, verse 14)] = adjective/noun  
'unnecessarily light-hearted', 'unnecessary light-heartedness';

- (vii) Oli-Meri HL-LH ('Holy Mary' - cf 'Holy Mary the mother of Christ') = n. 'sanctimonious woman or girl', 'prude';
- (viii) sən-æf-man H-L-F ['son of man' - cf 'the Son of man hath nowhere to lay his head' (St. Matthew 8, verse 20)] = n. 'poor man', 'person without shelter', 'person in constant trouble';
- (ix) spay-mi-o-gəð H-H-H-H ('Spy me, Oh God!') = n. 'person with a squint' - derisive;
- (x) tɛn-kɔmandmɛnt H-LHF ['Ten Commandments' - cf the ten commandments (Exodus 20)] n. 'a person who is a bore', a persistent affliction';
- (xi) stil-smɔl-vɔys H-H-F ['still small voice' - cf 'And after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire: and after the fire a still small voice' (1st Kings 19, no. 12)] = n. 'one's conscience'.

Food/drink

- (i) ay-wil-arayz L-L-LF ['I will arise' - cf 'I will arise and go to my father' (Luke 15, verse 18) the story of the prodigal son] = n. 'poor man's meal of boiled rice and drops of palm oil' - derisive;
- (ii) lɔfis LF ['love feast' cf 'love feast - the agape (among certain denominations, a religious service in imitation of the early Christian agape)'] = n. '(wastefully) large amount of food' - usually sarcastic;

- (iii) bringin-krays-to-di -neshɔn HH-H-L-L-HL ('Bringing Christ to the Nations' = title of an American Religious series of radio programmes broadcast over the Sierra Leone Broadcasting Service since the 1950s) = n 'home-made (illicit) gin'.  
The connection between the item and its meaning is hard to see. But there is a Krio saying which means that the same ship that brought the Bible to Sierra Leone also brought alcoholic beverages;

### Clothes

- (i) agripa LHL [conflation between à gríp àm 'I grip it' and 'Agrippa', which is fortuitously nearly homophonous to Krio speakers, hence the Krio parody of Acts 26, verse 1: (And Agrippa said unto Paul, Thou art permitted to speak for thyself') which goes ànd Àgrípà séd òntò Pól, gríp mí à gríp yù] = n 'tight-fitting clothes'.

### Daily Life

- (i) gayd-mi-o L-L-H ('guide me, Oh' - cf 18th Century hymn: 'Guide me O Thou Great Jehovah') = n 'talisman, charm for protection' - humorous;
- (ii) di-wi-adj H-L-LF ('Thee we adore' - cf 'Eternal home, thee we adore' - funeral hymn) = n 'death', 'place of the dead';
- (iii) flay-bay-nayt L-L-H [('fly by night' - cf 'Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night; nor for the arrow that flieth by day' (Psalm 91, verse 5)] = n 'business, concern that is unstable, ephemeral, etc.;

- (iv) lovs-εn-fishis H-L-HF ('loaves and fishes' - cf Jesus's feeding of the five thousand with five loaves and two fishes, recorded in the gospels) = n 'material gain';
- (v) Oli-ɔf-oliz HL-L-HL ('holy of holies') = n 'a secret hideout'.
- (vi) Riva-Jɔdan LL-HL ('River Jordan' - from Christian mythology about the River Jordan being the river dead people cross to go to heaven) = n 'the great beyond' - euphemism;
- (vii) Kols-ɔf-faya HLHL ['coals of fire' - cf 'Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head'. (Romans 12, verse 20)] = n 'good returned for evil';
- (viii) Babilɔn-fɔlin LLL-HH ('Babylon falling' - cf 'Babylon falling to rise no more - line of negro spiritual about the biblical story of the fall of Babylon) = n 'total collapse of order';
- (ix) triskɔ-εntɛn HH-L-F ['Three score and ten' - cf 'The days of our years are three score years and ten' (Psalm 90, verse 10)] = n 'the age of 70 (supposedly the normal life span of a human being)'.

## 10.9 Nicknames

The types considered here are those involving personal names. They are mostly derogatory but are used in a good-humoured way in informal speech and can even be liberally applied in transient situations to anyone who exhibits the characteristics of the original 'victim'. Hence, the



original Rampul-Jarret HLHL (Rumpled Jarrett) may have been called Jarèt (Jarrett), but a person called Kôl (Cole) or WílÈms (Williams) can also be called Rampul Jarèt, if he wears unpressed clothes, either as a habit or on a particular occasion.

The following types have been observed:

(a) Carry-overs

- (i) Ledi-Jengre LL-LH ('Lady Jane Grey' ~ title + personal names, cf Lady Jane Grey - eminent 16th century English lady, Nine-day Queen) = n 'a pretentious or unnecessarily coquettish woman';
- (ii) Jak-di-buli LLHL ('Jack the bully' ~ name + art. + descriptive noun) = n 'bully', 'rough and domineering person';
- (iii) Jankro LH ('John Crow ~ first name + surname) = n 'person who is always irritable, or always finding fault or expressing annoyance', cf Jamaican Creole - see Cassidy and LePage (1967, p.250);
- (iv) YuslÈs-Yustes HHLH ('Useless Eustace' ~ adj. + first name) = n 'worthless or incompetent person - humorous;
- (v) Jak -ɔf-ɔl-tred H-L-H-F ('Jack-of-all-trades' ~ name + prep. + adj. + noun) = n 'a Jack-of-all-trades' - usually sarcastic.

(b) Krio-created types - far more common

1. Phrase types

- (i) Jɔni -jɛs-kam LL-L-H ('Johnny just come' ~ name + adv + verb) = n 'person just arrived in a foreign country (especially Britain) who dresses or behaves like an uninitiated stranger' - cf English: 'Johnny-come-lately' = a new-comer';
- (ii) Dan-ɛn-Daniɛl H-L-LLH ('Dan and Daniel' ~ first name + conj. + first name) = n 'a pair of fools';
- (iii) Sali-pe-prɛsɛnt LH-H-HF ('Sally, pay present' ~ name + verb + adj. - parodic imitation of an answer to a roll call at a club meeting) = n 'girl who turns up uninvited at parties';
- (iv) Sali-tek-ɔp LH-L-H ('Sally take up' ~ name + verb + preposition) = n 'busibody', 'woman always ready to interfere'

2. Title + name types - not very common

- (i) Bra-Ojo L-LH ['Brother Ojo' (Yoruba-derived name)] = n 'important man', 'leader', 'Chief'; man claiming to be or behaving as such' - humorous;
- (ii) Ɔɔbɔ-Jɔn LH-L ['Boy (African sources) John'] = n 'typical Krio boy or man'.

3. Feature + name type Adjective/noun + name - common

- (i) aydul-bɛsi HL-LH ('Idle Bessy' ~ adj + name) = n 'habitual idler (especially woman);

- (ii) bɛrin-bɛsi LL-LH ('Burying Bessy' ~ noun + name)  
= n 'woman who delights in attending funerals and funeral celebrations;
- (iii) smɛli-ɛli LH-LH ('Smelly Ellie' ~ adj + name) = n 'person with unclean habits'. Note the suggestion of rhyming in (ii) and (iii);
- (iv) fri-Meri HLH ('Free Mary' ~ adj + name) = n 'loose-living woman', 'prostitute';
- (v) inosɛnt-Meri HHH-LH ('Innocent Mary' ~ adj + name) = n 'credulous or unduly chaste woman';
- (vi) spayay-Jaksin LL-HL ('Spy-eye Jackson' ~ n + name) = 'one who cheats in an examination;
- (vii) drɛs-Musu H-LH ('Dress Musu' ~ noun + name) = n 'rustic woman fond of finery';
- (viii) magomago-Rayt LLHFF ['Over-eager (African sources) Wright' ~ adj. + name] = n 'an over-eager, always hurrying person.'

4. Name + feature type ~ name + adj./verb + noun)/noun/adj./verb -  
common

- (i) Bɛno-blowin LL-HL [Beno blow wind ~ name + (verb + noun)] = n 'person passing wind frequently';
- (ii) Jenɛt-bɔndul LL-HL ('Janet bundle' ~ name + noun) = n 'person carrying a ridiculously large bundle';

- (iii) Jɔn-baded L-LF [(John bad head'√ name + (adj. + noun)]  
= n 'person plagued by ill-luck';
- (iv) Jɔn-divawa L-LHL ('John devour'√ name + verb) = n  
'person who eats a great deal';
- (v) Maraya-giwe LLL-LH ('Maria giveaway√ name + verb) = n 'person  
(especially woman) who always gives things away';
- (vi) Tɔmɔs-ɔmbrɔtɔp LL-LHL ('Thomas unbrought-up√ name + adj)  
= n 'a badly-behaved child'.

5. There is also the item abna-bɔnabi LL-HHL, an ingenious creation from the words ab (copulate) and bɔn (give birth), meaning: 'a woman who has given birth to many children'. Abna > ab + na [cf tritna, drayna, etc. (see Stress-Tone Correspondences)], bɔnabi > bɔn + abi (after the pattern of 'Carnaby').

## 10.10 Tautologies

Quite a few compounds have a redundant first or second element, which may have been added to emphasize the meaning of the word (cf English: 'pussycat') to avoid homophony, or (as in some dyadic compounds of African plus English or English plus African origin) to ensure that, in a bi- or multi-lingual situation, speakers who are not fully au fait with the English-derived vocabulary would understand the African-derived one (see also Hancock, 1980, p.72). They are mostly noun + noun combinations, but verb + adverb, adverb + noun and adjective + noun types also occur.



(a) Emphatic types(i) rangot LF ran + got ('ram goat' - n + n) = n 'ram';(ii) fɔdɔm LF fɔ + dɔm ('fall down' - v + adv) = v 'fall';(iii) ɔpgarɛt LHF ɔp + garɛt ('up garret' - adv + n) = n 'the attic';(iv) ɔzban-man LL-H ɔzban + man ('husband man' - n + n) = n 'husband'.

This item could perhaps also be regarded as an instance of an obsolete meaning in English being current in Krio (see Chambers op. cit., p.638). Nowadays, a 'husbandman' in English is a farmer. The Krio item is used in light-hearted, humorous speech;

(v) lofbred LF lof + bred ('loaf bread' - n + n) = n 'a plain loaf of bread';(vi) mared-wɛf LL-F mared + wɛf ('married wife' - adj + n) = n 'legally married as opposed to common law wife or paramour';(vii) bɔysɔn LH bɔy + sɔn ('boy son' - n. + n) = n 'affectionate son' - humorous.(b) Homophony avoidance types(i) dɔlbebi LLH dɔl + bebi ['doll baby' as opposed to other kinds of bebi (which may be 'a newly born baby', 'the pupil of the eye', etc.) - n + n] = n 'doll';

- (ii) os-trot L-F os + trot ('hoarse throat' - adj + n) = n  
'hoarseness'. Ôs also means 'house';
- (iii) kakfɔl LF kak + fɔl (cock fowl - n + n) = n 'a cock'.  
Kak also means 'raise stiffly', 'set jauntily to one side';  
fɔl also means 'appear old and wrinkled', 'be attracted to',  
'be fooled by';
- (iv) kɔktel-drink LH-F ('cocktail drink' - n + n) = n 'cocktail'  
kɔktêl also means 'scorpion'.

(c) (1) English and African dyads

- (i) mataodo LLLH mata + odo (Eng.: 'mortar' + Yoruba: 'mortar' -  
n + n) = n 'wooden mortar';
- (ii) bizabɔdi-ofofo LLLH-LHH bizabɔdi + ofofo (Eng.: 'busybody +  
Yoruba: tale-bearer' - n + n) = n 'busy-body', 'tale-bearer';
- (iii) babuoto LHLH babu + oto (Eng.: 'baboon' + Temne: 'ugly  
person') = n 'an ugly person';
- (iv) blakidudu LHHH blaki + dudu (Eng: 'black' + Yoruba 'of a  
dark colour') = n 'a very dark person'.

(c) (2) African + English ~ noun<sub>1</sub> in the noun<sub>2</sub> type

- (i) gɛgenatrot LLLF gɛgɛ + na + trot (Yoruba: 'goitre' + Krio:  
in + Eng: 'throat') n 'goitre';
- (ii) awangɔt LLF awan + gɔt (Yoruba: 'mean' + Eng: 'gut') =  
adj/n 'greed, greedy'.

10.11 Blends/portmanteaux words

Only a few occur in Krio, e.g.

- (i) grapF - 'get up' (see p.276 ); (ii) trade LF tra + de  
'the other day';
- (iii) plasas LF palava + sɔs - 'vegetable sauce cooked in palm oil';
- (iv) fadɛnb LLH fadaɪn + lɔ - 'father-in-law'.

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

## REDUPLICATION

11.1 Introduction

Reduplication (and iteration) is most characteristic of Krio (and of creole languages in general). Some linguists maintain that it is a universal human phenomenon and is therefore found in all languages (e.g. Jespersen, 1942). It certainly has a very long linguistic history. It is, however, used for different purposes in different languages. Nevertheless, in some respects, it functions similarly in both English and Krio. For example, in both languages, it is used in the informal, colloquial or even slangy styles of speech. One can say in colloquial English: 'It's a hush-hush affair', as opposed to: 'It's a secret/clandestine arrangement'. Similarly, in Krio, one can say: Nàóshósh bíznès, as opposed to: Nà síkrít/kwáyét bíznès. In fact, the very tendency to repeat words in structure is also a feature of these styles in English as it is in Krio. Again, in colloquial English, one can say: 'A big big man came out', with the repetition of 'big' serving to intensify the meaning of the word to superlative proportions, even though we have two separate 'bigs' here and not what is, morphologically speaking, a single word. Similarly, in Krio, one can say: Nà bíg bíg tík ì ték wáp àm = 'He/she hit him/her/it with a very big stick'.

The term 'reduplication' may itself be open to different interpretations. Some linguists only regard identical repetitions or



complete doubling as reduplications. One such is Jules Marouzeau in his Lexique de la terminologie linguistique: français, allemand, anglais, italien 3: e ed. (Paris 1951). A wider definition of the term is adopted in this thesis. We may consider Sapir definition for example, which speaks of: 'repetition of all or part of the radical element' (Language, p.79); there is also Bloomfield's: 'an affix that consists of repeating part of the underlying form' (Language, p.218). Pei and Gaynor also, in their DICTIONARY OF LINGUISTICS (1954), define it as 'the complete or partial repetition of an element or elements'.

We must take a fairly broad definition of 'reduplication', since there are different types, not all of which involve identical repetitions like gudigudi (cf. English 'goody-goody'). Following Nils Thun (REDUPLICATIVE WORDS IN ENGLISH-1963), this thesis also considers identical reduplications with additional elements, e.g. wan-bay-wan (cf. English 'one by one'), so-en-so (cf. English 'so and so'), also referred to as reduplicative phrases; types with different initial consonant or stem vowel, e.g. diladali (cf. English 'dilly-dally'), rifraf (cf. Eng. 'riff-raff'); compounded types like tiptop and singsong (cf. Eng. 'toptop', 'sing-song'); blended and remodelled types like jijsnə (cf. Eng. 'just just now'), lɔlɔntɛm (cf. Eng. 'long long time') and even triplications like ladida (cf. English 'la-di-da' (h)). All these types fit the wider definitions cited above. There may be some doubt about obo. But if we consider that it is derived from English 'hobo', we would realise that it has only lost its initial /h/, which is what happens to English words with initial /h/ when they come into Krio. It is therefore like ɔbnɔb (cf. hobnob), etc.

As a point of departure and before considering English-derived reduplications in Krio, we may note that non-English derived reduplications also exist, perhaps in a greater number, in the language. Indeed, the frequent use of reduplication (and iteration) in Krio may be attributed to the influence of its African substratum - these phenomena also typify African languages. Both the English and African sources have contributed identical as well as partially reduplicated forms. Examples from non-English sources are as follows:-

**identical:** (i) chukchuk LF = n.l. 'prickprick' = 'thorn, thorny or prickly plant'. Hence 2. 'difficulties in the way of an enterprise'.  
(various African sources, e.g. Fula djukka 'prickly stab')  
(K.E.D., pp.62-3).

(ii) manyamanya LLHH = 'completely disfigured' (Twi).

(iii) mutmut LF = 'grassflea' (Wollof);

partially reduplicated: (i) kitikata HHLL = 'helter-skelter'  
(Twi and Yoruba).

(ii) abada-abadi HHH-LLH = 'till  
the end of time' (Hausa).

Also, it is interesting to note that a reduplication in English may become a portmanteau word, through blending, in Krio, e.g.: from the English reduplicated phrases 'by and by', we get Krio bambay\* = 'by and by',

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\*But Cassidy & Le Page (1967, p.22) give an English dialect (bamby cf. Dev. & Cornwall - E.D.D.) origin for this word in Jamaican English.

'later on' (bay + en + bay - the first member of the reduplicated phrase bay becoming ba, the en in becoming n and, by assimilation, in anticipation of the b of the second bay, changing to m - thus giving ba m bay).

As a reciprocal gesture, some reduplications in common English use are from African, pidgin or creole sources. 'Tie-tie', for example, (O.E.D. Supplement, 1883) is recorded as 'a negro name for any string' and is found in Krio, Sranan and Jamaican Creole, with a similar meaning. There are also words like 'beri-beri' (a tropical disease), 'juju' (black art) and 'crawcraw' (a malignant species of pustulous itch found on the African coast' (O.E.D.)).

We now turn to English-derived reduplications in Krio. Broadly speaking, they are of two types. The first type has undergone little or no morphological change from English, e.g. Eng.: 'criss-cross'; 'helter-skelter', 'zig-zag', 'bye-bye' > Krio: kriskrɔs, ɛlta-skɛlta, zig-zag, baybay; and, for good measure, Eng.: '(k)nick-(k)nack(s)' > Krio: niksnaks. When they come into Krio, however, they may undergo some, if minimal, phonological and/or semantic changes. The second type, and by far the more common in Krio, is a modification of an English-derived word, i.e. a reduplication that has consequently acquired a particularly Krio phonological and semantic character. In many cases, syntactic multi-functionality also results. For example, from English 'corner' we get Krio kɔna HL, reduplicated to kɔnakɔna LLHH (i) '(something) surreptitious, clandestine, secret sweetheart (n./adj.)'; (2) 'person one deals with surreptitiously, especially one's mistress or lover' (n). It can also function adverbially.



We shall label the first type CARRY-OVERS and the second CREOLISED TYPES (because many of them also occur in other creoles).

## 11.2 Carry-overs

My statements about carry-overs are based on the analysis of fifty-eight reduplications, but not all of them (only those with a high currency) are cited in the ensuing discussion.

Carry-overs may be words, e.g. gudigudi 'goody-goody', dilidali 'dilly-dally', ladida 'la-di-da(h)'; or 'phrases', e.g. tit- fə-tat 'tit for tat'.

### 11.2.1 Phonology of Carry-overs

Since the phonemic correspondences and phonetic features of English-derived sounds in Krio have been discussed (Section 2), in this section, only phonological features relevant to reduplications - mainly tone patterns and their relationship to English stress patterns - will be discussed.

A. (a) Identical or Full Reduplications: They range from ones with monosyllabic members, e.g. yapyap to ones with tri-syllabic members, e.g. tsetra-tsetra.

#### 1. Monosyllabic members

(1) mama LH, from English 'mama'.



(ii) papa LH, from English 'papa'.

In English, the stress on both words may be on either syllable, though it is usually on the second. In Krio, the tone pattern in each case can change to LL, when the words are used before surnames as a mark of respect, or to HL, when they are used derisively. The individual members, Krio ma, pa, are said with a high fall when they are isolate words.

The vowels in these items can be considerably lengthened, particularly in the second syllable, e.g. ma: ma::. This lengthening affects the tone of the final syllable in each case, i.e. the H rises further.

These changes take place when these, essentially nursery words, are said in playful, gentle speech.

The next two words: wiwi, and pushpush also have a nursery origin but are not subject to such phonological changes.

(iii) wiwi LH, from English 'wee-wee', in which language it can be split up into members. It is usually stressed on the first syllable. In Krio, HL is also possible.

(iv) pushpush LF, from English 'push-push', with initial stress. Changing the tone pattern to HF signals a change in word class, from noun to verb, similar to what happens to words like fenfen and shebsheb, discussed under creolised types. This also happens with the next item, taytay.

(v) cf. English 'tie-tie', with initial stress.

(vi) blabla HH, from English 'blah-blah', with primary stress on the first syllable and secondary on the second.

(vii) yapyap LL, from English 'yap-yap', with initial stress.

Note the unusual tone patterns in (vi) and (vii). The LL pattern in (vii) suggests that the word is now in the 'consummation' stage of kriolisation. Both words are somewhat onomatopoeic and the tone pattern reflects this in each case.

(viii) ɔshɔsh HL, from English 'hush-hush' with alternative stress patterns, ,-'- or '--.

## 2. Disyllabic Members

(i) fifti-fifti HL<sup>↓</sup>HL, from English 'fifty-fifty', usually with the stress pattern ,--'--. Note that, in Krio, the second member is said with a downstepped HL tone pattern.

(ii) gudigudi LHLH, from English 'goody-goody', the usual stress pattern being,--'--.

The LHLH pattern characteristically changes to LLHH when the word is used in nick-naming.

## 3. Trisyllabic members

(i) esetra-esetra LHL-LHL, from English 'et,cet(e)ra-et'cet(e)ra'  
-,--(-)-'-(--)-

The down-stepped tone pattern in the second element reflects the change of accentual pattern in its English counterpart.

Note the reduction of the cluster /ts/ to /s/ when the word comes into Krio. The /ts/ sequence is not very common in Krio.

In the identical reduplications discussed, a wide range of tone patterns is reflected. It would have been desirable to make conclusions about the conditions under which certain tone patterns characteristically occur, but items examined do not seem to exhibit any such patterning. In words with monosyllabic members, the first element is either H or more usually L, the second sometimes H or sometimes F. It is only L in three out of sixteen such words examined. In words with disyllabic members, three patterns are represented: the HLHL, LLHH and LHLH, with no particular patterns prevailing. There are no falls, however. In the tri-syllabic section, there is only one member, precluding any generalisation. The way the stress patterns of the English sources relate to the tone patterns of the Krio derivations is as follows: in items with monosyllabic members, in the majority of cases, initial low tone corresponds to stressed syllable and final falling tone to unstressed syllable; in items with disyllabic members, although the Krio tone patterns reflect no regularity, the predominant stress pattern in English is secondary stress on the first syllable of the first member and primary stress on the first syllable of the second member.

(b) Identical Reduplications with Additional Element:

The additional element in each case is between the members and is always low tone, corresponding to 'unstressed syllable' in English.

1. Monosyllabic members

- (i) af-ɛn-af (adv). H-L-F; (adj.) L-L-F, from English 'half and half', with the stress pattern ,--'-. In the pronunciation of this phrase in English, even when the schwa is present in the intermediate element it is only weakly so in colloquial speech, whereas ɛn ([ɛ̃]) is always an unmistakable reality in Krio.
- (ii) wan-bay-wan H-L-F, from English 'one by one', with the stress pattern ,--'-. LLH is also possible, if the speaker is being sarcastic or derisive (see semantic section for examples)
- (iii) bak-to-bak H-L-F (preferred for adverbial function), from English 'back(-)to(-)back' (with the usual tone pattern ,--'-.). L-L-H can be used when the item is functioning as an adverbial, with the intention of being jocular or derisive.
- (iv) so-ɛn-so H-L-H, from English 'so-and-so', usual stress pattern '---,-. In Krio, H-L-F is possible in sentence final position.



## 2. Disyllabic members

- (1) sɔnde-to-sɔnde HL-L-HL/LL-L-HL, from English 'Sunday to Sunday', with the stress pattern ,---'---.

In Krio, LL-L-HH is also possible (see semantic section).

As has been shown, the tone patterns in identical reduplications with additional element tend to be characterised by a high degree of regularity. There is an almost uniform preference for the H-L-F pattern in items with monosyllabic members, with the possibility of the L-L-H or L-L-F (in a few cases) alternative, signalling a change in word class, or a more intimate, if sometimes disparaging, style of speech. The change from H to L in initial syllables and from a lower pitch to a higher one is also evidenced in the single item of di-syllabic members. Again, there is no falling tone here. Relating all this to the stress patterns of the English models, we see that the low tone in the intermediate element consistently corresponds to unstressed syllable in English, whereas the variable initial and final syllable tone patterns correspond to primary and secondary stresses.

### B. Partial Reduplications

#### (a). Initial Consonant Change

Marchand (1969, p.432) treats this type under the sub-heading 'Rime combinations', arguing that they are

twin forms consisting of two elements (most often two pseudo-morphemes...) which are joined to rime. Rime is obviously the basic factor in these combinations and to speak of 'repetition with change of initial consonants' (Jespersen and Koziol) is to miss the point.

Zandvoort (1972, p.287) too seems to fall into this 'trap' when he writes: 'the first element (which often begins with an h) may be repeated with a different initial consonant (usually a stop) or consonant group; [sk]'; but he 'redeems' himself with the addition: 'the result being rhyme', offering a reason for the rhyming. While all this may be true, as even Jespersen concedes when he writes about the 'childish practice' which 'explains the universal tendency to have an initial labial consonant in the repeated syllables ... producing a rhyming combination ("hanky-panky", "teeny-weeny", "Georgie Porgie") — one also thinks of the playful and meaningless Krio concoction shóldà-móldà -nothing to do with 'shoulder' or 'moulder' or a fusion of the two, by any stretch of the imagination - but, cf. English 'houlder moulder' (E.D.D. 1885, Somerset) meaning 'to brood over', especially as sholda-molda is sometimes used as an exclamation of surprise, admiration or bafflement —, one agrees with Thun, who says (op. cit. pp.18-19):

'if we consider reduplication from a functional point of view, neither 'rime' nor 'change of consonant' is the appropriate term. The effect of a reduplication in which the members are not alike is due to the contrast between two phonemes'.

We may add to this: especially when the contrast is related in semantic sense, e.g. 'lovey-dovey' and 'walkie-talkie', where the /d/ and the /t/ are certainly not random choices motivated merely by rhyme. (All this is true for the Krio reflexes of these words as well). Marchand himself says: 'admittedly the choice of the initial consonants is not arbitrary' (op. cit.).

For want of a better expression, however, 'Initial Consonant Change' will be used as the title for the next sub-category. This type

is quite common in English but has a comparatively modest presence in Krio.

### Initial Consonant Change

In Group One, examples of initial consonant change are as follows:

#### 1. Monosyllabic members

piknik HL, from English 'picnic', with initial syllable stress.

#### 2. Disyllabic members

- (i) Jɔ̃ji-pɔ̃ji LHLH, from English 'Georgie Porgie', with the stress pattern ,--'--. When used vocatively in Krio, the last syllable may be prolonged, thus giving an upstepped high tone, e.g. Jɔ̃ji-pɔ̃ji:: (LHL<sup>↑</sup>H), á(w) yù dú? = 'Georgie Porgie, how are you?' In English, the first syllable of each member is stressed, but in Krio, the typical low tone is found. This is also true for the next two items.
- (ii) wɔ̃kitɔ̃ki LHLH, from English 'walkie talkie', with the stress pattern ,--'--.
- (iii) lɔ̃vi-dɔ̃vi LHLH, from English 'lovey-dovey', '--,--.
- In Krio, HHHL is possible, especially when the word is used as a noun. LHLH is preferred when it is used adverbially.

Every item in Group Two is a word that has lost its initial /h/ in its transition from English to Krio (that is, assuming that the dialect of English from which it came itself had an initial/h/). Note also that this phonological change, though the usual reflex, may not be all that much of the reality it appears to be, because, as Thun notes (op. cit. p.213), the presence of the /h/ in the English word may be due to hypercorrection. There are, for example, definite alternative forms like the following: 'hargle-bargle' and 'argle-bargle', 'hod-rod' and 'odd-rod', and 'hauly-cauly' and 'auly-cauly'.

In English, this group is the largest in the category of 'Initial Consonant Change' (cf. Thun pp. 217-218; Zandvoort, pp. 287-288; Marchand, p.432). This does not seem to be the case in Krio, however, as only five such items have been found. They are the following: ɔbnɔb (cf. 'hob-nob'); ɔmti-dɔmti, (cf. 'humpty-dumpty'); ɛlta-skɛlta, (cf. 'helter-skelter'); anki-panki, (cf. 'hanky-panky'); and okɔs-pokɔs (cf. 'hocus-pocus').

As has been noted before, [h] is more of an idiolectal (though not necessarily acrolectal), than a phonemic feature in Krio (see p.34 ). Only the most commonly used items are discussed here.

1. Monosyllabic members

ɔbnɔb LH, from English 'hobnob', with initial stress. Note the characteristic relationship in the accentual pattern, i.e. initial stress in English corresponding to low tone in Krio.



2. Disyllabic members

(i) elta-skelta HL<sup>↓</sup>HL, from English 'helter-skelter', with the stress pattern ,--'--'. In Krio, HH<sup>↓</sup>HL is also possible and indicates emphasis or excitement. Note that the English stressed syllables here correspond to high tone in Krio.

(ii) anki-panki HL HL, from English 'hanky-panky', ,--'--'. There is the same correspondence in the accentual pattern as for the preceding item.

In Group One, the only item with monosyllabic members has the HL tone pattern. Those with disyllabic members typically have the LHLH tone pattern that is common in tetrasyllabic words in Krio.

In Group Two, the only item with monosyllabic members has the typical initial syllable low tone- LH, while those with disyllabic members have the HLHL tone pattern.

By comparison, the English models show an invariable regularity. All items with monosyllabic members have initial stress and those with disyllabic members have secondary stress on the first syllable of the first member and primary stress on the first syllable of the second member - as in the case of identical reduplications.

(b) Initial consonant change with additional element

As in the case of Identical Reduplications, where there is an additional element, it is between the members and is low tone, corresponding to unstressed syllable in English.

1. Monosyllabic members

- (i) chɔkablɔk HLF, from English 'chock-a-block', with alternative stress patterns ,--'- and '-,-. In Krio, LLH is also possible in familiar style.

2. Trisyllabic members

- (i) niarɛs-ɛn-diarɛs LLL-L-HHH, from English 'nearest and dearest', ,---'---. In Krio, HHH-L-HHF is possible acrolectally.

The HLF pattern seems characteristic of items composed of monosyllabic members with (intermediate) additional element, (cf. same type under Identical Reduplications and Change of Stem Vowel.)

(c) Change of Stem Vowel

The title for this category has been adopted from Thun (op. cit. p.220). Marchand (op. cit. p.429) calls their English counterparts 'Ablaut Combinations'.

Ten such items were noted and they are of two types. The first type is composed of monosyllabic members with one vowel, which may be medial or, as in the case of the single item sisɔ (cf. Eng. 'see-saw'), final. The second type has only one item with disyllabic members having two vowels, but only the first is changed in the reduplicated form, i.e. diladali (cf. Eng. 'dilly-dally'). The other items of the first type are as follows: rifraf (cf. Eng.: 'riff-raff'); zigzag (cf. Eng.: 'zig-zag'); niksnaks (cf. Eng.: '(k)nick-(k)nack(s)'); kriskrɔs (cf. Eng.: 'criss-cross'); tiptɔp (cf.

Eng.: 'tip-top'); tiktɔk (cf. Eng.: 'tick-tock'); pingpɔŋ (cf. Eng.: 'ping-pong'); and sing sɔŋ (cf. Eng.: 'sing-song'). This means that there are four instances of change from /i/ to /a/ and six from /i/ to /ɔ/. Although the /ɪ/~/æ/ type is substantially more common in (at least the RP variety of) English than the /ɪ/~/ɒ/ type, both these types being by far the most frequent (cf. Marchand pp.429-30, Jespersen, Ch. X; Thun, p.220; Zandvoort, p.287); there are more /i/~/ɔ/ type items in Krio than /i/~/a/ ones.

Justifying the /ɪ/~/æ/ alternation in English, Jespersen argues:

this is because you begin with what is light and indicates littleness and nearness and end with the opposite. The duller and more open sound is also musically best adapted for the conclusion  
(ibid).

However speculative this claim may be, there is a definite phonetic polarity in the alternations in both languages. Examples are:

(1) Monosyllabic members

- (i) sisɔ HL, from English 'see-saw', '-- ;
- (ii) tiptɔp HL, from English 'tip-top', '-- ;
- (iii) pingpɔŋ LH, from English 'ping-pong', '-- ;
- (iv) rifraf HL, from English 'riff-raff', '-- ;
- (v) zigzag HL, from English 'zig-zag', '-- ;
- (vi) niksnaks HL, from English '(k)nick-(k)nack(s)', '-- .

(2) Di-syllabic members

dilidali LLHH, from English 'dilly-dally', '---,-- .

In Krio LLHL is also possible as an idiolectal alternative.

Clearly, the HL pattern prevails in items with monosyllabic members and is typical of the type of English-derived partial reduplications that have been labelled 'CARRYOVERS'. The less common LH pattern, more characteristic of 'innovated' Krio compounds, is demonstrated in item (iii). The item with disyllabic members also reflects a typically Krio tone pattern.

(d) Changes of Stem Vowel, with Additional Element

This only happens in one item with monosyllabic members. Again, here, the additional element is between the members and low tone, corresponding to unstressed syllable in English.

tit-fə-tat HLF, from English 'tit-for-tat', ,--'--.

We have already seen that the HLF pattern is characteristic of such items.

(c) Tripletions

Three words are considered here comprising three rather than



two reduplicative members. The first one, ip-ip-ip (cf. Eng.: 'hip, hip, hip') has identical members; the second has different vowels in the three members or can be regarded as an item in which there is a change of stem vowel plus a third member which has been joined by alliteration, i.e. titatu (cf. Eng.: 'tit-tat-to(e)/tic(k)-tac(k)-to(e)'). In the third, ladida (cf. Eng.: 'la(h)-di-da(h)'), there is a change of one consonant and one vowel.

All the items have monosyllabic members.

(i) Identical

ip-ip-ip H-H-H, from English '(hip), hip, hip',  
(, -), -- .

(ii) Change of stem vowel

/i/ ~ /a/ ~ /u/  
titatu HLH, from English 'tit-tat-to(e)/tic(k)-tac(k)-to(e)',  
, -- '- .

(iii) Change of Consonant and Vowel

/l/ ~ /d/; /a/ ~ /i/  
ladida HLH, from English 'la(h)-di-da(h)', , -- '- .

The tone patterns represented here are two instances of HLH and one of HHH, this one being typical of ideophones and exclamations.<sup>1</sup> The item is an exclamation.

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Cf. English in which reduplicative interjections tend to have double stress (see Thun, p.208).

Words with three syllables so far examined seem to have an initial level high tone, a medial low tone and a final level or falling high tone, except exclamations, which are all level high.

