IDIOMATIC CALQUES:
THE CASE OF ENGLISH-LEXIFIER CREOLES

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Abstract: *The diagnostic features of English-lexifier pidgins and creoles (Baker 1999, Baker and Huber 2001, Avram 2004) include phrases and compounds believed to be calques after various substrate languages (Parkvall and Baker 2012). The present paper discusses issues such as: what counts as a calque, given the multilingual situations typical of pidgin and creole genesis; the identification of the sources of calques; the possibility of multiple etymologies; the distinction between direct and indirect calques. It then assesses the relevance of idiomatic calques for the Relexification Hypothesis as well as for establishing historical-linguistic relationships among the various English-lexifier pidgins and creoles.*
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1. Introduction

1.1. Aims

Idiomatic calques after African languages play a prominent role in pidgin and creole studies and are relevant to: (i) the so-called "Relexification Hypothesis" (e.g. Alleyne 1980, Lefebvre 1998, 2001, Lumsden 1999; see also Winford 2005, 2008); (ii) establishing a comprehensive inventory of diagnostic features of Atlantic English-lexifier pidgins and creoles (e.g. Hancock 1969); (iii) shedding light on the historical-linguistic relationships among English-lexifier pidgins and creoles (Baker 1999, Baker and Huber 2001).

The present paper is an overview of the complex issues involved and outlines some of the implications of the findings for pidgin and creole linguistics.

1.2. Calques

According to Crystal (2008: 64), a "calque" is "a type of borrowing, where the morpheme constituents of the borrowed word or phrase are translated item by item into equivalent morphemes in the new language". In the entry "loan", Crystal (2008: 286) also mentions "loan translations (where the morphemes in the borrowed word are translated item by item". Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009: 39) formulate a similar definition: "A calque (or loan translation) is a complex lexical unit (either a single word or a fixed phrasal expression) that was created by an item-by-item translation of the (complex) source unit". These are examples of "strong" definitions, since calques also include partial translations, as in the example given by Holm (1988: 86): "German *Wolkenkratzer* (literally 'cloud-scraper') is a partial translation of English *skyscraper*".

Several authors have highlighted the occurrence of calques after African substrate languages in Atlantic pidgin and creole languages. Alleyne (1980: 114),

for instance, writes that "the historical development […] has been in terms of a substitution, massive and rapid […] of West African lexemes by English […] lexemes. According to Holm (1988: 86), "there is considerable evidence that the calquing of words and phrases was a major factor in the genesis of the Atlantic creoles".

1.3. Relexifixation

For the proponents of the so-called "Relexification Hypothesis", relexification is one of the main cognitive processes involved in pidgin or creole genesis. Lefebvre (1998: 16) defines relexification as "a mental process that builds new lexical entries by copying the lexical entries of an already established lexicon and replacing their phonological representations with representations derived from another language".

In pidgin or creole genesis, relexification is said to proceed as follows: speakers of a substrate language take a lexical entry from their language, with its syntactic and semantic properties, and replace its phonological representation with that of a semantically related item from the lexifier language. Therefore, the syntactic and semantic properties of the original item in the substrate language are maintained. In potential calques, then, the words are etymologically derived from the lexifier language, but their syntax and semantics are presumably as in the African substrate languages.

1.4. Diagnostic features of English pidgins and creoles

In the intended sense in the present paper, diagnostic features are "significant phonological, lexical, or grammatical deviations from, or innovations to, varieties of British English – since British English was the major input in the restructuring process" (Baker and Huber 2001: 163).

The diagnostic features suggested by Baker and Huber (2001: 197-204) are divided into three groups: Atlantic, world-wide, and Pacific. Atlantic features are recorded in at least two Atlantic English-lexifier pidgins and creoles; world-wide features are attested in at least one Atlantic and one Pacific variety; Pacific features are found only in Pacific varieties.

The diagnostic-feature approach is not limited to synchronic attestations; it takes into account features recorded at any time in the history English pidgins and creoles, although some of these may have fallen out of use.

1.5. Varieties considered

The present paper is concerned with Atlantic English-lexifier pidgins and creoles: spoken in West Africa, in the Caribbean, Central America, and South America. Reference is also made to Atlantic French-, Portuguese- and Spanish-lexifier creoles, if sharing (at least in part) the substrate languages.

The data from English-lexifier pidgins and creoles are from Hancock (1969), Baker (1999), Baker and Huber (2001), Parkvall and Baker (2012), Avram (2017a). Additional data are from Allsopp (1996), Avram (2004, 2012, 2013b, 2015, 2016a, 2016b, 2018a, 2018b).

For French-, Portuguese-, and Spanish-lexifier creoles, the data are from Baker (1993), Parkvall and Baker (2012), and Avram (2017b).

