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— NO. 28 —

DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS OF
EARLY JAMAICAN CREOLE

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(I)

The growth of Jamaican Creole begins with the arrival of the English expeditionary forces to the south coast of Jamaica in 1655. But there are some remainings of the pre-Jamaican Creole days in place names, loan words and food-stuffs' names which remind us of Jamaica's Arawak and Spanish past.¹⁾ And the Maroons²⁾ form the link between Spanish Jamaica and English Jamaica. They asserted their freedom from both Spanish and English domination after 1655. In fact, a small number of Africans and Amerindians remained in Jamaica after the departure of the Spanish. They might have passed their knowledge of crops and forestry on to the English and new Africans. That is to say, there might have been some influence of Spanish and Arawak on the 'newcomers.'

The Arawaks, the original inhabitants, had lived on the island for about seven centuries before the coming of Europeans. They had settled along the hills overlooking the coastal plains. In 1494, Columbus arrived here as the first European, and Spanish settlement began in 1509. The Arawaks became the first slave labour for the Spanish. Estimates of the Arawak population in those days vary widely, which range from 20,000 to 600,000, and it is difficult to trace their decline in detail. For one thing, their settlement patterns were so easy to conquer that their population

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declined drastically within one hundred years; for another, an epidemic disease is said to have swept the island.

Although there are no exact figures available for the movements of people and the changes of population within sixteenth-century Jamaica, Spanish people forced Indian and African slaves to work in mining, farming, building and stock breeding (ranching). The Arawaks (they spoke Taino as a native language) and West Africans had various contacts (daily, constant, or personal ones) with Spanish colonists, Portuguese Christians and Jews, and Amerindians brought in as slaves from other parts of the Caribbean. These contact situations must have led to the original pidginization or bilingualism among the first generation with mixed blood. According to a Spanish census for the Spanish Antilles (Jamaica was one of them) in 1570,³⁾ 86,650 people settled in twenty-four legally recognized towns and they constituted of 8,500 (9%) Spanish people, 22,150 (26 %) Indians, and 56,000 (65 %) Africans (including Mestizos and Mulattoes). These data exclude the populations in non-legal towns and rural areas, but the percentile breakdown of each number above may suggest something on the population structure in Jamaica.

In the course of the sixteenth century the native Jamaican population declined disastrously, because an epidemic killed many of the Arawaks and other slaves. Its proportion of the population died is unknown, but in 1615 an abbot of Jamaica reported to the king of Spain that seventy-four Arawak survived on the island.⁴⁾ The Spanish soon began

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to import West African slaves to make up for the loss. But at first they imported creole Iberians who were culturally similar to their Spanish and Portuguese masters.⁵⁾ Because blacks were well known in the Iberian peninsula by the beginning of sixteenth century and the Portuguese, the first Europeans to engage in the African slave trade, were well established by then.

By 1550 the number of African slaves had grown much higher than those of the native Jamaicans. About 15,000 slaves had been imported to Spanish America (including Jamaica) from 1521 to 1550.⁶⁾ This number became 36,000 in the case of 1550~1595.⁷⁾ As the trade in African slaves became popular among European countries in the sixteenth century, language usage in the Caribbean must have presented a multiple transformations: namely it must have changed from place to place. In a Portuguese port, for example, a Portuguese lingua franca would have been learned, on a Dutch ship a Dutch pidgin, and in a British colony an English-based pidgin would have been learned and used successively.

There were some large-scale social and demographic changes in this and the next century: the economic stagnation of Jamaica between 1550 and 1655, the gradual shift of Spanish settlements from the north coast to the southern savannahs, and demographic shift from Arawak majority to African majority. The last would be crucial in that the demographic change must have brought about a wide range of language acquisition patterns. Considering the small population of the island, moreover, its thin distribution

over savannahs and hill country, its socioeconomic structure, and its ethnic complexity, their contact situations probably varied widely from slaves to slaves, which might have led to a certain kind of variation continuum with a wide range of languages and intermediate varieties.