### 11.2.2 Morphology of Carry-overs

Although the items so far discussed have been labelled 'CARRY-OVERS', implying that no morphological adjustment has taken place in them in their transition from English to Krio, there is room for comment on their Kriolisation. First, we may note the following:

1. In some cases, the reduplication has no simple form that is in current use in Krio, e.g., although the item gudigudi exists in modern Krio, gudi does not, whereas 'goody' does in English..
2. Some of the cognates of the carry-overs we have noted would perhaps only be treated as simple words or non-compounds, in English, but their Krio counterparts have been compounded, since the Krio speaker, it would seem, instinctively regards them as compounds. They are, for example: blabla (cf. Eng.: 'blah') (sometimes even triplicated); yapyap (cf. Eng.: 'yap' (separated by a comma if reduplicated)); af-ɛn-af (cf. Eng.: 'half and half' (reduplicative phrase)); ɔl-in-ɔl, (cf. Eng.: 'all in all' (reduplicative phrase)); sɔnde-to-sɔnde (cf. Eng.: 'Sunday to Sunday' (reduplicative phrase)); niarɛs -ɛn-diarɛs (cf. Eng.: 'nearest and dearest'); tit-fɔ-tat (cf. Eng.: 'tit-for-tat' (reduplicative phrase)); and ip-ip-ip (cf. Eng.: 'hip, hip, (hip)'). Most of the trimorphemic items fall in this category.

3. The hypocoristic and diminutive suffix -i in gudigudi, Jəji-Pəji, wəkitəki, ləvidəvi and tiniwini and əmtidəmti respectively, has a similar semantic function in both languages. The -i suffix also features in the creolised types, e.g. tifitifi, sikisiki but neither the semantic functions nor the origins are exactly the same as for the English type. (See creolised types).
4. The superlative form -əs in niarəs -ən-diarəs (cf. Eng.: '-est' in 'nearest and dearest') indicates that the item is a relatively recent borrowing. Apart from this item and one or two others, like letəs, bəs, lis and wəs which are English-derived superlative forms, the {ES} morphophonemic form is only acrolectal in Krio. The language has many ways to express the superlative.
5. The item niksnaks has the plural type -s of English after nik, which also seems to indicate that the word is a relatively recent borrowing, since the use of -s as a plural morpheme in Krio, though more common than the superlative -əs, is a relatively recent phenomenon (see p.212). One has the impression, however, that, in this word, the addition of -s is more of a conscious attempt to intensify the suggestion of disapproval, triviality, even annoyance, implied in the Krio meaning, particularly through the /ks/ phonaesthetic cluster and reinforced by both the negative nuance of the nasal and the contrasting vowel sounds, than as a result of hypercorrection. Note also the rhyme effect resulting.

The most common morphological structures of the carry-overs are as follows:

1. Bi-morphemic

- (a)  $\text{root}_1 + \text{root}_1$  - identical - as in ʔshʔsh, pushpush;
- (b)  $\text{root}_1 + \text{root}_2$  - non-identical as in ɛltaskɛlta, dilidali;
- (types (a) and (b) are the great majority).

2. Tri-morphemic

- (a)  $\text{root}_1 + \text{root}_1 + \text{root}_1$  - identical - as in ip-ip-ip (the only item of this type);
- (b)  $\text{root}_1 + \text{affix} + \text{root}_1$  - identical roots  
and affix (either  
a preposition or  
a conjunction) } as in  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{wan-bay-wan;} \\ \text{bak-tobak;} \\ \text{af-ɛn-af} \text{ and} \\ \text{so-ɛn-so} \text{ respectively} \\ \text{ly} \end{array} \right.$
- (c)  $\text{root}_1 + \text{affix} + \text{root}_2$  - non-identical roots and affix either a preposition or possibly a reduced conjunction, as in tit-fə-tat and chəkablək, respectively;
- (d)  $\text{root}_1 + \text{root}_2 + \text{root}_3$  - non-identical - as in titatu and ladida (the only items of this type).

3. Tetra-morphemic

- (a)  $\text{root}_1 + \text{affix}_1 + \text{root}_1 + \text{affix}_1$  - identical roots  
and identical  
affixes } as in  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{fiftififti;} \\ \text{gudigudi;} \end{array} \right.$



(b)  $\text{root}_1 + \text{affix}_1 + \text{root}_2 + \text{affix}_1$  - non-identical)  
 roots but  
 identical  
 affixes } as in { wɔkitɔki;  
niksnaks.

- (i) mama LH have the members ma + ma and  
pa + pa respectively, i.e. (noun + noun  
= noun). They are also nursery type words.
- (ii) papa LH = noun). They are also nursery type words.
- (iii) wiwi LH - has the members wi + wi (verb + verb)  
(cf. Eng. verb/noun + verb/noun). It  
is also a nursery-type word.
- (iv) pushpush LF } have the members push + push and tay +  
tay respectively. (Verb + verb = noun,  
in each case) (cf. Eng.: verb/noun + verb/noun =  
noun). Some of these identical reduplications,  
in which an 'action' verb is reduplicated to  
denote a substantive, seem to have a derogatory  
complexion in English. This type of  
reduplication is however quite common in Krio and  
is considered under 'creolised types'. Note  
that these words can be iterated syntactically,  
with the HH or HL pattern, to function as verbs  
denoting repeated or indiscriminate action,  
e.g. ì jés dè púshpúsh m̀ = (idiomatically)  
'he keeps pushing me'.

(vi) blabla HH } have the members bla + bla and yap + yap  
 respectively (noun/verb + noun/verb = noun/  
 (vii) yapyap LL } verb i.e. only for yapyap); blabla has  
 no simple form - noun/verb. These are onomatopoeic words in English and Krio. 'Blah' is sometimes triplicated in English or may remain in its monomorphemic form. Yapyap is a nursery type word. Its LL pattern suggests its similarity to ideophones with a low tone pattern, e.g. ku L (intensity of activity), wɔp L (in great abundance).

(viii) piknik HL: (originally from French) has no simple form in English or Krio.

(ix) ɔshɔsh HL has the members ɔsh + ɔsh (verb/noun + verb/noun = adjective/adverb) cf. Eng.: (verb/noun + verb/noun = adjective). The non-inflecting character of Krio is in evidence from the fact that the word may be used as an adverb without modification. Note that it can also be used adverbially with an adverb particle: wan/we/ fashin (see p.251. . . . Also cf. 'creolised types').

(x) gudigudi LHLH - Although the base form 'goody' from 'good' exists in English, it does not in Krio, which also has gud and gudu (a Krio creation).

English also has 'goody good', a reduplicative type that does not exist in Krio. The -i suffix in each member has the same attenuating and vitiating function in both languages. This is to be contrasted with its hypocoristic and playful effect in, e.g. lovi dɔvi.

: It may also be noted that reduplication here reinforces the underlying connotation of hypocrisy.

Forms like 'goody-good', 'honky-tonk', 'Clampetty-clamp'; forms ending in '-ery', '-erty', '-ble', and '-eny' have not come into Krio. Also, the longer the word in English the less appealing it seems to be to Krio.

(The Semantics of Reduplications are discussed in Section IV, Chapter 15).

### 11.3 Creolised Types

This type of reduplication is more common and is also highly productive. It is defined on p.339.

Adherents of the monogenetic school argue that 'reduplication in derivation and in phrase structure' (Hall, 1966, p.121) is one of the features of the Proto-Pidgin Portuguese of West Africa manifested in modern creoles. Certainly, other English-based pidgins and creoles have English-derived items similar to the ones found in Krio. Here

are some examples: In Jamaican Creole (as in Krio) was-was 'swarm of wasps', from was 'wasp', refers to 'the abundance of the item referred to in the simple form' (Bailey, 1966, p.16); also, wan-wan 'a few isolated ones', from wan 'one', being distributive; taak-taak (cf. Krio təktək) 'talk continuously', and biit-biit (cf. Krio bítbít) 'whip constantly', refers to repetitive or habitual action. Other examples are drənkdrənk 'continually drunk', from Cameroonian Pidgin, lukluk 'look' and singsing 'ritual festival' from Neo-Melanesian<sup>1</sup> (Hall, *ibid*, p.65); bɛnbɛn 'crooked, shady' and wakawaka 'to wander about', from Nigerian Pidgin (Mafeni, 1971), and brokobroko (cf. Krio bròkòbrókò) from English 'broke', meaning 'mediocre'; watra-watra (cf. Krio wàtawàtə) from English 'water', meaning 'watery'; and tru-tru (cf. Krio trutru) from English 'true', meaning 'really' (Echfeld, *op. cit.*, pp.151, 169).

We must distinguish between reduplication and mere iteration - word sequence. We have noted ( p.263 ) that the mere tone pattern of a creolised compound is not the most reliable guide to its status as a compound. For example, while big + yay HF ('big eyes') and tɔn + tɔn HF (to stir) may have the same tone pattern, big + yay HF is a word sequence but tɔn + tɔn HF (to stir) is a compound (though it can also function syntactically as a word sequence in some contexts). Big + yay = adjective premodifying noun - a normal linear grammatical (syntagmatic) relationship. In the case of tɔn + tɔn, however, we have not merely verb + verb, because aux. + MV is also a normal word-order relationship, not merely MV + MV, which would mean two independent forms, as in, e.g. bɔks, slap, where the deleted conjunction 'ɛn' (Eng. 'and') is understood; in other words, it is not tɔn (ɛn) tɔn, but a more complex and consequently morphological feature. A comparison with English illustrates the point. Krio big yay = English 'big eyes',

<sup>1</sup> new Tok Pisin.



but Krio tɔn tɔn does not equal English 'turn turn', but rather English 'stir', 'turn repeatedly'; one of the tɔn's functioning like a bound morpheme or adverbial element serving to intensify the other tɔn.

The practice of repeating, iterating words and phrases in syntactic structure, common in some African languages, is a strong characteristic of Krio. Thus, a verb like it ('eat'), an adjective like ɔt ('hot') and a phrase like tɔn àm ('turn it') or à tɪnk ('I thought') can be iterated even more than once, primarily as a means of expressing what I tentatively refer to as 'superlativeness'. Iterability and reduplicability are considered in some detail by Fyle and Jones (1980) in the INTRODUCTION section of K.E.D.

Before embarking on my own discussion of creolised types of reduplications, mention may be made of one or two of the relevant points the authors make, with a view to reviewing them.

In section 6.2 The Tones (d) (p.xxi), they postulate that

the grammatical method of forming distributives (which are then word compounds) from reduplicated verbs and adjectives is by the imposition of the low tone on the first item of the distributive. If the low tone is not imposed the result is an intensive, not a distributive compound. Note for example the following, in the order verb/adjective, intensive, distributive:

1. rɛd 'red/redden'
- réd rɛd 'red red' = very red/redden intensively
- rèd-réd 'red-red' = red/redden: all over, indiscriminate reddishness.

ii. pik 'pick'

pik pik 'pick pick' = pick intensively

pik-pik 'pick-pick' = pick indiscriminately,  
hence (a) things to  
be thus picked, e.g.  
left-overs of food,  
(b) be a petty thief,  
petty thieving.

None of these examples has been regarded as a distributive in this thesis, nor has the assertion about how distributives are formed been preferred. Distributives, like ích ('each'), évrì/ébrì ('every'), exist in Krio, but are not considered to have been formed by the method suggested. In fact, ích and évrì/ébrì are not reduplicable. Secondly, true distributives like wánwán ('in ones/one by one'), tútù ('in twos/two by two') and trítrì ('in threes/three by three') (num.+ num), are reduplicated to take an adverbial function. Thirdly, in each case, the tone pattern is HL. We may, in fact, re-examine the examples the authors give and discover the following:

1. rɛdrɛd

HF (a) (adjective) = 'very red' (used to express disapproval);  
'closer to red than is being contended';

(b) (verb) = 'redden intensively'.

LF (a) (verb) = 'redden all over';

(b) (abstract noun) = 'indiscriminate reddishness';

(c) (post-modifying element in compound noun) used in

nicknaming, as in b̀̀b̀́ r̀̀dr̀̀d̀̀ = 'boy fond of reddening things/boy fond of wearing red/reddish clothes'.

In both cases, we seem to have an intensive rather than a distributive.

2. ala-ala HL-HL (verb) = 'shout repeatedly, persistently'

LL-HL (i) (post-modifying element in compound noun) used in nicknaming, as in dàdí alá-álà = 'man who likes shouting';

(ii) (abstract noun) 'a quarrel, quarrelsomeness'.

With this tone pattern, the word does not usually function as a verb.

In each case, persistence, sometimes to aggravating proportions, is indicated.

3. pikpik HF (verb) = 'pick carefully'.

LF (a) (verb) = (i) pick indiscriminately', hence

(ii) 'be a petty thief';

(b) (concrete noun) (plural) (i) 'left-overs'; (ii) foreign matter in grains of rice;

(c) (abstract noun) 'petty thieving';

(d) (post-modifying element in compound noun) used in nicknaming, as in bàbópìkpìk = 'boy who likes picking/stealing things';

(e) (predicative adjective) = 'choosy', as in yù tú pìkpìk = 'you are too choosy'.

In each case, the term 'intensive' or 'distributive' does not seem the most satisfactory to use to describe its usage.

An interesting feature which all these examples demonstrate is their high degree of syntactic multifunctionality. This feature is discussed in the *Semantics* section.

Fyle and Jones also make a very strong point about nicknaming and iteration on page XXXIV. They say that the 'familiarity' nouns (e.g. títí 'girl', b̀̀b̀́ 'boy', mámí 'woman/mother' etc.) function in what one might call the 'nicknaming' construct and illustrate the process as follows:

34. di b̀̀b̀́ álà 'The boy shouts'  
 35. di b̀̀b̀́ álà álà 'The boy shouts shouts'  
 (i.e. shouts intensely)  
 36. di b̀̀b̀́ àlà-áà 'The boy shouts-shouts'  
 (distributive, = 'shouts here, there and everywhere' )  
 37. b̀̀b̀́-àlà-áà 'boy-shout-shout' =  
 The boy of shouting, the boy of quarrels.

37 is a compound noun. In this way nicknames, such as

titi shayn-shayn 'girl shine shine' = brassily vulgar girl; and mami tɔk-tɔk = woman of many words, may be produced, and these nicknames, though written orthographically as if having the structure noun + postmodifier, are each in reality only one grammatical compound noun.



While one objects to the use of the word 'distributive' (e.g. 36) and the meanings of examples 35 and 36, for reasons discussed above, one agrees entirely with the rest of their assertions.

A discussion of the phonological and grammatical characteristics of creolised reduplications now follows.

In this section, we are dealing with a highly productive phenomenon. This means that, while each item of a 'finite' set could be examined in the 'CARRY-OVERS' section, here, there will be more generalisation, with examples to illustrate the observations, and peculiarities singled out for special comment. No attempt will be made, therefore, to give an exhaustive listing of all possible creolised reduplications.

### 11.3.1 Phonology of Creolised Types

#### 1. Non-tonal features

As with carry-overs, the phonemic correspondences of English and Krio sounds and their general behaviour in the different phonetic environments in which they occur are dealt with in the appropriate chapter. The following observations mainly relate to a few peculiar cases:

(a) By far the largest number of creolised reduplications are the identical type, e.g. pikpik HF (Eng.: 'pick pick'); wanwan HF (Eng.: 'one-one'); safulsafu HLHL (Eng.: 'softly-softly'). The remaining few consist of:

(i) Identical reduplications with intrusive intermediate element,

i.e. las-ɛn-las L-L-F (Eng.: 'last and last');

ɔl-ɛn-ɔl H-L-F (Eng.: 'all and all')

and si-to-si L-L-H (Eng.: 'see to see');

(ii) Identical reduplications with final element, i.e.

dedetɛm HHL (Eng.: 'day day time');

fafawe HHL (Eng.: 'far far away');

jɛjɛsnɔ/jijisnɔ HHL (Eng.: 'just just now');

lɔlɔntɛm HHL (Eng.: 'long long time');

yayasa HHL (Eng.: 'here here so').

Note that in the case of jɛjɛsnɔ/jijisnɔ, we have firstly the unusual instance of the Krio vowels /ɛ/ and /i/ corresponding to the English (R.P.) vowel /ʌ/ and secondly, the elision of -s in the first member; note also the elision of the nasal in the first member of lɔlɔntɛm;

(iii) Change of initial consonant, i.e. /d/ ~ /k/ in

dadikadi LHLH (cf. Eng.: 'daddy caddie');

(iv) Rhyme combination (elision of initial consonant cluster) - i.e.

smɛli-ɛli LH-LH (cf. Eng.: 'Smelly Ellie');

(v) Change of Stem Vowels: /i/ ~ /o/, /i/ ~ /ɛ/; i.e.

spikin-spokɛn HH-HL (cf. Eng.: 'speaking spoken');

alternative form - spiking-spokings HH-HL shows

(vi) Change of Stem Vowel - /i/ ~ /o/ and acquisition of final /s/ in reduplicated member.

(b) Vowel harmony - This is a feature common to African languages as well as pidgins and creoles (see pp. 146-7). As the following items illustrate, it also manifests itself in the CVCV syllable structure, which is another feature of both types of languages and of older varieties of Krio words. Some of the items are doublets and have more recent alternatives, e.g.

<u>Older</u>		<u>More recent</u>	<u>English</u>
1. <u>gɔlɔgɔlɔ</u> LLHH		<u>gɔlɛt</u> HF	'gullet'
2. <u>drɔnkɔdrɔnkɔ</u> } <u>drɔngɔdrɔngɔ</u> }	LLHL {	<u>drɔnkdrɔnk</u> HF	'drunk'
	note voiced and voiceless velar plosives as alternatives.		
3. <u>dɔldɔlɔ</u> LLHH		<u>dɔldɔl</u> LH	'dull'
4. <u>brɔkɔbrɔkɔ</u> LLHL } HLHL } LLHH }		<u>brɔkbrɔk</u> LF } HF }	'broke'

<u>Older</u>	<u>More recent</u>	<u>English</u>
5. <u>langalanga</u> HLHL	<u>lɔŋglɔŋ</u> HF	'long'
6. <u>trangatranga</u> HLHL	<u>trɔŋgtrɔŋ</u> HF	'strong'.

We might include in this group items like: tɪfɪtɪfɪ (cf. Eng. 'thief'); sɪkɪsɪkɪ (cf. Eng. 'sick'); pɪnçɪpɪnçɪ (cf. Eng. 'pinch') and wɪçɪwɪçɪ (cf. Eng. 'witch'), (all LL HL), as they have the counterparts tɪftɪf, sɪksɪk, pɪnçpɪnç and wɪçwɪç (all HF) respectively. Note also the discussion of the -i suffix in the section on morphology *infra*.

Items without alternatives are, e.g.:

- (1) bakabaka LLHH (cf. Eng. 'back') (adj.) 'deceitful, crooked (of person)'. Note that, although Krio bák exists, it is semantically divergent enough from this item to be considered a different word.
- (2) kɔɔkɔɔ HHHH 'clucking'.
- (3) ɔbɔɔbɔɔ LLHH 'lob' (the fatty offal from meat).
- (4) wɛŋkɛwɛŋkɛ LLHH 'wenkle' (Yorkshire).
- (5) fɛkɛfɛkɛ LLHH 'flexible'. This item is also a case of a change of form from the unreduplicated fɛksɪbul HHL.



(c) Elision

(i) of /-p/ as in waswas LF from the English 'wasp'.

Note that wâs exists in Krio, but is by no means related in sense to waswas LF, which means 'wasp(s)'. was F means 'wash'. wasp does not exist in Krio.

(ii) of /-d/ as in

(a) biabia LLHL ('beard'), from the English 'beard'.

Again bîa exists but is not related to biabia. It means (1) 'bear' (2) 'beer' (3) 'bare'. Biad is not a Krio word.

(b) sansan LF ('sand') from the English 'sand'. san

in Krio means 'the sun'. Sand does not exist in Krio.

These reduplicated forms, it is claimed by some linguists\* are a deliberate attempt to avoid homophony in pidgins and creoles, since the dropping of the final element of a word-final cluster was a regular feature of pidginisation.

(iii) of /-l/ as in pɛkupɛku LHLH (cf. Eng. 'speckle') =

'speckle'. Here, the final /-l/ of the unreduplicated form pɛkul may have been dropped in order to conform to a CVCV structure.

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\* Hancock (1977, 1980); Todd (1974) among others

Also under elision, we note the tendency to simplify the syllable structure where there are clusters in medial position either as a result of gemination, as in kwikkwik HF becoming [kwikwik] (losing one of the geminate consonants) or otherwise, as in the case of bigbig HF becoming [bibig] (Cf. Hancock, 1980, p.73 'bi'big').

(d) The Nasals and Assimilation

Nasals tend to be affected by assimilation in Krio, so that /m/ tends to be the variety preferred before bilabial consonants, /n/ before alveolar, /ɲ/ before palatal and /ŋ/ before velar. Hence we have bɔn bɔn LF being pronounced [bɔmbɔn], kɔzinkɔzin LLHH ~ [kɔziŋkɔzin], etc. in normal colloquial speech. But this principle does not work in every case. For example, bɔnbɔn is always [bonbon] and krɔmkrɔm LF, [krɔmkrɔm].

2. Tones

(i) The tone patterns do not seem to have been determined by the phonemic structure of the items. The possible patterns for items with monosyllabic members are the following: LH, LF, HH and HF. HL does not seem to occur.

(a) LH is the 'citation form' pattern of very few items in our category. This is in spite of the fact that Krio has a very high percentage of compound words with initial low tone.

Examples of items with the LH tone patterns are:

- (a) jamjam (Eng.: 'jamjam'); (b) jɛkɛk (Eng. 'jerkjerk');  
 (c) swɛlswɛl (Eng. 'swell swell').

This LH pattern is what also usually occurs when an LF item is in utterance non-final position, since the F tone only occurs in utterance final position. Not all final H tones in 'citation form' change to F in utterance final position, however.

The LH pattern is also invariably preferred, for items originally with the LF pattern, in nicknaming.

- (b) LF - By far the greatest number reflect this pattern in 'citation form'. Examples are:

- (a) bloblo LF (Eng. 'blowblow');  
 (b) shekshek LF (Eng. 'shake shake');  
 (c) bɔgbɔg LF (Eng.: 'bug bug');  
 (d) chamcham (LF (Eng. 'champ champ')).

This pattern invariably changes, usually to LH, when the item is in utterance non-final position or as part of a nicknaming construct, or less commonly to HH.

- (c) HH - This is the usual pattern for ideophones, e.g.

- (a) kɔŋkɔŋ (cf. Eng.: 'knock knock');  
 (b) chɛpchɛp (sound of high-heeled shoes).

It is also the pattern for tete (Eng. 'stay stay'), which is a word that can occur anywhere in the sentence. Most commonly, however, this pattern occurs in reduplications that are adjectives premodifying nouns or locatives, which thus function differently if final in the sentence. Examples are:

(i) wanwan tɛm;

(ii) rɛdrɛd klos;

(iii) blakblak tin.

When these words occur in sentence final position, they function in a different word class: wanwan becomes an adverb, while rɛdrɛd and blakblak are verbs or nouns. Their tone patterns change to HF, LF or LH.

A downstepped second H tone, i.e.  $H\downarrow H$ , is found in the single item brabra (cf. Eng.: 'brer'/'brother').

- (d) HF - Most items with an LF pattern can also be said with an HF pattern. This brings about changes in word class, meaning and sometimes word structure. In fact, there is a contention about the word status of initial H compounds (discussed earlier). Examples of items with the LF/HF possibilities are:

(i) tɔntɔn ('turn, turn');

(ii) bɛnbɛn ('bend, bend');

(iii) laylay ('lie, lie').



There are, however, many items with only the HF possibility in 'citation form'. Examples are:

- (i) bigbig ('big, big');
- (ii) wanwan ('one, one');
- (iii) bɔlbɔl ('ball, ball')

In utterance non-final position, however, HF invariably becomes HH.

Monosyllabic members with intrusive intermediate element:

As in the case of CARRY-OVERS, the intermediate element is low tone in each case. Otherwise the pattern varies:

- (i) las-ɛn-las L-L-F;
- (ii) ɔl-ɛn-ɔl H-L-F;
- (iii) si-to-si L-L-H. ~~H~~L-H is also possible in some idiolects.

All four examples of identical reduplication with monosyllabic members and final element, i.e.

- (1) dedetɛm, (2) fafawe (3) jɛjɛsnɔ/jijisnɔ and (4) yayaso  
 (see p.366 ) have the HHL tone pattern. This reinforces the pattern of a consistent low tone for the intrusive element.

(ii) Disyllabic members

The patterns that seem to occur are LLHH, LLHL, LHLH, HHHH, and

HLHL. The HLL pattern seems to occur only in reduplications of non-English origin. No other pattern seems to occur. No F tone occurs in utterance final position.

There is usually no preferred change from L to H in final syllable when reduplications with disyllabic members are used in nicknaming. This change occurs with items with mono-syllabic members only.

Items usually said with the LLHL, and, to a lesser extent, the LLHH patterns can also be said with the HLHL pattern. Examples are:

1. (a) drɔŋgɔdrɔŋgɔ LLHL,  
 (b) drɔŋgɔdrɔŋgɔ HLHL;
2. (a) kɔbakɔba LLHH,  
 (b) kɔbakɔba HLHL (Eng. 'cover cover').

An item may even have three possible tone patterns, e.g.

- (1) brokobroko LLHL, HLHL, LLHH.

Most items with the LHLH pattern have no alternative patterns, e.g.:

- (1) biolbiol LHLH (Cf. 'behold behold'),
- (2) kɔnikɔni LHLH (cf. 'cunning cunning').

Items with the HHHH pattern are invariably ideophones, e.g. kɔkɔkɔkɔ - clucking sound.

The patterns HLHL and LHLH are susceptible to the downstepping of the reduplicated element.

- (iii) There is a unique TRISYLLABIC item with the pattern HHH-HHH, i.e. goinɔn-goinɔn (cf. 'going on going on').

For word class conversion and changes in tone pattern see **Ch.15.**

### 11.3.2 Morphology of Creolised Types

The items discussed in this section have been labelled creolised types, although they are English-derived, mainly because none of them has been carried over from an English model that is reduplicated, unlike the carry-overs. The great majority are simple iteratives, e.g. blakblak LF, bitabita LLHL (root-root) etc., but other forms are possible. They are first considered according to the number of morphemes they are made up of.

#### 1. Bimorphemic

- (i)  $\text{root}_1 + \text{root}_1$  - The roots are identical, but the word has no simple form in Krio that is semantically related to its reduplicated form. In each case, the reduplication was presumably coined to avoid homophony (see p.369), e.g.

(a) waswas (was + was) = 'wasp', (cf. Hancock, 1977, p.167; 1980, p.74). Also cf. Jamaican Creole,

was-was 'swarm of wasps' (Bailey, 1966, p.16),  
'wasp; wasps' (Cassidy and Le Page, 1967, p.463).

The simple form wás in Krio means 'wash'.

(b) sansan (san + san) = 'sand'. The simple form sán means 'sun' in Krio, (cf. Hancock, 1977, p.167).

(c) biabia (bia + bia) = 'beard'. The simple form bíà means (1) 'beer', (2) 'bare'; (3) 'bear'.

(ii)  $root_1 + root_2$  - The roots are identical but the word has been modified from its simple form and then reduplicated. The modification takes the form of the dropping of an initial or final consonant, e.g. (a) krɔmkɔm (krɔm + krɔm) = 'crumbs', from the simple form krɔms. Note that the consonant dropped is the plural type bound morpheme -s and that the reduplicated form has also a plural reference. (b) katakata (kata + kata) = 'commotion', from the simple form skátà. (c) pɛkupɛkul (pɛku + pɛku) = 'stars', from the simple form pékùl.

(iii)  $root_1 + root_1$  - The roots are identical. This is the structure of the great majority of 'Krio creations'. Examples are:

(a) blakblak LF (blak + blak adj. + adj.) = 'dark foreign matter in uncooked rice' = noun.

(b) bitabita LLHL (bita + bita adj. + adj.) = 'gall bladder' = noun;



(c) lilililili HLHL (lili + lili adj. + adj.) =  
'very little' = adj;

(d) ala-ala LLHL (ala + ala noun/verb + noun/verb)  
= 'quarrel' = noun/verb.

(iv)  $root_1 + root_2$  - where  $root_1$  and  $root_2$  are non-identical, as in the example of:

dadikadi (dadi + kadi noun + noun) cf. Eng.:  
'daddy' + 'caddie' (attendant/errand boy) = n. 'nightsoil man'.

2. Tri-morphemic - all simple forms with an affix.

(i)  $root_1 + affix + root_1$  - where the roots are identical and the affix either a conjunction, as in:

(a) las -ɛn-las (las + ɛn + las adj. + conj. + adj.) = adj/  
n. = 'the very last'.

(b) ɔl-ɛn-ɔl (ɔl + ɛn + ɔl adj. + conj. + adj.) = adv.  
'in sum' ; or a preposition, as in sitosi  
(si + to + si verb + preposition + verb) = verb/noun.  
(literally 'see to see') = 'bribery/bribe'.

(ii)  $root_1 + affix + root_2$  - where roots 1 and 2 are non-identical and the affix an instance of conflation between the adoption of English -y (adjectival marker in 'smelly' and the attenuating diminutive -i found in some creoles)(see Bailey 1966, p.16) and African sources.

The item is smɛli ɛli (smɛl + i + ɛli adj. + noun)  
'an unclean person'.

(iii) root<sub>1</sub> + root<sub>1</sub> + affix - where the roots are either identical or slightly modified and the affix either a 'temporal' or 'place'<sup>1</sup> locative. The examples are:

- |                                 |   |   |
|---------------------------------|---|---|
| 'temporal<br>locative<br>affix' | { | <p>(i) <u>jijisnɔ̄/jɛjɛsnɔ̄</u> (<u>ji/jɛ.</u> <u>jis/jɛs</u> + <u>nɔ̄</u>) (literally<br/>'just just now' = 'only a moment ago').</p> <p>(ii) <u>lɔ̄lɔ̄ntɛm</u> (<u>lɔ̄</u> + <u>lɔ̄n</u> + <u>tɛm</u>) (lit. 'long long time'<br/>= 'long long ago').</p> <p>(iii) <u>dedetɛm</u> (<u>de</u> + <u>de</u> + <u>tɛm</u>) (lit. 'day day time')<br/>= 'in broad daylight'.</p> |
| 'place<br>locative<br>affix'    | { | <p>(iv) <u>fafawe</u> (<u>fa</u> + <u>fa</u> + <u>we</u>) (lit. 'far far away')<br/>'a long way away'.</p> <p>(vi) <u>yayasa</u> (<u>ya</u> + <u>ya</u> + <u>so</u>) (lit. 'here here so')<br/>'this very place'.</p>   |

Note that it is the first element of a compound in each case that has been reduplicated. The simple forms are jisnɔ̄/jɛsnɔ̄, lɔ̄ntɛm, detɛm, fawe and yaso.

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<sup>1</sup>For the terms 'time', 'place' locatives, see Fyle & Jones p. xxxviii.

3. Tetra-morphemic

(i)  $\text{root}_1 + \text{affix}_1 + \text{root}_1 + \text{affix}_1$  - where both roots and both affixes are identical. In the first type, the affix is the suffix -i, which, when attached to some verbs or adjectives, converts them to nouns, e.g. tiftif HF (vb./adj.) 'stealing habitually (of person)' becomes tifitifiLLHL (noun) 'thieving person'; pinch-pinch L-F (verb) 'habitually eat food in tiny morsels' becomes pinchipinchi LLHH. The verb or adjective forms of these words have simple forms, e.g. tif 'steal' and pinch 'pinch', but the noun forms (with the -i suffix) do not. Also, most of these words are already derogatory in their simple or un-suffixed forms and the suffix tends to label the person referred to with the quality denoted in the verb or adjective in the way a nickname does. They may even be used in what Fyle & Jones (p. XXXIV) call 'the nicknaming construct' (see p.364), as in dàdí pínchìpínchì - 'man who likes nibbling. Further examples of such words are:

(a) sikisikiLLHL (sik + i + sik + i), 'person always ill';

(b) kotikoti LH LH (kot + i + kot + i) 'man always wearing a coat';

(c) naysinaysi LH LH (nays + i + nays + i) 'person always feigning niceness';

(d) wichiwichi LLHH (wich + i + wich + i) , 'person behaving like a witch'.

The noun created by the suffix may not always refer to a person or have a pejorative effect, as in ɔtiɔti LH LH (ɔt + i + ɔt + i) 'alcoholic drink (especially when drunk to keep warm)'.

There are other kinds of suffixes with this morphological pattern which illustrate other interesting features.

First is the suffix -a. It functions differently in begabega LLHL (noun/verb) (beg + a + beg + a) 'professional beggar, play the part of one', from the way it does in bakabaka LLHH (adj.) (bak + a + bak + a) 'deceitful, crooked (of person)'. The simple form of begabega is not bega, which does not exist, but beg F (verb)

'1. beg, ask for entreat. 2. ask pardon, ask forgiveness. 3. be a professional beggar'. It is in the third sense of the word that it is related to begabega. There is also the form begaman ILF(noun) 'beggar' which is synonymous with begabega. The -a in the word, like the -a in begaman looks like an English type '-er', the agentive noun marker, as in 'doer' (See also Derivational Morphology, 9.3 above). Note that, in Krio, the word is also a verb, in spite of the -a, and that it has a straightforward semantic relationship with both beg and begaman.

The case of bakabaka, however, is different. Although it does not have the simple form baka, it is not correct to say that it is reduplicated from bak either.



Fyle and Jones (p.24) do give the following etymology: '(E(nglish). back + reduplication + vowel harmony).' It does not appear that this is a case of simple vowel harmony because of the change of meaning from bak. It is clearly not the 'er' type a either; this is, in fact, an adjective, but adjectives are not usually formed in Krio by the suffixation of a either. This is a unique example of such a formation and the consequent semantic result. One can see the remote, metaphorical connection between bak F 'back as opposed to front' and its connotations of shadiness, and bakabaka 'deceitful, crooked (of person)', and this has been reinforced, if not actually caused by the suffixation of a.

Next is the suffix -ɔ as in drɔnkɔdrɔnkɔ/drɔngɔdrɔngɔ LLHL (noun, adjective, verb) (drɔnk + ɔ + drɔnk + ɔ) 'drunkenness, habitual drunkard; habitually drunk; habitually take part in drinking session'. The simple form is drɔnkɔ and its only functional difference with the reduplicated <sup>form is the connotation</sup> of habit implied. Both forms are derived from drɔnk F '1. (verb) be drunk 2. v. be out of one's mind. 3 (noun) drunkenness'. It is clear therefore that the differences in meaning and word class observed between drɔnk, drɔnkɔ and drɔnkɔdrɔnkɔ have been contributed by the suffixation of -ɔ. Note also that, though the alternative forms of drɔngɔ and drɔngɔ-drɔngɔ are possible, drɔng is not.

The -ɔ suffix also occurs in dɔlɔdɔlɔ LLHH (noun, adjective) (dɔl + ɔ + dɔl + ɔ) 'a sluggish person; dull, sluggish', cf. a related form dɔldɔl LH (adj.) 'dull, sluggish', both derived from dɔl F adj. 'dull'. The only difference between dɔldɔl and dɔlɔdɔlɔ is in the additional noun word class of the latter and is again contributed by the suffixation of the -ɔ.