2. Potential calques considered

The 23 forms discussed in what follows are the most frequently attested putative calques after African substrate languages. The analysis is restricted to compounds and phrases which are bimorphemic. The reasons for this option are twofold. First, as noted by Holm (1988: 86), "two-morpheme calques are more readily identified". Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009: 39) also write that "the most frequently cited examples of calques are compounds". Secondly, Alleyne (1980: 114) claims that, in West African languages, "many lexemes [exhibit] a labeling pattern whereby objects are named in terms of an association between two primary named objects"; a similar point is made point is made Farquharson (2007) with reference to the derivational morphology of creoles.

The following four structural types are considered: (i) noun + noun / noun + preposition + noun; (ii) adjective + noun / noun + adjective; (iii) numeral + noun; (iv) verb + noun / noun + verb. The labels and meanings are as in the main sources consulted (Hancock 1969, Baker 1999, Baker and Huber 2001, Parkvall and Baker 2012, Farquharson 2015).

The structural type noun + noun / noun + preposition + noun is represented by the forms listed below:

(1)
a. DOOR + MOUTH 'threshold, doorway'
b. EYE + SKIN 'eyelid'
c. EYE + WATER 'tears'
d. FOOT + FINGER / FINGER + FOOT / FINGER + PREPOSITION + FOOT 'toe'
e. GOAT + MOUTH 'one who predicts unfortunate events or threatens 'evil'
f. GOD + HORSE 'praying mantis'
g. MAMMY + WATER / WATER + MAMMY 'water spirit'
h. MOUTH + WATER 'saliva'
i. NOSE + HOLE 'nostril'

The following are illustrative of the structural type adjective + noun / noun + adjective:

(2)
a. BAD + EYE 'evil eye'
b. BAD + HEAD 'forgetful; stupid'
c. BAD + MOUTH 'to speak ill of; to curse'
d. BIG + EYE 'greed(y)'
e. DAY + CLEAN / DAY + CLEAR 'daybreak'
f. DRY + EYE 'bold'
g. HARD + EARS / EARS + HARD 'stubborn'
h. HARD + HAIR 'tightly curled hair'
i. HARD + HEAD / HEAD + HARD 'stubborn'
j. SWEET + EYE 'tender glances'
k. SWEET + MOUTH 'flattery; flatterer'

One form belongs to the structural type:

(3) ONE + TIME 'at once, right now, immediately'

Finally, two forms represent the structural type verb + noun / noun + verb:

(4)
a. CUT + EYE ‘to glance scornfully at someone’
b. GET + BELLY ‘to be(come) pregnant’

3. Distribution in English-lexifier pidgins and creoles

Listed below, under (5) through (27), are the 23 potential calques and the Atlantic English-lexifier varieties in which these are attested:

(5) BAD + EYE ‘evil eye’

a. Belize, Guyana (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 233); Grenada, Krio, St Vincent, Tobago, Trinidad (Avram 2017a: 7)
b. Ndyuka *ogii ain*, Saramaccan *ógi-wójo*, Sranan *ogri-ai* (Avram, own corpus), where *ogii* / *ógi* / *ogri* ‘bad’ < English *ugly*
c. Grenada *maldʒo*, St Vincent *maldʒo*, Tobago *maldʒo*, Trinidad *maldʒo* (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 233)

(6) BAD + HEAD ‘forgetful; stupid’

Bahamas (Parkvall and Baker 2012); Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat, St Kitts, St Lucia, St Vincent, Turks and Caicos (Avram 2017a: 7-8)

(7) BAD + MOUTH ‘to speak ill of; to curse’

Barbados, Gullah (Baker and Huber 2001); Jamaica (Parkvall and Baker 2012); Antigua, Bahamas, Belize, Gullah, St Vincent, Trinidad and Tobago, Virgin Islands (Avram 2017a: 8), West Africa (Avram 2016b: 57)

(8) BIG + EYE ‘greed(y)’

Jamaica, Krio, Suriname, West Africa (Baker and Huber 2001); Bahamas, Gullah, Guyana, Trinidad (Parkvall and Baker 2012); Antigua, Belize, Cayman Islands, Grenada, Limón, Miskito Coast, St Vincent, Virgin Islands (Avram 2017a: 8)

(9) CUT + EYE ‘to glance scornfully at someone’

Bahamas, Belize, Jamaica, Krio, Saramaccan, Sranan, St Kitts, Trinidad (Parkvall and Baker 2012); Grenada (Avram 2017a: 8)

(10) DAY + CLEAN / DAY + CLEAR ‘daybreak’

a. Barbados, Gullah, Jamaica, Krio, West Africa (Baker and Huber 2001); Bahamas, Guyana, Tobago, Trinidad (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 235); Antigua, Bay Islands, Grenada, Limón, Miskito Coast, Virgin Islands (Avram 2017a: 9)
b. Dominica *ʒuvɛ*, Tobago *ʒuvɛ*, Trinidad *ʒuvɛ* (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 235)

(11)DOOR + MOUTH ‘threshold, doorway’

Gullah, Jamaica, Krio, Suriname, West Africa (Baker and Huber 2001:198); Bahamas, Guyana (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 235-236); Antigua, Bay Islands, Belize, Grenada, Limón, Miskito Coast, St Vincent, Suriname, Trinidad, Virgin Islands (Avram 2017a: 9)