Some Africans worked as hunters, cowherds, field hands, and subsistence farmers, and others worked as domestics and artisans. The former workers would have had less exposure to Spanish or Portuguese (which were masters' languages, especially the latter was used mainly by the small community of Sephardic Jews) than the latter ones, but their contact with Taino (which was the native language of the Arawaks) would have been closer than that of the latter (urban slaves).

Barbara Lalla and Jean D'Costa (1990 : 14) estimate the situation in the following way :

Townfolk, for example, would have been in regular contact with the two European languages, the speech of black and mixed creoles (who may have acquired some Taino and kept features of their African mother tongues), and the languages of newly arrived Africans. In the rural parts, one would probably have found, for example, Afro-Hispanic and Afro-Arawak farmhands and cow-hunters using a speech form in which Spanish, Taino, and one or more languages of Upper Guinea or of the Congo area played a part.

As a result, there may have brought about a continuum

of varieties between the 'standard' Spanish or Portuguese and the pidgin or the creole, according to the amount of contacts with the standard variety. Linguistic features of domestics, for example, who had much contacts with white families, may have tended to change in the direction to the standard variety (or acrolect). Those of field hands, on the other hand, who had less contacts with the standard variety speakers, may have changed in the direction to the most nonstandard variety (or basilect).

Two other aspects deserve our attention. One is the difference in contact situations being compared to that of the later days. The Jamaican situations in those days would have allowed for a freer contact between different slaves (namely between Arawaks and Africans or between Africans and Africans) than would be possible on the closed plantations of English colonies in the later days (after 1655). The other is demographic change in the island by the end of the sixteenth century. In 1596 there were only about 130 Spanish people left in Jamaica,⁸⁾ though a few hundreds of migrants from Puerto Rico increased the population by the beginning of the next century. Spanish influence must have weakened and the language of the most numerous ethnic groups in the island, namely Africans and creoles of mixed blood, may have changed in the direction to the basilectal variety.

(II)

When the English expeditionary forces attacked the Spanish colony in the south coast of Jamaica in 1655, its population was estimated to be about eight thousand. The Spanish resistance ended in 1695, but the Maroons continued to resist longer. They ran away into the mountains and played an important role of keeping the Maroon culture for about two centuries and transmitting Arawak and Spanish cultures to English colonial Jamaica. Maroon language, for example, is important as a substrata of Jamaican Creole as Alleyne (1980 : 308) pointed out.

The Maroons members grew steadily during the next century, because 'new' runaway slaves from the English plantations joined in them. That is to say, there were two kinds of Maroons : Spanish Maroons and English Maroons (the new escapees). The formers spoke no English, and the latter spoke no Spanish. But Most of them had been imported from West Africa (the Slave and Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Senegal and Congo-Angola, etc.).⁹⁾ Consequently, a common African language (as a lingua franca) may have been spoken as the first means of communication between Spanish and English Maroons, and later a mixture of Spanish, English and various African languages (as a pidgin language).

The Maroons social activities were quite different from

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those in the new plantation : their contacts with Spanish and Arawak peoples, their long-standing trade with the Jews of Jamaica, their long survival in the mountains, and occasional raids on English settlements. These all activities might have been reflected in their language use in one way or another.

The coming of the English invaders brought about a great demographic change in Jamaican society. Jamaica received the various members from British islands (mainly from London and elsewhere in England) and other parts of the Caribbean by the end of the seventeenth century :

Soldiers from London and other parts of England (1655-57)
Barbados (1655-74)
Montserrat (1655)
St. Kitts (1655-56)

Settlers from Nevis (1656)
Barbados (1664)
Surinam (1671-1975)
Bermuda, New England, Virginia (?)
Brasil (1662)
British Guiana (1664)¹⁰⁾

Indentuerd

Servants from southwest England (1655-57)
midland and northern England| (1655-57)

Convicts from England (?)

Slaves from West Africa¹¹⁾

These newcomers amounted to about 12,000, but six

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years later only 3451 remained alive. They survived and settled in the southern savannahs in the same areas where the Spanish previously occupied.

Transition from Spanish rule to English one through warfare, the spread of disease and hunger caused a great influence in the construction of its population and their human life. Most of the Spanish families withdrew to Cuba between 1655 and 1659, but small number of blacks, mulattoes and Portuguese Jews, who were left behind, kept good terms with the English. Some other blacks ran away into the Maroon settlements, and others survived to settle again under the English rule.

