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13th Conference on British and American Studies:

Language Diversity in a Globalized World

Edited by

Marinela Burada, Oana Tatu
and Raluca Sinu

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Language Identity and Diversity in a Globalized World

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter I: Language Change and Cross-Linguistic Analysis

Introduction	2
Marinela Burada	
Idiomatic Calques and Semantic Borrowing in Atlantic English-Lexifier Pidgins and Creoles: New Evidence.....	6
Andrei A. Avram	
The Origin and Evolution of English Sentence Adverbs: An Instance of Secondary Grammaticalization	24
Daria Protopopescu	
Parametric Variation in the Role of Viewpoint Aspect in the Omission of Direct Objects.....	39
Irina Stoica	
Free Choice Items and Types of Universality Effects	59
Mara Panaitescu	
The case of <i>Oleacă</i> and <i>Un pic</i> : Minimizers in Romanian	75
Mihaela Zamfirescu	
The Role of Names and Naming in Linguistics.....	90
Shawn M. Clankie	

Chapter II: Language Acquisition, Teaching and Processing

Introduction	100
Raluca Sinu	
Gender Errors in the Acquisition of Romanian in a Romanian-Hungarian Bilingual Context.....	104
Veronica Tomescu	

Testing Romanian-speaking Children's Knowledge of Accessibility Theory in Subjunctive Complements	121
Ioana Stoicescu and Maria Aurelia Cotfas	
The L2 Acquisition of the General American Tap, and START, GOOSE Lexical Sets by Romanian Learners of English.....	149
Elena-Raluca Constantin and Ștefan Toma	
Teaching English to Engineers: The Use of Tenses	167
Irina-Ana Drobot	
English-Taught Programmes in European Higher Education: A Challenge to Diversity or an Opportunity to Integrate Language and Content Learning?	181
Alberto Fernández Costales	
Joint Authorship: A Glimpse into some Local Practices of Merit Attribution	198
Marinela Burada	
Conceptual Metaphors: The Fundamental Grounding for Language and Thought.....	217
Ildikó-Csilla Takács	
Chapter III: Pragmatics, Translation, and the Negotiation of Meaning	
Introduction	238
Oana Tatu	
Power at Work: A Comparative Analysis.....	242
Gabriela Chefneux	
Casual Conversation: A Way of Building Social Relationships.....	260
Cristina Dimulescu	
On Cross-Cultural Parameters in Translating Advertisements: Functional Equivalents, Exoticization and Allusion.....	276
Diana Oțăt	

Managing Ambiguities and Cultural Gaps in the Translation of David Lodge's <i>A Man of Parts</i>	294
Titela Vilceanu	
Monolingual Dictionaries of Romanian and the Internet.....	308
Raluca Sinu	
Language as Instrument: On Rhetoric and Dialectic in Shakespeare's <i>Julius Caesar</i>	324
Oana Tatu	
Shakespeare's Arab Journey: A Few Considerations on the Reception of Shakespeare in the Arab World.....	339
Maher Fawzi and Anwer Yasir	
List of Contributors	357
Index.....	360

CHAPTER I:
LANGUAGE CHANGE
AND CROSS-LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

MARINELA BURADA

The present chapter is concerned with a number of aspects that collectively illustrate the formal and functional diversity in and across languages such as Atlantic Pidgins and Creoles, English, Romanian, French, and Greek. The first two papers discuss phenomena attributable to external and internal causes, respectively, for language change. The following three focus on specific issues relating to morphosyntactic and semantic particularities of Romanian, considered in contrast with other languages, and the last contribution introduces the reader to the realm of onomastics.

Falling within the ambit of contact linguistics, **Idiomatic Calques and Semantic Borrowing in Atlantic English-Lexifier Pidgins and Creoles: New Evidence** (Andrei A. Avram) supplements Parkvall and Baker's (2012) work by providing interesting new data on partial borrowing (i.e., idiomatic or semantic calques) that Atlantic Creoles owe different African languages. Drawing on relevant wordlists and reference works, the author considers the new cases of borrowing in terms of the light they shed on a number of issues such as "the African substratal input in the Atlantic pidgins and creoles; the status of some diagnostic features of English-lexifier pidgins and creoles; the historical relationships among individual varieties; the Western vs. Eastern Caribbean creoles divide, and the diffusion of idiomatic calques and semantic borrowing" (p. 6). The new attestations and the discussion thereof highlight the difficulty, in some cases, in drawing a hard-and-fast line between calque and lexical innovation, between borrowing or coincidental formations due to semantic transparency or generalized metaphors. Furthermore, while it verifies many of the items on Parkvall and Baker's (2012) list, it also casts doubt on the assumed origin and classification as idiomatic calques of some of the items recorded there. This article makes a case for a more principled distinction between idiomatic calques and semantic borrowing arguing that, contrary to some sources in the specialist literature, the idiomatic calques under discussion reflect the direct substratal influence of African languages, whilst the cases of total or partial borrowing can be put down to the source or, as the case may be, model of French-lexifier creoles.

From a diachronic perspective, **The Origin and Evolution of English Sentence Adverbs - An Instance of Secondary Grammaticalization** (Daria Protopopescu) examines another aspect of language change i.e. grammaticalization. Given the latitude in the use of the term “secondary grammaticalization”, and the complex nature of the process of grammaticalization itself, the analysis is prefaced by a theoretical preamble aimed at clarifying the relevant conceptual and terminological issues. The discussion goes on to consider the primary grammaticalization of *-ly* as an adjective suffix and focuses on its secondary grammaticalization as an adverbial suffix. The original constituents of the adverb class are, the author argues, the manner adverbs. Using Ernst’s (2002) hypothesis, the author claims that it was from this core set of items that sentence adverbs proceeded, their development being spurred by their increasing use with various pragmatic functions. Whilst Old English already possessed some sentence adverbials, evaluative sentence adverbs crystallized gradually, reaching their present status during the Modern English period. Overall, the article makes a compelling case for the secondary grammaticalization of *-ly*, as evidenced by historical data which show the suffix acquired new functions, after the primary grammaticalization stage.

Taking as its starting point Tsimpli and Papadopoulou’s (2006) experiment on the use of verb objects in Greek, **Parametric Variation in the Role of Viewpoint Aspect in the Omission of Direct Objects** (Irina Stoica) is a replication study seeking to determine the degree of correlation between Aspect and Transitivity in Romanian. Specifically, the author sets out to determine whether the presence or absence of overt direct objects in Romanian is in any way connected to the aspectual form of the predicate-functioning verb in the clause. As shown in the literature, speakers of Greek show a predilection for the use of overt objects in syntactic contexts involving perfective verb forms and null objects when the contexts are imperfective. Data analyses corroborated by statistical measurements show that Romanian speakers prefer to use overt objects, irrespective of the aspectual value of the syntactic context in which they occur. As shown in the article, “the nature of the relationship between the morphological encoding of viewpoint aspect and the use of objects is subject to parametric variation, influenced by the different ways in which aspect is encoded” (p. 39). Since in Greek aspect is a distinct morphological category, while in Romanian only past tense is marked for aspect, this would explain, the author argues, the differential use of overt objects in the two languages.