There is also the suffix -o, which, again, functions differently in bayobayo from the way it does in brokobroko. Bayobayo LLHL (verb) (bay + o + bay + o) 1. 'coax; 2. ~~per~~per/act ingratiatingly'. The etymology relied on here on is given in Fyle and Jones page 29: '(E(nglish) "bye" as in "rock-a-bye"; cf. J. bya "lull a child to sleep").' There is no simple form of the word in Krio. The -o suffix here has a meliorative effect and is perhaps similar to the intimacy pleading tag bo. We have a different situation in brokobroko LLHL/HLHL/LLHH. This word also occurs in Sranan, and Echteld (1961, p.152) suggests that it was 'inspired by African usage'. In this language, it means 'mediocre', cf. Krio in which it is not only an adjective, as in Sranan, but also a noun '(something) completely broken-down, shattered'. Echteld also observes (p.173) that 'it is striking that some Sranan words seem to have been modelled on English...verbs, preterite and past participle' and gives broko as one example. Hancock (1971) also

gives brôk as an example of a Krio verb derived from the English preterite form and suggests that it 'may be a feature which originated in some variety of nautical pidgin' (pp. 154-5). We might note all the forms signifying the idea of 'break' in the sense of shatter. They are all in some form of past form:

(1) brok F (cf. Eng. 'broke') (verb) = 'break up, destroy';

(2) brokin HL } (cf. Eng. 'broken') (adj.) = used only in

(3) brokun HL } acrolectal expressions: brokin/brokun

English i.e. pidgin/substandard English and

brokin/brokun savis = a break in service,

which reduces pension, gratuity, etc.

(4) broko HL (cf. Eng. 'broken') adj. + 'broken'

(5) brokobroko LLHL etc. (Cf. Eng. 'broken-broken')

adj./n. 'completely broken down, shattered'.

Fyle and Jones (p.54) say the -o suffix is an instance of vowel harmony. We must also note that the difference between brok (verb) and broko 'adjective' is brought about by this suffix.

In the second type, the affix is the temporal locative - tɛm as in wantɛm-wantɛm HL-HL (wan + tɛm + wan + tɛm), i.e. (adj. + loc. = adv.) + (adj. + loc. = adv.) = adverb (lit. 'one time, one time', idiomatically 'immediately').



(ii)  $\text{root}_1 + \text{affix}_1 + \text{root}_2 + \text{affix}_2$  - where both roots and both affixes are non-identical. This occurs in the word spikin-sopkɛn (the only example I can find which exemplifies this pattern). spik + in + spok + ɛn (cf. Eng. 'speaking spoken'), the second root is the past tense form of the first, being the verb spik, the affixes are the 'present' continuous -ing form and the past participle -en form inflections. The word is a verb, used sarcastically to refer to speaking English in a deliberately snobbish way. The very simple form: spik has the derogatory connotation of speaking English with superior airs or when it is uncalled-for. The unusual mixture of the -in and -ɛn and the present and past forms in a single word - an attempt at identifying features of English - emphasises the sarcasm implied in the use of the word. The alternative form: spiking-spokings, in which the rules of English are even broken by the use of the -ing form with the past form coupled with the even more incongruous plural -s suffix, makes the point even more forcefully.

#### 4. Hexa-morphemic

$\text{root}_1 + \text{affix}_1 + \text{affix}_2 + \text{root}_1 + \text{affix}_1 + \text{affix}_2$  - where the roots are identical and affixes 1 and 2 are also reduplicated. This occurs in the single example of goin-ɔngoin-ɔn, a recent borrowing, which accounts for the type of affixes (cf. Eng. 'going on'). The word does not have a simple form. Go + in + ɔn + go + in + ɔn, i.e. verb + -ing + prep. + verb + -ing + prep. =



reduplicative phrase with an adverbial function,  
 meaning: 'as matters progress, as time goes on'.

### 11.3.3 English Morphological Endings and Creolised Types

Reduplicated forms in Krio can be related to several definite English inflectional and derivational word endings, which are themselves not unknown in Krio, being present in other English-derived words. For example, the endings '-ed', '-ing', '-ish' and '-s' are found in the English-derived words blɛsɛd, wantin, rɛnkish and greps respectively. These however tend to be recent borrowings, whereas it is very likely that at the pidginisation stage of Krio, reduplication was one of the few ways possible of expressing the nuances conveyed by these endings. Here are some examples:

(a) '-ed' (superlative type adjective) e.g. 'ragged'

This idea is expressed in words like:

- (i) chɛkchɛk LF 'chequered';
- (ii) bɔsbɔs LF (cf. 'burst') 'torn in many places, ragged, tattered';
- (iii) chamcham LF (cf. 'champ') '(of dress) ragged, dog-eared';
- (iv) bɛnbɛn LF (cf. 'bent') full of bends (of person) very crooked in one's dealings;
- (v) chɛrchɛr LF (cf. 'tear') = ragged, torn in several places.

- (b) '-ing' (deverbal adjective marker as in 'singing' in e.g. 'the singing nun').

This feature is similar to the nicknaming construct in Krio, (cf. mámí sîngsîng 'woman who likes singing') and shows reduplication being used in Krio to express habitualness. Examples are:

- (i) singsing LF/HF 'continually singing';
- (ii) slipslip HF 'habitually sleeping';
- (iii) laflaf HF 'habitually laughing'.

The word, in each case, can function as a verb, more in the 'continual' than in the 'continuous' form, and as the post modifier in the nicknaming construct.

- (c) '-ish' - in various senses

as in, first, the sense of appurtenance:

- (i) watawata LLHL - waterish;
- (ii) mekmek LF (cf. 'make') 'snobbish';
- (iii) fulful LF (cf. 'fool') 'sheepish';
- (iv) kreskres LF (cf. 'crazy') 'clownish';

secondly, with colour words, implying 'of the nature of, nearing but not exactly', as in:

(i) rɛdrɛd LF 'reddish (mango)';

(ii) blakblak LF 'darkish foreign matter in uncooked rice'.

These are in fact examples of reduplications that express the very opposite of what reduplications are supposedly famous for - intensification. Far from meaning 'very red', rɛdrɛd LF, we have seen, may mean 'bright but not quite red'. This is diminution.

(d) '-ly', as in adverbs like 'gradually', especially when the very idea of gradualness is implied:

(i) lililili HLHL (cf. 'little') 'carefully';

(ii) smɔlsmɔl HF (cf. 'small') 'slowly';

(iii) sloslo HF (cf. 'slow') 'slowly';

(iv) wanwan HF (cf. 'one') 'singly';

(v) safulsaful HLHL (cf. 'softly') 'softly'.

(e) '-s' as in plural nouns

It is a well known fact that many languages sometimes use reduplication to express plurality. In the case of Krio, the items thus reduplicated express abundance. Examples are:

(i) stonston LF (cf. 'stone') 'stony ground, pebbles';

(ii) waswas LF (cf. 'wasp') 'swarm of wasps'. But this word also has a singular denotation.

(iii) krəmkrəm LF (cf. 'crumbs') 'crumbs'.

(f) '-ness' as in abstract nouns

(i) mekmek LF (cf. 'make') 'snobbishness';

(ii) sabisabi LLHH (cf. 'savy') 'fussiness';

(iii) mətmət LF (cf. 'mouth') 'boastfulness'.

These are by no means the only endings that can be related to reduplicated forms. Also, the very multifunctional nature of reduplications and the fact that some only function in particular word classes, having been derived from these classes in English, means that several more English-Krio correspondences are possible. In fact, reduplication may even be considered an all-purpose morphological device.



SECTION FOUR:  
THE LEXICO-SEMANTICS  
OF  
ENGLISH-DERIVED WORDS  
IN KRIO

## CHAPTER TWELVE

CRITERIA FOR 'CITIZENSHIP' STATUS AND SOURCES OF  
ENGLISH-DERIVED WORDS12.1 Introduction

The area covered by Lexico-semantics is vast enough to merit study as a research subject in its own right. But, for this thesis, strict selectivity has had to be used.

It must also be emphasised that although the divisions of Phonology, Morphology and Lexico-semantics have been used in this work, these divisions may in some ways be considered arbitrary and are certainly not mutually exclusive. Therefore, some features dealt with in one of these sections could equally be dealt with in another. In fact, some amount of overlap seems inevitable, e.g. the use of tone patterns to make semantic distinctions is discussed under both Stress-Tone Correspondences and under Lexico-semantics.

The general principle has been that, where linguistic features other than Lexico-semantic have been considered worthy of discussion, items exemplifying them have been treated under the relevant section, e.g. Phonological or Morphological, and although mention of these features may also crop up in discussions under the present section, it is matters particularly pertinent to Lexico-semantics that are being highlighted here.

12.2 Criteria for word 'citizenship' status

It is under Lexico-semantics that the following question may be considered: when can a word from English be regarded as a Krio word? Fyle and Jones (op. cit., pp. ix-xi) discuss this question, and, for the purposes of K.E.D., describe Krio as it is used by the native speakers

in the Western Area of Sierra Leone, recording all Western Area speech without distinctions (of dialect), largely regarding every word that is used in Krio speech as a Krio word. Attempting to forestall the criticism that 'those usages which...are very obviously English-derived ought... to be excluded', they argue that people who object to the inclusion of such obvious English-derived words are not inclined to object to obvious African-derived words. However, they also note: 'but the linguistically oriented reader will understand that commonness of usage in a new environment hardly ever goes without some change of meaning, however small' (p. xi). While the truth of this observation can hardly be disputed, it so happens that there are English-derived words in Krio with a one to one semantic correspondence (see pp.394-5) with their English sources.

Since Krio is an English-based creole language, which, by traditional definitions, implies that its lexicon is essentially, overwhelmingly — in fact, about or over 80% (Fyle, *passim*, e.g. 1977, pp.2 & 7; Jones, 1971, p.69; Fyle & Jones, *op. cit.*, p. x — English-derived, and noting that, as Hancock says (1980, p.81) 'creole languages have an unbroken lexical continuum with their metropolitan lexifier', questions about when an English word may be considered truly Krio are bound to arise. Rotimi (1982), in his review of Fyle and Jones, offers a springboard for discussing the criteria for regarding such a word as truly Krio. He argues that, if criteria are not stringently applied, the selection of words from the dominant language for this kind of dictionary 'is likely to know no end...' (p.296). He criticises Fyle & Jones for not being 'quite discriminating' and for having accepted words like "bank", 'flag', 'flat', 'lamp', 'limp', 'list', 'program', 'propaganda', 'sink', 'total', 'wind', etc. - they all appearing ever so coquettishly familiar in their see-through habiliments of English acceptation!" (ibid).

He notes the compilers' justification for that (mentioned on page 391 above), concedes that this is true to an extent, but maintains that ultimately:

there is the word acquired through contact and there is the word acquired by birth. The kekrebu of Twi, the kanda of Mende, or the kenke of the Yoruba language was subscribed to Krio by speakers who were first Twi, Mende or Yoruba, before becoming a progenitive part of the Krio bloodstream. The corollary hardly applies to English because - the incidence of miscegenation notwithstanding - the English cannot quite be described as a kinetic part of the oral and hereditary continuum, that determines the life of the Krio language (ibid).

We may note that this argument seems to assume, quite wrongly, that every African word in Krio was 'acquired by birth'. See, for example, Berry (1961, p.1) who writes:

the latter half of the last century was a period of intensive borrowing from African sources into Krio... This borrowing continues today but in diminished degree.

Fyle (1977) overshoots the mark in asserting that 'the present-day orientation of Krio is towards the languages of Nigeria and of Sierra Leone' (p.5), opposing 'present-day orientation' to what he calls 'historical orientation', but does make the important point that Krio continues to borrow from African sources, noting the lingua franca role of the language in Sierra Leone (a country with seventeen indigenous African mother tongues) and the fact that there are many native Krio speakers of Nigerian descent in Sierra Leone today. Words like dombolo HHH = 'quarrel, great fight' < Temne: dombolo = 'strife'; kuma HH = 'box' < Temne: kuma = 'box'; kɔnkɔɔma LLHL = 'tomfoolery' < Temne: kɔnkɔɔma = 'tomfoolery', are recent borrowings from a Sierra Leonean language.



Rotimi also argues that, if, as the compilers say, Krio is 'an English-oriented creole language', then English is being described as the dominant language and it therefore follows that: 'while an English word-item need change meaning in order to pass as pure Krio, a derivative from an African language need not' (p.297). This conclusion is unsatisfactory because it does not seem to follow from the premises.

In fact, Rotimi's argument does not seem to take account of the fact of decreolisation and the existence of an acrolect-basilect creole continuum in Sierra Leone Krio (cf. e.g. Berry, 1961, p.1:

like all creolized languages, Krio is subject to amplification and 'improvement' in the direction of the model language)

and such a criterion would not be faithful to the language as it is actually spoken in all its lects. The semantic criterion, powerful though it is, should not be regarded as the only or necessarily the most important one in determining acceptability, and, although mere phonological change may be considered 'a weak criterion' (p.298), the ultimate test of frequency of usage seems the strongest. To take examples from borrowings from French into English (which abound), items like 'garage', 'rendezvous', 'tete-a-tete', 'vis-a-vis', 'penchant', 'bourgeoisie' and 'meringue' have little more than a phonological difference from their source language for most speakers of English, but are recorded in standard English dictionaries, presumably because they are in common currency. Secondly, if not all African-derived words are 'native' in the sense of being primordial, then why should Rotimi's criterion not apply to them also?

The present thesis maintains that the longer the life of particularly an English-derived word in Krio, the greater is the tendency for that word to acquire nuances different from its English cognate or to undergo some other kind of semantic modification. We again come to the crucial question of when an English-derived word should be considered a truly 'naturalised' Krio word. Is it when it begins to acquire nuances? It happens that some items come straight with their modification, e.g. gorila LHL (cf. English: 'guerilla' - noun) is less than twenty years old in Krio and is used as a noun as well as a verb, particularly by younger speakers, usually college students, to refer to an undercover love relationship when one or both of the parties are already 'going steady' with someone else. This word has never been used in Krio in a military sense, as it is in English. Other such examples can be found.

Some words, however, simply do not seem to acquire nuances. It is not easy to give a clear-cut classification of such words, but observation suggests that such words tend to refer to physical objects the concepts of which are foreign to, or have only recently been introduced into, Krio. The concepts tend to be relatively precise or not too widely vague in scope and not to be too susceptible to a 'superordinate term/hyponym' delineation. An item like tɛlivishɔn LLHL (television), for example, does not seem to have anything other than a one to one correspondence. For some time, trafik layt HHF (traffic lights) - which also has a one to one correspondence - seemed to refer to an unfamiliar concept, until the analogy with a traffic policeman sank in, and then the Krio spirit of facetious inventiveness created mumu polis LHLE, blending the African mumu (dumb)

< Ewe, Twi, Mende and other African sources, with the English-derived polis (policeman), to offer a humorous and essentially non-acrolectal synonym for trafik layt. Technical and mechanical items like vehicle engine parts - which are the stock-in-trade of largely semi-literate and hence bona fide representatives par excellence of the lower mesolect to basilect group - also tend to have a one to one correspondence, e.g. kaboretɔ LLHL (carburettor), redietɔ LLHL (radiator), kɔplɪn HL (coupling), though some of the more suggestive ones, like dɪptstɪk LF (dipstick), are exposed to the contagion of semantic extension. (This item is also a facetious word for the male sex organ).

Rotimi's standpoint underlies Hancock's sweeping assertion that no English item corresponds exactly to its Krio derivation (1971, p.157; 1980, p.66). But let us also note Hancock (1980, pp.64-5) where the author considers stabilisation more significant than nativisation in creole language formation and defines stabilisation as 'the establishment of linguistic conventions whose manifestations will be predictable for at least ninety per cent of any speaker's performance'. By this criterion alone, many English-derived words, with a one to one correspondence, for example, could be unreservedly described as Krio words, since they would be predictable in almost every case of any speaker's performance.

However, the view first proffered by Berry (1961, p.3, note 1) that 'in the linguistic state of near-bilingualism, every English word is to be considered a potential loanword into Krio' - which is also subscribed to in Jones (1972 pp.7-8), and which is strongly asserted in A. Johnson (1974, p.6): 'it can be assumed with every justification that every English word is a potential Krio word' - is considered with some scepticism in this thesis. Berry is referring to a 'state of near-bilingualism'



(in which the two languages are presumably English and Krio), but, as Fyle and Jones note in response to his statement (op. cit. p.xii, note 1):

the fact that any English word could occur in the speech of a Krio speaker in the company of others with a similar range of English, does not by itself indicate that the word belongs to the language .

This kind of erratic use of English words sometimes spliced in the speech of people bilingual in Temne and English, Mende and English, etc., which occurs very frequently in Sierra Leone, does not, of course, mean that every English word is a potential Temne or Mende, etc. word either.

(This is what Allsopp calls 'code overlap' (1980, p.99))

The whole question of which kinds of English words may not be adopted into Krio is a difficult one and arguments about it are bound to be speculative. All one can say is that the following categories of words do not seem to have been considered acceptable by Krio speakers: (i) longer and phonologically or morphologically highly complex words; (ii) words with highly abstract meanings; (iii) words with very learned or highly specialised forms and meanings. Where the need has arisen to express ideas in any of these categories, a circumlocutory phrase has been substituted. In spite of the fact of decreolisation, even educated, acrolectal speakers deliberately avoid using words they intuitively consider too English to be acceptable, e.g. 'insomnia', 'schizophrenic', 'aeronautics', for which the circumlocutory phrases nó ébùl slíp (not able to sleep), í wán nà tú dífrèn pòsìn (he is two persons in one), áw fò fláy plên (how to fly a plane) suffice.

My criterion for accepting an English-derived word as a 'naturalised', fully-fledged Krio word, then, is frequency of usage of



an item, but, in the absence of any statistical study of such frequency, my assessment is based on my intuition as a native speaker. Such a criterion, of course, can only be subjective. Frequency of usage, in any case, is a relative criterion, not an absolute one, which reflects the fact that 'naturalisation' is also a matter of degree.

Because of phenomena like decreolisation, although the phonological or morphological form of the word is likely to suggest that it is a recent acquisition, it is not necessarily a clue to its 'citizenship' status.

### 12.3 The Sources of the Krio Lexicon

In Berry (1959, p.300), the sources noted are:

- (a) Words of African origin (including Arabic);
- (b) Words of European origin: mostly from (i) English; but also from (ii) Portuguese and Spanish, and (iii) French;
- (c) Words of Caribbean origin.

Hancock (1971) - a study devoted to the sources of the Krio lexicon - categorises the sources under:

- (1) European Donor Languages, i.e. English, Portuguese and French (but not Spanish or German); influences from the Classical languages: particularly Latin;
- (2) Non-Local languages: (a) Yoruba, Hausa, Twi, Bantu, Wolof;
- (3) Local languages: (a) Mende, (b) Temne, (c) Manding, (d) Kru, (e) Limba, (f) Arabic;
- (4) Indigenous coinages (mostly modelled on English patterns).

Fyle (1977, p.2) writes that the twenty percent of words that are not English-derived items have come from 'a host of languages from Europe, Asia and Africa'. He manages to list thirty-four source languages other than English in K.E.D. 'ranging from Yoruba and Fanti in West Africa to Arabic and Hebrew in Asia and to French and German in Europe' (ibid). He also points out that there is a small but, nonetheless, very important body of words (many of which have not been modelled on any English or other language pattern) but invented by the Krios themselves, most prominent among which are ideophones.

#### 12.4 The Sources of the English-derived Lexicon

The diverse nature of the English-derived vocabulary of Krio has been noted (Phonology Section). It includes:

##### A. Words now obsolete in Standard English

These items must have been current, at least in speech, at the time of their adoption into Krio — see also Jones, 1959, pp.295-297 and Hancock (1971, p.122ff), who notes that 'items dropped from the written language may have been retained in speech for an extended period, especially in remote areas or by isolated speech communities such as those on board ship, or in overseas colonial settlements' (p.122) .

Very few such items seem to remain in modern Krio. The following are the only ones found in this present research:

- (1) klɔzɛt LH < English: 'closet' (O.E.D., p.520 under C entries gives: 'short for obsolete "closet of ease", "water-closet"') = 'pit latrine'.<sup>1</sup> This word is becoming archaic in Krio and the synonyms latrin LF < (latrine), and the even more euphemistic yadF < 'yard' - invariably used in a phrase, as in: à dé nà yâd = 'I'm in the toilet' (since pit latrines are always in the back yard of a house) - are more widely used. The advent of flush toilets has also brought with it the word tɔylɛt HF, which is still largely acrolectal. This is the only sense in which klɔzɛt is used in Krio, cf. English.
- (2) kəmishən LHL < Eng.: 'commission' (O.E.D., p.682 under C entries gives: 'obsolete: cant. [app. a perversion of It(alian) camicia, late L. camisia shirt, or some cognate form of the same word.] A shirt.....') = 'loincloth'. This word is given by Jones (1959, p.295) and also by Berry (1959, p.305) as coming from English into Krio, but Hancock seems to prefer a Portuguese etymology, and includes it among Portuguese-derived words Krio shares with other Sierra Leonean languages (1971, II. 2.2.0, II.2.4.4).

This word is also becoming archaic in Krio and is being replaced by the Mende-derived words: krubɔmbɔ LHH and vɔmi LH.

The homonym kəmishən LHL, with the present-day English meanings of 'commission' is just as current in Krio as it is in English.

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<sup>1</sup>Dr. Todd, however, notes (personal) that it is still used in Northern Ireland and parts of Scotland with this meaning.



- (3) kɔs(ta)mɛnt L(L)F < Eng.: 'customance' (O.E.D., p.1284 under C entries gives: 'obsolete...(1) customary practice; custom, habit....(2) customary gathering, frequenting) = 'customer' (Hancock, *ibid*, p.142-3, argues that this Krio form is probably a 'back-formation of the assumed plural,...with subsequent hyper-correction'). This item has no synonyms in Krio and has a high currency of use.

From the angle of polysemy, we may note some items whose cognates are current in standard English as well as in Krio, but which also have current meanings in Krio that are now obsolete in English.

- (1) fɔl F < Eng. 'fall' = '(of a person's body) appear old and wrinkled'; cf. O.E.D. p.38 under F entries (meaning 14): 'to shrink, especially of an animal or of a limb, to become lean... (b) of the complexion: To grow pale (both obsolete)'. Fɔl can also be used, without a preposition, to mean 'fall for', and in collocation, particularly with prepositions, in acrolectal phrases, e.g. fɔl àwt='develop enmity', fɔl ɔ̀f='(of hair) fall off, become thin on the head'. The common form for 'fall (down)' is fɔdɔm LF.
- (2) cher F < Eng.: 'tear' = 'to abuse in a most vulgar manner'; cf. O.E.D., p.132 under T entries (meaning 1d): 'to rant and bluster (obsolete)'. This word in Krio also means 'to tear (apart)'.

We may also note the following two items which are not obsolete in English in form and meaning, respectively, but have now been relegated to general dialect use.



- (1) enkincha LHL Eng.: < 'handkercher' = 'head tie', cf. O.E.D., p.64 under H, classed as 'dialect and vulgar'; cf. also Chambers, p.591: 'Shak(espeare), etc.; now illit(erate)'. The decreolised ɛdtay LF also occurs acrolectally.
- (2) lan F Eng.: < 'learn' = 'to teach'; cf. O.E.D. p...156 under L entries (meaning 4): 'to impart knowledge (now vulgar)'. Hughes and Trudgill (op. cit., p.20) also note that this sense of learn is now confined to (very widespread) dialect usage. See also Chambers, p.749.

B. Items from possible British Dialect sources

Section II of this thesis has investigated possible British dialect influences on the phonology of English-derived words in Krio and has given examples of words from these sources.

There are quite a few such words that are in very active currency. Examples are:

- (1) bɛrin HL = 'funeral', cf. Devonshire [bɛrin], = 'burying'. Wright (1898, vol. 1) writes that this word was in general dialect use in Scotland, Ireland and England and also in America, and was variously written 'berrin', 'berrying', 'burin'. Note that, although fíníràl ôm (funeral home) occurs in Krio, 'funeral' itself, as a single item, has not been adopted.

- (2) bre F = 'to nag', cf. Northumberland: 'bray', 'cry out', 'abuse'. Wright (op. cit.) records this as a widespread Northern dialect word.
- (3) mol F = 'The top of the cranium', cf. Bedfordshire and Somerset: 'mole' 'the suture of the skull'. See Wright (1905, Vol. IV).

- (4) bɔbi LH = breast cf. gen. dial. 'bubby', ditto '. The O.E.D. (p.1147 under B entries) gives: 'obsolete or dialect - a woman's breast'. See also the entry for 'bubby' in Cassidy and Le Page, 1967, p.74.

The decreolised form, brêst, occurs in polite or acrolectal speech and bɔbi is usually considered 'broad' in these circles. The compound form brɛstfid LF (to breast feed a baby) is however more widespread than brɛst.

- (5) fas(h)in HL = be constantly after someone in order to provoke a reaction, to torment or harass. Cf. 'fasten', a general dialect word. 'Also written "fas'en" W. Yks. [fa'sən] ...4, to hold a man fast to a bargain' (Wright Vol. II D-G, 1900, p.306).

- (6) padi LH = friend, Cf. "'paddy" W. Yks., S. Not., N.Lin., Norf....3 A bricklayer's labourer who brings him stones or bricks and mortar' (Wright Vol. IV M-Q, 1905, p.406). The word frɛn, which is both a noun and a verb, is also gaining currency, though it is still not as popular as padi. The form frɛnship also occurs and, by analogy, so does padiʃhɪp - a humorous word for 'close friendship'.

C. Items from Nautical Sources

See also Hancock (1976, pp.23-36) who notes that much of the vocabulary of Krio 'matches nautical vocabulary better than any other variety of English' (p.23). Nautical influence on Krio has been noted in Chapter Two..

Hancock gives a long list of Krio words from these sources. About twenty percent of them are no longer current, however.

Some items from nautical sources have joined the mainstream of the commonest every-day vocabulary of Krio speakers, after undergoing semantic extension. Examples of such items are:

- (1) dɔk F < Eng: 'dock' = 'arrive, appear unexpectedly', cf. ship's dock.
- (2) gyali HL < Eng.: 'galley' = 'any kitchen or cooking place' (humorous), e.g. nà Jókó dé nà dì gyálì tìdê = 'it is Joko's turn to show her expertise in cooking today.'
- (3) layna HL < Eng.: 'liner' = 'prostitute' (see p.242) for full discussion of this item).
- (4) bambot LF < Eng.: 'bumboat' (see also p.242 ) (verb and adjective) = 'live life of a prostitute, prostitute-like (can be used to refer to both sexes).

- (5) drif F < Eng.: 'drift'. Hancock (ibid, p.30) gives: 'To drift edge towards, be carried along: watá de dríf am gó "the water is carrying him away"'. Nowadays this word also means: (1)(verb) 'wander about aimlessly'; (2) (verb and noun) 'go for a walk with other friends; such a walk'; (3) (verb) 'abduct (of a girl or woman)'.
- (6) slam F < Eng.: 'slam'. Hancock (ibid, p.32) gives: 'To berth, dock, moor', whereas K.E.D. (p.341) gives: '(1) slam, be slammed. Hence, (2) arrive'. This word is used extensively/liberally to imply: 'arrive unexpectedly or promptly, to exploit a situation to one's advantage', as in: às dèn dè pé wí sò ì jés slám fè kòl dèt pã mî = 'he arrived promptly as we were being paid to ask for the money I owed him'.

D. Items from West African Pidgin English

Items that have traditionally been considered as deriving from the West African Pidgin English spoken all over the Guinea Coast since the late 16th century (see, e.g. Berry, 1959, p.306; Spencer, 1971, p.11), most of which are of ultimate Portuguese or Spanish origin (and may indeed have come from these languages) may also be mentioned. Most of these words retain a very high currency. They include:

- (1) dash F < Eng.: 'dash' < Port: 'das' = (noun and verb) 'money, gift, bribe' (see also Spencer, ibid, on this word).



- (2) plaba HL/ palava LHL <Eng.: 'palaver' <Port.: 'palavra' = 'quarrel, altercation, dispute'.
- (3) pikin LF < Eng.: 'piccaniny' <Port.: 'pequenino' or Sp.: 'pequeno' = (1) 'child' (2) 'person nurtured in a place'.
- (4) sabi LH < Eng.: 'savey', < Sp.: 'sabe', < Port.: 'sabe' (see also Hall, 1966, pp.100-101 on the history of this word) = (1) (verb) 'understand; be skilled at or experienced at'; (2) (noun) 'skill, expertise, know how'.
- (5) chɔp F < Eng.: 'chop' = (1) (verb) 'eat', (2)(noun) 'food'.  
This item apparently has no Iberian connections although it is traditionally considered a typical Pidgin word. Hancock derives it from dialect sources (p.141) but its ultimate origin is still not clear, though it was widely used in China Coast Pidgin English (see Todd, passim).

#### E. American Influences

Most of the items noted are from American slang or colloquialisms. chinch F < Am. Eng. 'chinch' = 'bedbug', seems one of the few exceptions; but then this word can apparently also be derived from Portuguese or Spanish, and may even have come from Britain (see K.E.D., p.61).

We may divide the American contribution into (1) older items and (2) more recent ones. The older items invariably fall into the colloquial register of Krio, while the more recent ones are almost

exclusively used in slangy speech by teenagers and adolescents who have been influenced by American-made films and popular literature, with which Sierra Leone has been inundated, particularly over the past twenty years. Here are examples from both groups of words:

Older items - These may also have possible British origins:

- (1) bo: L, cf. Am. Eng.: ['bo' (U.S. slang) 'n. man (as term of address)'] - Chambers, op. cit., p.142] = 'term of intimacy, endearment, address';
- (2) bub L, cf. Am. Eng.: ['bub' '(U.S.) n. boy (in addressing) - Chambers, op. cit., p.166] = term of familiar address between males.
- (3) sas F cf. Am. Eng.: ['sass' '(Am. pop? imprudent talk' - Longman, op. cit. p.990] = 'fierce, harsh';
- (4) tot F cf. Am. Eng.: ['tote' '(orig. U.S.) v.t. to carry'] = 'to carry'. This word may also have African origins, see K.E.D., p.370.

More recent items:

- (1) brɛd F (cf. 'bread' - O.A.D. p.74: '2. (slang) money'. This is also in British slang - Chambers, ibid, p.157) = 'money'.

- (2) brɔd F (cf. 'broad' - O.A.D., p.77: '2. (slang) a woman. Also British - Chambers, p.162) = 'a woman'.
- (3) kul F (cf. 'cool' - O.A.D., p.140: 'n(oun)...(slang) calmness composure....cool it (slang) to calm down'. Also British - Chambers p.285) = (1) (verb) 'to calm down, to refuse to react'; (2) (adj.) 'exquisite', usually, of a woman - as in the slang expression kúl chîk = 'an exquisite, (desirable) young girl'.
- (4) dig F (cf. 'dig' - O.A.D., p.179: '6 (slang) to appreciate, to enjoy, to understand'. Also British slang - Chambers, p.360) with the same meanings in Krio.
- (5) dud F (cf. 'dude' - O.A.D., p.198: n.1. a dandy (2) (slang) a tough, a man') with same meanings in Krio.
- (6) gayF (cf. 'guy' - O.A.D., p.291: 'guy' n. (informal) a man'; D.A., p.761: 'guy n A male person, a fellow. slang') with same meanings in Krio;
- (7) joynt F (cf. 'joint' - O.A.D., p.358: '5 (slang) a place where people meet for gambling, or drinking, etc. 6 (slang) a marijuana cigarette'. D.A., p.911: '3 A low gathering place or hangout', often illegal (slang)....; (b) used disparagingly for any place or establishment (slang); cf. also Chambers p.710 and Longman p.588 for British usage). All these meanings exist in Krio.
- (8) rap F (cf. 'rap' - O.A.D., p.555: '4(slang), a conversation... rap (verb)...4 (slang) to talk') = to chat (usually separately from a group), with a friend or acquaintance.

- (9) sin F (cf. 'scene' - O.A.D., p.604: '7 (slang) an area of action, a way of life, 'the drug scene,' 'not my scene,' not what I like or want to take part in') - All these senses exist in Krio.
- (10) split F (cf. 'split' O.A.D., p.659) '5 (slang) to depart, to quit one another's company') Same meaning in Krio.
- (11) shak (cf. 'shack' - O.A.D., p.622: 'n. a roughly built hut or shed'; D.A., p.1503 'b. A room or roomlike structure serving various purposes (colloquial)) = A house or room. (Note also Chambers, p.1242 for British usage, but noted as of American origin: 'to live with someone, especially though unmarried').

F. Older Items in Current British English

Most of these items are from cognates that are neither archaic nor obsolete in current English, but have passed into colloquial or slangy speech or may nowadays not be in as common use as they used to be thirty or forty years ago. They are some of the most vibrant words in modern Krio, and some may have even formed the original bedrock of the incipient Krio. For many modern Krio speakers, some of these words may even seem to have lost their associations with English. The English cognates of some are taboo, vulgar or swear words. Examples are:



- (1) pɔli LH < 'Polly' = 'parrot';
- (2) pus H < 'puss', = 'cat';
- (3) pusi LH < 'pussy' - slang. taboo (see L.D.C.E., p.1350 = 'the vagina');
- (4) tɔmbɪa HL < 'tumbler' = 'a glass';
- (5) shub/shɔb F < 'shove' = 'push hard, jostle, move off, make way for';
- (6) grɔb F < 'grub' = (noun and verb) food, to eat. (Slang in both English and Krio);
- (7) baksay LF < 'backside' = 'anus, hips' (term of abuse);
- (8) basta HL < 'bastard' = (adj.) 'bastard';
- (9) yan F < 'yarn' = 'woo';
- (10) cham F < 'champ' = 'chew';
- (11) as/ras F < 'arse' = '(1) buttocks'; (2) 'term of abuse';
- (12) frɔk F < 'frock' = 'woman's western style dress';
- (13) fɔk F < 'fuck' = (1) 'copulate'; (2) interjection of abuse (Taboo in both English and Krio);
- (14) blɔdi HL < 'bloody' = (1) 'be very annoyed'; (2) (adj.) term of abuse;
- (15) drɔz F < 'drawers' = 'underpants';
- (16) pis F < 'piss' = 'urine, urinate'.

G. Items from Contemporary Standard British English

The great majority of English-derived words, and for that matter, of all words in Krio, are from this category. This enables the users of the language to deal, fully and in a versatile way, with the increasing complexity of modern life and rapidly changing social and technical conditions. It is from these last two sources and from recent American slang that 'borrowing', to any significant degree, has taken place in Krio in recent times. A few examples are:

- (1) lɔ F < 'law' = 'law';
- (2) kɔləj HL < 'college' = 'college';
- (3) redio LLH/HHL < 'radio' = 'radio';
- (4) vidio LLH < 'video' = 'a video tape or cassette (recorder)';
- (5) kɔmɔn HL < 'common' = 'common';
- (6) glasis HL < 'glasses' = 'glasses'.

