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**Diachronic development of endemic features in Hawai‘i Creole English:
new insights on the role of substrate models**

Hawai‘i Creole English (HCE) has held an important place in creole studies ever since Bickerton (1981, 1984) promoted this variety as proof of the catastrophic formation of creole languages. Roberts (2005) instead argued that HCE arose gradually over several decades and identified three principal phases of development: (1) a pidgin phase with worldwide features (Baker & Huber 2001) drawn largely from South Seas Jargon and Chinese Pidgin English, (2) an early creole phase involving bilingual locally-born speakers systematizing earlier grammatical features (especially past tense *been*, infinitive *for*, and indefinite article *one*), and (3) a later creole phase involving increasingly English-monolingual LB speakers who added endemic innovations reflecting a combined Hawaiian-Chinese-Portuguese substrate, while leveling out many older WW features. The intermediate phase was attested only in texts between 1900 and 1920 and the more elaborated creole did not appear until after 1920.

However this account is flawed and needs revision. A new source documenting the intermediate phase has been discovered, dating to 1888-1889. This pushes the date of emergence back some 20 years. The texts were attributed to Hawaiians or Part-Hawaiians, so the variety is still linked to the LB population, and Hawaiians were the first to shift to English (later joined by Portuguese, then Chinese, and finally Japanese). Substratal explanations for the origin of HCE endemic features were pursued in Roberts (2005) and Siegel (2000, 2008); Portuguese models loomed large in the analysis of two features: IP-complementation with *for* (e.g. *My mother tell for I stop home*, ‘My mother told me to stay home’) and progressive/imperfective *stay VERB (-ing)*. With respect to the complementizer, Portuguese models alone cannot explain the feature’s origin, as it occurs in the new corpus — too early for substantial Portuguese influence (as it represents the speech of Hawaiians and Portuguese became numerous only in the 1880s). If Bickerton’s Edict is to be respected, a potential substrate model should be sought in Hawaiian.

Hawaiian has a multivalent marker *e*, which marks both infinitives and imperatives (Elbert & Puku‘i 1979:61). In reported directives (RD), the embedded request may contain a nominative subject that is co-referential with the implied object of the main verb. This matches the pattern in HCE of *for* marking both infinitives and IP complements with nominative subjects. The first attestation of this feature in 1889, in fact, is in a RD. The Irwin corpus from 1915-1918 also shows a bias towards RDs (see also the above example from 1921). Later texts contain mainly non-RDs. The Portuguese model cited in Roberts and Siegel may have contributed to the generalization of this feature beyond directive sentences.

Although the HCE aspect marker *stay* closely resembles Portuguese *estar* in form and function, the earliest examples of preverbal *stay* in the 1910s (in the intermediate variety) better reflect Hawaiian models (idioms in which the locative verb *noho* combines with other verbs).

These and other facts indicate that Hawaiian had an early decisive influence, later supplemented by Portuguese and Chinese when proto-HCE spread from Hawaiians to the wider LB population.

References

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