In the next fifteen years (namely, from 1660 to 1675), Jamaica held the highest ratio of whites to blacks: there were 2,930 whites (including 455 women) to 584 black slaves in 1661, and 5,176 whites (including 645 women) to 552 blacks in 1662.¹²⁾ Most of these white immigrants were from the Island Barbados, which is supposed to have served as the principal supplier of white colonists of all classes as well as creole blacks and Africans. These whites normally seems to have spoken nonstandard forms of English that had many features of sound, morphology, and syntax which were quite similar to Jamaican Creole. This is why we have a hypothesis that Jamaican Creole took shape in this period; that is to say, we would be able to find the roots of Jamaican Creole in the seventeenth century Barbadian language community where nonstandard dialects of English were spoken among the white majority. Considering the

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demographic situations of Africans and other slaves in Jamaica in those days,¹³⁾ black people may have acquired these dialects rather than pidgins or creoles.

In the first half of 1670's, African blacks began to outnumber whites: namely, 9,504 blacks to 7,768 whites in 1673, and 9,000 blacks to 5,500 whites in 1675. And thereafter black population rose drastically; for example, there were about 40,000 blacks to 7,000 whites in 1694.¹⁴⁾ This demographic change may have had a significant factor in the language use in Jamaican society. Among Africans, for example, pidginization or creolization rather than dialect mixing must have become the norm. This may mean that the target language for them to acquire changed from white dialects to some kind of creoles and their attitudes to the language acquisition may also have changed.

The distribution of peoples in the island could also have affected their language acquisition. Jamaica's population was distributed unevenly among Port Royal, the capital Spanish Town, military forts, and the plantations. In the towns, for example, white dialects might have dominated, and urban Africans, with much more opportunity than rural slaves to contact with them, could have acquired these varieties of English.

Moreover, there were two kinds of languages which may have affected the growth of early Jamaican Creole: namely, African languages (the Manding languages—especially, Bambara, Malinke,¹⁵⁾ Mandingo and Dyula) and the English-based creoles (for example, Guinea Coast Creole English).

These trade languages were spoken in the districts where African slaves came from in the latter seventeenth century.

Manding, one of the African trade languages, was spoken along the internal trade routes leading up the great rivers and across the east-west caravan trails and was also "the mother tongue of a number of district ethnic groups stretching from Gambia in the west to Upper Volta and northern Ghana in the east, and from the Sahara in the north to the Atlantic coast in the south: its regional dialects throughout this area are known today under a variety of names, including Mandingo, Malinke, Bambara and Dyula."¹⁶⁾ As Alleyne (1980: 147) has pointed out, these Manding languages may have had connections with the formation of the Atlantic creoles. And the wide spread use of Manding as a lingua franca in those days must have had relation to a behavioral aspect of West African bilinguality: that is to say, an ability to switch from one set of vocabulary to another without any extensive change in the regularity of its grammatical structure, without a complex morphology.

This phenomenon is so-called 'relexification': the replacement of the lexicon of one stock by the lexicon of another. In referring to West African languages, Dalby claims as follows:

[The multiplicity of West African languages] relates particularly to the individual vocabularies of African languages. Divergences in their structures, i.e. in their grammatical, phonological and semantic systems, are frequently less extensive than their

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divergences of vocabulary, and—relative to the structures of European languages—West African languages are found to share many widespread structural features. As a result, Africans are often well experienced in operating divergent sets of vocabulary, as they master a variety of local languages, but in doing so are able to maintain many of the grammatical, phonological and semantic rules which they have acquired as part of their original mother tongue.¹⁷⁾

There are some attested examples of the process of relexification. Saramaccan, for example, is an English-based creole, but has a large number of Portuguese words, which amount to approximately 30 per cent of the whole vocabulary. This fact is related to its historical background as follows. Saramaccan was originally a Portuguese-based creole. Since England took over this country in 1652, the process of relexification continued for the following fifteen years. When England ceded Surinam to Holland in 1667, the influence of English was actually cut off. As a result, the process had not been completed. This is why so many Portuguese words survived in Saramaccan.