H. Cases of possible conflation between English and African and/or other Etymologies

Hancock (1971, pp.627-642) gives a long list of such items, e.g. (1) só só only just, nothing but. Cf. Eng.: "soso", i.e. "mediocre", Ptg so, "only". J.C. suoso, Sra. soso, etc. Cf. S.Y. soso "only" (p.30).

Other examples not found in Hancock are:

- (1) omɔŋga HHL, Cf. Eng.: 'whoremonger', with Y: ɔmɔŋge  
(girl's avoidance name for woman) = person always in debt,  
greedy person;
- (2) dɔti LH, cf. Eng.: 'dirty', with Twi: dɔtɛ (earth) = (in  
one of its meanings) the earth, the soil;
- (3) titi LH cf. Scottish Eng.: 'titty' (sister, little girl),  
with Vai: titi (name given to little girl when her real  
name is not known), Y: titi (male or female name) (see K.E.D.  
p.369) 'girl';
- (4) jiga LH, cf. Eng. (esp. American): 'jigger', with Y: jiga  
'jigger'. Also Maninka, Hausa, Vai, Mende, etc. (see KED, p.154)  
= 'the chigoe flea';
- (5) pɛgi LH, cf. Eng.: 'Peggy (personal name) with Mende: pɛgi  
'boy friend, apprentice') = 'friend of a younger age, apprentice,  
a tyro';
- (6) fɔk F, cf. Eng.: 'fuck', with Efik: fi-ok 'to have sexual  
intercourse with' [from Jay Edwards (in De Camp and Hancock,  
1974, p.17) who quotes Goldie, 1964, p.104] = to copulate.

See also Origins of the term 'Krio'.

Influences from the slave plantations of the Caribbean and  
Southern U.S.A., that have traditionally been regarded as English sources  
of a modified sort, have not been considered in this thesis, since it is

not clear that these items, not of ultimate English origin, came into these varieties from English in the first place. Such items include koko LH = 'the coco-yam'; kushu LH = 'cashew'. Items like arata LHL (rat) and papisho LLH (ridiculous exhibitionism) could be regarded as coming from British dialect sources rather than Jamaican English (cf. Berry, 1959, p.307).

The item fambul HL (blood relative), however, has not been traced to any British dialect and may be regarded as perhaps the only genuine instance of a word from Caribbean (Jamaican) sources.



## CHAPTER THIRTEEN

## WORD ADOPTION AND SEMANTIC FIELDS

13.1 Conditions Influencing the Adoption of Words  
and Semantic Fields

Because of the overwhelming presence of English-derived words in Krio, they are found in many more semantic fields than words from all other source languages put together. A few English-derived words even occur, sometimes together with African-derived ones, in fields that have a distinctly African (and non-English) concept, e.g. pulnado LLF - literally: 'pull out of door' - (a ceremony in which a baby is introduced to the world outside his/her home a week after birth. This ceremony is referred to in West African English as 'outdooring'. The African-derived word for it is kɔ(mɔ)jɛde L(L)HH, from Yoruba). More striking, perhaps, is the example of fɔtide LLH - literally: 'forty day(s)' - (referring to the essentially Krio funeral rites observed on the fortieth day after a person's death) for which there is no African-derived word. These customs are not as esoteric as ones to do with African secret societies, however, for which no English-derived is possible.

It is well known that the languages of the world usually adopt new words primarily for concepts that are novel to the culture of their speakers. But body parts, universal activities like eating and dying, an item like water, or a concept like smallness:

these are not innovations in any culture, and the words for them are seldom given up in favour of words adopted from another language.

(Welmers, 1973, p.5).

As far as Krio is concerned, however, English-derived words for specialised artifacts and concepts new to the Krio experience and culture do abound, but so do words for all the semantic fields that are universal. Indeed, in some cases, the English-derived word is the only one for the item or concept, or, where an African-derived word exists, it has connotations which make it unsuitable to use in normal or serious speech. Alleyne's observation (1980, p.112), that this is a continuing process of relexification in which African elements are becoming less frequent in usage or undergoing semantic change, is worth noting in this respect. To give examples, the usual, serious word for 'die' in Krio is the English-derived dây; the only African-derived synonym is kekrebu LH (from Twi), which can also mean 'come to grief', 'fail in an attempt'. More importantly, kekrebu can only be used to mean 'die' in light-hearted speech, e.g., in reference to the death of a very old person who is of little consequence to the speaker, or as a reference to the possibility of dying as a result of over indulgence in some fond activity. For example:

(1) Grání Sòró dón kèkrebú = Grandmother/Old Woman Sorrow

has kicked the bucket.

kík bókít can also be used here with the same connotation.

(2) Ìf yù nò léf díis búz yù gò kèkrebú = If you don't give

up drinking you will snuff it.

Another example is about words for the 'lungs'. Apparently, no word for the human lungs existed in Krio until relatively recently,

when lîngs was adopted from English (judging by the plural -s ending). The Yoruba-derived word fukfuk LF (cf Y: fuku-fuku = lungs) refers to the lungs of a cow that are cooked and eaten as food. When used of human beings, fukfuk is almost a lighthearted personification of 'anger', as in: mi fukfuk grap (lit: 'my anger rose') = 'I was angry'.

Also, the only African-derived words in current use meaning 'eat' are: nyâm (Hausa, Fulani, other African Sources), lîk (wolof) - which, in fact, conflates with English: 'lick' -, and, possibly: sôl (origin in question - but also, cf English: 'salt'?). These items are only used as slang; nyâm is in fact archaic. The commonest word is English-derived: ît, which has English-derived synonyms like chôp < 'chop' (little used as a verb), and slangy: bêt < 'bite', wak < 'whack', grâyñ < 'grind', dîskôs < 'discuss', and, more recently: grôb < 'grub'.

English is here being regarded as 'another language', at least diachronically, since, for basic, universal semantic fields, the first generation Krio speakers must have had common words in their native African languages.

In discussing reasons why lexical borrowing takes place in languages, Weinreich (1964, p.58) makes the point that, in some semantic fields, e.g. 'talking', there is a constant need for synonyms in many languages and that, if available in another language, such synonyms are happily accepted: 'the cause of lexical aggrandizement can be said to be inherent in the recipient language'. This quoted comment, in particular, is especially true of languages like creoles, and, for Krio, English words always seem to be available, far more



so than African synonyms, and this is in spite of the environmental proximity of the African languages, from which 'borrowing' seems to have slowed down considerably. Alleyne (ibid, p.109) suggests that the historical development of the lexicon of Afro-American 'dialects', including Krio:

has been in terms of a substitution massive and rapid in this case, of West African lexemes by English (and Portuguese, Dutch, etc.) lexemes, leaving the former residual in evolved dialects....

We must note, however, that, while this may be true for such 'dialects' as Jamaican, the position for Krio is that, although African-derived words have not been able to keep pace with the rate of influx of English-derived words, they have generally not been replaced, nor would it be fair to describe them as residual: they co-occur with English-derived ones. Some are admittedly almost confined to lower mesolectal or basilectal use, e.g. bebrebe LLH (from Twi) or baku LH (from Yoruba (also, possibly, French)) versus plenti < 'plenty', nɔf < 'enough' = many, plenty of; gbana HH (from Mende) versus tranga HL/trɔng F < 'strong' = difficult. But we must also note, as Alleyne does (ibid, p.229, note 51) that 'apparent synonyms (coming from different languages) may be undergoing some semantic differentiation'. Words for 'smallness' may be used to illustrate the point: English-derived lili HL < 'little' and smɔl F < 'small' only have positive degree denotation. One can only express the superlative with them by vowel lengthening, e.g. /li::li/ and by intonation. Alternatively, one can use kenkeni LLH (from Yoruba) = 'very small', or chekere HHH/LLH (from Yoruba) = 'very small and tiny'. More examples of semantic differentiation will be seen later.

The two sources (i.e. English-derived and non-English-derived)



seem to complement each other as well as overlap. There are West African culture loaded words for which the exact concept does not exist (or for which a phrase is needed) in English, e.g. awujɔ LLH (from Yoruba) = 'a ceremonial feast for the dead'; nyɔlɛ LL (from Yoruba) = a ceremony of giving food to the dead through a hole in the ground and scrambling for the left overs; kushɛ HH (from Yoruba) = expression of greeting, goodwill or appreciation; ajo HL (from Yoruba) = gesture of helpfulness or appreciation for kindness; alaki LLH (from Arabic and Maninka) = 'cursed with ill-luck'. There are also non-English-derived words that are the only ones found in Krio for objects or concepts also found in English (some of which are, in fact, universal), e.g. kpakɔ IH (from Yoruba) = 'occiput'. (K.E.D., p.272, also has ɔksɪpɔ̀t, but I very much doubt its acceptability, even at the highest acrolectal level); kokoɛsɛ HHLL (from Yoruba) = 'ankle-bone'; buli IH (from Madingo, also possibly, Portuguese) = 'gourd'.

To return to reasons for the adoption of words from English, we may consider the need to differentiate lexical fields a little more (see also Weinreich, op.cit., p.59 and Bynon, 1977, p.232). Sometimes, the differentiation is between an English-derived word and a non-English-derived word, as in the following examples:

- (a) (i) blay F (possible conflation between a Portuguese and a Mende cognate) = 'a basket made of cane or piassava';  
 (ii) baskit LF < 'basket' = any kind of basket.
- (b) (i) kotoku LLH (from Twi and Ga) = money bag (usually made of cloth);  
 (ii) pɔs F < 'purse' = 'a wallet'.

(c) (i) pikin LF (from Portuguese or Spanish)='child';

(ii) dɔta HL < 'daughter' = 'daughter'.

Differentiation between two English-derived words, borrowed at different times, also occurs; as in:

(d) (i) tɔk F < 'talk' = 'talk, hold conversation, speak a less prestigious language';

(ii) spik F < 'speak' = 'talk English, especially with a British accent', e.g. ɪ kɪn tɔk Krɪó bɔt ɪ sàbí spík  
= 'He usually speaks Krio but he can also speak English.'

(e) (i) fɔl F < 'fowl' = 'live domestic fowl';

(ii) chikin HL < 'chicken' = 'chicken prepared for sale; cooked chicken'.

(f) (i) dɔg F < 'dog' = 'a dog';

(ii) pɔpi LH < 'puppy' = 'a puppy'.

In all these examples, the older word is given first.

As example (d) shows, sometimes, semantic distinctions are made in Krio that are not made in English, in which the cognates are closer synonyms. Example (f) also shows that the lexical gap which typically exists in creoles (see Alleyne, *ibid*, p.113) showing that these languages do not have single morphemes for the young of an animal or for distinguishing between the sexes, is beginning to be filled. There are still many gaps, however; for example, there is no word for 'calf' or 'mouse', though kâw (cow), àràtá (rat) exist. There is no dɔg/bich

(female dog) pair, but then 'bitch' is not so commonly used in English either, except as a term of abuse, in which sense it also occurs in Krio. Also, an epicene word like 'spouse' exists in English, but, again, is not in common use, and not in Krio, whereas 'husband', ɔ̀zbàn/màn and 'wife', wêf are.

Another reason why English-derived words have been adopted is to replace older words, some of which may be non-English-derived, e.g. :

- (i) ajɛ LH (from Yoruba) = 'witch' is, now obsolescent and has been replaced by wích/kràft < 'witch(craft)';
- (ii) ojukokoro LHLLL (from Yoruba) = 'envy' (now archaic) is being ousted by jɛlɔ̀s HL, < 'jealous' or ɛ̀vi HL < 'envy';
- (iii) ɔ̀kpɔ̀lɔ̀ LLH (from Yoruba) = 'frog' (now archaic) is being replaced by frɔ̀g F < 'frog'.

Older English-derived words being replaced are, for example:

- (i) latrin LF < 'latrine' = 'pit latrine', by tɔ̀ylɛt HL < 'toilet' (an item enhanced by the advent of flush toilets, but now generally used to refer to any kind of lavatorial convenience);
- (ii) was F < 'wash' = 'have a bath', by bath F < 'bath'.

Also, the point is made by several linguists (e.g. Bynon, 1977; Fleischman (1976); but Weinreich (1964) is quoted here) that.

if one language is endowed with prestige, the bilingual is likely to use what are identifiable loan-words from it as a means of displaying the social status which its knowledge symbolizes. This can be observed... in the... 'unnecessary' borrowing of everyday designations for things which have excellent names in the language which is being spoken (p.60).

This is a very strong reason for decreolisation and the presence of higher varieties like the acrolect. Examples are:

- (i) bɔro HL < 'borrow' = a hypercorrected form for 'lend'; lɛn < 'lend' = 'lend' also exists.
- (ii) stori HL < 'story' = 'lie' - thought to be more decent than lay F < 'lie'.
- (iii) trɔp F < 'throw up' = 'vomit' - also thought to be more decent than vɔmit HL < 'vomit'.
- (iv) brɛst F < 'breast' = 'breast' - also thought to be more decent than bɔbi IH 'bubby' (dialect).
- (v) wɛlkɔm HL < 'welcome' = 'welcome', cf kabɔ HL (from Yoruba) = 'welcome'.
- (vi) tɔrɔli HHL < 'thoroughly' = 'heartily', cf ma H (from Yoruba) = 'heartily'.

Although most of the examples given here show English-derived words in preference to other English-derived words (i-iv), the point could still be said to apply, since the older words are regarded as less prestigious, if they are regarded by most Krios as having come from English at all.

We may also note that this kind of 'borrowing' for prestige



reasons usually has 'side-effects' - it may bring about semantic specialisation, stylistic differences, connotational implications, and even the obsolescence of the older words.

The point about new words for new concepts hitherto unfamiliar to Krios has been made. Examples of such are:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| (i) <u>tɛlivishən</u> LLHL < 'television';  | (ii) <u>kamira</u> HHL < 'camera';   |
| (iii) <u>sinima</u> LLH < 'cinema';   | (iv) <u>vidio</u> LLH < 'video';   |
| (v) <u>tɛlifon</u> LLF < 'telephone';   | (vi) <u>kyutɛks</u> LH < 'cutex' (brand name for nail polish) - this word is used for any nail polish; |
| (vi) <u>sɔf</u> F < 'surf' (brand name for a detergent) - also used for any detergent or soap powder. |  |

'Cutex' nail polish and 'surf' detergent were apparently the first brands of these products to be used in Sierra Leone. Other brands such as 'Max Factor' (nail polish), and 'Ariel', 'Persil' and 'Omo' (detergents), to name only a few, were later introduced, but kyutɛks and sɔf, respectively, seem to have remained generic names for these products. A similar example is (h)uva HL < 'hoover' = a brand as well as generic name for a vacuum cleaner. The English cognate is itself used this way in informal usage. The practice is not widespread in Krio, however. For example, 'Cow and Gate' (Kaw En Get HLF) was for a long time the only brand of powdered milk for babies in Freetown; but brands introduced later, some of which were even much less popular, retained their identity, e.g. 'Ostermilk' (> ɔstamilk LLF,); 'Lactogen' (> Laktojɛn HHL); 'S.M.A.' (> ɛsɛme HHH).

Some of the new concepts from English also have synonyms that are Krio-created phrase type compounds, which seem to have been invented as 'interpretative' lexical items, e.g. :

- (i) pɛni-fɔ-rɔb LLLF (literally: 'a penny for rub') = cutex, or any nail polish - which, at one time, was so popularly commercialised that pedlars went about decorating peoples' fingers with it for a penny;
- (ii) kongosa bɔks LLH F (kongosa - from Twi + bɔks < 'box') - literally 'gossip box' = radio, cf redio HHL;
- (iii) mumu polis LHLLF (mumu - from Ewe and Twi + polis < 'police') - literally 'dumb policeman' = 'traffic lights' cf trafik layt, (see p.394). In the case of pɛni-a-luk LLLF (literally: 'a penny a look') = 'View Master', the English word did not come with the object; so, many Krios do not know it. As the structure of the lexical item suggests (cf. pɛni-fɔ-rɔb) this object used to be highly commercialised.

A few English words have also been borrowed ostensibly to avoid 'pernicious' homophony. Examples are:

- (i) stika HL < 'sticker' = 'fork', since fɔk F is homophonous with the word meaning 'fuck';
- (ii) sprɛd F < 'spread' = 'sheet', since shit F is homophonous with the word meaning 'shit';

(iii) stawt F < 'stout' = 'plump, fat', since fat F is homophonous with the word meaning 'fart'.

An aspect of word adoption into Krio from English has been commented on by Alleyne (ibid pp.112-113; 116-119). It is a phenomenon that seems common to the Atlantic Creoles. Alleyne notes that:

whereas it is clear that English... lexical roots were quickly adopted by Africans in the contact situations, it is not clear whether meanings were also similarly adopted. And certainly in the developing slave language, certain common, typologically distinctive semantic structures emerge which are not English...derived (p.113).

As a result of this, there are some English-derived words in Krio which have semantic fields that seem to correspond more closely to those of other creoles, e.g. Saramaccan, Sranan, Ndjuka and Jamaican, than those of English; and, as Alleyne suggests (p.117), the African base may be the reason for this. Examples Alleyne notes are: (i) bif F < 'beef', which means 'meat' as well as 'animal'. We may add that, whereas in English, 'meat' is the superordinate term, and 'beef' only a hyponym, the opposite is true in Krio, in which mît tends to refer to the boneless part of a cow's flesh, (that is, when it is not being used either acrolectally or merely as a fancy word for bif ). Also, when used to mean 'animal', it refers to an animal in the bush that is hunted for food, hence, by extension, 'someone who is hunted and caught', 'a victim'. The word animal HHL does exist, but it tends to refer to animal characters in fables for children, whereas the word kriçh HL < 'creature' is the common word for any (usually domestic) animal - considered God's creation and therefore to be pitied and protected. (ii) tik F < 'stick', which means 'stick' as well as 'tree': (the word tri F < 'tree' only seems to occur in the combination kətin tri LLF < 'cotton tree' which is usually a reference



to Freetown's famous Cotton Tree, a historic landmark around which the modern city developed, but can be used to refer to any cotton tree).

(iii) blo F < 'blow', which means 'breathe', as well as 'rest' (in the sense of 'have a breather'; rest F is used to mean '(have) a nap').

(iv) pul F < 'pull', which means 'remove', as well as 'pull': (this word also means (a) 'grow', as in: dì bẹ́bí dón púl tít = 'the baby has started teething', cf. à gó púl mì tít = 'I went to have my tooth extracted'; (b) 'harvest'; (c) 'display', 'exhibit', as in dèm púl dẹ̀bùl = 'they displayed a masked devil'; (d) 'dish', as in à dón púl ìt = 'I've dished up'; (e) 'emit', 'give out'; (f) (of people) 'be amicably disposed to each other'. No cognate form for 'remove' exists in Krio, but rimuva IHL < 'remover' = 'paint, polish or stain remover', does.

Other examples are:

- (i) bɛlɛ LH < 'belly', which means 'belly', 'stomach', 'intestines', 'pregnancy', 'pregnant', 'the womb', 'the innermost part of oneself'. (see also 10.5 )
- (ii) mɔt F < 'mouth', which means 'mouth', 'opening', 'pointed object' (see also p.295).
- (iii) kech F < 'catch', which means 'catch', 'receive', 'acquire', 'reach', 'fit', 'grasp' (understand), (cf. magical charm) 'have an effect', 'come upon' (e.g. cold, hunger, sleep, crying, laughter)- e.g. laf dẹ̀ kẹ́ch mì = (literally) 'laugh has come upon me') = 'I feel like laughing -; 'succumb to' (e.g. a cold), 'become involved in/assume responsibility for some activity or celebration', 'join public passenger vehicle'.



The decreolised form: kâch (catch) is a recent development and is used, particularly by younger speakers, in slang expressions like: kâch yú létà = 'see you later', kâch filin (literally: 'catch feeling') = 'become sexually aroused', kâch grôb = 'eat'.

### 13.2 English-derived versus Non-English-derived Words in Various Semantic Fields

A closer look is now taken at the role of English-derived words vis a vis non-English derived (usually African) ones in some of the most universal semantic fields.

#### (1) Basic human functions.

Most of the serious, everyday vocabulary for basic human functions is English-derived. Where non-English derived words occur, the sense or usage is somewhat qualified.

- (a) Eating: words for eating have been discussed on page 415 above. Note also African-derived kandɔ LH = poor quality cooking for large numbers of people. mɔndɔ LH = a handful of food, (but with the verbal meaning: 'to grab at food greedily') - both pejorative words; cf spun F = 'a spoonful' - implying a civilised, measured helping. Also múmúyéré and mómóró are African-derived and uncomplimentary words for 'snack', whereas snâks < 'snack' has a complimentary connotation.

## (b) Sleeping:

The usual word is English-derived slip F < 'sleep', and the most common synonym: ledɔm LF < 'lie down'. Bibi HL, etymology unknown, is used about infants. Otherwise, no words from other sources have been found.

## (c) Using the toilet:

(i) for urinating, pis F < 'piss' is the most common basilectal word, while wɛt F < 'wet', and, less commonly, yurin LF < 'urine' (used both as a noun and a verb) are considered more polite. French-derived pipi LH is used in reference to very young children.

(ii) for defaecating, the most common basilectal word is kaka LH (cf dialect English: kakker/cack - E.D.D. French, Spanish: caca, Mende: ka, Twi: kankan), but this is considered impolite by many native speakers, who prefer English derived euphemisms like: gó nà yâd (literally, 'go out into the backyard' - since traditional conveniences were pit latrines located in the back yard), gó nà tóylèt < 'go to the toilet'. There is also English-derived shit F (or its humorous variant shayt F) < 'shit', which is also considered impolite. The African-derived word: pupu LH (from Twi, Wolof, etc.) is used about young children, as is the English-derived stul F < 'stool'. All the words in this field can be used as nouns as well as verbs.

## (d) Walking:

The most common word is English-derived waka HL. The only non-English-derived word in this field

is tɛtɛ LH (from Yoruba), which, in fact, means 'walk slowly and unsteadily'.

- (e) Breathing: the most common word is English-derived blo F< 'blow' = to breathe. No word from any other source has been found.
- (f) Seeing: the most common word is English-derived si F< 'see'. No word from any source has been found.
- (g) Hearing: the most common word is English-derived yɛri LH< 'hear' (dialect form). No word from any other source has been found.
- (h) Talking: the most common word is English-derived tɔ̂k (note uses of tɔ̂k and spik on p.418 above). African-derived jɛpɛ (from Mende) means 'talk at length' and has slight pejorative connotations.
- (i) Laughing: the most common word is English-derived laf F< 'laugh'. No word from any other source has been found.
- (j) Crying: the most common word is English-derived kray F< 'cry'. No word from any other source has been found.
- (k) Copulating: there are many informal or euphemistic words or phrases, all of them English-derived, that

are used to mean 'copulate' (see, e.g. K.E.D. passim and other parts of this thesis). The most common basilectal word is fɔk F < 'fuck', or ab F < 'have' (now archaic), but these are considered impolite except in very intimate company. Skru F < 'screw' is a recent acquisition from English slang and has gained wide currency.

(1) Giving birth: the most common word is English-derived bɔn F < 'born' = 'give birth'. No word from any other source has been found. However, the only word for 'woman with young child/baby' is Temne-derived kom(b)ra IH.

(m) Dying: see p. 414 above.

(2) Body Parts

The Krio words for most parts of the human body are English-derived. They are either carry-overs, e.g. fɛs < 'face', tɪt < 'teeth', yây < 'eye', ân < 'hand', sâyɔ < 'side', là < 'hair'; or calques, e.g. bòbímɔt < 'bubby mouth' = nipple, bébi yây < 'baby eye' = pupil of the eye, pɪsbâg < 'piss bag' = bladder; or incoinings e.g. bòjɔ < 'bore jaw' = dimple, òpɪn-tɪt < 'open teeth' = gap toothed; or reduplications, e.g. bitàbità < 'bitter' = gall bladder, gɔ̀lɔ̀gɔ̀lɔ̀ = gullet. The only parts that do not have English-derived names are: the occiput - called: kpakɔ LH (from Yoruba) -; the Adam's apple - called: gɔgɔ LL or gɔngɔngɔng LHL (from Yoruba) -; the hip bone - called: gboki/kpoki HH (from Mende) -; the pubic hair - called: wiriwiri LLHH (from Yoruba) -;



and the ankle-bone - called: kokoεεε HLL (from Yoruba). Other non-English-derived words, for parts that have English-derived names carry connotations which are usually unsavoury. For example, the hair on one's head is called ia HL < 'hair', but if it is matted, unkempt and unsightly, it is referred to as dada LH (from Yoruba); the navel is called nebul HL < 'navel', but a large protruding navel is called dodo HH (from Yoruba).

As far as the sex organs are concerned, many terms, from both English and African sources, occur. The English-derived words tend to be from: (i) colloquial or slang usage, e.g. female - pusi LH < 'pussy', fani LH < 'fanny'; male - prik F < 'prick', dik F < 'dick'; (ii) words with other, primary referents in Krio, but which have undergone semantic extension - these are many - , e.g. female - bifo LF < 'before' (which primarily means 'in front of', 'before'), frant F < 'front' (which primarily means 'the front of' or 'to confront'); male - dipstik LF < 'dipstick' (which primarily means 'a dipstick'); ton F < 'stone' (which primarily used to mean 'stone'; apparently, when the meaning was extended to refer to the male sex organ, the decreolised form stôn quickly came into currency, thus causing a lexical split); (iii) Standard English usage: the only instance of this is the use of pinis LH < 'penis', which occurs acrolectally and is considered the least objectionable term. The African-derived terms are generally considered abusive, broad or very intimate.

(3) Names

(a) Personal names: Many Christian Krios have at least one

English-derived name (which is sometimes biblical) and at least one African-derived (usually Yoruba, but, to a lesser extent, Igbo, Twi, Afro-Portuguese) name. The English-derived name(s) are used for formal occasions, such as schooling, and the African-derived (which invariably has a meaning, e.g. describing the circumstances of the person's birth, etc.) is known as the òs nêṁ <'house name' and is used on informal occasions - at home, among relatives and close friends; e.g. Ìyátúndè (from Yoruba = 'mother has come again'); Òjò (from Yoruba = 'boy born with umbilical cord twisted round neck'); Chúkùmà (from Igbo = 'the supreme being'). Muslim Krios do not usually have English-derived names but only Islamic/Arabic and African-derived ones. Most Krio surnames are British in origin, e.g. Kôl <'Cole', Wílèṁs <'Williams', Smít(h) <'Smith', Jôns <'Jones', Dévis <'Davies', Jónsìn <'Johnson', Tòm̀sìn <'Thompson'.

(b) Place names: Most of the village, township, area and street names in the Freetown peninsula are English-derived, e.g. (village) - Watalo LH <'Waterloo', Yòk F <'York', Lèsta HL <'Leicester'; (area) - Brukfil LF <'Brookfields'; (street) - Wilbafos Strit LLHF <'Wilberforce Street', Sandas Strit LLF <'Sanders Street'. Some villages still retain their older, African names side by side with the English-derived ones, which have become more popular, e.g. Pasande LHH (African-derived) ∨ English-derived: Lòm(b)li HL <'Lumley', Funkia HHH (African-derived) ∨ English-derived: Gòdrich HL <'Goderich'. A few area and street names have historical origins of a non-English nature.

(c) Names of Animals

(i) domestic animals: they are mostly English-derived (see 10.7

on names of dogs).

(ii) snakes: the English-derived word for a snake is snek/snɛk F < 'snake; it has a euphemistic synonym: langalanga LLHL < 'long' (reduplicated). The only English-derived hyponym is kobra HL < 'cobra'; other kinds of snake are only differentiated in African-derived vocabulary, e.g. agbadu LLH (from Yoruba) = 'a python', boman IH (from Bantu origins) 'the boa constrictor', (k)paramɔlɛ LLHL (from Yoruba) = 'the night adder'.

(iii) Other animals: most other animals have English-derived names. Where there are African-derived synonyms, they tend to provide semantic differentiation, or are humorous or archaic, e.g. tolotolo LHLH (from various African sources) = 'live turkey', while the recently acquired tɔki IH < 'turkey' refers to turkey prepared for selling or for eating; kpekpei HHH (from Mende) is a humorous word for a frog, while ɔkpɔɔ LLH (from Yoruba) is now archaic, with frɔg F < 'frog' becoming more popular. A few animals have no English-derived names, e.g. the lizard is called kondo IH (from Temne); the duiker is called fritambo LHL (from Bantu sources).

(iv) Insects: as for the names of other animals, English-derived words are again in the majority. For 'ant(s)', English has provided the generic term: anch F, but



African sources have provided both a generic word: yɔni HH (from Mende) = 'any ant', and a hyponym: injalo LLH (from Yoruba) = 'driver ant'. A case of semantic differentiation is seen in the words for 'louse'— the African-derived word: karangba LLH (from Temne and other sources) is a pejorative word meaning not only 'body louse' but also the diseased condition of a person who has been infected by it (usually because of poor personal hygiene), the English-derived lɔs F < 'louse', however, is far less pejorative and only refers to the insect. The item mutmut LF is an example of an African-derived word with no English-derived synonym.

- (v) Fish: most fish have English-derived names that have either been adopted as carryovers, e.g. makrɛl HL 'mackerel', snapa HL < 'snapper', ɛrin HL < 'herring'; or have been innovated in Krio on the basis of a particular feature or quality of the kind of fish, e.g. shaynos LF - literally: 'shiny nose'; ledi LH < 'lady' - because of its sleek and attractive appearance, tɛndafish LLF < 'thunder fish' = 'the electric ray fish' (reminiscent of thunder).

- (vi) Plants: as for names of fish, most plants have English-derived names that are either carry-overs e.g. mangro HL < 'mango', rozis HL < 'roses', fɔgɛt-mi-nɔt LHHL < 'forget-me-not'; or Krio innovations based on a quality or feature of the plant, e.g. fivalif LLF - literally,



'fever leaf' = 'Ocimum virtae' - supposedly a cure for fever, sawasawa LIHL < 'sour' reduplicated = 'the sorrel plant' - the leaves of which are sour to the taste; a few are even calques, e.g. sɔk-yu-mami-bɔbi (see p.312).

On names of fish and plants, cf. Cassidy, 1961, pp.316-333 and 334-390, respectively, for parallels in Jamaican Creole.

Plants with African-derived names tend to be edible, medicinal or harmful in the sense of supposedly having a magical potency.

#### (4) Disease and Infirmities

For many diseases, there are only English-derived words, which may be carry-overs, e.g. mizuls HL < 'measles', wikla HL < 'whitlow', fiva HL < 'fever'; or, as in some cases, Krio creations from English elements (explaining the nature of the disease), e.g. 'diarrhoea' = rɔnbɛlɛ LIH - literally, 'run(ning) belly'; 'tuberculosis' = draykɔf LF - literally, 'dry cough'; 'diabetes' = switpis LF - literally, 'sweet urine'. Where African-derived words exist for diseases that also have English-derived names, they tend to have more ominous connotations than <sup>the</sup> English-derived ones, e.g. lakpalakpa LIHL (from Yoruba) versus ringwɔm HL < 'ringworm', makru LH (from Maninka) versus payl F < 'piles'.

As far as bodily infirmities are concerned, English-derived

words do not appear to be in the majority. For example, there are no English-derived words for the following: 'to drool', cf. watɔ LH (from Yoruba); 'bow-legged', cf. kobo LH (from Yoruba); 'plaque(on teeth)', cf. yɔrɔ LL (from Yoruba); 'impotence', cf. okobo LHH (from Yoruba); 'woman with constricted vagina', cf. akriboto LHHH (from Yoruba); 'elephantiasis', cf. jɛkutɛ LLL (from Yoruba); 'goitre', cf. gɛgɛ LL (from Yoruba). Some of the few English-derived words are: kɔsɔyay LF < 'cross eye' = 'a squint'; bɛnmɔt LF < 'bent mouth' = 'a twisted mouth'.

(5) Kinship terms

All kinship terms are English-derived, except pikin LF (from Portuguese or Spanish) = 'child' - papa LH 'father' and mama LH 'mother' may also have non-English origins. We may note, however, that many kinship words have undergone semantic extension and that these meanings are essentially African, while their forms remain English-derived. The word brɔda HL < 'brother', for example, does not only denote 'brother' but also 'male relative or friend regarded as a brother'. It can even mean 'male from the same home town or village'. By tonalising, we also get a lexical split yielding brɔda LH, meaning 'elder brother', 'elder male relative'. The same is true for sista HL and sista LH < 'sister' (see also reduplications on mama and papa: 15.1 ). Also pertinent here is the case of an English kinship term that has yielded doublets in Krio - 'family' > fambul HL, famili HHL - with resultant semantic differentiation: fambul has the meaning of 'family' in the African sense of the word, i.e. the extended family = one's relatives, whereas famili denotes the nuclear family. The following example illustrates the difference: ɪ nɔ́bɪsɪn bɔ̀t fám̀bùl, nà ɪ fám̀lɪ ɪ kíà bɔ̀t = 'he cares little about any old relative, but a

lot about his immediate family'.

(6) Food and drink

This semantic field seems clear-cut: local foodstuffs and dishes, and locally produced drinks have African-derived names, while food and drink imported or originating from Britain or America have English-derived names. See also words for eating above.

(7) Colour terms

There is a preference for basic terms, which are all English-derived, e.g.: blak F < 'black', wet/wayt F < 'white', rɛd F < 'red', blu F < 'blue', grin F < 'green', gre F < 'grey', brawn F < 'brown', pink F < 'pink', yala HL < 'yellow'. Latterly, 'secondary' colours like ɔrenj HL < 'orange', tɔkwɔys HL < 'turquoise', krim F < 'cream', bej F < 'beige', and fɔn < 'fawn' have been adopted and are mesolectal as well as acrolectal. The only African-derived words that seem to refer to colours are ideophones which emphasise the intensity of 'whiteness', 'blackness' and 'redness', as in :

(1) Dì klós wáyť fú = The dress exudes whiteness,

(2) Dì mán blák tì = The man exudes blackness,

(3) Dì shót rɛd gàyñ = The shirt exudes redness.

The suggestion is that colours, when too intense, almost make a characteristic sound that seems to jar upon the senses, and the ideophone is a reflection of the peculiar 'sound' of the colour.

(8) 'Man', 'woman', 'boy', 'girl'

The words for adults are English-derived: : man F < 'man



and uman HL < 'woman', (these words can also mean 'male' and 'female' respectively - see p.226). The commonly used words for 'boy' and 'girl', however, are African-derived: bɔbɔ LH (various West African sources) and titi LH (from Vai and Yoruba - but possible conflation with Scottish 'tity'). English-derived bɔy F < 'boy' and gyal F < 'girl' do occur, but, this time, they are the derogatory words. The primary meaning of bɔy is 'houseboy, servant'; gyal also has such connotations, though not in its primary function, which is to refer contemptuously or familiarly to a girl or young woman. The English-derived words can also be the first elements of the compounds bɔyfrɛn LH < 'boyfriend' and g(y)alfrɛn LH < 'girlfriend', and collocate with pikin (as in: bɔy pikin = 'son', 'remarkable young man'; and gyal pikin = 'daughter', 'remarkable young woman') without derogation. (see also pp.260-1 on bɔys and gals).