Free Choice Items and Types of Universality Effects (Mara Panaitescu) examines FCIs like English *any*, French *n’importe quel*, and

Romanian *orice* categorized as indefinites with special interpretive constraints. The analysis focuses on two types of universality i.e., parallel universality and serial universality, and leaves out atemporal universality. The FCIs are treated here as intrinsically modal items which, according to Farkas (2006) are subject to three constraints: maximality, mutual exclusivity and verification. The article begins with an overview of some basic parallel and serial contexts in which FCIs can occur, highlighting, *inter alia*, the indefinite semantic status of these items and the semantic contribution of English *any* in subtrigged sentences. It goes on to describe two approaches to universal FCIs in the specialist literature: one propounded by Farkas (2006), the other by Jayez and Tovena (2005) and, from here, it sets out to provide “a unified treatment of universal FCIs which display both parallel and serial universality” (p. 67). Overall, the data presented indicates that the modal nature of the FCIs under analysis is responsible for their distributional constraints. In its turn, this modal nature is further contingent upon the presence of FC licensing operators, which constitute a second layer of modality.

In a related vein, **The Case of *oleacă* and *un pic* – Minimizers in Romanian** (Mihaela Zamfirescu) takes a contrastive approach to the status and behaviour of two scalar operators pertaining to two language registers in Romanian. The discussion begins with a succinct overview of the relevant literature, which shows, *inter alia*, that in natural languages expressions of infinitesimal quantity are typically drawn from a variety of conceptual spheres e.g., cookery, body parts, coins, etc. In negative contexts, such minimizers tend to acquire negative values, signalling the complete absence of any amount or quantity of whatever their governing noun denominates. For a more accurate analysis, the author argues for the importance of granularity in determining potential discrepancies between the two minimizers under investigation. To this end, the paper goes on to present experimental work on the acceptability of the positive polarity items *oleacă* (a little) and *un pic* (a bit) tested in different types of negative contexts. The experiments involved grammaticality, semantics, and naturalness judgment tasks involving native Romanian speakers. Based on the data obtained, the author argues that, unlike equivalent expressions in Japanese, for example, the difference between Romanian minimizers *oleacă* (a little) and *un pic* (a bit) appears to be only dialectal, and that the level of granularity is not a significant feature in their analysis.

Concluding this chapter is a paper on issues pertaining to the fascinating realm of onomastics. The discussion in **The Role of Names and Naming in Linguistics** (Shawn M. Clankie) is structured in two parts. The first provides an overview of onomastics and makes a case for the

importance of studying it. The author notes that research in this area seems to hold but a marginal place in linguistics, or tends to be left to its own devices. He uses examples to show how onomastic analysis can yield interesting extralinguistic and linguistic data. For instance, place names point to migration patterns and can prove highly useful in the study of morphology and historical linguistics; personal names supply valuable information about an individual's place of birth, age, or lineage. This line of discussion is particularized in the second part of the paper drawing on the author's own research and concerned mainly with the genericization of brand names. Proceeding in a reconstructivist manner, the in-depth analysis of 100-odd brand names has shown that genericization is not a random process, but follows a course which lends itself to description as a patterned kind of activity.

IDIOMATIC CALQUES AND SEMANTIC BORROWING IN ATLANTIC ENGLISH-LEXIFIER PIDGINS AND CREOLES: NEW EVIDENCE

ANDREI A. AVRAM

Abstract: The present paper provides additional attestations in English-lexifier pidgins and creoles of some of the idiomatic calques after African languages and instances of semantic borrowing from African languages listed by Parkvall and Baker (2012). The findings are assessed with respect to the light they shed on issues such as: the African substratal input in the Atlantic pidgins and creoles; the status of some diagnostic features of English-lexifier pidgins and creoles; the historical relationships among individual varieties; the Western vs. Eastern Caribbean creoles divide; the diffusion of idiomatic calques and semantic borrowing.

Keywords: pidgins, creoles, African substrate, idiomatic calques, semantic borrowing

1 Introduction

Parkvall and Baker (2012) have compiled a list of idiomatic calques after African languages or instances of semantic borrowing from African languages found in Atlantic creoles with various lexifier languages. They express the hope that their list “will encourage others to provide additional information” (2012, 231). The present contribution lists additional attestations in Atlantic English-lexifier pidgins and creoles of a number of items included in Parkvall and Baker’s list.

The corpus consists of lexicographic sources such as word-lists, glossaries, and dictionaries (Schneider 1965, Berry 1966, Fyles and Jones 1980, Allsopp 1996, Anon 2001, Cassidy and Le Page 2009, Crosbie et al. 2009, Winer 2009, Chase and Chase 2011, Baker and Pedersen 2013, Anon n.d.) as well as of textual evidence from any time in the history of

the varieties at issue. For the creoles of Antigua and St Vincent, the data also include forms elicited from native speakers¹.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 is the list of additional attestations of some of Parkvall and Baker's (2012) idiomatic calques and semantic borrowings in Atlantic English-lexifier pidgins and creoles. Section 3 discusses a number of selected items. Section 4 summarizes the findings and some of their implications.

2 List of attestations

For ease of reference, the labels and definitions of all items are from Parkvall and Baker (2012, 233-245). All entries are arranged alphabetically. All examples and quotations appear in the orthography or system of transcription used in the sources mentioned. Variants are also listed. The length of quotations has been kept to a reasonable minimum. Relevant items in quotations appear in boldface. Quotations are accompanied by their translation, if available. For the possible sources of the items listed below the reader is referred to Parkvall and Baker (2012, 233-245). The following abbreviations are used: EC = English-lexifier creole; EP = English-lexifier pidgin; FC = French-lexifier creole.