Wurm (1971: 1006) points out another example of relexification process found in the English-based Beach-la-Mar in New Caledonia. The process changing from the English-based pidgin to the French-based one seemed to be remarkable after 1853, when French became the official language of the island.

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[A French pidgin gradually developed which] had its origin in the gradual relexification of Beach-la-Mar, and for a long time, appears to have displayed in its vocabulary a mixture of English, French and native words.¹⁹⁾

It is possible to examine, in closer detail, the linguistic changes involved in the process of relexification. In a particular area of West Africa, for example, a Portuguese pidgin was the most widely used auxiliary language in the early seventeenth century. But the English took over their position of economical and political predominance from the Portuguese as their interest in the area increased. At first, the English would have learnt the Portuguese pidgin in order to communicate with the Africans in the area. But in the course of time, English words would be also used: that is to say, there would have come the stage of language blend where two kinds of vocabulary, Portuguese and English, were used altogether.¹⁹⁾ Later, the English lexicon would eventually replace the Portuguese and only a few relics might be left behind in the 'new' English-based pidgin: and thus would be completed the process of relexification.

The second trade language, Guinea Coast Creole English may have arisen in this way in the seventeenth and eighteenth century among the whites, mulattoes, and blacks living in the English trading posts of Upper Guinea; at first of the Gambia and later on, of Cormantin and Cape Coast on the Gold Coast. The following historical events

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support the spread of Guinea Coast Creole English in West Africa.

- 1618 The English occupied James Island.
- 1631 A small post was set up at Cormantin.
- 1660-63 The Royal Adventurers was formed.
- 1663 The English built Fort James on the river island.
- 1672 The Royal African Company was established.

The more and more English trading posts had been built up along the coast of Upper Guinea and Gold Coast during the latter half of the seventeenth century and a great number of Africans were shipped to the Caribbean islands. These trading posts were crowded with English 'men', their black or mulatto 'women', African servants, white sailors, and of course a varying number of slaves. As has shown previously, the number of English white women was unexpectedly small compared with white 'men' in these trading posts. This fact might have had some decisive influence on the characteristics of Jamaican Creole. That is to say, the early Jamaican Creole seems to have had many features of male language in those days.

Consequently, Guinea Coast Creole English must have been influenced by the coastal languages such as Mende, Fula, Vai, Bullom, Temne and Kru,²⁰⁾ and by the Manding trade language.²¹⁾ This means that the main languages which influenced on the language making on the Guinea Coast and later in the Caribbean must have been Portuguese Pidgin, the Manding languages, and Guinea Coast Creole

English.

(III)

The white population of Jamaica declined severely around the end of the seventeenth century because of natural disasters such as the cacao blight in 1680's, the great earthquake in 1692, and warfare. These natural and social accidents changed the size of plantations; that is, the old small plantations disappeared and only large ones survived. As a matter of course, these large plantations needed an increasing number of young African workers. Between 1675 and 1739, white population grew from 5,500 to 10,000 (almost doubled), but the growth of black slave population was far remarkable: that is, from 9,000 to 100,000, which is shown in the diagram at the end of this paper.

Although the exact figures of population for both blacks and whites are unknown because of excluding freedmen and Maroons, the average ratio of blacks to whites stands at about 10 : 1 between 1739 and 1805 as shown in the following table.

Population of Jamaica, 1703-1830
(Excluding Freedmen and Maroons)

Year	Whites	Blacks	Ratio of Blacks to Whites
1703	7,000	40,000	5.714 (: 1)
1722	7,100	80,000	11.268

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1730	7,658	74,525	9.732
1739	10,080	99,239	9.845
1746	10,000	112,428	11.243
1754	12,000	130,000	10.833
1762	15,000	146,464	9.764
1778	18,420	205,261	11.143
1787	25,000	210,894	8.436
1805	28,000	308,775	11.028
1810	27,889	346,399	12.421
1830	18,902	319,074	16.880

(Based on B. Lalla *et. al.* 1990: 17, 22)

These ratios suggest that the social communication patterns in those days might have been different from those in the earlier days, namely in the seventeenth century. That is to say, the communication among blacks had a larger place than that in the previous century, which may have had some influence on the making of Jamaican Creole.