(9) 'Abstract Ideas

English-derived abstract nouns, e.g.: apinɛs HHL < 'happiness', kɔnfyushɔn LHL < 'confusion', disitfulnɛs LHHL < 'deceitfulness', may occur acrolectally, but, in basilectal and most mesolectal usage, either a calque or an African-derived word usually serves to express the idea, e.g.: apinɛs, cf alafia LHHL (from Yoruba) or kolat LF (calque); kɔnfyushɔn, cf dombolo HHH (from Temne); disitfulnɛs, cf. rikishi LH, wayo LH (from Hausa). We may also note in this category, some African-derived words which have no English-derived synonyms, e.g.: akɛ HL (from Arabic) = 'retribution'; sababu HHL (from African sources) = 'goodwill'; alaki LH (from African sources) = 'severe ill-luck brought about by a curse'.



## CHAPTER FOURTEEN

## WORD CLASS SOURCES OF ENGLISH-DERIVED WORDS

14.1 Word Class Sources

English-derived words have come into Krio from every word class. It is usually claimed that words from the 'open' classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives) are more susceptible to 'borrowing' than those from the 'closed' classes (pronouns, conjunctions, prepositions, etc.) - see, e.g. Haugen, 1950, p.224; Weinreich, op. cit., p.35. But, as Bynon observes, 'given a certain intensity and duration of language contact, there is nothing that may not be diffused across language boundaries' (op. cit., pp.255-6). Taking the relationship between English and Krio into account, (and especially the fact that Krio is, after all, an English-based Creole), therefore, it is not difficult to see why such intense diffusion of words from even the grammatical classes has taken place, in spite of the fact that Krio syntax has been described as essentially a crystallisation of the syntax of its substratum West African (particularly Kwa) languages - e.g. by Larimore (1976); Williams (1976); and Givon (1979, pp.12-19).

As is to be expected, far more nouns have been adopted from English into Krio than words from any other word class. Bynon (ibid, p.230) rightly observes that the fact that nouns are the most frequently borrowed class everywhere could be a reflection of the overall sizes of word classes and of the fact that 'the great majority of borrowed words are the names of new objects and materials'. In keeping with this principle, therefore, common nouns continue to provide most of the new adoptions in Krio, e.g.: vidio LLH < 'video', kɔmpyuta LHL < 'computer',

polarɔyd HHL < 'polaroid', robot HL < 'robot', disko HL < 'disco',  
stediəm LLH < 'stadium', kasɛt LH < 'cassette', pram F < 'pram',  
(h)uva HL < 'hoover', friza HL < 'freezer'. A few examples of older  
common nouns are: chia HL < 'chair', bɔl F < 'ball', ayɛn HL < 'iron',  
tebul HL < 'table', gɔta HL < 'gutter'. Less common and mainly acrolectal  
recent adoptions are proper nouns (first names), e.g. Mɛlani HHL <  
'Melanie', Tɾɛv HL < 'Trevor', Fiɔna LHL < 'Fiona', Kɛvin HL < 'Kevin';  
and abstract nouns, e.g.: apinɛs HHL < 'happiness', kɔnfyushɔn LHL <  
'confusion', kɔndishɔn LHL < 'condition'. Examples of older proper  
nouns, which abound in personal and place names, are: (i) personal  
names: Devid LH < 'David', Wilɛms HL < 'Williams', Meri LH < 'Mary',  
Jɔnsin HL < 'Johnson', Kɛnɛth LHL < 'Kenneth'; (ii) place names:  
Yɔk F < 'York', Sɔsɛks HL < 'Sussex', Watalo LLH < 'Waterloo', Lɛsta  
HL < 'Leicester'. Some older abstract nouns are: pis F < 'peace',  
denja HL < 'danger', ditamineshɔn LLLHL < 'determination'.

Many verbs - e.g. transitive, intransitive, stative - have  
also been (and continue to be) adopted. Here are some examples.

(1) Older items -

(a) Transitive verbs:

(i) flag F < 'flog', as in: à flág àm = I flogged him;

(ii) klín F < 'clean', as in: klín m̀ s̀s = clean my shoes;

(iii) slap F < 'slap', as in: ì sláp m̀ = he slapped me;

(iv) drɛb F < 'drive', as in: à drɛb àm = I drove him away.

(b) Verbs both transitive and intransitive(i) it F < 'eat', as in:(a) yù ít dỉ rês = you ate the rice (transitive);(b) wỉ đón ít = we have eaten (intransitive);(ii) was F < 'wash', as in:(a) wás dỉ plêt = wash the plate (transitive) ;(b) à đón wàs = I've had a bath (intransitive);(iii) drink F < 'drink', as in:(a) drínk wàtá = drink water (transitive);(b) a` kìn drínk = I drink (intransitive) ;(iv) lòk F < 'lock' as in(a) lók dỉ dô = lock the door (transitive);(b) à đón lòk = I'm closed.(c) Intransitive verbs(i) smayl F < 'smile', as in: ì dè smáył = he is smiling;(ii) waka HL < 'walk', as in: à gò wákà = I'll walk;(iii) kray F < 'cry', as in: ì dè kráy = he is crying;(iv) slip F < 'sleep', as in: ì dè slíp = he is sleeping.

(d) Stative verbs:(i) no F < 'know', as in: à nô = I know;(ii) luk F < 'look', as in: ì luk gùd = it looks good;(iii) biliv LF < 'believe', as in: à blìlív àm = I believe him;(iv) yeri LH < 'hear', as in: à yèrí = I hear.2. More recent items(a) Transitive verbs(i) kalkyulet LLF < 'calculate', as in: à dɔ́n kàlkyulét àm =  
I've calculated it;(ii) gril F < 'grill', as in: gríl dì bíf = grill the meat;(iii) provok LF < 'provoke', as in: ì lék fə̀ pròvók mì =  
he likes teasing me;(iv) akyuz LF < 'accuse', as in: ú àkyúz yù? = who accuses you?(b) Both transitive and intransitive (fewer cases):(i) bath F < 'bath', as in:(a) à báh dì bèbí = I bathed the baby (transitive)(b) à dɔ́n bath = I've had a bath;



(ii) rikɔd LF < 'record', as in:

(a) rikɔd àm = record it ;

(b) à dè rikɔd = I'm doing a recording.

(c) Intransitive verbs:

(i) komyuniket LLLF < 'communicate', as in wì dón komyuniket =

we have communicated;

(ii) split F < 'split', as in: dèn dón split = they have broken up;

(iii) ritaya LLH < 'retire', as in: ì dè ritáyà tìdê =

he retires today;

(iv) kompit LF < 'compete', as in: dèn dè kompít = they are competing.

(d) Stative verbs:

(i) sím F < 'seem' (usually collocating with fɔ = 'to'), as in:

ì sím fɔ dè lík = it seems to be leaking. Note that

the mesolectal synonym for sím (fɔ) is tán lèk(è)

'stand like';

(ii) mata HL < 'matter' (usually in negative constructions)

as in: ì nɔ́ mata = it doesn't matter;

(iii) rizembul LHL < 'resemble', as in: dě rizémbùl =  
they look alike.

The mesolectal, and by far more common, word used to express the idea of 'resemblance' is fiba LH < 'favour';

(iv) kənsan LF < 'concern' (usually in negative constructions), as in: ì nɔ̀ kənsán mî = it doesn't concern me.

### Auxiliaries

The following auxiliaries have been noted:

- (1) du F < 'do', as in: dû, lé à sî = do let me see it!
- (2) did F < 'did', as in: à díd tók àm = indeed, I said it!

It is interesting to note the striking differences in usage for these two words in Krio and English. Most of the periphrastic (including use in negative constructions like 'I do not drink' - in opposition to 'I drink' -) and emphatic uses of 'do' in English, do not apply in Krio. In fact, du is only used in Krio (a) as a sentence initiator or final tag, to help modify the tone of the lexical verb from a command to a plea, as in Example (1). The form du tends to be acrolectal, the usual, mesolectal form being dúyà. In this usage, it is similar to 'do' as a pleading auxiliary in English, e.g. 'do let me have it'; (b) as a sentence final tag indicating a harsh command, as in: léf mí dú! = 'leave me alone!' Note that, for this usage, there is a change of tone from F (which, incidentally, is usual in this rare case even in non-final position, when the intention is to plead) to H, when the intention is to command.

This usage has no parallel in English; (c) in place of a verb that has just been used, as in : if yùnǎ klín à yét mès dú dát tìdê = 'if you haven't cleaned it yet, do that today'. As the translation shows, this usage is also found in English.

Did in Krio may only be used emphatically, as Example (2) demonstrates. An interesting difference from English 'did' is that, whereas the English word always has a past time reference, the Krio word may also have a future time reference, as in: , à gò dí dít = 'I'll eat to my heart's content'.

The next two items - (3) dont F 'don't' and (4) wunt F 'won't'- also deserve comment, but for different reasons. Although they come from auxiliaries in English, dont is not used as an auxiliary in Krio, nor can wunt be properly called one either.<sup>1</sup> Dont is only a noun in Krio and is used to refer to clothes or other wearing gear that are strikingly ill-matched in colour, or otherwise incongruous, e.g.: ì wér dónt gó dì bérìn = 'he wore clothes that were ill-matching in colour, or otherwise inappropriate, to the funeral'.

Wunt, on the other hand, is a verb in Krio, but seems to function more like a main verb than an auxiliary. It means: 'to refuse, be unwilling; to dare (somebody)', e.g.: à nǎ wunt fè pé = 'I'm not unwilling to pay'; à wunt àm fè alá = 'I dared him to shout'.

(5) kin L <'can' - both ~~the~~ meanings of 'ability' and 'permission'

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<sup>1</sup>Word class functional shifts are discussed in more detail in the next sub-section.

are present, as in the English cognate, e.g.: à kìn swím 'I can swim';  
à kìn gó nàw? 'Can I go now?'

(6) k(y)ant F < 'can't', as in: à k(y)ant dú àm = I can't/won't do it'. Note that, unlike English 'can't', Krio k(y)ânt can be used to mean 'won't', in the sense of 'unwilling'.

(7) mɔs L/F < 'must' - auxiliary of 'obligation', 'politeness', 'defiance' and 'determination' (see 'Semantic Pitch Differentiation' Example (xii), p.492, for examples).

(8) níd F < 'need' - usually collocating with fɔ (to) especially in negative constructions, as in: à ná níd(fɔ) sí àm = I need not see him.

(9) dýas F < 'dares' - usual in negative constructions as in: ì nódýás fityáy àm = 'he dare not be cheeky to him'.

Adjectives of all kinds have also been (and continue to be) adopted. Older examples of adjectives, unlike the more recent ones, tend not to have derivational endings (like -ɔs, cf. '-ous'; -ful, cf. '-ful' -i, cf. '-y', etc.).

Older items:

(i) gud F < 'good', as in: nà gúd màn = he is a good man';

(ii) fayn F < 'fine', as in: dì umàn fayn = 'the woman is pretty';



(iii) slo F < 'slow', as in: yù slô = 'you are slow';

(iv) ot F < 'hot', as in: ì ôt = 'it's hot'.

More recent items:

(i) teribul HHL < 'terrible', as in: ìtéríbùl = 'it's terrible';

(ii) byutiful HHL < 'beautiful', as in: dì klós byútífùl =  
'the dress is beautiful';

(iii) fishi HL < 'fishy', as in: ì lúk físhì = 'it looks fishy';

(iv) denjros HL < 'dangerous', as in: nà denjros tìn =  
'it is a dangerous thing'.

Monomorphemic adverbs (of time, place) as well as bi-morphemic ones (of manner - usually ending with the suffix '-ly' added to an adjective) have also yielded Krio words. More recent types tend to be bi-morphemic. Examples are:

Older items:

(1)(temporal)

(a) yestade HLF < 'yesterday', as in: à kám yéstàdê =  
'I came yesterday';

(b) sun F < 'soon', as in: wì gò sún ìt = 'we'll soon have our  
meal';

(c) sins L <'since', as in: à dón kám lóng sins =

'I've been here for a long while'.

(2) (place)

(a) yanda HL <'yonder', as in: ídé yándà = 'he's over there';

(b) fa F <'far', as in: ì kòmót fà = 'he comes from far';

(c) de F <'there', as in: pút àm dê = 'put it there'.

(3) (manner)

(a) sobali HHL <'soberly', as in: ì wákà sóbálì =

'he walked soberly';

(b) bədili HHL <'bodily', as in: à líf àm bódílì =

'I lifted him bodily';

(c) ənesli HHL <'honestly', as in: ì dè dú ìn jáb ónéslì =

'he does his work honestly'.

More recent items:

(i) risəntli HHL <'recently', as in: à sí àm rísəntlì =

'I saw him recently';

(ii) prəpali HHL <'properly', as in: à wəsh àm prəpálì =

'I gave him a thorough telling-off';

(iii) fɔnili HHL 'funnily', as in fɔ́nílì à nɔ́lék ít =  
'funnily, I don't like eating';

(iv) tɔrɔli HHL 'thoroughly', as in: à dú àm tɔ́rɔ́lì = I did  
it thoroughly'.

(See also 'Derivational Morphology', Ch. 9 on the adoption into Krio of words with affixes).

Many words have also come from the 'closed' classes. Most prepositions, for example, have been adopted, and with little semantic change, e.g.:

- (1) abawt/ebawt LL, also aphetic form bɔt L < 'about' = 'about'.
- (2) abɔv LF < 'above' = 'above'.
- (3) afta HL < 'after' = 'after'.
- (4) agens/egens LF < 'against' = 'against'.
- (5) arawnd LF/rawnd F < 'around'/'round' = 'around'/'round'.
- (6) as L < 'as' = 'as'.
- (7) at L < 'at' = 'at' (usually acrolectal).
- (8) awsayd HF < 'outside' = 'outside'.

- (9) bay L < 'by' = 'by'.
- (10) biɛn LF < 'behind'. Apart from all the English meanings of 'behind' as a preposition, biɛn also has the following meanings: (a) 'after', 'in pursuit of', as in: ì dé biɛn mí fòmì m̀nì = 'he is after me for my money'; (b) 'because of an addiction to', as in: yù gò dáy biɛn úmàn = 'your overfondness for women will be the cause of your death'; (c) 'as a consequence of' - usually in negative constructions and collocating with k̀m̀t (preposed) and dát (post-posed), as in: à k̀s àm gúd fáshìn èn nátìn nó k̀m̀t biɛn dát = 'I abused him to my heart's content and nothing came of it'; (d) 'in addition to', as in: à dón bég àm; biɛn dát ì wán mék̀ wóshíp àm = 'I've apologised to him, in addition to that, he wants me to worship him'. We may also note that apart from being a preposition, biɛn, like 'behind', can also be used as a noun. Unlike 'behind', however, it only means 'a person's bottom', 'the anus', and is only used in vulgar or intimate style.
- (11) bifo LF < 'before' = 'before'. Like biɛn, but unlike English 'before', bifo is also a noun - one of the many euphemisms for a woman's genitals - and is also only used in vulgar or intimate style.
- (12) bilo LF < 'below' (mainly acrolectal).
- (13) bisayd LF < 'beside' = 'beside' (mainly acrolectal).



- (14) bitwin LF < 'between' = 'between', 'among'.
- (15) biyɔnd LF < 'beyond'. This word only means: 'out of reach', 'much more than', 'outside the limits of', as in: dì póst nódé biyɔnd mì, bòt à nó wánt àm = 'the post is not beyond my reach, but I don't want it' (acrolectal).
- (16) dɔŋ F < 'down' = 'down' - only in the sense of: 'to a lower or descending position' 'to the far end of', as in: à dè gó dɔŋ trít = 'I'm going down the street'.
- (17) fɔ L < 'for'. Longman's Dictionary of Contemporary English' (ed. Procter, 1979) lists thirty-two meanings of 'for' as a preposition. Most of them also apply to fɔ. The following do not: (i) 'as a result of, after', as in: 'you look better for your holiday'; (ii) 'in spite of', as in: 'for all my concern he couldn't care less'; (iii) 'considering how little', as in: 'you can smoke, for all I care'.
- (18) frɔm L < 'from' = 'from'.
- (19) in L < 'in'. Many meanings of English 'in' correspond to those of nà - Krio's Portuguese/African-derived multifunctional preposition, e.g. (i) à dé nà ôs = 'I'm in the house'; (ii) ì dé nà dì bótùl = 'it's in the bottle'; (iii) dá tín dé nà dì wíndà = 'that thing in the window'; (iv) ì dé nà kónà = 'it's in the corner'; (v) ì dé nà sháp = 'it's in the shops'.

In some cases, ínsày 'inside' is used, as in: ì dé ínsáy ôs = 'he's in the house'; kám ínsáy = 'come in'. In other cases, however, Krio in corresponds to English 'in', as in (a) ì dé ìn blú = 'she's in (a) blue (dress)'; (b) pút àm ìn ráytìn = 'put it in writing'; (c) à lán àm ìn síks m̀nt = 'I'learnt it in six months'; (d) dèn dú àm ìn póblik = 'they did it in public'; (e) nà mí dé ìn cháj = 'I'm in charge'. Most of these uses are acrolectal.

- (20) insay HF < 'inside' = 'inside', 'in'.
- (21) nia HL < 'near' = 'near'.
- (22) oba/ova HL < 'over' = 'over'.
- (23) ɔf F < 'off'. Only one meaning of 'off' corresponds to ɔf: 'no longer keen on or fond of', as in: à dón gó ɔf swíts = 'I've gone off sweets'. This usage is acrolectal.
- (24) ɔf L < 'of'. This word only occurs in set acrolectal phrases, e.g. ɔf kâz = 'of course', ɔf lét = 'of late', ɔf nó fikst àbôd = 'of no fixed abode'.
- (25) ɔn L < 'on'. In some instances, the use of 'on' corresponds to the use of na (cf. in), e.g.: ì dé nà tébùl = 'It's on the table'; (ii) dì wíl dèn nà mì kâ = 'the wheels on my car'; (iii) ì dé nà mì lêft = 'it's on my left'; (iv) à dé nà dì bôd = 'I'm on the board'; in other instances, it corresponds to the use of pan/ɔpan L/LL 'upon' ('upon'

can also be used in English as a formal alternative to 'on' in many cases - see Procter, *ibid*, p.760), e.g. (i) èdát pàn èdát nà ím à jés dè gêt = 'I keep having headache on/upon headache'; (ii) dèn kót táks pàn mì púls mòní = 'I was taxed on my pools money'; in a few cases, a different preposition may be used, e.g.: à dè gó báy fút = 'I'm going on foot'; (ii) í ráyt búk bôt Krió = 'he wrote a book on Krio'; or none may be used at all, e.g.: (i) dèn dè kám Fráyde = 'they arrive on Friday'; (ii) à dè gó òlìdê = 'I'm going on holiday'. Uses of ɔn are acrolectal, as in the following examples: (i) à kìn lív ɔn frúts = 'I can live on fruits'; (by means of); (ii)(as a result of) à ákt ɔn í àdvâys = 'I acted on his advice'; (iii) (with...paying) ték è drínk ɔn mí = 'take a drink on me'; (iv) (with) yù gé mòní ɔn yú? 'have you any money on you?'

- (26) ɔnda HL < 'under' = 'under'. Like bifo(and biɛn) ɔnda can also be used as a noun, in vulgar or intimate style, to refer to a woman's intimate parts.
- (27) ɔndanit LLF < 'underneath' = 'underneath' (acrolectal).
- (28) ɔp F < 'up' = 'up'.
- (29) ɔpozit HHL < 'opposite' = 'opposite'.
- (30) pan L < 'upon' = 'upon', 'on top of', 'above', 'on'.

See also ɔ̀n. Procter (ibid), p.1208) describes 'upon' as a formal alternative to 'on'. In Krio, pàn is not restricted to formal usage.

(31) to L <'to' = 'to', 'up to', 'towards' and most other uses of 'to'. It differs from 'to' in not having the following meanings:

(i) 'in the direction of; and reaching, as in: 'we're going to Blackpool for the summer'; (ii) 'in relation with; in comparison with', as in: 'this is nothing to what I can do'.

(32) towɔ̀ds LF <'towards'. Only with the meaning: 'near, just before in time', as in: à dè gó tòwɔ̀ds dì énd òf dís mɛ̀nt = 'I'm leaving towards the end of this month'.

(33) tru F <'through'. Only with the meaning: 'in at one end and out at the other', as in: dì wàtá pás trú dís òl = 'the water passed through this hole'.

(34) with L <'with' = 'with'.

(35) witawt LF <'without' = 'without'.

Very few prepositions have not been adopted into Krio. Examples are: 'among', 'beneath', 'unto'.



With regard to pronouns, since Krio does not observe gender/sex distinctions in its pronoun forms, 'she', 'her' 'it',<sup>1</sup> have not been adopted, nor have the possessive forms 'his' and 'their'; but the other kinds of pronouns have been adopted. Krio, unlike current Standard English, can even distinguish between second person singular 'yu F <'you') and second person plural (ina/una/unu LL - from Ibo).

The intensifiers:tu H <'too' and vɛri HH/HL, deserve comment. In Krio, tu may pre-modify a verb or an adjective and carries the meaning 'excessively'. It however differs from English 'too', in that it can have a positive (meaning 'very') as well as/or a negative connotation. For example:

(i) yù tú ít = 'you eat too much' (negative);

(ii) ì tú bíg = 'It's too big' (negative);

(iii) ì tú swít = 'It's too sweet' (negative);

'It's very delicious/tasty. (positive);

(iv) ì tú nâys = 'He/she is very nice' (positive).

Tu can also be used to mean 'only too', as in: à nó àm tú wêl = 'I know him too well'; but, again, unlike English 'too', it may have a positive connotation and mean 'very'; so, the above example can

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<sup>1</sup> Except in phrases like: à aynès <'her highness = a self-conceited woman'; dám ít: <'damm it'; ték ít fròm mí <'take it from me'.

also be translated as: 'I know him very well'.

The use of veri, as the acrolectal, 'corrected' alternative form for tu in its positive senses, is on the increase.

Most conjunctions have also been adopted. Examples are:

- (1) afta HL <'after' = 'after'.
- (2) as L <'as' = 'as'.
- (3) aweva HHL <'however' (acrolectal).
- (4) ayda HL <'either' = 'either'.
- (5) bifo LF <'before' = 'before'.
- (6) bikəs LF <'because' = 'because'.
- (7) bot L <'but' = 'but', except for the following meanings:
  - (i) 'that', as in: 'there's no doubt but he's a thief';
  - (ii) indicating surprise, as in: 'but that's great!';
  - (iii) to introduce a new subject, as in: 'but, to change the subject, let's talk about books'.
- (8) dan L <'than' = 'than', meaning: 'in preference to', as in à gò báy bíà dòn à báy sìgrê = 'I'd rather buy beer than cigarettes'.

- (9) dat L <'that' = 'that', only as in: mék ì nọ̀ dāt ì fẹ̀ dú àm  
'let him know that he should do it'.
- (10) en <'and' = 'and'.
- (11) eksept LH <'except' = 'except' (acrolectal).
- (12) if L <'if' = 'if', except as in the negative sentence:  
'it's not as if I'm lying'.
- (13) unles LH <'unless' = 'unless'.
- (14) sins L <'since' = 'since'.
- (15) so H <'so' = 'so'.
- (16) weda LH <'whether' = 'whether'.

Conjunctions not adopted include 'for', 'while' and 'yet'.

Of the interrogative, 'wh-' words, all except 'which' have been adopted. (see Compounds, 10.4).

The affirmative and negative particles - yes F <'yes',  
no F <'no' - have also been adopted; so have the definite article:  
di L <'the', and the interjection o F <'oh'.

14.2 Word Class Functional Shifts and Splits

The functioning of a word without modification of form in more than one word class or a change from one word class to another is a common feature in languages. It is becoming even more common in English especially with the influence of American usage. Words in the open classes particularly - e.g. nouns being used as verbs - are affected. This kind of (syntactic) multifunctionality or change of function is regarded as even more typical of pidgin and creole languages, since word-class distinguishing suffixes used to be rare before these languages were affected by decreolisation (see Derivational Morphology and Reduplications. See also, e.g. Voorhoeve, 1979 and Allsopp, 1980, pp. 96-8).

Several kinds of functional shifts or splits have been noted in Krio, but there are two definite ways to achieve such a result. One way is by pitch differentiation, the other merely by syntactic use.

(1) Pitch Differentiation: see 'Lexical Splits' for examples (16.1.1).

(2) No Pitch Differentiation Many types occur. They are as follows:

(a) Word changed to a different class or subclass from its English cognate

Not many examples have been found;



- (i) noun → verb: yan F < 'yarn' = 'to woo'.
- (ii) adjective → noun: ajɔyni LHL < 'adjoining' = 'an annexe'.
- (iii) adjective → noun: tɔkativ HHL < 'talkative' = 'a chatterbox'.
- (iv) preposition → verb: gens F < 'against' = 'to cause a surfeit'.
- (v) abstract noun → concrete noun:  
kukri LH < 'cookery' = 'food from small,  
 unsophisticated cooking house', 'such a house'.

Many more words have retained the class they came into Krio with and then added more syntactic functions.

(b) Words multifunctional within open classes

The additions may be of sub-classes rather than new classes, e.g. common noun as well as abstract noun; main verb as well as auxiliary. Here are examples:

- (1) noun > noun, verb, adjective: tif F < 'thief', as in:  
 (i) ós dè bɔn tíf dè tíf = 'house is burning, thief is stealing'.  
 (ii) nà tíf pikîn = 'he is a thieving child'.
- (2) noun(+ person)/verb > noun (+ person),  
 noun (+ inanimate object),  
 verb:

kuk F < 'cook', as in: dì kúk dón kúk dì kúk.

'the cook has cooked the food'.

(3) adjective > noun, verb, adjective:

fulish HL < 'foolish', as in:

(i) ì fúlísh mǐ = 'he made a fool of me'.

(ii) à nómíks pàn fúlísh = 'I hate foolishness'.

(iii) nà fúlísh màn = 'he is a foolish man'.

(4) adjective > noun, verb, adjective:

jɛlɔs HL < 'jealous', as in:

(i) ì dè jélós àm = 'he envies him'.

(ii) nà jélós dət = 'that's jealousy'.

(iii) ì tú jélòs = 'he's too jealous'.

(5) noun > noun, verb:

yurin LF < 'urine', as in: dì yùrín wé ì yùrín yálà sô =

(lit.) 'the urine he urinated was very yellow'.

(6) adjective > adjective, noun:

(i) bad F < 'bad' as in:

(a) bád nógûd (lit.) 'evil is not good'.

(b) yù tú bád = 'you're too evil'.

(11) sik F < 'sick', as in: ì sík bád sík =

(lit). 'he is ill a bad illness'.

Many transitive verbs in English are also used intransitively when they come into Krio, e.g.:

(1) bil F < 'build', as in: mí dádí dè bíl = 'my father is building (a house)'.

(2) bɛr F < 'bury', as in: dèn dón bɛr = 'they've buried (the deceased)'.

(3) swip F < 'sweep', as in: à dón swíp = 'I've swept (the floor)'.

(4) ridyus LF < 'reduce', as in: ì dè rìdyús = 'he's getting leaner'.

(5) baptayz LF < 'baptised', as in: à dón bàptâyz = 'I've been baptized'.

This last example is particularly typical in showing how the 'passive' is expressed in Krio. It is reminiscent of an English structure like: 'the shoes sell'. Also very typical of Krio are expressions in which a word is used as both a noun and a verb in the same sentence, e.g.

(1) áw dì gó dè gô? = (lit.) 'how is the go going?' = 'how are things?'

(2) dì kám dón kám = (lit.) 'the coming has come' = 'the long expected arrival has taken place.'

(c) Words multifunctional within closed classes:

A few cases of this feature occur. See, e.g. məs (under

'Semantic Pitch Differentiation'). Other examples are:

- (1) usay HF < 'whose side' = 'where' (interrogative, adv., conj.)  
 also used as an interjection of disappointment, e.g.  
Yu sí ám? = 'Did you see him?'  
Úsây (lit.) 'Where' = 'I didn't!'
- (2) fɔ L 'for' = 'for', as well as 'to' when preceding a verb in the infinitive, e.g. fɔlâf = 'to laugh'. It can also be used as an auxiliary meaning 'should', 'ought to'; as in: à fɔ slíp gúd dís nèt = 'I should sleep well tonight.'

(d) Words used in both open and closed classes

A few such examples have been found. Here are some:

- (1) midul LF < 'middle' = noun, adjective, verb, preposition; as in:
- (a) ìn mídùl smɔl = 'her waist is small';
- (b) mì mídùl fíngà = 'my middle finger';
- (c) dèn mídùl mí = 'they put me in the middle';
- (d) à kǎ mídùl dèm = 'I came between them'.
- (2) mek F < 'make' = noun, verb, conjunction; as in:
- (a) nà gúd mək = 'it's a good make';



(b) à mék àm = 'I made it';

(c) à sé mék yù gô = 'I said that you should go'.

(3) ɔf F < 'off' = adv. prep. adj., verb; as in:

(a) dì ándùl kámɔf = 'the handle came off';

(b) ì ték mí ɔf mì wòk = 'he took me off my work';

(c) nà mì ɔf dé = 'it's my off day';

(d) à ɔf tén òklòk = 'I finished work at ten'.

We have also seen the examples of biɛn, bifo and ɔnda  
(see Prepositions).

## CHAPTER FIFTEEN

## THE SEMANTICS OF REDUPLICATIONS

As discussed in Chapter 11 above, reduplications in Krio are of two types: carry-overs and creolised types, which differ in some respects in their semantic characteristics. First, we consider carry-overs.

15.1 CARRY-OVERS

In both languages, almost all the items are highly informal or slangy in usage and many have synonyms for more formal or serious usage. Perhaps only items like: 'picnic' and, 'Walkie-talkie' in English have exclusively 'serious' denotations. As will be seen later, even these words are at least potentially depreciatory and less 'serious' in Krio.

To a great extent, phonaesthetics and onomatopoeia, nursery effect, hypocorism and playfulness, vowel alternation reflecting polarity in movement (/I/ - /æ/ > /i/ - /a), /I/ - /ɔ:/ > /i/ - /ɔ/) or, as in the case of 'tiptop'/tiptɔp, reinforcing the sense, and the effect of the consonant contrasts, are shared by both languages. So are the following semantic fields:

(i) Sounds:

(a) barking: yàpyàp, cf. 'yap-yap';

(b) game: pìngpóng, cf. 'pingpong'

- (ii) Trickery:  
ánkípankí, cf. 'hanky-panky'
- (iii) Confusion:  
éltaskéltà, cf. 'helter-skelter';
- (iv) Worthlessness:  
só-èn-sô, cf. 'so and so'; rífráf, cf. 'riffraff',  
níksnaks, cf. (k)nick-(k)nack(s); óbò, cf. 'hobo';
- (v) Alternating movements:  
sísò, cf. 'see-saw'; zígzàg, cf. 'zig-zag';  
píngpóng, cf. 'ping-pong'
- (vi) Secrecy: úshèsh, cf. 'hush-hush';
- (vii) Vacillation: díldáíí, cf. 'dilly-dally';
- (viii) Arrogance/Vaunting: bláblá, cf. 'blah-bhah';  
yápyáp, cf. 'yapyap';
- (ix) Intimacy: ùbnùb, cf. 'hobnob'; nìàrès-èn-díárés, cf. 'nearest  
and dearest';
- (x) Retaliation: tít-fj-tât, cf. 'tit for tat';
- (xi) Excellence: típtòp, cf. 'tiptop';

- (xii) Smallness: tíníwíní, cf. 'teeny-weeny';
- (xiii) Exaggeration: gùdígùdí, cf. 'goody-goody';
- (xiv) Fullness: chókàblók, cf. 'chock-a-block';
- (xv) Games: títàtú, cf. 'tic-tac-toe'/'tit-tat-toe'; píngpóng,  
cf. 'ping-pong';
- (xvi) Pleasure: píkńík, cf. 'picnic';
- (xvii) Balance: fíftì-fíftì, cf. 'fifty-fifty'
- (xviii) Order: wán-báy-wán, cf. 'one by one'; bák-tò-bák, cf. back-  
to-back; sòndè-tò-sòndè, cf. 'Sunday to Sunday';
- (xix) Summation: èsétrà-èsétrà, cf. 'etcetera, etcetera';
- (xx) Interjection: íp-íp-íp, cf. 'hip, hip, (hip)'.

Also, all the other nursery words.

Already, we can see that the majority of the 'carry-overs' are from semantic fields that at least suggest disapproval. A closer look at the individual items reveals that all 'carry-overs', with the possible exception of the following, are either decidedly and exclusively depreciatory or pejorative in connotation or potentially so. This is



not always true of their English cognates. Even what might be considered basic nursery words like mà má, pà pá and wì wí behave this way. The only exceptions seem to be the following: wòkítòkí and títatú.

Here are some examples to illustrate the point:-

1. 'Nursery' Words

(a) mà má (b) pà pá. In English, these two words tend to be restricted to upper class British usage. They are both nouns in the two languages but have an extended semantic significance in Krio. Apart from the basic denotation of 'mother' and 'father' respectively, their other meanings are as follows.

(I illustrate with pà pá):

(1) Papa Tòmɔs LHLH - (My) father Thomas;

(2) Papa Tòmɔs LLHF - 'Mr Thomas' (Here used as a prefixal term of address to any elderly man surnamed 'Thomas');

(3) Papa [pa:pa::] LH (nàtrú Ò!) = 'My dear (male) friend, it is true!' (Idiomatically: 'You can say that again!').

The mere exclamation without the addition of nàtrú Ò! carries the full meaning; this can be said to a male interlocutor, young or old;

(4) Papa LH Kúshé sà = 'Hello, friend!' (Term of polite address to an acquaintance but not very close friend);

- (5) Papa LH Gòd épmí! = 'My Father God, help me!'
- (6) Lúk Àbí dè kám wìt ìm papa LH = (Lit.) 'Look at Abi coming with her elderly (looking) boyfriend!' (Derisive).
- (7) Yú nà ól papa HL = (Idiomatically) 'You are too old-fashioned' (in the clothes one wears or showing other traits of a much older man). It can also mean: 'You are too big (in size)' (Derisive).

In examples 1-5, papa can occur in any position in the sentence, though it is commonly found in first position. In example 6, it is either medial or final in the sentence. It is usually premodified by ol ('old') in e.g. 7.

The same possibilities hold good for mama, with the exception of example 5, for obvious reasons.