- (1) **BAD + EYE** Evil eye.
 - a. Grenada EC: *bad-eye* 'nasty look, hateful look' (Chase and Chase 2011, 23); *mal jo* 'sickness resulting from the Evil Eye/evil spirits, a spell or envy' (Chase and Chase 2011, 75).
 - b. Krio EC: /badiai/ 'the act of rolling the eyes by way of insult' (Berry 1966, 26); *badyay* 'winking of the eye in a special manner indicating contempt' (Fyle and Jones 1980, 23).
 - c. Limón EC: *bad-ai* 'the evil eye' (Holm 1978, 2).
 - d. Miskito Coast EC: *bad-ai* 'the evil eye' (Holm 1978, 2).
 - e. St Vincent EC: *bad-eye* 'an evil spell or bad magical infl caused by looking with envy or false show of goodwill at (sb or sth)' (Allsopp 1996, 65); *maldjo* 'an evil spell or bad magical infl caused by looking with envy or false show of goodwill at (sb or sth)' (Allsopp 1996, 364).
 - f. Tobago EC: *bad-eye* 'an evil spell or bad magical infl caused by looking with envy or false show of goodwill at (sb or sth)' (Allsopp 1996, 65).
 - g. Trinidad EC: *bad eye* 'a capacity to cause harm to others by looking at them with jealousy, envy, or ill-will, whether conscious or not' (Winer 2009, 37); *maljo/maljoe/malju/maljeu* 'evil eye; the belief that a conscious or unconscious look of envy or ill can harm someone' (Winer 2009, 560).
- (2) **BAD + HEAD** Forgetful, stupid.
 - a. Barbados EC: *bad head* 'the condition of being mentally unstable; a condition of insanity without violence' (Allsopp 1996, 66).

- b. Guyana EC: *bad head* ‘poor brains; lack of intelligence’; ‘the condition of being mentally unstable; a condition of insanity without violence’ (Allsopp 1996, 66).
- c. Jamaica EC: *bad head* ‘poor brains; lack of intelligence’ (Allsopp 1996, 66).
- d. Montserrat EC: *bad head* ‘poor brains; lack of intelligence’ (Allsopp 1996, 66).
- e. St Kitts EC: *head is bad* ‘the condition of being mentally unstable; a condition of insanity without violence’ (Allsopp 1996, 66).
- f. St Lucia EC: *bad head* ‘the condition of being mentally unstable; a condition of insanity without violence’ (Allsopp 1996, 66).
- g. St Vincent EC: *bad head* ‘poor brains; lack of intelligence’; ‘the condition of being mentally unstable; a condition of insanity without violence’ (Allsopp 1996, 66).
- h. Turks and Caicos EC: *bad head* ‘the condition of being mentally unstable; a condition of insanity without violence’ (Allsopp 1996, 66).
- (3) **BAD + MOUTH** To slander, curse.
- a. Antigua EC: *bad mouth* ‘speak ill of, curse’ (Avram 2012).
- b. Belize EC: *bad-mowt* ‘bad-mouth, find fault with, speak ill of’ (Crosbie et al. 2009, 37).
- c. Grenada EC: *bad mout someone* ‘talk ill of someone’ (Chase and Chase 2011, 23).
- d. St Vincent EC: *bad mout* ‘speak ill of, curse’ (Avram 2015a, 116).
- e. Trinidad EC: *bad mouth* ‘speak ill of, curse’ (Avram 2012a, 29).
- f. Virgin Islands EC: *bad mouth* ‘speak ill of, curse’. (Avram 2013a: 3).
- (4) **BIG + EYE** Greed(y).
- a. Antigua EC: *Big yeye choke mangy cat* (Avram 2012)/
- b. Bay Islands EC: *big-ai* ‘greed(y)’ (Holm 1978, 5).
- c. Belize EC: *big-eye* ‘prompt greed; avarice’ (Allsopp 1996, 99).
- d. Bay Islands EC: *big-ai* ‘greed(y)’ (Holm 1978, 5).
- e. Grenada EC: *You too big-eye, that’s why yo[u] snatch de biggest mango* ‘You’re too greedy, that’s why you snatched the biggest mango’ (Avram 2014b: 4).
- f. Limón EC: /bigay/ ‘greedy’ (Herzfeld 2002, 168).
- g. St Vincent EC: *big eye* ‘greed(y)’ (Avram 2015a, 116).
- h. Virgin Islands EC: *big eye* ‘greed(y)’ (Avram 2013a, 3).
- (5) **BIRD** Penis.
Trinidad EC: *bird* ‘penis’ (Winer 2009, 83)
- (6) **CUT + EYE** A scornful glance.
- a. Grenada EC: *cut eye* ‘cross eye; act of looking at someone askance, usually menacingly’ (Chase and Chase 2011, 45).
- b. Limón EC: *kot-ai* ‘a scornful, averted glance’ (Holm 1978, 25).
- c. Miskito Coast EC: *kot-ai* ‘a scornful, everted glance’ (Holm 1978, 25).

- (7) **DARK + EYE** Poor vision.
- Barbados EC: *dark eyes* ‘dimness of sight’ (Allsopp 1996, 187).
 - Guyana EC: *dark eyes* ‘dimness of sight’ (Allsopp 1996, 187).
 - Jamaica EC: /aris trobl wid **daak ai**/ ‘Horace’s sight is not good’ (Cassidy and Le Page 1980, 411); /ai daak/ ‘eyes are failing’ (Cassidy and Le Page 1980, 143).
 - Krio EC: *me eye dark* ‘I have a bleary vision’ (Berry 1966, 39).
- (8) **DAY + CLEAN/CLEAR** Daybreak.
- Antigua EC: *day clean* ‘daybreak’ (Avram 2012).
 - Bay Islands EC: *die-kliin* ‘day break’ (Holm 1978, 10).
 - Grenada EC: *day clean* ‘daybreak’ (Avram 2014b, 4); *jou ouvé/jou ouvé* ‘dawn, daybreak; ‘the first day of carnival celebrations in the streets – usually a Monday’ (Chase and Chase 2011, 67).
 - Limón EC: *die-kliin* ‘daybreak’ (Holm 1978, 10).
 - Miskito Coast EC: *die-kliin* ‘daybreak’ (Holm 1978, 10).
 - Virgin Islands EC: *It is ‘day clean’ when one can see to walk* (Avram 2013a, 4).
- (9) **DOOR + MOUTH** Doorway, or the place just outside the doorway of a small house or hut.
- Antigua EC: *doormouth* ‘threshold’ (Avram 2012).
 - Bay Islands EC: *duo-mout* ‘doorway; threshold’ (Holm 1978, 12).
 - Belize EC: *doa mowt* ‘doorway’ (Crosbie et al. 2009, 92).
 - Grenada EC: *a man [...] sitting in his door-mouth* ‘a man [...] sitting in his doorway’ (Avram 2014b, 5).
 - Limón EC: /dwowmowt/ ‘opening of the door’ (Herzfeld 2002, 168).
 - Miskito Coast EC: *duo-mout* ‘doorway; threshold’ (Holm 1928, 12).
 - Nigeria EP: *dormot* ‘area in front of main door to house’ (Babawili n.d.).
 - St Vincent EC: *doro mofo* ‘threshold’ (Avram 2015a, 117).
 - Trinidad EC: *door-mouth/doemout* ‘the doorway or open area of the door, threshold’ (Avram 2012a, 30).
 - Virgin Islands EC: *Me no want this man at me door mouth* ‘I don’t want this man at my threshold’ (Avram 2013a, 5).
- (10) **DRY** Thin (of persons).
- Fernando Po EC: *dray* ‘be haggard, thin’ (Yakpo 2009, 639).
 - Grenada EC: *dry* ‘slim, very slim person’ (Chase and Chase 2011, 49).
 - Krio EC: /drai/ ‘thin’ (Berry 1966, 168); *dray* ‘slim, thin’ (Fyle and Jones 1980, 78).
 - Nigeria EP: *dry* ‘slim person’ (Babawili n.d.).
 - Trinidad EC: *dry* ‘of a person, very thin and wrinkled’ (Winer 2009, 317).
- (11) **DRY + EYE** Bold(ness).
- Bahamas EC: *dry eye* (Avram 2013, 137).