(12) DRY + EYE ‘bold’

Jamaica, Krio, Suriname, West Africa (Baker and Huber 2001: 236); Bahamas, Belize (Avram 2017a: 9-10)

(13) EYE + SKIN ‘eyelid’

a. Bahamas, Jamaica, Krio (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 237); Limón, Miskito Coast (Avram 2017a: 10)
b. Sranan *ai-buba* (Avram, own corpus), where *buba* means ‘skin’

(14) EYE + WATER ‘tears’

Gullah, Jamaica, Krio, Suriname (Baker and Huber 2001: 198); Antigua, Bahamas, Belize, Tobago (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 237); Cayman Islands, Limón, Miskito Coast, Providencia, St Vincent, Trinidad, Virgin Islands (Avram 2017a: 10)

(15) FOOT + FINGER / FINGER + FOOT / FINGER + PREPOSITION + FOOT ‘toe’

a. Trinidad *foot finger* (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 237); Sranan *futu finga* (Avram, own corpus)
b. Cameroon *fiŋga-fut* (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 237)
c. Nigeria *finga fo̱r leg* lit. ‘finger of leg’, Saramaccan *finga u futu* lit. ‘finger of foot’ (Avram, own corpus)

(16) GET + BELLY ‘to be(come) pregnant’

a. Bahamas *get beli*, Krio *gɛt bɛlɛ* (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 238); Belize *ga / geh / kech beli*, Fernando Po *gɛt bɛ̀lɛ́*, Nigeria *get bele* (Avram 2017a: 11)
b. Jamaica *ha’ belly* lit. ‘to have belly’ (Avram, own corpus)
c. Ndyuka *teke bee* lit. ‘to take belly’, Saramaccan *dë ku ëë* lit. ‘to be with belly, Sranan *kisi bere* lit. ‘to get belly’ (Avram, own corpus)

(17) GOAT + MOUTH ‘one who predicts unfortunate events or threatens evil’

Jamaica, St Kitts (Parkvall and Baker 2012); Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Limón, Miskito Coast, St Vincent, Trinidad and Tobago, Virgin Islands (Avram 2017a: 11)

(18) GOD + HORSE ‘praying mantis’

Jamaica, Trinidad (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 238); Barbados, Grenada, Krio (Avram 2017a: 11)

(19) HARD + EARS / EARS + HARD 'stubborn'

a. Jamaica (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 239); Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Limón, Miskito Coast, Nevis, Providencia, St Vincent (Avram 2017a: 12)
b. Jamaica, Carriacou, Guyana, Trinidad (Parkvall and Baker 2012); Belize (Avram 2017a: 12)

(20) HARD + HAIR 'tightly curled hair'

Bahamas (Parkvall and Baker 2012:239); Barbados, Belize, Grenada, Guyana, Trinidad (Avram 2017a: 12)

(21) HARD + HEAD / HEAD + HARD 'stubborn'

a. Bahamas, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Nevis, Trinidad (Parkvall and Baker 2012:239); Barbados, Montserrat, St Kitts, St Lucia, Turks and Caicos (Avram 2017a: 12)
b. Bahamas, Guyana (Parkvall and Baker 2012)

(22) MAMMY + WATER / WATER + MAMMY 'water spirit'

a. Krio, Cameroon (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 240); Nigeria (Avram 2017a: 13)
b. Suriname *watramama* (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 240)
c. Grenada *mama-dlo*/*mama glo*, Guyana *water-mama*, St Lucia *mama dlo*, Trinidad *mama dlo* (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 240)

(23) MOUTH + WATER 'saliva'

Suriname, Jamaica (Baker and Huber 2001: 199); Belize, Limón, Miskito Coast, St Vincent, Tobago, Trinidad, West Africa (Avram, own corpus)

(24) NOSE + HOLE 'nostril'

Suriname, Barbados, Jamaica, Krio, West Africa (Baker and Huber 2012:199); Antigua (Avram 2016a: 190), Bahamas (Avram 2013b: 138), Belize (Avram 2018b: 102), Grenada (Avram 2014: 6)

(25) ONE + TIME 'at once, right away, immediately'

a. Bahamas, Ghana, Gullah, Guyana, Cameroon, Fernando Po, Jamaica, Nigeria (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 242); Bay Islands, Cayman Islands, Grenada, Limón, Miskito Coast (Avram 2017a: 14), Ndyuka, Sranan (Avram, own corpus)
b. Saramaccan *wantewante* lit. 'one time one time', Sranan *wantewante* lit. 'one time one time' (Avram, own corpus)

(26)SWEET + EYE ‘tender glances’

Trinidad, the Caribbean in general (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 244); Grenada, Krio (Avram 2017a: 16)

(27) SWEET + MOUTH ‘flattery; flatterer’

Suriname, Barbados, St Kitts, Jamaica, Gullah, Krio, West Africa (Baker and Huber 2001: 244); Bahamas, Guyana, Trinidad (Baker and Huber 2012: 200); Antigua, Belize, Grenada, St Kitts, St Vincent, Virgin Islands (Avram 2017a: 16)

4. Sources of calques

4.1. Unknown source

On currently available evidence, the source of four of the forms presented in section 3 is unknown:

(28)

a. GOAT + MOUTH ‘one who predicts unfortunate events or threatens evil’
b. MAMMY + WATER ‘water spirit’
c. ONE + TIME ‘at once, right now, immediately’
d. SWEET + EYE ‘tender glances’

Such situations may simply reflect inadequate documentation of the potential substrate languages.