Moreover, whites didn't increase in number so rapidly as blacks in the middle of the eighteenth century; in fact, it decreased from 10,080 to 10,000 in seven years: 1739-1746. Penniless young men seeking employment as bookkeepers or petty managers, white artisans, small farmers, tradesmen, and other poor whites migrated to Jamaica in the seventeenth century and had risen into the proprietary class or shared a skilled workers class with free blacks, browns and slaves hired as skilled artisans. But white people who had succeeded in life and made money tended to send their children to England in order to make them be better educated. Most of them never returned. That is why white population in Jamaica

didn't increase in number in those days.

It is almost impossible to point to a period when Jamaican Creole and Standard Jamaican English must have emerged. But a strong Jamaican identity among some white creoles in the early eighteenth century may be one of the clues. White creole society in those days had a complex identity, a kind of conflict of identity as it were, which may have characterized them ever since; that is, some looked outside for cultural models and others firmly identified themselves with Jamaicans. This latter group constituted 'the creole party' and they attempted to exclude English-born persons from filling posts in the island and didn't allow themselves to be called Englishmen. This attitude of solidarity may be considered as one of the impelling forces to produce Jamaican Creole.²²⁾

As have shown above, Guinea Coast Creole English had an important influence on the early Jamaican Creole. In fact, they shared clearly related features in lexicon and phonology. So it is noteworthy to compare their social backgrounds. The social structure of the West African trading posts was similar in many respects to that of Jamaican plantations.²³⁾ In both cases, for example, the few people held control over the many slaves. And the former, in Jamaica, were white people and few blacks who corresponded to the hired servants in West Africa. Between them there was an intermediate group that dispensed authority and influence upward to the whites and downward to the black majority. This group consisted of the black soldiers, drivers,

craftsmen, sugar boilers, and upper servants.

Although the social hierarchy and population figures in Jamaica were comparatively stable, its situation was not so simple. The black people had varying ethnic background and certain groups, Cormantin, Akan, Ashanti, for example, acted as leaders in many slave rebellions. Some of them fled to the Maroon settlements in many different districts within the mountains, and dominated the Maroon culture, using partly Hispanic languages. They intermarried with plantation slaves, traded at slave markets, and had offered much resistance to the English colonists in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. After the Maroon treaties of 1739, which assured their tracts of land and self-government within their settlements, they acquired friendly relations with English Jamaican slavery and helped hunt down runaways. Through these contacts, both hostile and friendly ones, the Maroons must have had some English influence as well as other African ethnic ones.

The life in the plantations in Jamaica may appear 'closed' and stable in population and their hierarchical roles. But there seems to have been constant 'covert' movement in and out of the plantations. Although the Maroon treaties in 1739 changed the relationship of Maroons to Jamaican slavery and stopped further marronage, occasional long term absences were pardoned if the slave asked some landowners to take ones.²⁴⁾ By the early nineteenth century, these pattern of running away for a period of weeks or months had become a standard feature of slave life. This means that

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they could contact freely, to some extent, with other ethnic groups in and out of the plantations.

In the course of the eighteenth century the gradual demographic shift from African majority to creole majority caused a significant cultural change. In 1694, black slaves drastically increased in number to forty thousand, which was achieved by importation mainly from Africa. But by the mid-eighteenth century, about half of the total slave population were occupied by creoles in Jamaica, and a black creole consciousness arose in rivalry to African identity. This ratio rose to three-quarters at the end of the century. This creole population became the link between the original homelands of Africa and the new Jamaican society. Moreover, after the British slave trade ended in 1810, the slave population declined and contact with Africa diminished, but there arose a new and important group, which consisted of the freed blacks and other colored people. As we have seen in the above table on the population of Jamaica, the numbers of slaves and whites in 1810 were 346,399 and 27,889 respectively. But we should not forget the number of freedmen: 29,912, which makes up 7.4 percent of the total population. In 1830, the number of freedmen rose to 40,074,²⁵⁾ which forms 10.6 percent of the whole population in Jamaica. These figures support the decline of direct African influence and may suggest that the creole society accepted Jamaica as its homeland.