- b. Belize EC: *jrai aiy* ‘barefaced, brazenness, nerve, shamelessness’ (Crosbie et al. 2009, 45).
- (12) **EXCREMENT + EARS** Ear wax.
Grenada EC: *caca zowè* ‘wax in the ears’ (Chase and Chase 2011, 34).
- (13) **EXCREMENT + EYE** Rheum.
Grenada EC: *caca djé/caca jé* ‘dried mucus formed at the corners of the eyes during sleep or as a result of an eye infection’ (Chase and Chase 2011, 34).
- (14) **EXCREMENT + NOSE** Snot.
a. Grenada EC: *caca né/caca nè* ‘dried mucus in the nose’ (Chase and Chase 2011, 34).
b. Trinidad EC: *kaka-nay* ‘dirty nose; snotty nose’ (Winer 2009, 483); *We call him Ka Ka Nez because he always digging he nose* (Winer 2009, 483).
- (15) **EYE + SKIN** Eyelid.
a. Limón EC: *ai-skin* ‘eyelid’ (Holm 1978, 1).
b. Miskito Coast EC: *ai-skin* ‘eyelid’ (Holm 1978, 1).
- (16) **EYE + WATER (WATER + EYE)** Tears.
a. Cayman Islands EC: *ai-wáta* ‘tears’ (Holm 1978, 1).
b. Limón EC: */aywata/* ‘tear’ (Herzfeld 2002, 168).
c. Miskito Coast EC: *ai wáta* ‘tears’ (Holm 1978, 1).
d. Providencia Island EC: *ai wáta* ‘tear’ (Holm 1978, 1); *shii wash dem wid ihn ai-waata (Di Fos Five Buk a di Nyuu Testament... 2010, 152).*
e. St Vincent EC: *aiwaata* ‘tear’ (Avram 2015a, 117).
f. Trinidad EC: *eye-water* ‘tears’ (Winer 2009, 333).
g. Virgin Islands EC: *eyewater* (Avram 2013a, 5).
- (17) **FOOT** Foot and (part of) leg.
a. Belize EC: *fut* ‘foot; leg’ (Crosbie et al. 2009, 120).
b. Fernando Po EC: *fut* ‘foot, leg’ (Yakpo 2009, 641).
c. Grenada EC: *foot* ‘leg, foot’ (Chase and Chase 2011, 54).
d. Limón EC: *fut* ‘leg (from knee down) and foot’ (Holm 1978, 15).
e. Miskito Coast EC: *fut* ‘leg (from knee down) and foot’ (Holm 1978, 15).
f. St Kitts EC: *foot* ‘foot and lower leg’ (Baker and Pederson 2013, 133).
- (18) **FOOT + BOTTOM** Sole of the foot.
a. Bay Islands EC: *fut-batam* ‘the sole of the foot’ (Holm 1978, 15).
b. Belize EC: *fut batam* ‘sole of the foot’; *Mi fut batam mi-di bon mi* ‘The soles of my feet were burning’ (Crosbie et al. 2009, 120).
c. Cayman Islands EC: *fut-batam* ‘the sole of the foot’ (Holm 1978, 15).
d. Limón EC: *fut-batam* ‘the sole of the foot’ (Holm 1978, 15).
e. Miskito Coast EC: *fut-batam* ‘the sole of the foot’ (Holm 1978, 15).

- f. Providencia EC: *waip di dos [...] aafa wi fut batam* (*Di Fos Five Buk a di Nyuu Testament...* 2010, 162).
- (19) **GET + BELLY** Be(come) pregnant.
- Belize EC: *gal/geh/kech beli* ‘be or become pregnant’ (Crosbie et al. 2009, 47).
 - Cameroon EC: *get beli* ‘pregnant’ (Schneider 1966, 50).
 - Fernando Po EC: *get bêlé* ‘be pregnant’ (Yakpo 2009, 637).
 - Nigeria EP: *get belle* ‘get pregnant’ (Babawili n.d.).
- (20) **GET + SENSE** Be intelligent.
- Belize EC: *Da gyal ga lat a sens fi soh yong*. ‘That girl has lots of sense for one so young’ (Crosbie et al. 2009, 307).
 - Fernando Po EC: *get sens* ‘be intelligent’ (Yakpo 2009, 649).
- (21) **GOAT + MOUTH** One who predicts unfortunate events or threatens evil.
- Barbados EC: *I am not putting goat mouth on anybody* (Allsopp 1996, 260).
 - Belize EC: *gowt mowt* ‘prediction or prophecy particularly of failure or misfortune’ (Crosbie et al. 2009, 126).
 - Grenada EC: *goat mouth* (Avram 2014b, 5).
 - Limón EC: *guot-mout* ‘mouth with power of prophesy or curses’ (Holm 1978, 15).
 - Miskito Coast EC: *guot-mout* ‘mouth with power of prophesy or curses’ (Holm 1978, 15).
 - St Vincent EC: *Wha’ happen to you, goat-mouth bite you?* ‘What happened to you, are you bewitched?’ (Avram 2015a, 117).
 - Tobago EC: *you have goat-mouth and you just goin[g] to make it fall* (Allsopp 1996, 260).
 - Virgin Islands EC: *Don’ come roun’ hea’ to goat mouth mi family*. ‘Don’t come around here to bring misfortune upon my family’ (Avram 2013a, 5).
- (22) **GOD + HORSE** Mantis, etc.
- Barbados EC: *mgod-horse* ‘the green praying mantis or the brown, wingless stick-insect [...] of the family Phasmidae’ (Allsopp 1996, 261); *as thin as god-horse* (Allsopp 1996, 261).
 - Grenada EC: *god horse* ‘stick insect’ (Chase and Chase 2011, 58).
 - Krio EC: /gɔðs/ ‘praying mantis’ (Berry 1966, 168).
 - Miskito Coast EC: *gad haars* ‘praying mantis’ (Holm 1978, 15).
- (23) **GOD + MARK** Birthmark.
- Jamaica EC: *God-mark* ‘a birthmark, thought to be given by God’ (Cassidy and Le Page 1980, 496).
- (24) **HAND** Hand and (lower) arm.
- Belize EC: *han* ‘hand and any part of the arm up to the shoulder’ (Crosbie et al. 2009, 141).