4.2. Single source

For the forms listed below, a single source language has been identified so far:

(29) BAD + HEAD ‘forgetful; stupid’

Cf. Yoruba *ori kò dara* lit. ‘head not good’ (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 233).

(30) CUT + EYE ‘to glance scornfully’

Cf. Igbo *a wa la anya!* lit. ‘Don’t cut eye!’ ‘Don’t be rude!’ (Allsopp 1998:184).

(31) GET + BELLY ‘be(come) pregnant’

Cf. Fon *mɔ̀xò* lit. ‘get belly’ (Avram, own corpus)

(32) GOD + HORSE ‘praying mantis’

Cf. Hausua *dokin Allah* ‘horse God’ (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 238), Farquharson (2015)

Two caveats need to be briefly addressed. First, as put by Arends et al. (1995: 100) in their discussion of the so-called "Cafeteria Principle", i.e. the conception whereby in language mixing features are taken from different sources, by analogy with someone choosing items in a cafeteria. Indeed, a danger lies in the fact that "to demonstrate influence from particular West African languages", one may be tempted to search "until some more or less plausible correspondence is found" (Arends et al. 1995: 100). Second, except for the rare cases when an African language is known to have played a disproportionate role in the formation of a pidgin or creole, it is extremely unlikely that a form attested in a single substrate language may be the source for calques found in several varieties.

4.3. Multiple sources

The case for calques modelled on African languages is strengthened if more than one potential source language is identified, as for the following forms:

(33) BAD + MOUTH 'to speak ill of; to curse'

Cf. Igbo *ọnụ ojo* lit.'mouth bad', Malinke *da jugu* lit. 'bad mouth', Vai *da nyama* lit. 'bad mouth', Yoruba *ẹnun buburu* lit. 'mouth bad' (Alleyne 1980: 116, Allsopp 1996: 67, Parkvall and Baker 2012: 233)

(34) BIG + EYE 'greed(y)'

Cf. Igbo *anya uku* lit. 'eye big', Twi *ani bra* lit. 'eye big', Yoruba *o□unlà* lit. 'eye great' (Alleyne 1980: 116, Allsopp 1996: 99, Bartens 1996: 130, Parkvall and Baker 2012: 233, Avram, own corpus)

(35) DOOR + MOUTH 'threshold, doorway'

Cf. Igbo *ọnụ zọ* lit. 'mouth door' = 'doorway', Nupe *émi-gbako* lit. 'mouth door' = 'threshold' (Allsopp 1996: 200)

(36) MOUTH + WATER 'saliva'

Cf. Igbo *ọnụ mili* lit. 'mouth water' = 'spittle', Mandinka *da-ʤi* lit. 'mouth water' = 'saliva' (Allsopp 1996: 392)

(37) SWEET + MOUTH 'flattery; flatterer'

Cf. Ewe *numevivi* lit. 'mouth in sweet', Gã *ŋa ŋõ* lit. 'sweet mouth', Igbo *ọnụ suso* 'mouth sweet', Twi *ano yɛ dɛ* lit. 'mouth is sweet' 'flatterer', Vai *da kiŋa* lit. 'mouth sweet', Yoruba *ɛnũ didũ* lit. 'mouth sweet' (Alleyne 1980: 116, Allsopp 1996: 542, Bartens 1996: 129, Parkvall and Baker 2012: 244).

However, here again several caveats should be raised. Arends et al. (1995: 100) state that "because of the huge numbers of different languages in West Africa, it is simply a matter of chance that […] some apparent correspondences will be found". Also, the homogeneity of the substrate is quite important: the more homogeneous the substrate is, the more likely it is to have had an impact on the pidgin or creole (see also Arends et al. 1995: 101). Finally, as noted by Parkvall

and Baker (2012: 232), "calques from West Africa are frequently attributable to two or more languages which are not even […] related although spoken in adjoining areas", hence "this does not necessarily provide a clear indication of the language of [their] origin".

4.4. Multiple sources from the entire slave-exporting area

Parkvall (2000: 113) writes that "in some cases where there is reason to suspect a true semantic Africanism, one quickly discovers that it is common to African languages throughout the once slave-exporting area".