(IV)

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries non-African speakers had exerted some influence on the early Jamaican Creole. The speech of British immigrants must have affected that of white creoles and black slaves in various ways. Some of them spoke Scottish English (convict labour, political prisoners, and other workers such as book-keepers on the plantations), others spoke Irish English (most indentured servants were Irish Catholics),²⁶⁾ others spoke the hinterland dialect of Bristol (tradespeople), and others spoke Liverpool dialect.

As have been pointed earlier, white women were very few among these immigrants. There should have been the gender imbalance in both white and black populations, which has some important implications for their identity, mobility and value systems in those days. Consequently, the male speech of these dialects of Britain must have reinforced features already present from the seventeenth century. Although the white population remained small being compared with the black one, its influence on the speech forms of the community may be thought to be very strong. Because these speakers of regional English, including Irish English and maybe the Celtic languages of Ireland, Scotland and Cornwall, provided the English models for Africans and creoles through their daily contact with them.

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The role and status of white missionaries were unique and different from other European white speakers and their influence on Jamaican speech was documented in the sermons, prayers, and a kind of depositions recorded by some missionaries or visitors. During their abolitionist movement from 1770 to 1838, written records on Jamaican Creole became numerous. This is partly because European attitudes to regional dialects and their speakers had changed in those days. Sir Walter Scott and other writers, for example, used regional dialects in their novels and became popular. And, in other respect, the Romantic movement encouraged a humanistic interest in non-European peoples.

The missionary churches in Jamaica, unlike the established church of England, worked closely with the slaves and the free blacks and browns. Barbara Lalla and Jean D'Costa introduce one of their activities written in the private letters in the 1840's:

Sent to Jamaica in 1823 as a Baptist missionary, James Mursell Phillippo became one of the leading missionaries to Jamaican blacks in the years preceding and following Emancipation From their records one can see that the foundations of a language continuum were firmly laid. Changes of register were realized in shifts of morphology and syntax, and Jamaican Creole language behavior clearly reflected social groupings we also learn that the Phillippos ran schools as well as church missions; they worked mainly with blacks, having less contact with coloreds and hardly any with

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whites

Phillippo reprints many letters, some showing basilectal structures, others in formal Standard English with only a few Jamaican Creole features, and others in Standard English. The letters reflect the same kind of style shifting determined by topic and audience as is found in the code switching of the Jamaican speaker.

(B. Lalla *et. al.* 1990: 157-8)

These missionary effort in Jamaica offered black people more opportunities to contact with speakers of middle class varieties of British, who had come from the north and midland of England. Through church and school activities, mentioned above, they provided various English models for free blacks and browns who wanted social advancement. In this respect, Biblical language and prayer-book language may have had some influence on their formal speech style.

In the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first of the nineteenth century, a new immigrant group, namely many French refugees with their slaves and servants, came to Jamaica because of the uprising on the Hispaniola island. There had been considerable contact between the two islands: Jamaica and Hispaniola during the Napoleonic War from 1796 to 1815, and the external security of Jamaica had become a critical matter. These immigrants may have brought some French words and expressions into Jamaican Creole.

The ending of the slave trade in 1809-1810 and full

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emancipation in 1838 had caused a profound social and economic change in the island, which brought a critical effect on the social attitudes of all classes and ethnic groups. The former slaves, for example, may have got a new pride and sense of selfhood. Moreover, with the break up of slavery, immigration now played little part on the population structure of this island and the natural increase may have been the main trend in demographic change. In other words, the internal movement of population, and the formation of new communities and new patterns of family may have affected the possible trends of language development in this period.

With the ending of the wars against the French, 'soldiers' talk' or 'sailors' talk' may have become less and less familiar now without large numbers of troops and provision of many warships. The roles of white servants brought in from the British Isles had been taken by the growing group of upper-working-class brown and black people. Jamaica became increasingly 'creolized' and received fewer immigrants from Africa, England, and other parts of the Caribbean, because the motives for inter-island trade declined steadily in the late nineteenth century.