- b. Cameroon EP: *han* ‘arm; hand’ (Schneider 1965, 4 and 29).
- c. Fernando Po EC: *han* ‘hand, arm’ (Yakpo 2009, 642).
- d. Grenada EC: *han* ‘hand, arm’ (Chase and Chase 2011, 61).
- e. Krio EC: /*an/* ‘hand, arm’ (Berry 1966, 178); *an* ‘the whole arm, from shoulder to fingertips; the hand as part of the body’ (Fyle and Jones 1980, 11).
- f. Limón EC: /*han/* ‘arm and hand’ (Herzfeld 2002, 168).

(25) **HARD + EARS** Stubborn.

- a. Bahamas EC: *hard ears* ‘stubbornly disobedient’ (Allsopp 1996, 284).
- b. Barbados EC: *hard ears* ‘stubbornly disobedient’ (Allsopp 1996, 284).
- c. Belize EC: *haad-ayz/ayz haad* ‘stubbornly disobedient’ (Crosbie et al. 2009, 33).
- d. Dominica EC: *hard ears* ‘stubbornly disobedient’ (Allsopp 1996, 284).
- e. Grenada EC: ***hard-eye*²** (*willful*) *pickney never go good* ‘a stubborn child will never be good’ (Avram 2014b:7); *hard ears* ‘stubbornly disobedient’ (Allsopp 1996, 284).
- f. Limón EC: *haad ierz* ‘stubbornly disobedient’ (Holm 1978, 18).
- g. Miskito Coast EC: *haad ierz* ‘stubbornly disobedient’ (Holm 1978, 18).
- h. Providencia Island EC: *haad ierz* ‘stubbornly disobedient’ (Holm 1978, 18); ‘stubbornness’ *unu stap unu haad iez* (*Di Fos Five Buk a di Nyuu Testament...* 2010, 27).
- i. Nevis EC: *hard ears* ‘stubbornly disobedient’ (Allsopp 1996, 284).
- j. St Vincent EC: *haad eiz* ‘stubbornness’ (Avram 2015a, 120).

(26) **HARD + HAIR** Tightly curled hair.

- a. Barbados EC: *hard hair* ‘a black person’s hair [...] that is naturally short, thick close and difficult to comb’ (Allsopp 1996, 66 and 284).
- b. Belize EC: *hard hair* ‘a black person’s hair [...] that is naturally short, thick close and difficult to comb’ (Allsopp 1996, 66 and 284).
- c. Grenada EC: *hard hair* ‘tangled hair that is difficult to loose with a comb’ (Chase and Chase 2011, 62).
- d. Guyana EC: *The Afro really suits people with hard hair* (Allsopp 1996, 284).
- e. Miskito Coast EC: *haad hier* ‘tough, nappy hair’ (Holm 1978, 18).
- f. Trinidad EC: *hard hair* ‘tightly curled African-type hair’ (Winer 2009, 420).

(27) **HARD + HEAD (HEAD + HARD)** Stubborn.

- a. Barbados EC: *hard-head* ‘you don’t learn anything’ (Anon. n.d.).
- b. Bay Islands EC: *haad hed* ‘slow learner’ (Holm 1978, 18).
- c. Cayman Islands EC: *haad hed* ‘slow learner’ (Holm 1978, 18).
- d. Limón EC: *haad hed* ‘slow learner’ (Holm 1978, 18).
- e. Miskito Coast EC: *haad hed* ‘slow learner’ (Holm 1978, 18).
- f. Montserrat EC: *hard head* ‘obstinate’ (Allsopp 1996, 284).
- g. Providencia EC: *haad hed* ‘slow learner’ (Holm 1978, 18).
- h. St Kitts EC: *hard head* ‘stubborn’ (Baker and Pederson 2013, 139).
- i. St Lucia EC: *hard head* ‘obstinate’ (Allsopp 1996, 284).
- j. Turks and Caicos EC: *hard head* ‘obstinate’ (Allsopp 1996, 284).

(28) **HEAR** Understand, obey.

- a. Belize EC: *hya* ‘understand’; *yu no taim hyaa weh Ai di chrai tel yu* ‘you never understand what I’m trying to tell you’ (Crosbie et al. 2009, 152).
- b. Cameroon EP: *hia* ‘understand’ (Schneider 1965, 65).
- c. Fernando Po EC: *hia* ‘hear, understand’ (Yakpo 2009, 642).
- d. Krio EC: /yeri/ ‘to understand; to obey, listen to advice’ (Berry 1966, 180).
- e. Miskito Coast EC: *hier* ‘to understand; to obey’ (Holm 1978, 19).
- f. Nigeria EP: *hear* ‘understand a language; obey instruction; comprehend what is being said’ (Babawili n.d.).

(29) **HEART + BURN** Anger.

- a. Jamaica EC: *gee me heart burn* (Avram forthcoming).
- b. Krio EC: *atbɔn* ‘thing that is a source of pain, anger, grief’ (Fyle and Jones 1980, 15).
- c. Trinidad EC: *You heart burn* (Avram 2012a, 31).
- d. St Vincent EC: *haat bun* (Avram 2015a, 118).

(30) **HONEY** Honey; bee.

- a. Belize EC: *loakos ahn wail honi* 2012 (*Di Nyoo Testament eena Bileez Kriol* 2012, 6).
- b. Miskito Coast EC: *hóni* ‘the honey bee’ (Holm 1978, 20).
- c. Providencia EC: *wail hony* (*Di Fos Five Buk a di Nyuu Testament...2010*, 6).

(31) **LONG + EYE (EYE + LONG)** Irritatingly covetous; having a prompt longing for something just seen; to be covetous.

- a. Anguilla EC: *Your eyes too long* (Allsopp 1996, 220).
- b. Guyana EC: *long-eye* ‘irritatingly covetous; having a prompt longing for something just seen’ (Allsopp 1996, 353).