A case in point is DAY + CLEAN 'daybreak'. Parkvall (2000: 114) observes that: "*day clean* for 'dawn', found in most Atlantic ECs [= English creoles], and at least Lesser Antillean FC [= French creoles]" has similar counterparts "in at least Wolof, Malinke, Yoruba and Bantu languages […] together representing almost the entire stretch of coast from which Africans were transported to the New World" (see section 7). Some possible sources are indicated below:

(38) DAY + CLEAN 'daybreak'

Cf. Malinke *dugu jɛra* lit. 'the day has become clean' = 'it has dawned', Wolof *bər busɛt* lit. 'day clean', Yoruba *ojú mọ* lit. 'the day has become clean' = 'it has dawned' (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 235)

4.5. *Sprachbund* features

Some putative calques after African languages may also be illustrative of an African *Sprachbund* (Gilman 1986, Parkvall 2000). In this respect, Parkvall (2000: 114) concludes that, in pidgin and creole linguistics, "many a researcher […] is content when having found a pan-African feature in his pet substrate, disregarding the fact that the feature in question is an areal one". Consider a first example of what may be an African *Sprachbund* feature:

(39) EYE + WATER 'tears'

Cf. Igbo *anya mmiri* lit. 'eye water', Kishikongo *maza ma-mesu* lit. 'water from eyes', Malinke *njɛ-ʤi* lit. 'eye water', Mandingo *ngaja* lit. 'eye water', Twi *ani suo* lit. 'eye water', Yoruba *omi oʤu* lit. 'water eye' (Allsopp 1996: 221, Bartens 1996: 129, Parkvall and Baker 2012: 237).

Further evidence is provided by structurally identical compounds recorded in two Arabic-lexifier creoles, Juba Arabic, spoken in South Sudan, and (Ki-)Nubi, spoken in Kenya and Uganda:

(40) Juba Arabic *móyo éna* lit. 'water eye', (Ki-)Nubi *moya éena* lit. 'water eye' (Holm 2000: 104, Avram 2003: 35, in press, Nakao 2012: 137).

Cf. Acholi *pig-waŋ* lit. 'water eye', Belanda Bor *fi waŋ* lit. 'water eye', Dinka *piu nyin* lit. 'water eyes', Luo *pi wɔŋ* lit. 'water eye', Päri *pii-nyiŋ* lit. 'water eyes', Shilluk *pi nyiŋ* lit. 'water eyes' (Nakao 2012: 137, Avram in press)

Consider also the following example:

(41) EYE + SKIN ‘eyelid’

Cf. Fongbe *nùkùn fló* lit. ‘eye skin’, Igbo *anya ahü* lit. ‘eye skin’ Yoruba *awɔ ti o bo oʤu* lit. ‘skin which covers eye’ (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 237, Avram, own corpus)

A structurally identical compound is also attested in Turku, an Arabic-lexifier pidgin, formerly spoken in Chad:

(42) Turku *faroua henn* lit. ‘skin eye’ (Avram 2019: 19).

Cf. Fulfulde *laral gite* lit. ‘skin eye’, Ngambaye *ndāŕ-kùm* lit. ‘skin eye’ (Avram 2019: 19).

A third potential illustration of an African areal feature is provided below:

(43) HARD + HEAD / HEAD + HARD ‘stubborn’

Cf. Ewe *sétàme* lit. ‘hard head in’, Fon *tà-mɛ̀-sién-tɔ́* lit. ‘head in hard AGENTIVE’, Igbo *isi ke* lit. ‘head hard’, ‘Twi *tiri muden* lit. ‘head hard’ (Allsopp 1996: 284, Parkvall and Baker 2012: 239)

Again, a structurally identical compound is also found in Turku:

(44) Turku *rass gohoui* lit. ‘head hard’ (Avram 2019: 20).

Cf. Fulfulde *sattugol hoore* lit. ‘be strong head’, stubborn’, Hausa *táurí-n kâi* lit. ‘hardness-of head’ ‘stubborn’, Kanuri *kalâ cíbbua* lit. ‘head strong-having’ ‘stubborn’, Ngambaye *dɔ́-ngàn̄g* lit. ‘hard head’ ‘stubbornness’, Sango *(tî) ngangü-li* lit. ‘(of) hard head’ ‘stubborn’, Sar *dɔ́-ngàn̄g* lit. ‘hard head’ ‘stubborness’ (Avram 2019: 20)

5. Circumstantial evidence

The case for calques after African languages is further strengthened if structurally identical forms, with identical meanings, are found in other Atlantic varieties, e.g. French-, Portuguese- and Spanish-lexifier creoles, known to have (at least in part) the same substrate languages. Consider the examples under (45) through (59):

(45) BAD + HEAD ‘forgetful; stupid’

French-lexifier creole: Guadeloupe *tèt pa byen* (Avram in 2017b: 36)

(46) BIG + EYE ‘greed(y)’

a. French-lexifier creoles: Gudeloupe *gwã zje*, Haiti *gwo je* (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 233)
b. Portuguese-lexifier creole: São Tomé *wê-glosu / wê-gôdô* (Avram 2017b: 36)

(47) CUT + EYE 'to glance scornfully'

a. French-lexifier creole: Haiti *kup je* (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 235)
b. Spanish-lexifier creole: Papiamentu: *kòrta un wowo* (Avram 2017b: 37)

(48) DAY + CLEAN / DAY + CLEAR 'daybreak'

French-lexifier creoles: Dominica *jouvè*, Grenada *jouvé*, Guadeloupe *jou rouwè*, Haiti *jou louvri*, Martinique *jou ouvè*, St Lucia *jou ouvè* (Avram 2017b: 38)

(49) EYE + SKIN 'eyelid.