(c) wiwi LH (noun and verb). Some people use the HL pattern (cf. English 'wee-wee') believing, perhaps, that it attenuates the supposedly taboo nature of the word if said with the LH pattern, especially in polite company. This word is also jocularly or threateningly used by adults, as in: ìf à ándùl yú, yù gò wìwí = 'If I lay my hands on you you will surely wet yourself' (with the obvious implication of being compelled to behave like a child and thus being humiliated).

Example in its normal usage: Dìbèbí dón wìwí = 'The baby has urinated'.

(d) Jɔji-Pɔji LHLH. This is a proper noun in English and basically so in Krio too; but it can be used as a common noun to refer to a spoilt, pampered, petted child or grown man. Normally, though, it is used vocatively in sentence initial position with the last syllable prolonged to show fondness or tenderness; e.g. Jɔjí Pɔjí::, á(w) yù. dɔ? = 'Georgie Porgie, how are you?'

It can occur medially, as in: nà Jɔjí Pɔjí yôn = 'It is Georgie Porgie's.' The reference is to any young child called 'George' > Jɔj.

(e) tiniwini HHHH. This is an adjective in English, used almost exclusively to children. In Krio, it is also an adjective but it can function adverbially or ideophonically, as in: ì smól tɪníwɪní (idiomatically) 'It is very small', or as a diminutive nickname for a child or person who is small in size, as in: Léf mí dú, tɪníwɪní = 'Leave me alone, you midget'.

Used as a noun, its tones are LHLH.

As an adjective, it can modify almost any common noun, e.g. à gét wán tɪníwɪní wískí yá = 'I have just a drop of whiskey here!'

2. The next two words are not exactly of nursery origin, but have an 'unsophisticated' structure perhaps reminiscent of nursery types:

(a) pushpush LF This is a common noun in both English and Krio, though it is not as commonly used in English as it is in Krio. It is essentially derogatory in English - in the 1907 supplement of the OED, it is defined as 'a rude carriage impelled by coolies, used by travellers in some parts of India'. No similar derogation is connoted in Krio, though it might be used derisively to refer to a car which regularly needs a push. It also has a wider range of meaning in Krio and is essentially a humorous or informal alternative to the objects it denotes:

- (1) wheelchair; (2) pushcart; (3) bicycle; (4) temperamental car;  
 (5) baby's pram.

(b) taytay LF This is also of a depreciatory texture in English, which seems to have borrowed it from creole sources in this form. The OED defines it as 'a negro name for a string', alternative to, 'one of several cords fastened to a hammock and serving to tie it up in a roll'. The attenuating effect in Krio is perhaps caused by the reference to a make-do 'string'/object used to tie something; e.g. pás mí sòn tàytáy dè = 'Pass me a make-shift string'.

The three words I have just discussed are bahuvrihi-type compounds.

### 3. Sounds

#### (i) Vaunting/arrogance:

(a) blabla HH, (b) yapyap LL. In Krio, there is a much stronger connotation of senselessness in the use of blabla, and only the metaphorical meaning of yapyap is in common use. Both can be used as nouns and verbs but only yapyap is also a verb in English.



## Examples:

- (a) 1. nómén àm, Nà bláblá ì dè tók = 'Don't mind him. He is talking nonsense'; (noun)
2. ìjés dè bláblá nóm = 'He is only bragging/talking noisily and meaninglessly'. (verb).
- (b) 1. Yùjés dè yàpyàp = 'You are merely boasting'. (verb);
2. Yèrí dì yàpyàp = 'Listen to the boastful talk'. (noun).

(ii) Game

- (a) pingpɔŋ LH. Thun (p.165) notes that <sup>English cognate</sup> ~~the~~ also means 'a jewel fixed to a wire with a long pin at the end and worn in front of the cap'. It is a noun in both languages, but can have a derogatory connotation in Krio, e.g. Yú dé pàn pìngpóng = (Id) 'You are neither here nor there/being treated without respect, like a ping pong ball'.

4. Worthlessness

- (a) so-ɛn-so HLH. This is a nominal in both languages, used in informal speech. In Krio, only the disparaging meaning is present, unlike in English in which it can also mean 'a certain one', e.g. Yù mén dì só-èn-só! = 'Do you really take the oaf seriously?'

(b) rifraf HL. Noun in both languages. Its only meaning in Krio, however, is: 'the rabble, persons of the lowest class of the community'. This suggests a plural denotation. Although this particular meaning is the most common in current English, singularity is also obvious in some of its other meanings: (1) 'wrangling, contention, tumult'; (2) 'of inferior quality, refuse, worthless stuff'; (3) 'odds and ends'; (4) 'rudeness in verse' (Thun pp. 92, 110, 116, 117, 154). Also, it can refer to things (concrete and abstract) in English, but only to people in Krio.

Example: ì jésdè míks wít ɔ́l káyn rífràf = 'He/she keeps mixing with the rabble'.

(c) niksnaks HL. Noun in both languages. In Krio, it means 'titbits, trifles, rubbish' (cf. Fyle & Jones p.258). In current English, the word has the same basic denotation of 'titbits, trifles', (cf. Procter, p.609: 'a small object of any type, used as an ornament for the house or clothing'.) This shows that the connotations are opposite, since the underlying Krio nuance of 'rubbish' is not compatible with English 'ornament'. But Thun lists at least four other meanings of 'knick-knack', three from the OED and one from Partridge's Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English - some of which are potentially derogatory. They are:

(i) 'an alternation of knocking sounds' (OED 1650);

(ii) 'an instrument that produces knocking sounds as the bones' (OED 1875);

(iii) 'a petty trick.....' (OED 1875);

- (iv) 'the female pudend'. (In the plural only) (18th .— 20th century) 'the human testicles' (Partridge's Dictionary) (see Thun pp.50, 63, 123, 173). Most of these meanings are apparently dated.

E.g. of Krio use: Ǻl káyn níksnàks nàim ì bríng kám nà dì ôs =  
'He/she brought all kinds of trifles/rubbishy things into the house'. This word is used informally in English but in more formal styles in Krio

5. (Intimacy/Closeness:

(a) ǺbnǺb LH. Verb in both languages and with the same basic denotation. Procter (p.536) notes that its English counterpart sometimes has a derogatory connotation, even though he defines it: 'to have a (pleasant) social relationship, as expressed in drinking together, talking and friendly behaviour', which is unmistakably complimentary. Marchand in fact maintains that 'hobnob' does not have a 'depreciative tinge' (p.438); but, since his work was published ten years earlier than Procter's, the latter's is likely to be the more reliable as far as contemporary usage goes. In Krio, however, this word has always had the connotation of rowdiness and recklessness as a result of over-drinking. The following example illustrates this:

Dì dríngè tín dón gó wít ìm pàdí dèm wé dèn Ǻl dè ǺbnǺb =

'The drunkard has gone with his rowdy and reckless drinking pals'.

(Not restricted to any one style, though usually informal).

This example also illustrates how a word in one word class in Krio can be translated into another in English:

(i.e. ɔbnɔb (verb) > 'rowdy', 'reckness' (adj.)).

## 6. 'Excellence'

(a) tiptɔp HF. English 'tip-top' is used in the informal style as an adjective and an adverb. In Krio, tiptɔp is not restricted to informal use and is only an adverb. Though it has a superficially complimentary connotation, there is usually an underlying note of disapproval. This word collocates with drɛs, always occurring after it. E.g.,  
ì drɛs típtɔp kám mít mí sé ì dè gó mákìt = 'He (but more usually) she was dressed up (overdressed for the purpose) when she came to tell me she was (only) going to market'.

## 7. Exaggeration

(a) gudigudi LHLH. In English, 'goody-goody' is used as a common noun referring to a person; in Krio it is chiefly an abstract noun, as in: ús káyn gùdígùdí dât! = 'What (kind of) sanctimoniousness (is that)!'. It is used colloquially in both languages and has the same sense and nuance. It may also be used adjectivally in Krio, as in: ì dè mék gùdígùdí = 'he/she is being sanctimonious'; and as an 'agentive' noun-cum-adjective, in nicknaming, as in: Mámí gùdígùdí (where mami is also disparaging) = 'mother', i.e. 'Miss or Mrs (young or old) sanctimonious.' For this use, the tone pattern may change to



LLHH, which is characteristic of tetra-syllabic reduplications when used for nicknaming.

8. Fullness

chɔkablɔk HLF. Adjective and used informally in both English and Krio, with the same meaning, but acrolectal in Krio, in which there is the suggestion of disorderly or random fullness, with an almost assaulting effect on the senses.

E.g. Dì ól plés jés chókàblɔk (id.) 'The whole place is/was randomly full'.

9. Pleasure

piknik HF. Noun and adjective in Krio, cf. 'picnic', noun in English. In its adjectival use in Krio there is the derogatory connotation of disgusting abundance, as in: Dís nà píkník bíf = (id.) 'This is much too much meat'.

It can also be used, in an exciting, metaphorical expression that has a calculatedly humorous and mildly disparaging nuance, to refer to a very fat person (especially woman): píkník rês = (lit.) 'picnic rice', e.g. Lúk wé dì màmí pléntì lèk píkuík rês = (id.) 'Look the woman is plenty like picnic rice' = (id.) 'She is rather large and clumsy looking'. (The propensity to create similes of this kind is extremely great in Krio).

In all this, the link with the English meaning of 'picnic' is present. When it functions as a noun, the word means the same as in English, though it is acrolectal. The more common word for a picnic in Krio is áwtín 'outing', itself an English-derived word.

10. Balance

(a) fifti-fifti HLHL. Adjective and adverb, as in English; also informal. It does not refer to chances, though, as its English counterpart does. Krio sometimes has the added suggestion of determination, defiance and the desire to retaliate<sup>or</sup> indicate the assertion of one's rights that are about to be usurped.

Examples:

(1) Ìf yù íb mí nà dó wì gò shéb ɔl tìn fíftì-fíftì =  
 = 'If you throw me out we'll share all the stuff we've both acquired fifty-fifty'. (Wife to husband in quarrel situation).

(2) Ìf yù kíp umàn, míséf gò kíp mân; fíftì-fíftì =  
 'If you start an affair with somebody else, I'll do the same; fifty-fifty!'

11. Order/Regularity

(a) wan-bay-wan HLF (1) adverb indicating position and relationship, e.g. Ùnà kám wán-bày-wân = (id.) 'Come in single file/one after the other'. (2) Adverb of manner, with derogatory connotation, e.g.

Dèn dè gó wán-bày-wán (LLH) = 'They are walking rather slowly'.

This use contrasts with English 'one by one'.

(b) bak-to-bak H-L-F (locative), L-L-F/H (adjective). Same basic meaning as English 'back(-)to(-)back', but could be uncomplimentary.

Examples:

(1) Áw, nà bák-tò-bák ùnà sîdóm? 'How, is it back-to-back you are sitting?' The suggestion here is that the people referred to may not be on speaking terms.

(2) Nà bák-tò-bák dâns dèn dè dâns = (i) 'It is back-to-back dancing they are dancing'. This may be a particular style of dancing, but not being currently fashionable, there is a tinge of disapproval or criticism here.

(c) sònde-to-sònde HL-L-HL (adverb); LL-L-HL (noun, adjective).

'Sunday-to-Sunday' may be a West Africanism because it refers to the regular taking of the anti-malarial prophylactic 'daraprim'. The following examples illustrate its meanings:

(i) (adv.) à kìn dú àm Sòndè-tò-Sòndè = 'I normally do it on Sundays'. Here it could be used as an adverbial phrase', i.e. 'Sunday to Sunday';

(ii) (adj.) à dón ték mî Sòndè-tò-Sòndè méré sín = 'I have taken my Sunday-to-Sunday medicine';

(iii) (noun) à dón ték m̀ s̀ndè-tò-s̀ndè = 'I have taken my Sunday-to-Sunday (medicine)';

(iv) (noun) Ì dón wér ìn s̀ndè-tò-s̀ndé = 'He/she has put on his/her Sunday best'. There is a slight suggestion of criticism here.

12. Summation (The examples here are, unlike the others, meliorative).

(a) Esetra-esetra LHL-LHL. Like English 'etc, etc', this word is colloquial, functions adverbially and occurs last in the sentence. The basic meaning of 'and so on' is denoted, but, whereas in English it is also used for serious purposes, in Krio usage it is almost exclusively confined to humorous circumstances or calculated to elicit at least a smile, born of admiration rather than derision, as in the example:

Dís nà Mìstà Òlù Kól, B.Á., M.Á., M.Śc., Èsétrà-Èsétrà =

'This is Mr. Olu Cole, B.A., M.A., M.Sc., etc., etc.'

Most of the time esetra-esetra in no way implies that the list has not ended.

(b) ɔl-in-ɔl H-L-F (adv.), L-L-H (noun). As an adverb, it means exactly the same thing as English 'all in all' and is also used informally, e.g., ɔl-in-ɔl wì ènjɔ̀y = 'All in all, we enjoyed ourselves'. As a noun, it refers to a person on whom one is entirely dependent or 'one's only loved one', e.g. nàmì ɔl-in-ɔl ò = 'I'm entirely dependent on him/her' or 'He/she is my only loved one'. Compounds synonymous



with this word, or expressing the idea of dependency, abound in Krio and are usually English-derived, e.g. op-ɛn- trɔs (L-L-H/F or H-L-F) ('hope and trust'); las-ɛn-las (L-L-F/H) (cf. 'last and last'); wanshilin-rɔp (LLL/F/H) (cf. 'one shilling rope'); wandɔzin (LLH) (cf. 'one dozen'). A variant of ɔl-in-ɔl is ɔl-ɛn-ɔl.

### 13. Protraction

(a) nɛvanɛva LLHH. Noun, like English 'never-never'. It has the same basic meaning, but with a slightly derogatory connotation, which suggests that the reduplicated form has not diluted the meaning of 'never', as it has in English. In the sentence: à nɔpɛ fɔ̀ràm dɔ̀n yét ò; nà nɛvànɛvá = 'I haven't finished paying for it yet; it's on the never-never', there is the implication that the speaker probably does not intend to finish paying for the item in question; . English 'never-never' in 'never-never land' also has a complimentary meaning. This usage does not exist in Krio.

### 14. Complacency

(a) ladida HLH. Cf. English 'la-di-da', adjective. In Krio, this word is an abstract noun, meaning 'easy, comfortable, thoughtless enjoyment'.

There is no suggestion of affectation, derision or stylishness as in English. It is also used informally.

E.g. Yú dé pàn làdíà (id). 'You are steeped in carefree enjoyment'.

To summarise this section, relatively few reduplications that are 'carry-overs' from English are to be found in Krio. Only fifty-eight carry-overs out of a possible 2,000 plus reduplications in English have been examined here. Many sense groups/semantic fields are represented, but, usually, only by one item. There is no apparent motivation for the choice. Usually, the denotations, in particular, are similar in both languages, but there are a few items which cover a wider range of meaning in English than in Krio. Fewer are items covering a wider range in Krio. Connotations tend to be wider in Krio and more disparaging. Note also that the idea of 'excessiveness', 'intensity' or 'superlativeness' is always present in the use of most of these words. These kinds of connotation, which have been discussed in my examination of the individual items, tend to be the unique feature of the carry-overs.

Sometimes, there are differences in word classes. In both languages, most of these words provide an informal way of expressing 'intensity' economically.

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### CREOLISED TYPES

We may first consider the relationship between simple and reduplicated forms from the point of view of word class conversion and multifunctionality. Semantic considerations are consequently inevitable. One must warn, though, that nothing like an exhaustive treatment of this phenomenon is undertaken here.

The point has been made by several scholars (including Mafeni (1971) p.104; Echteld (1962), pp.151, 169-173; Bailey (1966), Todd (1974) pp.19-20, 55; and Hancock (1977, 1980) that pidgin and creole languages use reduplication as a means of expanding their vocabulary, inter alia. Some even suggest that every word is potentially reduplicable, but this is doubtful, since many particles, for example, in Krio, are definitely not reduplicable.

Word class conversion is very common. When the simple form of most action verbs becomes reduplicated, we may get different word classes, and changing the tone pattern of the reduplication can yield further word classes or modifications to the word classes as well as semantic differences, if only subtle. (Semantic pitch differentiation, by itself, in fact, may give us different word classes<sup>\*</sup>). This is also true for reduplications made from other word classes as base. Examples from verbs as base are as follows:

- (1) kɔt F (cf. English 'cut') (verb) '1. cut, divide, cut off, separate, trim, reduce etc.; be cut. 2. circumsize; 3. run away; 4. copulate' (in this sense, it is also a noun).
- cf. kɔtkɔt HF(a) (verb) = 'cut repeatedly, indiscriminately';  
 (b)(adjective) = 'torn';
- LF (a) (verb) = 'cut indiscriminately';  
 (b) post modifying element of nicknaming construct, as in bəbəkəkɔt 'boy fond of cutting things';  
 (c) bahuvrihi noun referring to a person e.g. nəim kɔtkɔt 'it/she is his/her regular lover' (cf. 4th meaning of kɔt).

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\*see Chapter 16.

- (2) kɔba HL (cf. English 'cover). '1. conceal, protect, protect from disgrace; 2. crowd over (person or thing); 3. (of several people) shout down (person), prevent (person) from being heard or from making an effective contribution; 4. use a coverlet in bed; 5. copulate'.

This word is also a noun = 'a cover, covering'.

cf. kɔbakɔba LLHL

(a) (verb) = 'engage in act of concealing crime, disgrace, etc.'.

(b) (adjective) as in: dèn dé pàn kòbàkɔbà láyí 'they live a life of concealing crime';

(c) (adverb) as in dèn dè dú àm kòbàkɔbà 'they are treating it with unhealthy secrecy'.

HLHL (verb) 'wrap up, cover (object) well'.

As has been noted, this is a highly productive phenomenon. Other examples, like réd ~ rédred, pík ~ píkpík and álà ~ álà-álà have been treated in Chapter 11 above. More immediately come to mind, like: lây (lie) ~ lâylay, píe (play) ~ pléplé, mék (make) ~ mékmék, pàs (pass) ~ pàspàs, tôn (turn) ~ tòntôn, bên (bend) ~ bénbén.

Some examples of noun and adjective-based words are as follows:



1. kɔ̀ni LH (English 'cunning') (noun & adj.) 'cunning, cleverness; cunning, clever, full of tricks'.

cf. kɔ̀nikɔ̀ni LHLH (adjective) 'very clever at trickery';  
 attributive noun post modifying jamáma (a kind of masked devil noted for its cunning in theft) in the isolated expression jamáma kɔ̀nikɔ̀ni.

2. tru F (English 'true') (noun & adj.) 'truth; true'.

cf. trutru LF (a)(adjective) 'real';

(b) (adverb) 'truly, indeed'

HF (a) (adjective) 'very true'.

3. bita HL (English 'bitter') (adjective)

(a) 'bitter to the taste';

(b) (of woman) ugly.

cf. bitabita LLHL (noun) 'gall bladder'

HLHL (adj.) 'very bitter'.

We have seen other examples like bròkòbrókò, bàkàbàkà and bègàbègà, which are also only few of the great number of words that are thus versatile. Note also yanda HL (place locative) 'yonder'. When reduplicated to yandayanda HL<sup>↓</sup>HL, we get a euphemism for a place where secret/amorous activities take place, not necessarily far away, known to the interlocutors but not referred to by name, either because of the presence of other people or because the speaker wishes to tease his interlocutor. For example: yù dè gó yándàyándà ẽ ? may mean 'Are you going to visit your boy/girl friend?' or 'Are you going to the particular place where you indulge in a particular clandestine activity known to both of us'. Yándàyándà can also be used as a noun - a euphemistic reference to the female sex organs.

There is general agreement among scholars that this type of reduplication in pidgins and creoles helps to reduce the number of homonyms, extends the meaning of the simple form, serves to intensify the simple form, may express plurality or abundance and is used in the distributive sense (Todd 1974; Hancock, 1980). A comparison of Krio with another creole language, in this respect, is useful. Let us take Jamaican Creole. The examples given are from Bailey (1966), p.16.

She says:

In Jamaican Creole, most of the words are simply iteratives with varying meanings

e.g. waswas - 'swarm of wasps' from 'was' 'wasp';

robishrobish - 'garbage' - both items referring to the abundance of the item referred to in the simple form;

wanwan - 'a few isolate ones';  
likl-likl - 'bit by bit' } distributive

taak-taak - 'talk continuously';  
biit-biit - 'whip constantly' } repetitive, habitual action

raga-raga - 'ragged'  
mashop-mashop - 'completely wrecked'  
huoli-huoli - 'having countless holes' } emphatic attributives

The suffix -i added to verbs to form adjectives with the meaning 'having been....ed'. Such forms are also usually reduplicated, as in juki-juki, 'having pricks in many places', from juk 'prick', although the simple form juki is also heard.

Although not everything quoted here fits Krio exactly, we notice many parallels. All the ideas signified are represented in Krio, though not all the words have similar Krio forms.

e.g. robish-robish, mashop-mashop, raga-raga and huoli-huoli do not exist in Krio, but instead there are nastinastiLLHL, masmas LF, chakachaka LLHH and olol HF with similar meanings; for taaktaak cf. Krio təktək, for liklikl, Krio lilililil, for biitbiit, Krio bitbit.

We have also seen that the opposite of intensification, diminution, may be intended (p.467).

Reduplication may also be used with ideophones e.g. kɔ́ngkɔ́ng cf. 'knockknock', chɛ́pchɛ́p 'sound of walking'.

We must now note a distinction between reduplication merely to 'intensify' the meaning of a word, which is a general underlying function of the phenomenon, and reduplication to expand its meaning, if not completely change it. Here are some examples:

1. Intensification:

(a) lililili LHLH (cf. Eng. 'little') = very little;

(b) aksaks HF (cf. Eng. 'ask') = ask persistently;

(c) paspas HF (cf. Eng. 'pass') = pass frequently.

2. Expansion.

- (a) bɛnbɛn LF (cf. Eng. 'bend') = crooked;
- (b) shekshek LF (cf. Eng. 'shake') = a rattle;
- (c) wakawaka LLHL (cf. Eng. 'walk') = promiscuous.

3. Change

- (a) yandayanda HL<sup>↓</sup>HL (cf. Eng. 'yonder') = the genitals;
- (b) sopsop LF (cf. Eng. 'soap') = flatter to advance one's  
selfish ends;
- (c) brabra H<sup>↓</sup>H (cf. Eng. 'brother') = eunuch.

Finally, here are some examples of semantic fields represented as a result of reduplication:

1. Parts of the bodysimple form

-

pis F n/v 'urinate'reduplicated formbiabia LLHL (cf. Eng. 'beard') =  
'beard';pispis LF (cf. Eng. 'piss' =  
'penis (of a child)');



simple form

-

bita HL adj. 'bitter, ugly'blo F v. 'breathe'bon F n. 'bone(s)'yanda HL (loc.) 'yonder'

2.

Insectssimple formbɛt F v/n 'bite'

-

-

reduplicated formgɔlɔgɔlɔ LLHH (cf. Eng. 'gullet')  
= 'gullet';bita-bitā LLHL (cf. Eng. 'bitter') =  
'gall bladder';bloblo LF (cf. Eng. 'blow') =  
'breath';bonbon LF (cf. Eng. 'bone') =  
'skeleton';yandayanda HLHL (cf. Eng. 'yonder')  
= 'the genitals'.reduplicated formbɛtbɛt HF (cf. Eng. 'bite') =  
'a biting insect';waswas LF (cf. Eng. 'wasp') = 'wasp  
(s)'bɔgbɔg LF (cf. Eng. 'bug') =  
white ant, termite'.

3.

Sexual Relations(a) copulationsimple form

-

kɔt F n/v (means 'copulate',  
'copulation', in one of its  
uses)

kech F v 'catch'

(b) impotence

ɔnkul LH n. 'uncle'

biol LH int. 'behold'

bra H n. 'brother'

(c) promiscuity

jomp F v. 'jump'

waka HL v. 'walk'

pas F v. 'pass'

reduplicated form

jɛkjɛk LH (cf. Eng. 'jerk') =  
= 'copulate'

kɔtkɔt LF (cf. Eng. 'cut') =  
'occasional lover';

kechkech LF (cf. Eng. 'catch') =  
'occasional lover, one night stand'.

ɔnkulɔnkul LH<sup>↓</sup>LH (cf. Eng. 'uncle')

biolbiol LH<sup>↓</sup>LH (cf. 'behold')

brabra H<sup>↓</sup>H (cf. 'brother')

The meaning of the above three  
examples is 'impotent man'.

jompjomp LF

wakawaka LLHL

paspas LF

} promiscuous

4. Rough/vigorous activitysimple formala HL v. 'shout'jomp F v 'jump'kɔs F v 'abuse'reduplicated formala-ala LLHL (cf. 'holler') =  
quarrel;jompjomp LF (cf. 'jump') =  
agile, agility;kɔskɔs LF (cf. 'curse') =  
quarrel;katakata LLHH (cf. 'scatter') =  
confusion.5. Foodbɔn F v/adj. 'burn(t)'cham F v 'chew'sawa F adj./ 'sour' n.  
'sorrel'chaf F n. 'chaff'bɔnbɔn LF (cf. 'burn') = (noun)  
charred food at bottom of cooking  
pot;chamcham LF (cf. 'champ') =  
snack;sawasawa LLHL (cf. 'sour') =  
'sorrel';chafchaf LF (cf. 'chaff') =  
the chaff of food;

simple formpik F v. 'pick'rop F n. 'rope'swɛl F v, adj. 'swell, swollen'reduplicated formpikpik LF (cf. 'pick') = snack,  
bits of food;roprop LF (cf. 'rope') = 'stringy,  
juicy mango';swɛlswɛl LF (cf. 'swell') = 'variety  
of rice which increases in size  
when cooked'.

6.

Duplicitysimple formtɔn F v 'turn'kɔba HL v/n 'cover'kɔzin LH n 'cousin'oli HL adj. 'holy'reduplicated formtɔntɔn LF (cf. 'turn') = 'deliberate  
delay for evil purposes';kɔbakɔba LLHL (cf. 'cover') =  
'secrecy, surreptitiousness';kɔzinkɔzin LLHH (cf. 'cousin')  
'clandestine lover pretending  
to be cousin';olioli LLHH (cf. 'holy')  
'sanctimonious'.



This particular field has a very long list of members, since yet another important function of reduplication seems to be to express the connotation of dishonesty, duplicity.

I have in no way mentioned all the fields in which creolised reduplications are found. But these are some of the most important.



- (iii) Eng: 'corner' > (1) kɔna HL - (a)noun = (2) kɔna LH - noun =  
 'corner', (b)verb = 'secret lover'  
 'put in a tight spot' (short for  
 (c) adverb = 'in the kɔnàkɔná, see  
 corner', 'very near' 'Reduplications';
- (iv) " 'sorrow' > (1) sɔro HL - (a) abstract (2) sɔro LH - common  
 noun = 'sorrow' noun = 'sorrowful  
 looking person';
- (v) " 'baby' > (1) bebi HL - common noun' (2) bebi LH - common  
 = 'girl friend', 'at- noun = (a)'a  
 tractive young woman' newly born baby',  
 (b) 'the pupil of  
 the eye', (c) 'doll',  
 (d) in negative  
 constructions - nɔ̀tò  
bèbí = 'not a little',  
 (e) female name;
- (vi) " 'coral' > (1) kɔral HL - common noun (2) kɔral LH - common  
 = 'coral, imitation noun = derogatory  
 coral' term for Indian,  
 Syrian or Lebanese;
- (vii) " 'story' > (1) stori HL - noun/verb = (2) stori LH - noun =  
 'a lie', 'tell lies' 'a story';
- (viii) " 'loving' > (1) lɔvin HL - adjective = (2) lɔvin LL - first  
 'loving' element of com-  
 pound noun, e.g.  
lɔvin-bɔy LL-H  
 (loving boy) =  
 'male sweetheart',

lɔvin bɔmp LLF

('loving bump') =

'wart on the cheek'

(3) lɔvin LH - noun = 'person who is dear to one';

- (ix) Eng: 'ugly' > (1) ɔgli HL (acrolectal) (2) ɔgli LH - noun =  
adjective = 'ugly' 'an ugly person';
- (x) " 'uncle' > (1) ɔnkul HL (familiar/  
humorous) - term of (2) ɔnkul LH = 'uncle';  
address to male adult
- (xi) " 'Thomas' > (1) Tɔmɔs HL (surname) = (2) Tɔmɔs LH (first  
'Thomas' name) = 'Thomas';
- (xii) " 'must' > (1) mɔs F - auxiliary of (2) mɔs L -  
determination, e.g. (a) auxiliary of  
à m'ɔs bít àm = 'I'm 'obligation', e.g.  
determined to beat him' à m'ɔs tɛl àm = 'I  
ought to tell him';  
(b) auxiliary of  
'politeness', e.g.  
m'ɔs kám yà =  
'Please come'  
(c) auxiliary of  
'defiance', e.g.  
yú m'ɔs kám = 'I  
defy/dare you to  
come';
- (xiii) " 'Sunday' > (1) Sɔnde HL - proper (2) sɔnde LH - common  
noun = 'Sunday' noun = 'One's  
Sunday best(clothes)';



16.1.2 Change of Form Without Change of Pitch/Tone

Many more instances of this kind of multiple derivation have been discovered. The following are some of the observations that may be made about them:

(a) In most cases, doublets occur, as will be seen below.

In a few cases, however, triplets occur, e.g.:

EnglishKrio

- (1) blind (adj./v) >
- (a) oldest: blɛn F (i) verb, as in:  
nɔ́ blɛ́n mɪ̀ = 'don't dazzle me',  
(ii) adjective, as in: yù blɛ́n =  
'you are blind';
- (b) more recent: blayn F (i) adjective (acrolectal), as in: nà bláyn bégà  
= 'he's a blind beggar';
- (c) most recent: blaynd F verb = (in soccer)  
'to kick a ball hard against  
a player', as in: à bláynd àm  
wít dɪ̀ bɔ́l = 'I kicked the ball  
hard against him'.
- (2) just (adv) >
- (a) oldest: jɪs F (i) adverb = 'just',  
'only just', e.g. à jís kám =  
'I've only just come';
- (b) more recent: jɛs F (i) adverb = jɪs  
(ii) adverb = 'as soon as',  
e.g. jís às à rích dè ì bás

EnglishKrio

pàn wí = 'as soon as I arrived  
he appeared too',

(iii) noun - first element of  
the compound jɛskam LH = 'a  
new-comer';

(c) most recent: jɔs H acrolectal variant of jis  
and jɛs in both adverbial uses.

Of the three forms, jis is the  
most restricted in usage, tending to occur only  
with the verbs of motion kam and go. Unlike  
jɔs, however, jis and jɛs may be compounded  
with nɔ to give the variant forms jisnɔ and  
jɛsnɔ, which, with the HL tone pattern, are  
adverbials, meaning: 'just now', 'a short time  
ago'; and with the HH tone pattern, are conjunc-  
tions, meaning: 'lest', 'for fear that'.

(3) strong (adj.) > (a) oldest:

tranga HL (1) adjective = 'hard',  
'difficult', 'durable', 'sturdy',  
'strong', (of a person's features)  
'not smooth or delicate', 'matured';

(b) more recent:

trɔng F (1) adjective = all the  
meanings of tranga apply, but  
with attenuated force, since tranga  
tends to have superlative conno-  
tations. Some collocations are  
only idiomatically possible with  
trɔng, however, e.g.:

(a) à wánt trɔng kòknát = 'I want

a matured coconut',

(b) ĩ fút dón tróng nà grôn =

'his feet are now strong enough  
to support him';

(c) most recent: stróng F (i) adjective = 'powerful',

'concentrated', 'highly connected,  
well provided for', (of drink)

'alcoholic', hence (ii) noun =  
'(a)strong drink(s)',

Examples: (i) as an adjective:

títí yù stróng = 'girl, you are  
highly connected/well provided

for'; (ii) as a noun: yù gét éni

stróng dé? = 'have you any strong  
drinks there?'

(4) stand up (v) > (a) oldest:

tanap HF (i) verb = 'to confront',

archaic and 'superlative' variant

of tinap, e.g. ĩ tánáp pàn àm fò

ĩ m̀nì = 'he confronted him for

his money';

(b) more recent: tim/nap LF (i) verb = 'to stand

(up)', e.g. tìnáp yándà = 'stand

over there'.

(b) Reduplicated forms may be made from simple forms, yielding  
doublets, e.g.:

(1) 'corner' > kəna HL/IH (corner, clandestine lover) >

- kɔnakɔna LLHH (clandestine lover);
- (2) 'blow' > blo F (breathe) > bloblo LF (breath);
- (3) 'piss' > pis F (urine, urinate) > pispis LF (child's penis);

or triplets, e.g.:

- (1) 'thief' > tif F (steal, thief) > tiftif LF (steal persistently), tifitifi LLHL (a habitual thief);
- (2) 'pinch' > pinch F (pinch) > pinchpinch LF (habitually nibble), pinchipinchi LLHL (person who habitually nibbles or pinches);
- (3) 'catch' > kach F (get, experience), kech F (catch, seize, acquire) > kechkech LF (occasional lover). (See 'Reduplications' for more examples).

We now concentrate on doublets. Anttila (1972, p.102)

claims that:

when changes leave behind old forms without ousting them completely, there is a universal tendency for the innovating form to carry the primary semantic function of the old linguistic sign. The old form is pushed aside for some peripheral or secondary meaning.

In Krio, the example of liba HL and liva HL < 'liver' may be cited in support of this assertion - the former and older form now being used to mean 'audacity' (the liver supposedly being the seat of the emotions) and the latter to refer to the liver of a human being or an animal. More examples of this pattern are noted below.

However, other examples show that an older form may not always be relegated to a peripheral meaning. Examples are:

- (1) 'house' gives the old <sup>form</sup> os F and the more recent form



aws F. The older form refers to house in the primary sense of 'domicile', while the more recent aws, when not used to form compounds like awsboy LF (houseboy), awskipa LHL (housekeeper), refers to: (a) 'a division of the school, especially for sports competitions', or (b) 'the Sierra Leone House of Parliament';

- (2) 'bread' gives the old form: bred F and the more recent form brɛd F. Although brɛd is used in some acrolectal idiolects to refer to 'bread (made of flour)', increasingly, its reference to 'money' (daily bread) - cf British and American slang usage - is becoming widespread, while bred remains 'bread (made of flour)'.
- (3) 'grind' gives the old form: gren F and the more recent form grayn F. The older form retains the basic meaning 'to grind' while the more recent grayn is a colloquialism for 'to eat'.

Other characteristic doublets demonstrate are as follows:

- (1) The later form may take derivational affixes, e.g.:

- (a) 'head' > earlier form: ed F, later form: ɛd F ~  
ɛdin HL = 'heading';
- (b) 'help' > " " ɛp F, " " ɛlp F ~  
ɛlpin HL = 'helping',  
ɛlpa HL = 'helper';

- (c) 'self' > earlier form: sɛf F, later form: sɛlf F ~  
sɛlfish HL =  
'selfish';
- (d) 'work' > " " wok F, " " wɔk F ~  
wɔkin HL =  
'working',  
wɔka HL = 'worker';
- (e) 'drive' > " " drɛb F, " " drayv F ~  
drayva HL =  
'driver',  
drayvin HL =  
'driving'.