(32) **MAMMY + WATER (WATER + MAMA)** Water spirit.

Nigeria EP: *mammy water* ‘mermaid’ (Babawili n.d.).

MOON Menstruate, menstruation.

(33) Krio EC: /mun/ ‘(in women’s speech only) monthly period, menstruation’ (Berry 1966, 269); *mun* ‘woman’s menses’ (Fyle and Jones 1980, 253).

(34) **MOTHER/FATHER₁** Exclamation.

- a. Antigua EC: *papa* ‘expression of surprise, usu with amusement or approval’ (Allsopp 1996, 427).
- b. Fernando Po EC: *mà má* ‘expression of surprise or shock’ (Yakpo 2009, 645); *papa* ‘expression of surprise or shock’ (Yakpo 2009, 647).
- c. Grenada EC: *mama yo!* ‘expression denoting shock and surprise’ (Anon. 2001); *mama oh!* ‘expr. of surprise’ (Chase and Chase 2011, 75); *papa yo!* ‘exclamation of surprise’ (Anon. 2001); *papa oh!* ‘bewilderment, disappointment, surprise’ (Chase and Chase 2011, 86).

- d. Jamaica EC: *mama* ‘expression of astonishment, fascination, anger, rejection, etc.’ (Allsopp 1996, 365); *Wind I got o my stomach, mama, is on account I don’t get my grub regular* (Avram 2015b, 23).
- e. Tobago EC: *papa* ‘expression of surprise, usu with amusement or approval’ (Allsopp 1996, 427).

(35) **MOTHER/FATHER₂** Very big.

- a. Barbados EC: *father* ‘[used as an intensifier of another n wh it often follows] a tremendous, terrific, or most impressive one (of sth)’ (Allsopp 1996, 226); *This is the trumpet father!* (Allsopp 1996, 226).
- b. Tobago EC: *father* ‘[used as an intensifier of another n wh it often follows] a tremendous, terrific, or most impressive one (of sth)’ (Allsopp 1996, 226); *That girl have personality father* (Allsopp 1996, 226).
- c. Trinidad EC: *father* ‘[used as an intensifier of another n wh it often follows] a tremendous, terrific, or most impressive one (of sth)’ (Allsopp 1996, 226).

(36) **MOUTH + FAST** Talk too much.

- a. Jamaica EC: /fáas-móut/ ‘impertinent in speech; rude-mouthed’ (Cassidy and Le Page 1980, 173).
- b. Krio EC: *mɔ fas* ‘person [who] speaks before he ought to, speaks out of turn’ (Fyle and Jones 1980, 252).

(37) **ONE + TIME** Right now, etc.

- a. Antigua EC: *Me get some blow wan time* ‘I once got a blow’ (Avram 2012b).
- b. Barbados EC: *one time* ‘(at) once’ (Baker and Huber 2001, 202).
- c. Bay Islands EC: *wan taim* ‘right now; at once’ (Holm 1978, 51).
- d. Belize EC: *wan taim* ‘once, at one time’ (Crosbie et al. 2009, 366).
- e. Cameroon EP: *wan taym* ‘once’ (Schneider 1965, 44).
- f. Cayman Islands EC: *wan taim* ‘right now; at once’ (Holm 1978, 51).
- g. Grenada EC: *Safeguard your home one time* ‘Safeguard your home at once’ (Avram 2002, 80); *one time was* ‘once [upon a time] there was’ (Avram 2014b, 9).
- h. Jamaica EC: *one time* ‘(at) once’ (Baker and Huber 2001, 202).
- i. Krio EC: /wantem/ ‘once and for all’ (Berry 1966, 9).
- j. Limón EC: *wan taim* ‘right now; at once’ (Holm 1978, 51).
- k. Miskito Coast EC: *wan taim* ‘right now; at once’ (Holm 1978, 51).
- l. Providencia EC: *wan taim wan faama when gaan out* (*Di Fos Five Buk a di Nyuu Testament...2010, 32*)
- m. St Kitts-Nevis EC: *one time* ‘(at) once’ (Baker and Pederson 2013, 157).
- n. St Vincent EC: *One time was a very good time* ‘There were good times once’ (Avram 2015a, 124).
- o. Trinidad EC: *one time* (Avram 2012a, 35).
- p. Virgin Islands EC: *One time ol’ king* ‘Once the old king’ (Avram 2013a, 11).

- (38) **PICK + MOUTH** Get information.
- Belize EC: *pik mowt* ‘trap with one’s own words’ (Crosbie et al. 2009, 265).
 - Grenada EC: *pick someone’s mout* ‘get useful information from someone for one’s purpose, sometimes without the speaker’s knowledge of the enquirer’s intentions, or sometimes with their knowledge’ (Chase and Chase 2011, 89).
- (39) **RED** Person with a (comparatively) light-skinned complexion. Red, yellow, orange, brown, etc.
- Barbados EC: *redman* ‘a brown or light-skinned Negro’ (Anon. n.d.).
 - Grenada EC: *red ‘pej.* Used to designate light skinned persons *usu.* of Black and White ancestry’ (Chase and Chase 2011, 94).
 - Limón EC: *red* ‘colors ranging from orange to purple’ (Holm 1978, 39).
- (40) **RED + EYE** To want another person’s belonging, envious.
- Belize EC: *red ay* ‘envy; become covetous or envious’ (Crosbie et al. 2009, 286).
 - Providencia EC: *Ai when heva red-ai wen ih kom tu mony or kluoz (Di Fos Five Buk a di Nyuu Testament... 2010, 318).*
- (41) **SEE + MOON** Menstruate.
- Trinidad EC: *see moon* ‘have a menstrual period’ (Winer 2009, 800).
- (42) **SKIN** Body.
- Fernando Po EC: *skin* ‘body’ (Yakpo 2009, 650).
 - Jamaica EC: /kin/ ‘the body (as enclosed in the skin)’ (Cassidy and Le Page 1980, 411).
 - St Vincent EC: *my kin [...] da hurt me* ‘my skin is hurting’ (Avram 2015a, 117).
 - Trinidad EC: *skin* ‘self; body; person’ (Winer 2009, 825).
- (43) **STICK** Tree.
- Fernando Po EC: *stik/tik* ‘tree, branch, stick, wood’ (Yakpo 2009, 650).
 - Miskito Coast EC: ‘wood; tree’; *piis a stik; a stik niem pain ud*’ (Holm 1978, 45).
- (44) **STRONG + EYE** Domineering, etc.
- Limón EC: *strang-ai* ‘self-willed, domineering’ (Holm 1978, 45).
 - Miskito Coast EC: *strang-ai* ‘self-willed, domineering’ (Holm 1978, 45).
- (45) **STRONG + MOUTH** Insolence.
- Krio EC: *trangamot* ‘boastfulness in speech, boastful speech’ (Fyle and Jones 1980, 374).
 - Limón EC: *strang-mout* ‘boisterous insolence’ (Holm 1978, 45).
 - Miskito Coast EC: *strang-mout* ‘boisterous insolence’ (Holm 1978, 45).