French-lexifier creoles: Haiti *po je* (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 237); Dominica *lapo zyé*, Guadeloupe *po-a-zyé*, Guiana *lapo-wèy*, Louisiana *lapo zye*, Martinique *lapo zyé*, St Lucia *lapo zyè*, Trinidad *lapeau ziex* (Avram 2017b: 41)

(50) EYE + WATER 'tear'

a. French-lexifier creoles: Dominica *glo zje*, Guiana *dlo wej*, Haiti *dlo zye* (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 237); Guadeloupe *dlo zyé*, Karipuna *dlo uei*, Martinique *dlo-zié*, St Lucia *dlo zyé*, Trinidad *dleau ziex* (Avram 2017b: 42)
b. Portuguese-lexifier creoles: Annobon: *a d ɔʤo*, Cape Verde *agul oʤu* / *agu di oʤu*; São Tomé *awa we* (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 237); Angolar *awa wê*; Guinea-Bissau *iagu na udju*, Príncipe *aua wê* (Avram 2017b: 42)
c. Spanish-lexifier creole: Papiamentu: *awa di wowo* (Avram 2017b: 42)

(51) GET + BELLY 'to be(come) pregnant

a. French-lexifier creoles: Haiti *gẽ gwo vãt* (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 238); Louisiana *gen en gro vont*, Martinique *i gwo bouden*, St Lucia *go bouden* (Avram 2017b: 44)
b. Portuguese-lexifier creoles: Guinea-Bissau *teŋ barriga* (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 238; Angolar *tha ki beega*, Príncipe *sa ku bega* (Avram 2017b: 44)
c. Spanish-lexifier creole: Papiamentu *kué barika* (Avram 2017b: 44)

(52) GOAT + MOUTH 'one who predicts unfortunate events or threatens evil'

French-lexifier creoles: Dominica *buʃ kabwit*, Haiti *buʃ kabrit* (Parkvall and Baker 2012:238); Guadeloupe *gèl-a-kabrit*, Guiana *bouchkabrit* / *djolkabrit* (Avram 2017b:45), where *gèl* and *djol* < French *guele* 'mouth of an animal'

(53) GOD + HORSE 'praying mantis'

French-lexifier creoles: Dominica *ʃuval bõdje*, St Lucia *ʃuval bõdje* (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 238); Guadeloupe *chouval-a-bondyé*, Guiana *chouval bondjé*, Karipuna *xuval bõdje*, Martinique *chouval bondyé* (Avram 2017b: 46)

(54) HARD + EARS / EARS + HARD ‘stubborn’

a. French-lexifier creoles: Haiti *zorɛj di* (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 39); Dominica *zòwèy di* (Avram 2017b: 46)
b. Spanish-lexifier creole: Papiamentu *orea duru* (Avram 2017b: 46)

(55) HARD + HAIR ‘tightly curled hair’

a. French-lexifier creoles: Haiti *ʃeve rɛd* (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 239); Guadeloupe *chive rèd*, Martinique *chive red* (Avram 2017b: 46)
b. Spanish-lexifier creole: Papiamentu *kabej duru* (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 239)

(56) MAMMY + WATER / WATER + MAMMY ‘water spirit’

French-lexifier creoles: St Lucia *mama dlo*, Trinidad *mama dlo* (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 240); Grenada *mamadjo* / *mama dlo* / *mama glo*, Guadeloupe *manman-dlo*, Guiana *manman-dilo*, Karipuna *mãmã dlo*, Martinique *manman dlo* (Avram 2017b: 48)

(57) ONE + TIME ‘at once, right now, immediately’

a. French-lexifier creoles: Haiti *jõ ʃwe* (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 242); Guadeloupe *onfwa* (Avram 2017b: 50)
b. Portuguese-lexifier creoles: Angolar *ũa vêi*, Cape Verde *d’um bés*, Guinea Bissau *na um bias* (Avram 2017b: 50)

(58) SWEET + EYE ‘tender glances’
a. French-lexifier creoles: Dominica *zyé dou*, Guadeloupe *zyé dou*, Guiana *zyé dou*, Louisiana *ye dou*, St Lucia FC: *zyé dou* (Avram 2017b: 53)
b. Spanish-lexifier creole: Papiamentu: *wowo dushi* (Avram 2017b: 53)

(59) SWEET + MOUTH ‘flattery; flatterer’

a. French-lexifier creoles: Haiti *buʃ dus* (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 244); Trinidad: *bouche-doû*, Louisiana *labouch dou* (Avram 2017b: 54)
b. Portuguese-lexifier creole: São Tomé *boka-doxi* (Avram 2017b: 54)
c. Spanish-lexifier creole: Papiamentu *boka dushi* (Avram 2017b: 54)

As can be seen, 15 of the compounds and phrases under discussion have structurally similar equivalents in at least one group of creoles with a lexifier language other than English.