(2) The later form tends to be more amenable to compounding.

Some earlier forms do become elements of compounds, (the other element of which is also an earlier form) but later forms, because of increasing decreolisation, are coming into Krio with more and more compounds that are possible with them as first or, less commonly, second elements. Examples are as follows:

- (a) 'bed' > earlier form: bed F > compound forms:  
(i) bedshit LF = 'bedsheet',  
(ii.) bedspring LF =  
'bedsprings';
- later form: bɛd F > compound forms:  
(i) bɛdpan LF = 'bed pan',

- (ii) bɛdrum LF = 'bedroom',
- (iii) bɛdshit LF = 'bedsheet',
- (iv) bɛdsɔ LF = 'bed sores',
- (v) bɛdsprɛd LF = 'bed spread',
- (vi) bɛdspring LF = 'bedsprings'.

(b) 'head' > earlier form: ed F > compound forms:

- (i) edat LF (head hurt) =  
'headache',
- (ii) edbon LF (head bone) =  
'the skull',
- (iii) edman LH = 'head man';

later form: ɛd F > compound forms:

- (i) ɛdban LF = 'head band',
- (ii) ɛdboy HF = 'head boy',
- (iii) ɛdbɔl HF = 'head ball',
- (iv) ɛd-drɛs LF = 'head dress',
- (v) ɛdek LF = 'headache',
- (vi) ɛdkwata HHL = 'head-  
quarters',
- (vii) ɛdlayn HF = 'headline',
- (viii) ɛdlayt HF = 'headlights',
- (ix) ɛdmasta HHL = 'headmaster',
- (x) ɛdmistrɛs HHL = 'head-  
mistress'.

(c) 'egg' > earlier form: eg F > compound form > ∅;

later form: ɛg F > compound forms >

- (i) ɛgbita HHL = 'egg-beater',

(ii) egshɛl LH = 'egg shell';

(d) 'tooth/teeth' > earlier form: tit F > compound forms:>

titat LF = 'tooth-  
ache';

later form: tuth F > compound forms:

(i) tuthbrɔsh =  
'toothbrush',

(ii) tuthek LF =  
'toothache',

(iii) tuthpest LF =  
'toothpaste',

(iv) tuthpik LF =  
'toothpick'.

(e) 'shop' > earlier form: shap F compound form > ∅

later form: shɔp F compounds forms:>

(i) shɔpbɔy LF =  
'shop boy',

(ii) shɔpkipa LHL =  
'shopkeeper',

(iii) shɔpmasta LHL =  
'shopmaster',

(iv) shɔplist LF =  
'shoplist'.

(3) Some doublets only differ in collocational possibilities, e.g.

(a) 'hard' > earlier form: at F, later form: ad F = 'hard'



at cannot be used instead of ad in the following collocations:

- (i) ád dè = 'hard day',
- (ii) ád kyàsh = 'hard cash',
- (iii) ád làyf = 'hard life',
- (iv) ád làyns = 'hard lines',
- (v) ád lébò = 'hard labour',
- (vi) ád lùk = 'hard luck',
- (vii) ád màn = 'hard(difficult)man(to deal with)',
- (viii) ád tàyms = 'hard times'.

(b) 'eye' > earlier form: yay F, later form: ay F = 'eye'.

The following collocations with yay would be unidiomatic with ay:

- (i) yáy dè dâns (eye is dancing) = 'eye twitches' - a sign that a person is shortly to receive a message,
- (ii) yáy dé dḡḡ (eye is down) = 'person is humble',
- (iii) yáy dé nà trît (eye is in the street) = 'person is unsatisfied with home and finds the streets attractive',
- (iv) yáy dón ópìn (eye has opened) = 'person has become worldlywise',
- (v) yáy kám dḡḡ (eye has come down) =
  - (a) 'sick person is looking better',
  - (b) 'wayward person is now behaving normally'.

Similarly, the following collocations with ay would be unidiomatic with yay:

- (i) áy dròps = 'eye drops',
- (ii) áy lóshòn = 'eye lotion',
- (iii) áy ópínà = 'eye opener',
- (iv) áy òf pítì = 'eye of pity',
- (v) áy wítnèts = 'eye witness'.

(c) 'let' > earlier form: lɛ H, later form lɛt F = 'let'.

The following collocations with lɛ would be unidiomatic with lɛt:

- (i) lɛ à sî = 'let me see',
- (ii) lɛ Gód nó grì (let God not agree) = 'may God forbid!',
- (iii) lɛ ì nó bì (let it not be) = 'may it not happen!',
- (iv) lɛ wì sé (let us say) = 'let us suppose',
- (v) lɛ wì tɔk (let us talk) = 'let's have a chat'.

The following collocations with lɛt would be unidiomatic with lɛ:

- (i) lɛt áwt síkrìt = 'let out a secret',
- (ii) lɛt áwt (let out) = 'make dress larger by letting it out at the seams',
- (iii) lɛt dawn (let down) = (a) 'let down, lower hem(of dress, to make it longer)' (b) 'disappoint',
- (iv) lɛt lus (let loose) = 'become wayward',

- (v) lét ós prè (let us pray) = (a) exhortation to prayer,  
 (b) (humorous) comment on the profusion of obscene language.

(d) 'night' > earlier form: nét F, later form: nayt F = 'night'. The following collocations with nét would be unidiomatic with nayt:

- (i) nét big (the night is big) = 'amazing things happen at night',  
 (ii) nét bəd (night bird) = 'the owl',  
 (iii) nét chöch (night church) = 'night (church) service',  
 (iv) nét wək (night work) = 'work done only at night',  
 (v) nét tēm (night time) = 'the night', 'in the night'.

The following collocations with nayt would be unidiomatic with nét:

- (i) náytl awl (night owl) = 'person who regularly stays out at night for social purposes',  
 (ii) náytl fūd (night food) = 'sexual intercourse',  
 (iii) náytl láyf = 'night life',  
 (iv) náytl sávís = 'night(church)service',  
 (v) náytl sóyl mán = 'night soil man'.

(e) 'soft'

earlier form: saf F, later form: sɔft F =  
'soft'. The following collocations with  
saf would be unidiomatic with sɔft:

- (i) sàf ât (soft heart) = 'tenderness of  
heart', 'tender-hearted',  
(ii) sáf rês (soft rice) = 'rice cooked in  
too much water',  
(iii) sáf bêd (soft bed) = 'cosy, comfortable  
bed',  
(iv) sáf grôn = 'soft ground',  
(v) sàf yây = (soft eye) = 'tenderness of  
heart', 'tender-hearted'.

The following collocations with sɔft  
would be unidiomatic with saf:

- (i) sɔft ánsà (soft answer) = 'a polite reply',  
(ii) sɔft drìnk = 'soft drink(s)',  
(iii) sɔft kólà = 'soft colour(s)',  
(iv) sɔft myúzìk = 'soft music',  
(v) sɔft spòt = 'soft spot'.

(4) Some doublets only differ lectally or stylistically.

Here are examples:

<u>Krio</u>	<u>English cognate</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
(a) (ef*) <u>aks</u> F (basilectal), (lf*) <u>ask</u> F (mesolectal/ acrolectal)	ask	ask

\* ef = earlier form, lf = later form



<u>Krio</u>	<u>English cognate</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
(b) (ef) <u>as</u> F (basilectal)		
(lf) <u>ɔsh</u> F (mesolectal/ acrolectal)	hush	expression of sympathy
(c) (ef) <u>almatan</u> LLF (basilectal)		
(lf) <u>amatan</u> LLF (mesolectal/ acrolectal)	harmattan	harmattan
(d) (ef) <u>amaka</u> LHL (basilectal)		
(lf) <u>amɔk</u> LF (mesolectal/ acrolectal)	hammock	hammock
(e) (ef) <u>adu</u> LH (basilectal/ mesolectal)		
(lf) <u>awdu</u> LH (acrolectal)	how do	how do
(f) (ef) <u>bɛlt</u> F (basilectal)		
(lf) <u>bɛlch</u> F (mesolectal/ acrolectal)	belch	belch
(g) (ef) <u>branɔ</u> LH (basilectal/ informal)		
(lf) <u>brɔdɛnɔ</u> LHL (mesolectal/ formal)	brother-in-law	brother-in-law
(h) (ef) <u>chɔstik</u> LF (basilectal/ mesolectal)		
(lf) <u>chuinstik</u> LLF (acrolectal)	chewing-stick	chewing-stick

<u>Krio</u>	<u>English cognate</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
(i) (ef) <u>chupit</u> HL (basilectal/ stylistically superla- tive)		
(lf) <u>styupid</u> HL (mesolectal/ acrolectal)	stupid	stupid
(j) (ef) <u>blif</u> F (slang)		
(lf) <u>blɔf</u> F (colloquial)	bluff	bluff
(k) (ef) <u>lɛk</u> F (colloquial)		
(lf) <u>layk</u> F (affected)	like	like
(l) (ef) <u>lɪlɪ</u> HL (colloquial)		
(lf) <u>litul</u> HL (affected)	little	little
(m) (ef) <u>pamayn</u> LF (colloquial)		
(lf) <u>pamɔyl</u> LF (affected)	palm oil	palm oil
(n) (ef) <u>natay</u> LF (basilectal/ mesolectal)		
(lf) <u>nɔtɔyl</u> LF (acrolectal)	nut oil	nut oil
(o) (ef) <u>tikit</u> HL (basilectal)		
(lf) <u>tikɛt</u> HL (mesolectal/ acrolectal)	ticket	ticket

(5) Some doublets merely distinguish between archaic forms and current ones or show dialectal differences.

Here are examples:

<u>Krio</u>	<u>English cognate</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
(a) (ef) <u>bɛrɛɛful</u> LLF (archaic)		
(lf) <u>bɛɪful</u> LF (current)	bellyful	filled, well-fed

<u>Krio</u>	<u>English cognate</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
(b) (ef) <u>asis</u> HL (archaic)		
(lf) <u>ashis</u> HL (current)	ashes	ashes
(c) (ef) <u>bikful</u> LF (archaic)		
(lf) <u>bigful</u> LF (current)	big fool	stupid/foolish
(d) (ef) <u>bus</u> F (archaic)		
(lf) <u>bush</u> F (current)	bush	bush
(e) (ef) <u>dayf</u> F (archaic)		
(lf) <u>dayv</u> F (current)	dive	dive
(f) (ef) <u>distaj</u> LF (archaic)		
(lf) <u>dischaj</u> LF (current)	discharge	discharge
(g) (ef) <u>fis</u> F (archaic)		
(lf) <u>fish</u> F (current)	fish	fish
(h) (ef) <u>gwata</u> HL (village dialects)		
(lf) <u>gota</u> HL (Freetown dialects)	gutter	gutter
(i) (ef) <u>ɛf</u> L (archaic)		
(lf) <u>if</u> L (current)	if	if
(j) (ef) <u>kasara</u> IHL (Fourah Bay dialect)		
(lf) <u>kasada</u> IHL (other dialects)	cassava	cassava
(k) (ef) <u>pun</u> F (archaic)		
(lf) <u>spun</u> F (current)	spoon	spoon
(l) (ef) <u>shem</u> F (archaic/ provincial)		
(lf) <u>sem</u> F (current)	same	same

<u>Krio</u>	<u>English cognate</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
(m) (ef) <u>snek</u> F (archaic)		
(lf) <u>snek</u> F (current)	snake	snake

(6) Some doublets are essentially distinguishable by the different word classes they function in. Here are examples:

(a) 'bastard' > earlier form: basta HL (adjective) = 'bastard',

'more than the usual amount, degree or kind of', as in:

(i) nɔ mɛn di bástà dɔg =

'don't mind the bastard dog'

(applied to a person),

(ii) à dè gó slíp sòm

bástà slíp = 'I'm going

to sleep for very long',

later form: bastad HL (noun) = 'bastard',

as in: nɔ mɛn di bastad =

'don't mind the bastard';

(b) 'best' > earlier form: bɛs F (i) (verb) 'act as best

man or groomsman at a

wedding', as in: nà ím dè

bɛs ím brɔ̀dà = 'he'll be

bestman to his brother',

(ii) (adjective) 'best',

as in: nà dì bɛs tɪn =

'it's the best thing',



- later form: bɛst F (i) (adjective) 'best',  
 as in: nà dɪ bɛst ɔs = 'it's  
 the best house', (ii)(noun) 'the  
 best', 'one's best', as in:  
à dè dú mɪ bɛst = 'I'm doing my  
 best', (iii) (adverb) 'well',  
 as in: à ít àm bɛst = 'I enjoyed  
 it very much';
- (c) 'knife' > earlier form: nɛf F (noun), 'a knife', as in:  
gí mí nɛf = 'give me a knife',  
 later form: nayf F (i) (noun) (acrolectal),  
 'a knife', (ii) (verb) 'to knife',  
 as in: ì náyf àm = 'he knifed him';
- (d) 'against' > earlier form: gens F (verb) 'to cause a surfeit',  
 as in: ì gɛns mɪ = 'I've had  
 too much of it',  
 later form: àgɛns/ɛgɛns (preposition) 'against',  
 as in: ì dé àgɛns mɪ = 'he's  
 against me';
- (e) 'cost' > earlier form: kɔs F (verb) 'to cost', as in:  
ì kɔs mí tɛn sɛnt = 'it cost  
 me ten cents',  
 later form: kɔst F (noun) 'the cost', as in:  
nà dɪ kɔst dət = 'that's the cost';

(f) 'hump' > earlier form: ɔm F (verb) 'to hump', as in:  
ì ɔm ìm bâk = 'he humps his back',  
 later form: ɔmp F (noun) 'a hump' as in:  
dì kámél ìn ɔmp = 'the camel's  
 hump';

(g) 'down' > earlier form: dɔŋ (adverb) 'down', as in:  
ì dé dɔŋ = 'he is downstairs',  
 later form: dawn (verb)(i) 'to gulp down',  
 as in: à dawn dì búz = 'I  
 gulped down the booze',  
 (ii) 'to put down', as in:  
dèn dawn dì ínjin = 'they  
 put down the engine';

(h) 'force' > earlier form: fɔs F (verb) 'to force', as in:  
ì fɔs mɪ = 'he forced me',  
 later form: fɔs F (noun) 'physical force',  
 as in: ì yúz fɔs = 'he used  
 force'.

(7) Some doublets undergo semantic differentiation.

These form the largest subcategory. A basic meaning is implicit in both forms, but each form refers to a different aspect of the concept. Here are examples:

(a) 'bag' > earlier form: bayg F (noun) = 'old ragged sack', 'clothes that are dirty, ragged, ill-fitting',

later form: bag F (i) (noun) = 'a bag or sack', 'a paper container',  
 (ii) (noun) = 'a measure of grain or vegetables in a sack',  
 (iii) (verb) = 'to deceive';

(b) 'bladder' > earlier form: blēda HL (noun) = 'a football bladder', 'any membrane that can be inflated like a balloon',

later form: blada HL (noun) = 'the human or animal bladder' - a humorous synonym for the human bladder is pīsbâg (pissbag);

(c) 'breakfast' > earlier form: brēkfōs LF (noun) = (i) 'first meal of the day', (ii) (especially for menial workers) 'the luncheon meal', 'lunch break',

later form: brēkfas LF (noun) = 'breakfast';

(d) 'breast-pocket' > earlier form: brēspō LH (noun) = 'handkerchief in breast pocket of coat',

later form: brēspōkit LHL (noun) = 'the breast pocket of a coat';

(e) 'dollar' > earlier form: dala HL (noun) = 'money' (slang),

later form: dōla HL (noun) = 'the dollar',  
 'wealth';

- (f) 'drive' > earlier form: drɛb F (verb) = 'to drive somebody or something away',  
 later form: drayv F (i) (verb) 'to drive a car', (ii) (noun) 'a drive';
- (g) 'heavy' > earlier form: ebi HL (adjective)(i) 'weighty', 'slow to move', (ii) 'very important', 'serious' (of a matter), as in: dís kés wé yù gí mí fò jùj ébì = 'this matter you've asked me to resolve is serious', (iii) 'very expensive/showy' (of articles of dress),  
 later form: ɛvi HL (adjective) = (i) 'heavy' (acrolectal), (ii) 'great' (of music or social gathering), 'attractive' (of a young girl), (iii) 'near expected date of delivery' (of a pregnant woman);
- (h) 'help' > earlier form: ɛp F (verb) = (i) 'to help' (ii) 'to help raise to the head', 'to raise to the head', (iii) 'to die' (K.E.D.p.94).  
 This meaning looks like a case of divergence, which is discussed below.  
 later form: ɛlp F (verb, noun) 'to help', 'help';



- (i) 'head' > earlier form: ed F (noun) = (i) 'the head of a human being or animal',  
(ii) 'the brain of a human being',  
(iii) 'the top or topmost part of anything', (iv) 'the mind',  
(v) 'cleverness', 'wisdom',  
later form: ɛd F (i) (noun) = 'leader',  
'chief', 'one who sets the pace/gives orders',  
(ii) (verb) = (a) to lead or be in charge of', (b) 'to strike(a ball)with the head';
- (j) 'fork' > earlier form: fak F (noun) = 'forked stick with rubber band, used as a catapult',  
later form: fɔk F (noun) = 'fork for eating';
- (k) 'fast' > earlier form: fas F (adjective) =  
(i) (of movement, activity) 'fast', 'quick', (ii) (of timepiece) 'showing a later time than is correct', (iii) 'firm', 'steady',  
later form: fast F (adjective) (i) precociously versatile',  
(ii) 'expert in getting one's way with the opposite sex';

- (l) 'find' > earlier form: fɛn F (verb) = (i) 'to look for',  
'to find', (ii) 'to visit' - a  
case of divergence - (iii) 'to  
invite' (a quarrel), 'to try,  
to acquire' (wealth),  
later form: faynd F (verb) = 'to consider,  
think, or come to a conclusion  
about', e.g.: à fáynd dí's búk  
fɔ̀nɪ̀ = 'I find this book funny';
- (m) 'fight' > earlier form: fɛt F (noun, verb) 'a fight,  
struggle', 'to fight, struggle',  
later form: fayt F (noun) 'a boxing match';
- (n) 'carry' > earlier form: kɛr F (verb) = 'to take some-  
thing/somebody to',  
later form: kari HL (verb) = 'to travel far'  
(of sound), e.g.: yù vɔ̀ys dè kári  
= 'your voice travels far'.
- (o) 'court' > earlier form: kot F (noun) 'a court of law',  
e.g.: dèn kɛr àm gó kót = 'they  
took him to court',  
later form: kɔ̀t F (noun)(i) 'a court  
building/division', e.g.:  
à dé nà Kót Nɔ̀mbá Wân = 'I'm  
in Court No. 1'; (ii) 'a  
tennis court';

- (p) 'lime' > earlier form: lem F (noun) = 'the lime fruit or tree',  
 later form: laym F (noun) = 'lime cordial drink';
- (q) 'mat' > earlier form: mata HL (noun) = 'mat for spreading on the floor',  
 (especially of locally grown raffia or cane),  
 later form: mat F (noun) = 'door mat or table mat';
- (r) 'nobody' > earlier form: nɔbɔdi HLH (pronoun) = 'nobody',  
 'no-one',  
 later form: nɔbɔdi HLH (noun) = 'an inconsequential person';
- (s) 'spit' > earlier form: pit F (noun, verb) = 'spittle',  
 'to spit',  
 later form: spit F (i) acrolectal variant of pit, (ii) (noun) = 'child who looks very much like his/her father/mother';
- (t) 'street' > earlier form: trit F (noun) = 'any street or road',  
 later form: strit F (noun) = (i) acrolectal variant of trit,  
 (ii) part of the name of a street',  
 e.g. Kɪsɪ Strɪt = 'Kissy Street';

(u) 'stop' > earlier form: tap F (verb) = (i) 'to leave off, desist from' (ii) 'to reside',

later form: stop F (i) (verb) = acrolectal variant of tap,  
 (ii) (noun) = (a) 'a stop or ending', (b) 'a halt', (e.g. bus stop);

(v) 'white' > earlier form: wet F (adjective) = 'white', 'whitish', 'faded',

later form: wayt F (adjective) = 'white'.

### (8) Divergence

In a few instances, one of the doublets has undergone such a radical semantic change that genuine divergence has resulted, e.g. ɛp above (see also Anttila, *ibid*, who notes that 'when a paradigm splits into two there is a possibility that functions which earlier shared a form can become independent signs', and gives 'shade/shadow' as an example. More examples from Krio are as follows:

(a) 'business' > earlier form: bisin HL (verb) = 'to care, be concerned about', e.g.:  
à bisin bɔt mi wɔk = 'I care about my work',



- 'business' > later form: biznɛs HL (noun) = (i) 'a business concern', (ii) 'one's affair', e.g.: dát nà mǐ bízɲɛs = 'that's my affair',  
 (iii) 'a big celebration'  
 e.g. wǐ gét bízɲɛs = 'we have a big celebration';
- (b) 'both' > earlier form: bof F (noun/verb) = 'to play for both sides in a game where there is an odd number of players', 'the odd player in such a game',  
 later form: bot F (verb) = 'to gang up against', 'to beat by such a means';
- (c) 'drop' > earlier form: drap F (verb) = 'to arrive (unexpectedly)'  
 later form: drɔp F (noun/verb) = (i) a drop of something, (ii) 'to drop by accident or design', 'to drop somebody off a vehicle',  
 (iii) 'to fail an examination';
- (d) 'jump' > earlier form: jomp F (verb) = 'to jump'  
 later form: jump F (noun) = 'an afternoon dance';



are clear cases of polysemy or homophony since items that look like simple cases of homophony may in fact historically be polysemous. Several examples of such items have been noted. Here are some:

- (a) 'board' ↷ (i) 'piece of wood' > Krio: bod F,  
(ii) 'a committee' > " : bɔd F.
- (b) 'break' ↷ (i) 'to (cause to) separate into parts  
suddenly or violently' > Krio : brok F,  
(ii) 'a pause for rest' > " : brɛk F.
- (c) 'company' ↷ (i) 'companionship' > Krio : kɔmpin HL,  
(ii) 'a business concern' > " : kɔmpni HL.
- (d) 'kind' ↷ (i) 'type' > Krio : kayn F,  
(ii) 'benign' > " : kaynd F.
- (e) 'lift' ↷ (i) 'raise' > Krio : lif F,  
(ii) 'an elevator', 'a free  
ride in a vehicle' > " : lift F.
- (f) 'mind' ↷ (i) 'to care for' > Krio : mɛn F,  
(ii) 'the mental faculty' > " : maynd F.
- (g) 'post' ↷ (i) 'an upright pole' > Krio : pos F,  
(ii) 'a position', 'the mail' > " : post F.

- (h) 'scratch' ~ (i) 'to scratch' > Krio : krach F,  
(ii) 'an acceptable standard',  
as in: 'up to scratch' > " : skrach F.
- (i) 'stick' ~ (i) 'a piece of stick' > Krio : tik F,  
(ii) 'to fix' > " : stik F.
- (j) 'side' ~ (i) 'a part, place or division' > Krio : say F,  
(ii) 'the human side' (part of  
the body) > " : sayd F.
- (k) 'favour' ~ (i) 'resemble' > Krio : fiba HL,  
(ii) 'encouragement',  
'generous treatment' > " : fevə HL.
- (l) 'watch' ~ (i) 'a time piece' > Krio : wəch F,  
(ii) 'to watch' > " : wach F.

## 16.2 Folk Etymology

Allsopp's 'Phonological Shift in Transmission' (1980, p.98) seems an appealing alternative to 'Folk Etymology', since it accurately describes what happened in the early stages of the development of Krio. However, if we consider an example like aligeta-pepə LLHL-HL = 'maleguetta pepper', we would see that something more than a mere phonological shift seems to have taken place. Fyle and Jones (op.cit. p.10) give the item as a case of conflation between 'maleguetta' and 'alligator'. 'Alligator' was probably the more familiar word, and also apparently



seemed quite logical. As Rotimi puts it (op.cit., p.296) this folk etymologising has created in aligeta-pɛpɛ 'a new image of gustatory virulence analogised with that reptile'.

The item: dɛfinishɔn LHHL = 'defamation' .- as in the phrase: dɛfiníshɔn òf káráktà = 'defamation of character', is an instance of what Allsopp (ibid, p.95) would call 'misascription', i.e. 'the ascribing of the wrong sense...to a word...of the target language...and the...adoption of such sense...in...mesolectal levels' of the creole language. Again, here, dɛfinishɔn apparently used to be more familiar than the incoming dɪfáméshɔn.

Other examples of folk etymology that may be genuine instances of phonological shift in transcription to a more familiar word are:

- (a) bɛlt F, cf 'belch' = 'belch' (see p.505 above), - 'bɛlt' 'belt' was apparently more familiar;
- (b) fiks F, cf 'fits' = 'periods of sudden loss of consciousness'. No decreolised alternative exists. fiks < 'fix' was apparently more familiar;
- (c) fɔlfes LF, cf 'false face' = 'a mask'. No decreolised alternative exists. fɔl < 'fowl' was apparently more familiar;
- (d) kɔfi-ɔda LHHL, cf 'curfew order' = 'curfew'. No decreolised alternative exists. kɔfi

'coffee' was a more familiar concept;

- (e) kongo-il LL-F, cf 'conger-eel' = 'conger-eel'. No decreolised alternative exists. kongo < 'Congo' is a more familiar concept;
- (f) krəs-brij LF, cf 'cross-breed' = 'cross-breed'. The decreolised krəsbrîd has become more common. brij < 'bridge' was a more familiar concept;
- (g) pɛnsul HL, cf 'pestle' = 'pestle'. No decreolised alternative exists. pɛnsul < 'pencil' was a more familiar word, though not necessarily concept. To distinguish 'pestle' from 'pencil', Krios sometimes use: lɛd pɛnsul = 'lead pencil', and màtà pɛnsul = 'mortar pestle';
- (h) potmantul LHL, cf 'portmanteau' = 'portmanteau'. No decreolised alternative exists. mantul < 'mantle' was apparently a more familiar word;
- (i) plant F, cf 'plait' = 'to plait hair'. No decreolised alternative exists. plant < 'plant' was apparently the more familiar word, though not necessarily concept.

## CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

## SEMANTIC MODIFICATIONS

17.1 Introduction

Perhaps the most important observation that could be made about English-derived words in Krio is that a large number of them undergo some kind of semantic modification either in their transition to, or during the period of their existence in Krio.<sup>1</sup> It is, therefore, fitting that the phenomenon of Semantic Modification should be discussed in the last chapter of this thesis.

We have seen how even grammatical words may undergo semantic modification (e.g. 14.2 ). A few further examples are:

- (1) sɛf F < 'self'. Apart from being a particle that may be suffixed to pronouns to form reflexives, e.g. misɛf HF, cf. 'myself', dɛnsɛf HF, cf. 'themselves', this word is also an adverb in Krio, meaning: 'in fact, even, also, in addition', as in: (a) Òlú sɛf bìn gó dè = 'Even Olu/Olu also went there'; (b) sɛf, wé à nò sí àm, à jés gô = 'In fact, when I didn't see him, I just went away'.
- (2) yusɛf HF < 'yourself'. Apart from having all the English meanings of 'yourself', this word also means: 'you yourself', as in, Yúsɛf nó sé nà lây = 'You yourself know it's a lie'. Also,

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<sup>1</sup>The point has been made that some words have a one to one semantic correspondence (see pp.391&394).

if said on a low pitch and with conspicuous vowel lengthening, this word can mean: 'I'm surprised at you!' as in:

Yù tínk sé à gò bìlív yú ègén! Yù::s:é::f! =

'Do you think I can ever believe you again! I'm surprised at you!'

- (3) dis F < 'this'. As a demonstrative pronoun, this word shares all the meanings of its English cognate. It can also carry the connotation of contempt when it is used to refer to a person considered contemptible by the speaker, as in Dìs! Ì nǒ bétè! = 'This so- and-so is good for nothing!'

We have seen ('Sources' p.400 ) that some English-derived words still retain meanings that are now obsolete or archaic in current English. Parebul LHL < 'parable', for example, has the primary meaning of: 'proverb' in Krio - a meaning now labelled 'archaic' (in Chambers, p.959), for the English cognate. Also, one of the current meanings of bebi LH < 'baby' in Krio is 'a doll' - a meaning now obsolete for the English cognate, (ibid, p.92). Even within Krio, English-derived words may undergo semantic change, acquire additional meanings or lose some of their meanings. There is the interesting case of smok F < 'smoke', for example, which, apart from corresponding to the meanings of English 'smoke', also used to mean: 'eat' (see, e.g. the last stanza of Gladys Hayford's poem: Mèndé Kànyá swít Ò - in Jones, 1957, p.3). This meaning is now obsolete in Krio. English-derived words that are used as slang in Krio seem to be affected most, e.g.



- (1) bat F < 'bat'. Apart from meaning 'bat' (the winged mammal), this word has been used as slang for 'prostitute', 'promiscuous young woman' and 'girlfriend'. It has dropped the meliorative meaning of 'girlfriend' but still retains the pejorative meanings of the other slang denotations;
- (2) bes F < 'baste'. Apart from 'stitch together', this word has also been used as slang for 'woo', but this meaning is now archaic and bɛl F (cf. Temme bɛlma) is now in greater currency.
- (3) krach F < 'scratch'. This word is: (1) a noun, i.e. '(a)'scratch or mark made by scratching'; (b) 'illegible writing'; (ii) a verb: (a), 'to scratch', (b) 'to itch', (c) 'write illegibly', (d) (slang) 'have sexual intercourse (with a woman)'. This last, slang, meaning is now archaic.
- (4) tul F < 'tool'. Apart from its use as a noun, meaning: 'a tool', this word used to be used as a verb also, meaning: 'to copulate'. This meaning is now obsolete.

In a few cases, the word itself has receded to the status of an archaism, as in the example: dem F < 'dame', which has only been used as slang for: 'girl friend', 'attractive woman'.

An example of a word that has undergone an interesting change in meaning is tangens HF < 'stand against'. The meanings of this word that are recorded in K.E.D. (p.359) are the now obsolete ones:

1. cry used during World War II by workers being conveyed in open trucks with only standing room. Hence, 2. v. engage in esp. low level but remunerative job, often on a shifting or temporary basis.

Tangens tēm, i.e. the era of World War II, therefore, according to an informant, used to be a period of plenty, in which houses were even wallpapered (and people wrapped their tobacco) with pound notes. Nowadays, however few Krios below the age of thirty would know these meanings of the word. The current meanings are: 'old', 'old-fashioned', 'out-dated', as in: ús káyn tángéns stáyl yù wérsò? = 'what old-fashioned style of clothes you are wearing'. Nevertheless, this change in meaning may not be as radical as it seems when one considers the historical reference of the word to times earlier in the century. Another example may be used to show why: nà dēn klós yá dēm bìn dè wér tángéns tēm = 'these are the kinds of clothes that people wore during olden days', i.e. (presumably) World War II times.

Not many examples like tangens have been found. What seems more common is the incidence of words that have recently acquired an additional meaning(s) while retaining their older meanings. Here are examples:

- (1) fent F < 'faint'. In addition to the meanings it shares with the English cognate, fent has also, within the past twenty years, acquired the related meanings: (i) 'suspect' (ii) 'come into awareness of'. It sometimes collocates with pàn 'upon', as in the following examples:

(a) ì fént pàn wí plán = 'he suspects our plan';

(b) ìf yù fént lét yù gò sóri = 'if you come into awareness  
(of the situation) too late you'll be sorry!'

This virtually antonymous modification of the meaning of 'faint' is so striking that one might even consider the possibility of regarding it as a mere homonym of fent < 'faint', with a possibly non-English source form.

Another such word is:

- (2) bɔl F < 'ball', which shares the following meanings with its cognate form: (a) 'ball to be thrown, hit or kicked', (b) 'little ball of food'. While in Krio, it also came to mean: (a) verb (1) 'to throw ball as in cricket, bowl in cricket', (2) 'to make uncooked food into little balls', (3) 'curl oneself up to sleep, sleep with a woman', (b) noun - 'a round sum of money'. Within the past twenty years, this word has acquired patently and conceptually unrelated meanings: (1) verb = 'to fail an examination'; (ii) adjective = (of a party, dance or social gathering) 'great'. Examples:

(i) 'áw dì ègzám?' 'Brá, à bɔl'. = 'how did you fare in the exams?  
Brother, I failed!'

(ii) dì pàtí bɔl, sà! = 'the party was really great'.

Again, radical change in meaning from the English 'ball' leads one to wonder whether we are not really dealing with a homonymous word from a non-English source.

The following three examples are less in dispute, since the additional meanings are less radical:

- (3) kɔnfam LF < 'confirm'. The meanings of this word and of its English cognate largely overlap. Kɔnfam also means: 'be confirmed, i.e. admitted to full membership of a church'. Recently, it has acquired the additional meaning, or perhaps it would be truer to say that it has undergone semantic extension to mean: 'of good quality', 'very agreeable'. It is usually used in negative constructions, as in: dís myúzík nɔ kɔnfâm = 'this music is inappropriate/disagreeable'.
- (4) plan F < 'plan'. Apart from sharing the meanings of the cognate form 'plan', plan has also lately acquired the extended meaning: 'to dupe', as in: ínóízì fɛ plán mí ò = 'it's not easy to dupe me, you know'.
- (5) ɔpret LF < 'operate'. Apart from the meanings this word shares with its cognate form, it has recently taken on the function of a euphemism for 'to commit an act of violence, e.g. armed robbery or thuggery during electioneering', as in: nà Ístèn dì tífmán dèn òprét nà nêt = 'the thieves committed their burglary/atrocities in the East End last night'.

Before going on to discuss the main kinds of semantic modification that occur in English-derived words in Krio, a final word on the pattern observed for Examples (1) and (2) may be stated. It recalls what Alleyne refers to as 'the fusion of semantic opposites' (1980, p.114-115), a feature 'observable in Afro-American dialects', which 'suggests a lexicosemantic



pattern characteristic of Afro-American dialects which bears some relationship to the syntactic pattern of passive conversion which itself involves some fusion of transitive and intransitive'. Alleyne gives the examples: lɛn for 'lend' and 'borrow', wɛr for 'wear and 'put on', lan for 'learn' and 'teach'.\* He suggests a possible though not definite relationship with West African languages, citing Mende sihã 'borrow', 'lend'; ga 'teach', 'learn'. To emphasise the ostensible lack of discrimination between 'borrow' and 'lend' among some Krio speakers, bóro HL may also be used to mean 'lend'. More examples of this kind of fusion of semantic opposites are: (1) fɛn F < 'find' = 'find' and 'look for', as in:

(a) wétín yù gó fɛn dɛ? = 'What were you looking for there?'

(b) a dɔn fɛn am = 'I've found it'.