(46) SWEET + EYE Tender glances.

- a. Grenada EC: *sweet eye* ‘act of making a sensual or lustful wink at someone’ (Chase and Chase 2011, 108).
- b. Krio EC: /switai/ ‘flirtation; to flirt, to chase after women’ (Berry 1966, 405); *swityay* ‘honey-eyed, extremely fond of the opposite sex; such honey-eyedness, such fondness’ (Fyle and Jones 1980, 356).

(47) SWEET + MOUTH Flatter(y).

- a. Antigua EC: *No mek sweet mout’ fool you* ‘Don’t let flattery fool you.’ (Avram 2012).
- b. Belize EC: *sweet mowt* ‘flattering mouth’ (Crosbie et al. 2009, 340).
- c. Grenada EC: *She only givin[g] them a lot of sweet-mout[h] to make them buy ticket* ‘She’s only flattering them to make them buy tickets’ (Avram 2014b:7).
- d. St Kitts EC: *sweetmouth* ‘to flatter; flattery’ (Baker and Pederson 2013, 172).
- e. St Vincent EC: *Don’t worry sweet-mout me wid all dose nice words* ‘Don’t bother flattering me with all those nice words’ (Avram 2015a, 121).
- f. Virgin Islands EC: *sweet mout’* ‘flatter(y)’ (Avram 2013a, 8).

(48) SWEET + TALK Flatter(y), etc.

- a. Bay Islands EC: *swiit-taak* ‘to coax or flatter; coaxing, flattery’ (Holm 1978, 46).
- b. Belize EC: *sweet-taak* ‘sweet-talk, persuasive words’ (Crosbie et al. 2009, 341).
- c. Limón EC: *swiit-taak* ‘to coax or flatter; coaxing, flattery’ (Holm 1978, 46).
- d. Miskito Coast EC: *swiit-taak* ‘to coax or flatter; coaxing, flattery’ (Holm 1978, 46).
- e. Montserrat EC: *After sweet talking the public into buying them* (Allsopp 1996, 543).
- f. St Kitts-Nevis EC: *But sweet-talk can move mountains* (Allsopp 1996, 543).
- g. Trinidad EC: *sweet talk* ‘flattery; flirtatious; complimentary talk’ (Winer 2009, 868).

(49) WOOD Penis.

- a. Grenada EC: *wood* ‘penis’ Chase and Chase (2011, 118).
- b. Trinidad EC: *wood* ‘penis; male sexual organ’ (Winer 2009, 970).

3 Discussion of selected items

The distribution of several items in Parkvall and Baker’s (2012) list needs to be reassessed in light of the additional attestations in section 2.

GET + SENSE Be intelligent. The phrase has been shown to occur in Belize EC, a Caribbean variety. Hence, its distribution is not restricted to West African varieties, contra Parkvall and Baker (2012, 238).

HEART + BURN Anger. This item is presumably no longer used in Jamaican EC since it is not recorded in Cassidy and Le Page (2009).

However, it is attested in 1781, in the oldest Jamaica EC text, as well as in a later text, in 1823 (Avram forthcoming).

MOTHER/FATHER₁ Exclamation. With respect to its distribution in English-lexifier pidgins and creoles, Parkvall and Baker (2012, 241) specify “(Eastern Caribbean EC)”. However, it also occurs in Jamaica EC – a Western Caribbean variety. Moreover, the fact that it is also recorded in Fernando Po EC shows that its distribution is not limited to the Caribbean.

MOTHER/FATHER₂ Very big. Parkvall and Baker (2012, 241) provide attestations in French-lexifier creoles exclusively, but the item also occurs in 3 English-lexifier creoles,

The additional attestations in section 2 also call into question the origin or the classification as (potential) idiomatic calques of several items.

HARD + HEAD (HEAD + HARD) Stubborn. Although they list potential models in various African languages, Parkvall and Baker (2012, 239) conclude that French *tête dure* is “the likely source of the forms in [...] FCs” as well as “potentially in those ECs currently or formerly spoken alongside FCs”. They rightly add that “this cannot easily account for the forms in Bahamas EC and Guyana EC” (Parkvall and Baker 2012, 239). The case for a French origin is further weakened by the additional attestations in section 2. The item is found in 8 more English-lexifier creoles which have never been used alongside French-lexifier varieties, namely Barbados EC, Bay Islands EC, Cayman Islands EC, Limón EC, Miskito Coast EC, Montserrat EC, Providencia EC, and Turks and Caicos EC.

BAD + EYE Evil eye. Structurally identical forms are found in Grenada and Trinidad in the local, historically older French-lexifier creoles, as well as in St Vincent where a French-lexifier creole is believed to have been once spoken: Grenada FC *maljo* (Chase and Chase 2011, 75), St Vincent EC *maljo* (Allsopp 1996, 364), Trinidad FC *malzie* (Winer 2009, 560). Moreover, these forms have been borrowed by Grenada EC, St Vincent EC, Trinidad EC, in which they also occur in several phrases and expressions (Allsopp 1996, 364). Therefore, *bad-eye/bad eye* in Grenada EC, St Vincent EC and Trinidad EC may well be calques after the model provided by the French-lexifier varieties rather than after African substrate languages.

DAY + CLEAN/CLEAR Daybreak. A structurally similar form is attested in the French-lexifier creole spoken in Grenada (Parkvall and Baker 2012, 235, Chase and Chase 2011, 67). Moreover, the originally Grenada FC form has also been borrowed by Grenada EC, in which *day clean* and *jou*

ouvé/jou ouvè coexist. In St Lucia the form *jou ouvè* found in the French-lexifier creole (Crosbie et al. 2001, 95) has been borrowed by the local English-lexifier variety (Parkvall and Baker 2012, 235). Consider also the form *jouvay/jour ouvert/jouvert*, which has been borrowed by Trinidad EC from the local French-lexifier variety. Phonologically, it is an assimilated loanword, since in addition to [ʒuve], as in Trinidad FC, it is pronounced [dʒuve] (Winer 2009, 473). Semantically, however, it appears to have undergone specialization/narrowing. The Trinidad FC-derived form means ‘the official beginning of Carnival, at daybreak on the Monday preceding Ash Wednesday’ (Winer 2009, 473), whereas the compound *dayclean*, also found in Trinidad EC, means ‘dawn, daybreak, the moment when the light becomes clear and full’ (Winer 2009, 286). Summing up Grenada EC *day-clean* and Trinidad EC *day clean* might arguably be traced to a source in the local French-lexifier creole rather than directly reflect the influence of the African substrate.