6. Misleading circumstantial evidence

A methodological issue which needs to be addressed is that potential calques after African languages should not be traceable to the lexifier language. If identical forms are found in the lexifier language, these should be regarded as retentions, rather than calques. Consider the following example:

(60) BAD + EYE ‘evil eye’

a. French-lexifier creoles: Haiti *move lèy* / *move je*, St Lucia *move zié*, Trinidad *malzie* (Avram 2017b: 36)
b. Portuguese-lexifier creole: Cape Verde *ma ôdju*, São Tomé *wê-bluku* (Avram 2017b: 36)
c. Spanish-lexifier creole: Papiamentu *mal wowo* (Avram 2017b: 36)

The forms in French-, Portuguese- and Spanish-lexifier creoles may be traced to the lexifier language: French *mal d'œil*, *mal d'yeux*, *mauvais œil*, Portuguese *mau olho*, Spanish *mal (de) ojo*, all meaning 'evil eye' (see also Allsopp 1996: 364). Grenada *maldʒo*, St Vincent *maldʒo*, Tobago *maldʒo*, Trinidad *maldʒo* are clearly borrowings from the locally spoken French-lexifier varieties (see section 3). It follows that only the forms attested in Belize, Guyana, Ndyuka, Saramaccan and Sranan may be calques after African languages, since English cannot be the source.

Parkvall and Baker 2012: 237) include the forms reproduced below in their list of potential idiomatic calques:

(61) FOOT + FINGER / FINGER + FOOT / FINGER + PREPOSITION + FOOT 'toe'

a. French-lexifier creole: Mauritius *ledwa lipye* (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 237)
b. Portuguese-lexifier creole: Príncipe *ʊdɛ́du ɔpɛ́* (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 237)

Parkvall and Baker (2012: 237, f.n. 1) write that "in Mauritius […] *ledwa lipye* is arguably a calque of French *doigt du pied* but does not derive directly from the latter", but they adduce no arguments in support of this claim. However, the forms found in Mauritius and Príncipe need not be traced to African sources, since these are found in their lexifier languages: vernacular French *doigt du pied*, Portuguese *dedo do pé*, both 'toe'. Moreover, another lexifier language of Atlantic creoles, Spanish, also has such a form: *dedo del pie* 'toe' These facts would account for the occurrence of these compounds in several other French-, Portuguese and Spanish-lexifier varieties:

(62)

a. French-lexifier creoles: Guiana *dwèt pye*, Haiti *dwèt pye*, Martinique *dwet pié* (APiCS Online -113 'Finger' and 'toe', Avram 2017b: 43)
b. Portuguese-lexifier creoles: Cape Verde *dedu-pé* / *dedu-l pé* / *dedu di pé*, Guinea-Bissau *dedu di pe*, São Tomé *dedu d'ope* (Avram 2017b: 43-44)
c. Spanish-lexifier creoles: Palenquero *lelo ri pe*, Papiamentu *dede di pia* (APiCS Online -113 'Finger' and 'toe', Avram 2017b: 44)

It can therefore be concluded that FOOT + FINGER / FINGER + FOOT / FINGER + PREPOSITION + FOOT forms may be calques after African languages only in English-lexifier pidgins and creoles: first, English cannot be the source; second, the pidgins spoken in Cameroon and Nigerian are still in contact with West African languages; third, in Saramaccan and Sranan, the contribution of these languages is higher than in other Atlantic varieties.

Consider also the case below:

(63) HARD + HEAD / HEAD + HARD ‘stubborn’

a. French-lexifier creoles: Haiti *tɛt di* (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 239); Dominica *tèt di*, Karipuna *tét du*, Louisiana *latet dir*, St Lucia *tèt di* (Avram 2017b: 47)

b. Portuguese-lexifier creoles: Cape Verde *kabesa rixu*, Guinea-Bissau *risu kabesa* (Avram 2017b: 47)

c. Spanish-lexifier creole: Papiamentu *kabes duru* (Avram 2017b: 47)

The forms in French-, Portuguese- and Spanish-lexifier creoles can all be traced to the lexifier language: French *tête dure*, Portuguese *cabeça dura*, Spanish *cabeza dura*, all ‘stubborn’. However, their equivalents in Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Montserrat, Nevis, Turks and Caicos may be calques after African languages.