But between 1840 and 1864 there was a few minor demographic influence on regional speech forms. About eight thousand people from Sierra Leone and Central Africa came to Jamaica in response to the planters demand for field labour. There seems to be left some influence of African languages, Yoruba for example, in the areas where

they settled. Another minor immigrant group which may have some influence of their speech on Jamaican Creole was German colonists' group (about one thousand to fifteen hundred). Their survivors remained isolated to preserve a German way of life until the 1930's and left German lexicon and phonology in their speech. But other immigrants' languages of the nineteenth century arrived too late to have left any mark on the records of Jamaican Creole. Hindi Chinese, Lebanese Arabic, etc. are included in these immigrants' languages.

NOTES

- 1) The following words seems to have entered Jamaican usage during this period and have carried over into the English colony by Portuguese Jews, Spanish poors and the Maroons.
agouti, *Bamnee Bay* (<Maima, Arawak village name), *batos* ('a ball game'), *cassava*, *goschies* ('a small hunting dog'), *hicatee* ('fresh water turtle'), *hurricane*, *Liguanea* (<iguana, place name), *savannah*
- 2) The Maroons provided a link with both their own African traditions and the languages and customs of the peoples with whom they had mixed, namely Portuguese, Spanish, Jews, English, etc.
- 3) Franklin Knight and Margaret E. Crahan. 1979. The African Migration and the Origins of an Afro-American Society and Culture. In *Africa and the Caribbean: Legacies of a Link*. Ed. M. Crahan and F. Knight. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press., p. 7-8.

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- 4) Carey Robinson. 1969. *The Fighting Maroons of Jamaica*. Kingston: Sangster. p. 14.
- 5) Philip E. Curtin. 1969. *The Atlantic Slave Trade*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. p. 17-21.
- 6) P. E. Curtin. *op. cit.*, 25.
- 7) *Ibid.*
- 8) Barbara Lalla and Jean D'Costa. 1990. *Language in Exile: Three Hundred Years of Jamaican Creole*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press. p. 11.
- 9) Barbara Lalla and Jean D'Costa, *op. cit.*, 14.

Although the Akan element in Maroon culture remains indisputable, James A. Rawley estimates that in the first half of the sixteenth century, a majority of slaves came from the area between Senegal and Sierra Leone. In the latter part of the century as many as half came from there, about a third came from Congo-Angola, and the remainder came from the Slave and Gold coasts (1981: 24-25). Most of the slaves were coastal peoples, the interior of Africa not yet having been involved in the Atlantic trade.
- 10) The settlers from Brasil (1662), Surinam (1673) and British Guiana (1664) were Sephardic Jews, who constituted a small but steady stream throughout the period. Some colonists who came from Surinam settled the district of Surinam Quarters and formed special communities with a distinctive heritage.
- 11) Robert B. LePage. 1960. An Historical Introduction to Jamaican Creole. In *Jamaican Creole: Creole Language Studies 1*. Ed. A. B. LePage and David DeCamp. London: Macmillan.
- 12) Barbara Lalla and Jean D'Costa, *op. cit.*, 17.
- 13) *Ibid.*
- 14) *Ibid.*
- 15) Mervyn C. Alleyne. 1980. Comparative Afro-American. Ann

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- Arbor : Karoma. p. 147. Alleyne has pointed out the importance of Manding languages, especially Bambara and Malinke. We should also consider the possible role of the traders along the internal routes leading up the great rivers.
- 16) David Dalby. 1970. The Place of Africa and Afro-America in the History of the English Language. *African Language Review*. 9: 280-98.
 - 17) David Dalby. 1970. *Black Through White: Patterns of Communication*. Bloomington: University of Indiana African Studies Program. p.6. Also cited in *Pidgins and Creoles*. Loreto Todd. 1974. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. p.38.
 - 18) S. A. Wurm. 1971. Pidgins, Creoles and Lingue Franche. *Current Trends in Linguistics*. Vol. 8. ed. T. Sebeok. pp.999-1021.
 - 19) Otto Jespersen called this stage "a broken and mixed dialect of English and Portuguese" in his *Language: Its Nature, Development and Origin* (London: Allen and Unwin), 1922, p. 222.
 - 20) Barbara Lalla and Jean D'Costa, *op. cit.*, 19.
 - 21) Mervyn C. Alleyne, *op. cit.*, 146-47.
 - 22) B. Lalla and J. D'Costa (1990: 23-24) introduced another clue to specify the period. John Atkins came to Jamaica in 1721-1722, after visiting Upper Guinea, and described Jamaican society in those days as follows:

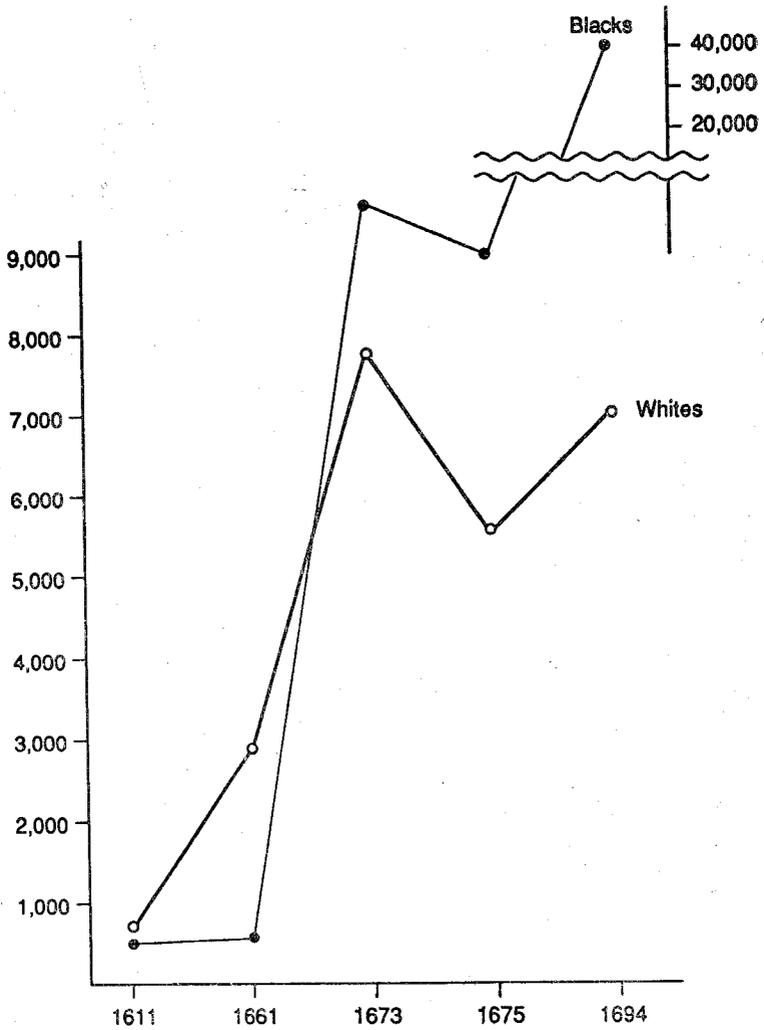
"The Creoles (those born here) which are properly the Natives of the Island, ... are a spurious Race; the first Change by a Black and White, they call a Mulatto; the second a Mustee, and the third a Caste.....They are half Negrish in their Manners, proceeding from the promiscuous and confined Conversation with their Relations, the Servants at the Plantations, and have a Language especially Pleasant, a kind of Gypsy Gibberish, that runs smoothest in swearing."
 - 23) There were also differences, one of which is that the latter,

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the social structure of Jamaican plantations, might have had a more stable population.

- 24) Matthew G. Lewis. 1834. *Journal of a West India Proprietor*. London: Murray. p.115. Also cited in Barbara Lalla and Jean D'Costa, *op. cit.*, 25.
- 25) B. W. Higman. 1984. *Slave Population of the British Caribbean, 1807-1834*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- 26) Long (1774: 286) notes that the "natives of Scotland and Ireland seem to thrive here much better than the European English."

Population of Jamaica, 1611-1694
(Excluding Freedmen and Maroons)



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