EXCREMENT + EARS Ear wax, and **EXCREMENT + EYE** Rheum. The Grenada EC forms are borrowed from Grenada FC (Chase and Chase 2011, 34). Hence, only the forms in the latter may turn out to be calques after African languages.

EXCREMENT + NOSE Snot. The Grenada EC form is a borrowing from Grenada FC (Chase and Chase 2011, 34), and the Trinidad EC form is borrowed from Trinidad FC (Winer 2009, 483). In both cases, then, it is the form in the local French-lexifier variety which might reflect the influence of the African substrate.

GOD + HORSE Mantis, etc. The entry for the Grenada EC form in Chase and Chase (2011, 58) includes the specification “< *chouval bon Dié*”; note that the symbol < is used to indicate the “known etymology (usually most recent)” (Chase and Chase 2011, 18). Therefore, Grenada EC *god horse* is a loan translation of the Grenada FC form. Consider next the situation in Trinidad EC. Winer (2009, 387) specifies in the entry for *god-horse/godhorse* “= *cheval bon dieu*”, where the symbol = reads “synonym (equivalent)” (Winer 2009, xviii). Moreover, the Trinidad FC form itself has been borrowed by Trinidad EC: *cheval bon dieu* is listed in Winer (2009, 198). These facts suggest that Trinidad EC *god-horse/godhorse* is a calque after Trinidad FC *cheval bonje* (see Winer 2009, 198) rather than after a potential African source.

Finally, whether still other forms are calques at all is far from certain. To further complicate matters, these forms also attest to the complexity of the situation, given that, as put by (Parkvall and Baker 2012, 232), “what would have been a calque for some participants [in the multilingual contact situation] would have been a lexical innovation for others”.

EYE + WATER (WATER + EYE) Tears. According to Holm (2000, 104), “such compounds may have resulted from a universal strategy for expanding a Pidgin vocabulary to fill lexical gaps”. For Parkvall (2000, 113), *eyewater* is an example of a word “that could predictably be invented on the spot by anybody not knowing any other word”, typically by lexicalizing semantically transparent compounds. Such compounds are also found in pidgins and creoles with a substratal input which differs from that of Atlantic English-lexifier pidgins and creoles, e.g. Tok Pisin *aiwara* literally ‘eye water’ (Avram 2004, 84) or Juba Arabic *móya-eena* literally ‘water eye’ (Avram 2004, 102). As rightly concluded by Parkvall (2000, 113), “much of what may look African in Creole semantics may therefore well be but an indirect manifestation of former Pidginhood”.

HARD + HEAD Stubborn, SWEET + EYE Tender glances, SWEET + MOUTH Flatter(y), and SWEET + TALK Flatter(y) may be examples of “metaphors [which] are so obvious that they may be expected to turn up by coincidence or ‘reinvention’” (Cassidy 1971, 215). **SWEET + MOUTH Flatter(y)**, for instance, is also found in Bislama, a Pacific variety: *switmaot* ‘flattery’ (Avram 2004, 92).

4 Conclusions

The additional attestations of idiomatic calques and semantic borrowing contribute to a better assessment of the extent of the potential African substrate influence on English-lexifier pidgins and creoles.

Additional attestations have been found for 49 of the 98 items in Parkvall and Baker’s (2012) list. This is evidence of their wider distribution across Atlantic English-lexifier pidgins and creoles, in some cases considerably so. For instance, **DOOR + MOUTH** Doorway, or the place just outside the doorway of a small house or hut has been shown to be recorded in 10 more varieties, **HARD + EARS** Stubborn in 10, and **ONE + TIME** Right now, etc. in 16. Also, it has been shown that **MOTHER + FATHER₂** Very big occurs in Atlantic English-lexifier creoles as well.

The additional attestations shed light on the pattern of distribution of particular items. Two such items, **GET + SENSE** Be intelligent and **MOTHER + FATHER₁** Exclamation, have been shown to occur both in West Africa and in the Caribbean. Also, **MOTHER + FATHER₁** Exclamation cannot serve for establishing isoglosses between the Western and the Eastern Caribbean English-lexifier creoles (see also Avram 2015, 23).

Twelve items for which additional attestations have been provided figure among the diagnostic features of English-lexifier pidgins and creoles proposed by Baker and Huber (2001, 197-204): **BAD + EYE** Evil

eye, **BIG + EYE** Greed(y), **DAY + CLEAN/CLEAR** Daybreak, **DOOR + MOUTH** Doorway, or the place just outside the doorway of a small house or hut, **DRY + EYE** Bold(ness), **EYE + WATER (WATER + EYE)** Tears, **GOAT + MOUTH** One who predicts unfortunate events or threatens evil, **HARD + EARS** Stubborn, **HEART + BURN** Anger, **HONEY** Honey; bee, **ONE + TIME** Right now, etc., and **SWEET + MOUTH** Flatter(y). The diagnostic features of English-lexifier pidgins and creoles are of particular importance for determining the linguistic relationships among individual varieties. Consider in this respect the potential role of transplanted creoles in the diffusion of idiomatic calques and of semantic borrowings. As shown by Parkvall (2000, 125), for instance, the English-lexifier creoles of Dominica, St Lucia, Grenada, St Vincent, Trinidad and Tobago [...] are all late developments (late 18th century onwards) which “seem to represent koinés with varying proportions of Barbadian and Leewards influences”. Consequently, (some of) the calques and semantic borrowings may also have been transplanted, i.e. they are not necessarily independent developments *in situ*. Similarly, Limón EC is a form of Jamaica EC transplanted to Costa Rica in the 1870s (Holm 1989, 484). Hence, Jamaica EC may be the source of the calques and semantic borrowings shared by it with Limón EC. This may also hold for other varieties historically related to Jamaica EC, e.g. Bay Islands EC, Belize EC, Cayman Islands EC, Miskito Coast EC, and Providencia EC.

More generally, the data point to the necessity of operating a principled distinction between instances of direct and of indirect idiomatic calques and semantic borrowing. The former directly reflect African substratal influence on Atlantic English-lexifier pidgins and creoles. The latter include borrowings from French-lexifier creoles, forms based on models found in French-lexifier creoles, and items diffused via transplanted creoles.

Also, the potential substratal input accounting for idiomatic calques and semantic borrowings) needs to be distinguished from instances which may be accounted for in terms of semantic transparency or which are cross-linguistically widespread metaphors.

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