(2) kam F < 'come' = 'come' and 'go', as in: (a) à dè kâm = 'I'm going' (This use of kam is telegraphic in the sense that it implies 'I'm going with the intention of coming back (soon)'); (b) à dón kâm = 'I've come!'

(3) mɛmba HL < 'remember' = 'remember' and 'remind', as in (a) à nómɛmbà = 'I don't remember', (b) mɛmbà mí = 'remind me'.

One recent such fusion has come about through the use of pàfyûm LF < 'perfume' = 'perfume' as a euphemism for 'bad odour'.

Another, different, kind of 'fusion' is noted by Anttila (op. cit. p.138): 'habitual linguistic collocation may become permanent,

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\*but see 'Sources', p.401

and if part of the collocation is lost, the remainder changes meaning, when it takes on the semantics of the earlier phrase'. Two examples from Krio <sup>which</sup> do not exactly fulfil this prescription, but <sup>which are</sup> worth noting, are:

- (1) shut krab HF < 'shoot crab' = 'fail in a venture'. Although shut has not been lost, it is possible to use krab with the complete meaning of shut krab.
- (2) wichkraft HF 'witchcraft' = 'witch', 'witchcraft'. Kraft can also be used to mean 'witch'.

From many of the English-derived words that have been given as examples in this thesis, it may have been noticed that the concept and semantic range of the English source form are seldom congruent or coincident with those of the Krio cognate form - we may note, for example, the items that have been cited so far in this chapter; the examples of bíf, tík, blô, pûl, bèlé, môt and kêch (p.423-5 ); and further examples like:

- (1) sup F < 'soup'. English: 'soup' has the following basic meaning: 'the nutritious liquid obtained by boiling meat or vegetables in stock' (Chambers, op. cit. p.1292). Krio: sup, on the other hand, is a generic name for all kinds of stews, soups and sauces cooked in oil, water or palm-oil - hence there are, among other kinds, fraysúp < 'fry soup' (meat and/or fish fried in vegetable or palm oil with or without vegetables); bwèl súp < (boil soup), pèpè súp < 'pepper soup' and wàtàsúp < 'water soup' (meat and/or fish boiled in water with pepper, salt and onions, etc.); plàsás(súp) < 'palaver sauce (soup)' (vegetables, meat, fish and

condiments cooked in palm oil); so, an English-type 'soup' is only one kind of a Krio-type sup and not a typical one at that.

- (2) kom F < 'comb'. English: 'comb' has the following basic meanings: (1) noun = 'a toothed instrument for separating and cleaning hair, wool, flax, for graining paint, etc.: anything of similar form: the fleshy crest of some birds: the top or crest of a wave, of a roof, or of a hill: an aggregation of cells for honey' - verb (transitive) = to separate, to arrange, or clean by means of a comb or as if with a comb: to dress, with a comb: to search thoroughly: to beat (Shak.) - verb (intransitive) = 'to break with a white foam, as the top of a wave'. (ibid, p.259). In Krio, kom only has the senses of: (1) noun: a toothed instrument for separating and cleaning hair', (2) verb - 'to comb hair', and (3) verb - 'to beat mercilessly' - another example of a meaning now archaic (if not obsolete) in English (it is recorded as Shakespearian usage), but current in modern Krio.

- (3) wes F < 'waist'. English 'waist' has the following basic meanings: 'the smallest part of the human trunk, between the ribs and the hips: a narrow middle part of an insect: the part of a garment that lies round the waist of the body: a woman's blouse or bodice (U.S.): the narrow middle part, as of a musical instrument: the middle part of a ship'. (ibid, p.1527). In Krio, the basic meaning of wes is 'the buttocks'. It can also mean 'the anus'. By extension, it can be used to refer to 'the bottom part of (particularly a tree)'. The Krio word commonly used to refer

to a person's waist is midul HL, as in: mì mídùl nà tátì  
 = 'my waist measures thirty'. However, acrolectal forms like:  
ráwnd wêst < 'round waist', wést bánd < 'waist band' and wést làyn  
 < 'waist line' also occur.

In some cases, even when the meanings or concepts overlap, the primary meaning of the word in English may be secondary, rare (e.g. highly acrolectal) or not found at all in Krio - wes is one such example. The converse is also true. This sometimes means that connotations not present in the English source form may develop in the Krio cognate, or, alternatively, the Krio cognate may lose some of the connotations of the English source form. Here are examples:

- (1) bagin HL < 'bargain'. The English form means: (1) noun: 'a contract or agreement: a favourable transaction: an advantageous purchase' (2) verb (intransitive): 'to make a contract or agreement: to chaffer: to count (on), make allowance (for a possibility)' (3) verb (transitive): 'to lose by bad bargaining (with 'away')' (ibid, p.105). In Krio, the senses of 'haggle' over the price of goods and of 'agreement' and 'contract' are secondary to the sense of 'conspire', (mék bágìn) and 'conspiracy', as in dèm mék bágìn fɔ̀ láy pàn àm = 'they conspired to tell lies about him'. Note the pejorative connotation in the Krio cognate, which is absent in the English source form, which, in fact, has mainly meliorative connotations.
- (2) ejent HL < 'agent'. The English form means: (1) noun: 'a person or thing that acts or exerts power: any natural force acting on matter: one authorised or delegated to transact business



for another: .... a paid political party worker: a secret agent, spy', (2) adjective: 'acting: of an agent' (ibid, p.23). In Krio, the sense of 'one authorised to transact business for another' is now secondary if not archaic, and the word now primarily means: 'person who can be relied on to demonstrate a particular unsavoury activity', hence a bìzàbòdí éjènt is a notorious busybody, a bádwòd éjènt is a disgusting user of obscene language, a sèt fáyà éjènt is a person who is well known for instigating quarrels. Again, note the pejorative connotation in the Krio form, which is absent in the English source form.

- (3) èkspashiet LLLF < 'expatiate'. The English form means: 'to walk about: to range at large (usu. fig.): to enlarge in discourse, argument, or writing' (ibid, p.459). The Krio form means: 'to speak in a rude or vulgar manner', as in:  
wé ìdón èkspàshìét nà ìn skúl dòn dèn gè fò dré b àm fò bád kóndòkt =  
 'he was driven home from school for bad conduct because of his rude manner of speaking'. In this example, a shift in meaning has taken place and the result is a word with a pejorative connotation, again, unlike the English cognate form, which has a complimentary connotation.
- (4) galut HL < 'galoot'. The English form is a slang word for 'a soldier: a marine: a clumsy fellow' (ibid, p.533). The Krio form is an adjective, with a complimentary connotation, meaning: 'huge', 'hefty' (of persons).

- (5) shak F < 'shack'. The English source form is an uncomplimentary word denoting 'a roughly built hut' (ibid, 1242), while the Krio cognate is a recently-acquired slang word for any kind of house - from a hut to a mansion.
- (6) shɔp F < 'shop'. Apart from the meaning of: 'a building or room in which goods are sold' (ibid, 1252) (and the corresponding verbal usage of this nominal denotation) shared by the English and the Krio forms, the English form has other meanings [e.g.: 'prison (slang)...: to imprison, or cause to be imprisoned (slang): to betray (someone), e.g. to inform against (him) to the police (slang)' (ibid)] which are absent in Krio.
- (7) lay F < 'lie'. In English, 'lie' can be used as a noun, meaning: 'a false statement made with the intention of deceiving: anything misleading or of the nature of imposture'; or as a verb meaning: to utter a falsehood with an intention to deceive: to give a false impression' (ibid, p.759). Krio lay has the same meanings. In addition, it can also mean: (1) adjective - 'nosy', 'prying' (pejorative); (2) verb - 'to gossip (in a meliorative sense)', 'tell juicy tales about other people'.  
Examples: (1) yù tú lây = 'you are too prying'; (2) lɛ̀ à kǎ lây = 'let me give you a juicy piece of news'.
- (8) bang F < 'bang'. English 'bang' is a noun, meaning: 'a heavy blow: sudden loud noise: explosion', (figuratively) 'thrill', burst of activity, sudden success; a transitive verb, meaning: 'to beat: strike violently, slam, as a door: beat or surpass'; an intransitive verb, meaning: 'to make a loud noise: slam';

an adverb, meaning: 'with a bang: abruptly' (ibid, p.100).

In Krio, bang is a noun and verb (transitive and intransitive) with the primary meaning 'hit or slap resoundingly', '(of vehicle(s)) collide (with)'. It also has the meliorative usage: 'reach (of exciting news or anything desirable)'. Examples:

(i) ìf à gí yú wán bâng yù gò sóbà = 'if I hit you you'll come to your senses'.

(ii) dì m̀tòkà d̀m bâng = 'the vehicles collided',

(iii) dì wód jés báng mì = 'I've just got the exciting news'.

(9) stawt F < 'stout'. In English, 'stout', as an adjective used to describe a person, has the meanings: 'resolute, dauntless: vigorous: enduring: robust: strong... fat' (ibid, p.1333). In Krio, its cognate stawt is a complimentary word, meaning 'fat and healthy-looking', e.g. lúk wé yù stáwt èn frêsh = 'look how plump and healthy-looking you are'.

(10) krash F < 'crash'. The meanings of English 'crash' are shared by Krio krash as an acrolectal item. In adolescent, particularly student speech, krash is a recently adopted word, meaning: 'fall asleep' (especially when studying-as a result of tiredness) when one does not wish to', e.g.: à bìn wán stódì té m̀nìn b̀t  
à krásh b̀y twêlv = 'I planned to study till daybreak but I fell asleep at about twelve'.

Items 8 and 10 are examples of another recent development - the tendency for a few words which are not slang in English to acquire



an additional slang status when used in Krio, with their meanings attenuated. Other examples are:

- (1) damej HL < 'damage'. Apart from meaning: 'damage; havoc, destruction', this word can also be used to mean: 'broke, hard up', as in: brá, nà mì dámej wán s̀dóm s̀ô = 'brother, you are looking at a man who's hard up.'
- (2) wayl F < 'wild'. The English and Krio meanings of this word largely correspond, but wayl can also mean 'be angry' e.g. nó mék à wáyì pàn yù = 'don't make me angry with you'.
- (3) provok LF < 'provoke'. Apart from: 'provoke to anger, excite', this word can also mean 'tease', as in: dèn kìn p̀rovók àm f̀ò? ól bángà = 'they tease him about his old banger'.
- (4) s̀pr̀es LF < 'suppress'. Apart from the English meanings of 'suppress', this word can be used to mean 'to tease persistently; to try to influence a boy friend's or girl friend's life-style'; example: bò léf f̀s̀pr̀és mì = 'stop teasing me so persistently/ stop trying to control my life'.
- (5) travul HL < 'travel'. Apart from the meanings shared by the English and Krio forms, this word can also mean: 'to go out (especially in the evening)', as in: brá, yù dè trávú? = 'brother, are you going out?' Note also that, because<sup>cf</sup> an older semantic extension, this word can also mean: 'to be in a state of transition between life and death'.



The main kinds of semantic modification English-derived words appear to undergo are: semantic extension, semantic restriction and semantic shift. Each is discussed separately.

## 17.2 Semantic Extension

This seems to be the most usual kind of modification. Krios love using similes, metaphors and ideophones. It is very common to hear Krio speakers use expressions like: à bèlfúl lèk tífmán wêf = 'I'm as filled as the wife of a thief', ì kól lèk dóg nôs = 'it's as cold as a dog's nose'. The practice is so typical that sometimes the object of comparison is not even mentioned, as in: ì tíf lèk- 'he steals like - ', or wétìn (what) may be substituted for it, as in: à ángrì lèk wétìn = 'I'm as hungry as what'. This kind of use of similes is also possible in English, e.g. 'as cool as a cucumber', but its incidence is far greater in Krio. It is one of the ways in which the Krio speaker's penchant for the superlative is fulfilled. Examples of phrases with metaphors and ideophones are: (a) dá wán dé nà snêk = 'he is a snake'; (b) ì ít gót fút = 'he's eaten goat's foot' - to the Krio, goats are notorious for gallivanting, so if a person 'eats goat's foot' he supposedly becomes expert at walking about. This phrase therefore means: 'he is hardly ever at home'; (c) ì fèdóm búp = 'he fell to the ground with a loud thud'. The Krio speaker is seldom satisfied with mentioning the barest facts of a story. The art of storytelling, a typical Krio pastime, requires picturesque details. One of the ways to achieve this is by using phonaesthetic devices, like ideophones. All this has been taken a stage further and many metaphors have become frozen, hence some kinds of semantic extension. This is why the word bif F < 'beef', for example,

has been extended to refer to a 'victim' (see p.423). Another such word is fam F < 'farm', which, by extension, means: 'an easily exploitable person', since a farm is a place from which fruits can be harvested in plenty. Similar extensions of meaning may be noted in items like:

(a) pikin kɔfin LH HL 'a child's coffin' = 'oversized shoes'; (b) bebi-ed LH-L 'baby's head' = 'a fragile, unsteady thing; a sore toe'; (c) kak F < 'cock' (the male of a chicken) = 'a woman who can't bear (have) children'; (d) baybul HL < 'Bible' = 'cow's omasum used as food' (shaped like a book); (e) supamakɛt LLHL < 'supermarket' = 'a public dustbin' - which usually has an assortment of litter.

Also, there is a limit to the number of words that can be adopted from another (albeit the 'lexifier') language; so, when some ideas need to be expressed, if a new word is not borrowed, an existing word assumes an added semantic dimension. This is another reason for semantic extension.

It is possible to categorise the main kinds of semantic extension that take place, although clear-cut labels can hardly be given since overlaps occur and one word may qualify in more than one category. In each case, there are basic meanings that are shared by the English and Krio cognates as well as (an) additional Krio meaning(s). The categories are:

A. Particular → Generic

In some cases, the English cognate refers to a particular feature, concept or object, while the Krio cognate is liberally applied as a generic word - a superordinate term that may or may not have hyponyms. Here are examples:

- (1) ɟɔmbul LH < 'John Bull'. The English cognate is 'a generic name for an Englishman' (ibid, p.709), while the Krio cognate is a generic name for a white man. Synonyms for a white man are English-derived: wétmàn < 'white man', and African-derived: oyimbo (cf. Yoruba), which is derisive. Hyponyms for ɟɔmbul are: Ìnglìshmán < 'Englishman', Àyrìshmán < 'Irishman', Mèrìkìnmán < 'American', etc.
- (2) sɔf F < 'surf'. The English cognate is the brand name of a particular soap powder, while the Krio cognate is a generic word for any detergent.
- (3) ti F < 'tea'. Even in English, 'tea' can have other meanings than its popular reference to the beverage. It is however distinguished from other beverages like 'coffee', 'cocoa', 'Ovaltine', etc. In Krio, however, ti may be used to refer to any non-alcoholic beverage. Note the following example:
- ték wán spún kàfí mék tí fò mí = (lit.) 'take one spoonful of coffee to make tea for me'.
- (4) soja HL < 'soldier' = 'the army'.
- Also pertinent to this category are items like parts of the body, e.g. an F < 'hand', futF < 'foot', edF < 'head'. Allsopp's historical explanation for their semantic extension seems plausible. It states that the feature is:

the natural result of 'pidgin performance'.

In a contact situation the almost non-functional distinctions between 'arm' and 'HAND', 'leg' and

'FOOT', 'chest' and 'BELLY', etc., make it a simple convenience to expand the semantic load of the latter (and more frequently occurring) members of these pairs) (1980, p.92).

chɛst F < 'chest' and bɛlɛ LH < 'belly' are distinguishable in Krio, but an < 'hand' refers to the whole arm, from shoulder to fingertips, fut 'foot' refers to the whole leg from just below the hips to the toes, while ed < 'head' may include the face.

#### B. Metaphor

Further examples of metaphorical extensions of meaning, a quite common feature, are:

- (1) ɔpstiaɪz LF < 'upstairs' = 'the brain';
- (2) bændul HL < 'bundle' = 'woman's (large) hips', woman with such hips';
- (3) bamba HL < 'bomber' = 'a big bully';
- (4) ɔbichuari LHHHL < 'obituary' = 'stale news', 'former boy or girl friend';
- (5) gɔngroʔbi LLH < 'bumble bee' = 'a radio' (because of the sound it makes when not properly tuned);



- (6) tabaka lif LHLF < 'tobacco leaf' = 'a neck tie'.

C. Euphemisms

Some have come about as synonyms for taboo words, e.g.

- (1) fes F < 'face' = 'the female genitals';
- (2) kɔzin LH < 'cousin' = 'a woman's menstrual cycle';
- (3) skwat F < 'squat' = 'to defaecate';
- (4) yad F < 'yard' = 'the toilet';
- (5) bizi HL < 'busy' = 'be having a menstrual period'.

Others refer to daily activities, e.g.

- (6) put F < 'put' = 'bribe';
- (7) gi F < 'give' = 'to tell lies';
- (8) tɔk F < 'talk' = 'quarrel', as in: dɛ ɣɛlɪlɪ tɔk = (lit.)  
'they have a little talk' = 'they have a quarrel'.
- (9) tɔch F < 'touch' = 'beat up';
- (10) wata LH < 'water' = 'drink heavily'.

Note also expressions used by pòdà pódá (minibus) apprentices and touts to signify 'let's go' to the drivers:

wám dì áyè̀n = (lit.) 'warm the iron';

tón àm = (lit.) 'turn it';

lé ì wákà = (lit.) 'let it walk';

fén àm = (lit.) 'find it'.

#### D. Hyperboles

We have seen the recent cases of damej, wayl, etc. with meanings attenuated in Krio (p.536). Here are examples of older items demonstrating the feature:

(1) drif F < 'drift' = 'to go for a walk with or without a friend';

(2) mas F < 'mash' = 'to tread on';

(3) broko HL < 'broken' = (of clothes) 'torn';

(4) sho F < 'show' = 'a fanciful style of dress', 'an unusual feature';

(5) fɔ̀dɔ̀m LF < 'fall down' = 'alight from' (especially a mini-bus);

(6) kíp F < 'keep' = 'to have as a lover', as in: ì kíp dì gyáì = 'he is the girl's lover'.

E. Plural → singular denotation

A few words with usually a plural denotation in both English and Krio may also be used with a singular reference in Krio, e.g.:

- (1) dɛn F < 'them' = 'you know who', as in: dɛn dɔ́n kámfɔ́  
dɛm búk = "you know who" has come for his book'.
- (2) pipul HL < 'people' = 'somebody else's', as in: pípùl pìkín =  
 'somebody else's child'.

F. Abstract referent personified or concretised

This feature has already been noted (e.g. 'Compounds') - words like: angri HL < 'hungry' = 'hunger'; kol F < 'cold'; slip F < 'sleep' used with the verb kech F < 'catch', as in slíp dè kéch m̀ = 'I'm sleepy'. Note also examples like:

- (1) trɔbul HL < 'trouble', as in: yù wòwálèk trɔbùl = 'you are as ugly as trouble';
- (2) wɔd F < 'word', as in: à ól wɔd = 'I'll bear in mind what you have said'.

G. Extension by false analogy

In a few cases a synonym or concept related to an English word is misapplied in a Krio usage, e.g.:

- (1) klɔk F < 'clock' (related to 'time') = 'time' (in the sense of 'interest') - used in negative expressions like:
- (a) à nɔ́ gɛ́t ìn klɔ́k = 'I have no time for him'.
- (b) ì nɔ́klɔ́k mí sɛ́f = 'he didn't even show any interest in me';
- (2) rɔ́tin HL < 'rotten' (synonym of 'spoilt') = (of child) (given to too much crying).

H. Items with unstated modifier

Some words have extended meanings because their modifier is unstated. Examples:

- (1) díl F < 'deal' = 'to deal with evil spirits', as in:  
ì dè díl = 'he has dealings with evil spirits';
- (2) míns F < 'means' = 'supernatural means', as in: ì dè yúz míns  
= 'he uses supernatural means, e.g. to get on';
- (3) pɔ́sɪn HL < 'person' = 'good person', as in: òlú nà pɔ́sɪn =  
'Olu is a good/decent person';
- (4) trɔ́s F < 'trust' = 'trust person to pay for' = 'give on credit',  
as in: dèn trɔ́s mí wán bág rɛ́s = 'they gave me a bag of rice  
on credit';



- (5) wəship HL < 'worship' = 'worship evil spirits', as in:  
ì dè wóshìp = 'he worships evil spirits'.

I. Action suggesting meaning

- (1) drɔ F < 'draw' = 'sweep' (especially hastily), as in:  
kám dróyá kwìk = 'come and sweep here quickly';
- (2) grayn F < 'grind' = 'eat', as in: à dè kám grâyn = 'I'm  
about to have my meal';
- (3) mɛlt F < 'melt' = 'behave as if shy', as in: lúk wé ì dè mɛlt =  
'see how shy she looks';
- (4) jɔmp F < 'jump' = 'Saturday afternoon dance', as in: à  
dè gó jɔmp = 'I'm going to a "jump"!'.

J. Result of action

In a few cases, the word indicates a result of the action performed. Examples:

- (1) swɔt F < 'sweat' = 'to put someone in an uncomfortable position and cause him to sweat' (especially by squeezing him by the scruff of his neck and bending him downwards).
- (2) paylam HL < 'pile it' = 'walk' (especially a long distance) - thus piling up the distance.

K. Activity (historically) related to place of activity

In the item: bruk F < 'brook' = 'to launder clothes', we have a word that refers to the place where Krios presumably used to launder their clothes - at the brook. Nowadays, one does not have to go out of one's house to carry out the activity, but the word bruk is the commonest, (the only one for many Krios) used to mean 'launder'.

L. Polysemy/Overloading

There are many items that are difficult to categorise otherwise than polysemous. They tend to be some of the commonest, simplest English-derived words. In the following examples, meanings also shared by the English cognates are not mentioned:

- (1) kɔt F < 'cut' = (a) 'carry out', as in: kɔt blɔf = (lit.)  
'carry out bluff' = 'bluff';
- (b) 'copulate', as in: i kɔt dɪ gyâl = 'he had sex with the girl';
- (c) 'go away', as in: à dè kɔt = 'I'm going away';
- (2) big F < 'big' = (a) 'old, older, elderly', as in: à bíg pás yû =  
'I'm older than you';
- (b) 'the eldest', as in: nà ím bíg nà yâ = 'he is the eldest person in this place';
- (c) 'pregnant with meaning, full of wonder, mystery, suffering', as in: nɛt bíg = 'night time is full of mystery';

(d) 'adult', as in: à bíg = 'I'm an adult';

(e) 'of a high status', as in: nà bíg màn  
= 'he's a highly placed man';

(3) drə F < 'draw' =

(a) 'sweep' (see above, p.545);

(b) 'be thick, slimy, sticky', as in:

dì súp drə = 'the sauce is slimy';

(c) 'be scarce', as in: pépè drónà mákít =  
'pepper is scarce at the market';

(d) 'move deliberately, annoyingly, slowly,  
as in: áw yùdè drósò? = 'why are you  
moving so slowly?'

(4) lík F < 'lick' =

(a) 'drink eat' as in à dón lík = 'I've  
eaten (or drunk) well';

(b) 'do successfully', as in à lík dì ègzâm  
'I did well in the examination'.

(5) pɔsɪn HL < 'person' =

(a) 'good person' (see p.544 above);

(b) 'lover', as in : nà mì pɔsɪn =  
'she's my lover';

(c) 'one', as in: pɔsɪn nɔfɔtɔk =  
'one shouldn't even speak'.

- (6) bɛtɛ HL < 'better' = (a) 'good, proper', as in: nà bɛtɛ tɪn yù  
dú sò = 'it's a good thing you've done';
- (b) 'prosperity', as in: bɛtɛ nógòfálà àm =  
 'he will not prosper';
- (c) 'the best', as in: nàdì bɛtɛwán yù tɛk  
 = 'you took the best one'.

M. Extension by logical association

Some items have a logical, if peripheral, association with the basic concept of the English source form. Examples are:

- (1) af F < 'half' = (a) 'any fraction of', as in: gí mí áf bréd nò =  
 'please give me a piece of bread';
- (b) 'insignificant' (of a person)' as in:  
nà wán áf pìkín só wán kám fìtyáy mí = 'it's an  
 insignificant young boy/girl who wants to insult me'.
- (2) swit F < 'sweet' = 'delicious, tasty, palatable, enjoyable', as  
 in: dìsúp swít = 'the sauce is tasty';
- (3) deli HL < 'daily' = regularly, as in: mí dè gó bá y nà Lìbíryà delì  
 = 'I do my shopping in Liberia regularly';
- (4) dífrɛ̀n HL < 'different' = 'as never before', as in: ì spót  
dífrɛ̀n nà ìm pìkín ìm mǎrèd = 'she carried herself as never before  
 at her daughter's wedding';



- (5) yɛri HL 'hear' = 'to understand', as in: à nɔ̀ dè yɛrí Krió  
= 'I don't understand Krio'.

### 17.3 Semantic Restriction

This affects far fewer items, which have a narrower semantic reference than their English cognates. Here are examples:

- (1) admit LF < 'admit' = 'to be admitted to hospital';
- (2) ansa HL < 'answer' = (a) 'expected (usually affirmative) answer', as in: dì gyál dón ánsà mí = 'the girl has said yes to my proposal';
- (b) 'rude retort', as in: ì dè ánsà ìm màmí  
wé ì dè tók tò àm = 'he gives rude retorts to his mother's admonitions'.
- (3) kɔs F < 'curse' = 'abuse', as in: ì kɔs mí = 'he has abused me';
- (4) kɔnsikwɛnshal LLHL < 'consequential' = 'over-particular, as in: yù tú kɔnsikwɛnshàl = 'you are too particular';
- (5) patek HL < 'partake' = 'take the Holy Communion, as in yù dón  
bìgín pàték? = 'have you started taking Holy Communion?'
- (6) prawdF < 'proud' = 'haughty', as in: ì tú prâwð = 'he is too haughty';
- (7) switat LF < 'sweetheart' = 'illicit lover', as in: ì gɛ̀ wɛ̀f bɔ̀t ì  
kíp swítât = 'he has a wife but he also has another woman';

- (8) wɛt F < 'wet' = 'urine, urinate', as in: à dè gó wê̂t = 'I'm going to urinate'.

#### 17.4 Semantic Shift

Two kinds of semantic shift have been noted. In the first kind, the basic, underlying concept is implicit but not overt in the English cognate. Examples are:

- (1) ɛskɛpi LLH < 'escapee'. The English cognate means 'a prisoner who has escaped from prison', the Krio cognate means: 'a prostitute', i.e. a person who has 'escaped' from a moral code of conduct.
- (2) biol LF < 'behold' = 'not knowing that, to my surprise', as in: biól nà tíf mán = 'to my surprise he's a thief';
- (3) nav F < 'nerve' = 'to tremble, shake vigorously, twitch continuously; suffer from nervousness. The meaning of the English cognate (verb) is almost antonymous: 'to give strength, resolution or courage to'. An example of a Krio use is: nà só ì dè náywé ì sí ìm bô̂s = 'he was all nerves when he saw his boss'.
- (4) nɔf F < 'enough' = 'very much, very many, a great amount of', as in: ì gɛ nɔf íà nà ìm fût = 'he's got a lot of hair on his legs'.

- (5) kansat HL < 'concert' = 'a dramatic play in performance' - the English cognate refers to a musical performance - as in: à dè gó kónsàt = I'm going to watch a play (or dramatic performance).
- (6) trenin HL < 'training' = 'upbringing, good-manners' - the English cognate refers to: 'practical education in any profession, art, or handicraft: a course of diet and exercise for developing physical strength, endurance or dexterity' (Chambers, p.1429) -, as in: yù nó gé tréńń = 'You have no manners'.
- (7) jus F < 'Jews' = 'an albino', as in: à sí wán jús tìdê = 'I saw an albino today';
- (8) wòndrín HL 'wondering/wandering' = 'to be absent-minded', as in: yù dè wóndrín? = 'are you absent-minded?'

The second kind of semantic shift is, strictly speaking, a kind of polysemy. The Krio word has at least some of the meanings of the English cognate, as well as shifts of meaning. This differs from the extensions discussed above, in that the newer meaning is markedly different from those of the English cognate. Here are examples:

- (1) balans HL < 'balance'. The Krio word shares the following meanings with the English cognate: (a) 'to balance, as on a scale', (b) 'remainder' (especially of money). It also means: (a) 'debt', as in: ì gè báláns fò mí = he owes me some money, (c) 'money in general', as in: yù gè báláns dé? = 'do you have loose money on you?' (d) 'to dodge', as in: ìf ì kám fén mí à gò báláns àm = 'if he comes to visit me I'll dodge him',

'to mislead', as in: à gò báláns àm fò yû = 'I'll mislead him for you'.

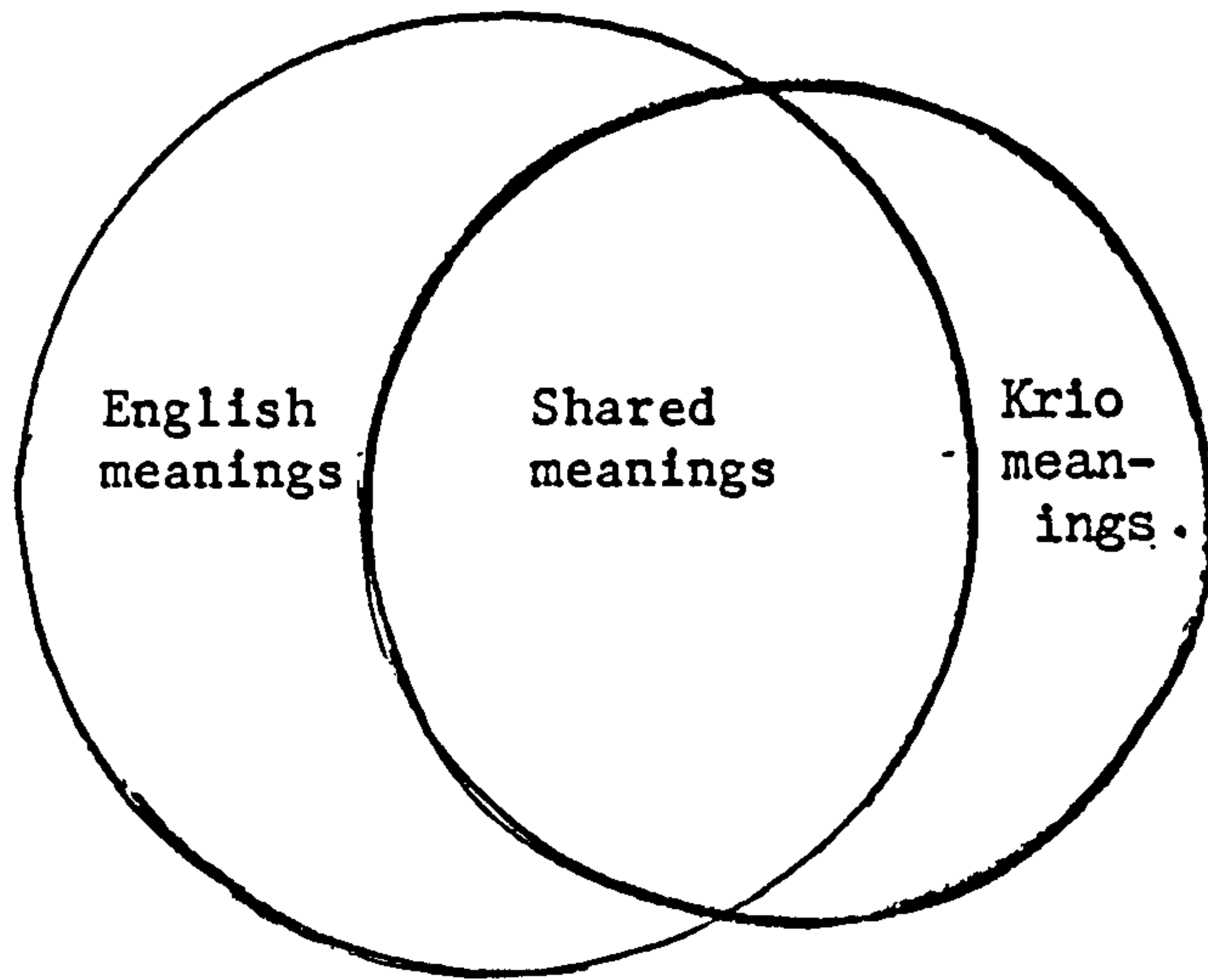
- (2) miks F < 'mix'. Apart from most of the meanings of 'mix' shared by the two cognate forms, the Krio word also means: 'be a party to'. It is usually used in negative expressions like: à nǒ mîks = 'I'm not a party to', nǒ mîks mí dè = 'don't associate me with'.
- (3) soba HL < 'sober'. Apart from the meanings of 'not drunk, conscious' shared by the two cognate forms, the Krio word also means: 'excellent, admirable', as in: dì gyál sóbà = 'the girl is admirable';
- (4) sok F < 'soak'. Apart from the meanings of 'wet, be steeped in or saturated with' shared by the two cognate forms, the Krio word also means: 'excellent, thoroughly enjoyable', as in: dì pátí sòk = 'the party was thoroughly enjoyable'.
- (5) wek F < 'wake'. Apart from the meanings of 'wake from sleep; become alert, active', shared by the two cognate forms, the Krio word also means: 'excellent, very attractive', as in: dì chík wék = 'the girl is very attractive'.

Note how examples 3, 4 and 5 are synonymous in Krio, while, although 'sober' and 'wake' may be conceptually synonymous in English, 'soak' is far from synonymous with them.



- (6) tɔntɛbul LHL < 'turntable'. The Krio cognate shares the meaning: 'the revolving disc which carries the record in a record player', with the English form. The Krio cognate also means: 'a roundabout at the intersection of crossroads', as in: dí mètóká klém dí tɔntɛbùl 'the car went off the road and on to the roundabout';
- (7) vim F < 'vim'. The two cognate forms share the meaning 'energy, vigour', but the Krio form can also be used as a verb, meaning: 'to throw a stone at (something) with great force', as in: wén à vim dí mángrò ì plít tú = 'I threw a stone at the mango with such force that it split into two'.
- (8) pruv F < 'prove'. The two cognate forms share the meaning: 'to establish or ascertain as truth', but the Krio form can also mean: 'to publicly declare, oneself, under inner compulsion, to be a witch', as in: nà pòsìn wé dón pruv = 'She has declared herself to be a witch'.
- (9) sáy F < 'size'. Apart from the meaning of: 'degree of bigness or smallness', shared by the two forms, the Krio word also means: 'medium-sized, average', as in: mòs bríng wán sáy yáms fò mí 'please bring me a medium-sized yam';
- (10) shut F < 'shoot'. The Krio cognate form shares most of the popular meanings of English: 'shoot'; it also means: 'to make a grammatical mistake' (especially when speaking English), as in: dát dè shút = 'he is notorious for making grammatical mistakes'.

To end this chapter, we may note, in sum, that most English-derived words share most but not all of the meanings of their English cognate forms; many also have peculiarly Krio meanings. The following diagram may be used to illustrate the point:



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