One last case is a compound which figures among the “secure loan translations” in Farquharson (2015):

(64) NOSE + HOLE ‘nostril’

a. French-lexifier creoles: Guadeloupe *trou-à-nen* lit. ‘hole of nose’, Haiti *trou nen* lit. ‘hole nose’, St Lucia *twou né* lit. ‘hole nose’ (Avram, own corpus)

b. Spanish-lexifier creole: Papiamentu *buraku di nanishi* lit. ‘hole of nose’ (Avram, own corpus)

The forms attested in French-lexifier creoles can be traced to vernacular French *trou du nez*. The Papiamentu form may be a calque after African languages. However, it cannot serve as circumstantial evidence for an African origin of the compounds recorded in English-lexifier creoles. These need not be traced to African sources, contra Baker and Huber (2001: 207), given that they reflect the most widespread term for ‘nostril’ in English dialects, as seen in the entries “NOSE” in Wright (1903: 299) and “nose-holes” in Upton et al. (1994: 278).

To conclude, some apparent calques after African languages may turn out to be retentions from the lexifier language in other varieties.

7. Indirect calques

In several territories in the Caribbean – Dominica, Grenada, St Lucia, St Vincent, Trinidad – French-lexifier creoles preceded the emergence of English-lexifier varieties. Unsurprisingly, potential idiomatic calques occurring in the latter have equivalents in the former.

In Grenada, St Vincent and Trinidad, BAD + EYE ‘evil eye’ may be a calque after the local French-lexifier varieties, in which they may be retentions from French (Avram 2017a: 17, 2018a: 126). Note that this form coexists alongside *mal□o*, derived etymologically from French.

In Trinidad DAY + CLEAN / CLEAR ‘daybreak’ (Avram 2017a: 17), EYE + WATER ‘tears’ and SWEET + MOUTH ‘flattery; flatterer’ may be modelled on the local French-lexifier creole forms.

In both Grenada and Trinidad forms structurally similar to GOD + HORSE ‘praying mantis’ are also attested in the local French-lexifier creoles. Hence, these might arguably be traced to the local French-lexifier variety (Avram 2017a: 18, 2018a: 126).

In both Dominica and St Lucia, HARD + HEAD / HEAD + HARD ‘stubborn’ corresponds to the structurally similar form *tèt di* recorded in the local French-lexifier varieties

In Dominica, HARD + EARS ‘stubborn’ has the counterpart *zòwèy di* in the local French-lexifier creole.

Summing up, the above forms may be calques after the local French-lexifier varieties.

8. Transplanted creoles

As is well known, several English-lexifier Atlantic creoles did not emerge in the territories in which they are currently spoken. For instance, as shown by Parkvall (2000: 125), “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”. Similarly, Limón Creole is a form of Jamaica Creole transplanted to Costa Rica in the 1870s (Holm 1989: 484). Other varieties historically related to Jamaica Creole include those spoken in the Bay Islands, Belize, the Cayman Islands, on the Miskito Coast, and in Providencia (Bartens and Farquharson 2012).

Consequently, calques may also have been transplanted, i.e. they are not necessarily independent developments *in situ*, modelled on African languages (Avram 2017a: 19-20). These include the following forms: BAD + EYE ‘evil eye’; BIG + EYE ‘greed(y)’; DAY + CLEAN / CLEAR ‘daybreak’; DOOR + MOUTH ‘threshold, doorway’; DRY + EYE ‘bold’; EYE + WATER ‘tear’; GOAT + MOUTH ‘one who predicts unfortunate events or threatens’; HARD + EARS ‘stubborn’; ONE + TIME ‘at once, right now, immediately’; SWEET + MOUTH ‘flattery; flatterer’

9. Different substrates, identical outcomes

The following forms are listed by Baker and Huber (2001) among the Atlantic features: BIG + EYE ‘greed(y)’; EYE + WATER ‘tear’; SWEET + MOUTH ‘flattery; flatterer’. However, these forms are also found in Pacific varieties: BIG + EYE ‘greed(y)’ in Torres Strait Creole, EYE + WATER ‘tear’ in Tok Pisin, SWEET + MOUTH ‘flattery’ in Bislama. Hence, these are world-wide features of English-lexifier pidgins and creoles (Avram 2004: 101, own corpus).

Baker and Huber (2001: 204) include SALT + WATER ‘sea; coastal’ among the Pacific features. This form is also attested in (at least) six Atlantic varieties: Jamaica, Sranan (Avram 2004: 97), Antigua (Avram 2016a: 196), Bahamas (2013b: 143), St Vincent (Avram 2015: 125), Trinidad (Avram 2012: 19). Consequently, it should be reclassified as a world-wide feature.

Such distributional facts are illustrative of the possibility of different substrate languages – African (for Atlantic varieties), Aboriginal (for Torres Strait), Melanesian and Papuan (for Tok Pisin), Melanesian (for Bislama) – producing identical outcomes, i.e. the structurally identical forms in English-lexifier pidgins and creoles are calques modelled on different substrate languages.

10. Universals of pidginization

As shown by several researchers (e.g. Cassidy 1971, Allsopp 1980, Hancock 1980, Parkvall 2000: 113), one of the immediate necessities of a creole is to expand the reduced lexicon of the pidgin out of which it developed. Under these

circumstances, "compounds may have resulted from a universal strategy for expanding a pidgin vocabulary to fill lexical gaps" (Holm 2000: 104). *Mutatis mutandis*, this also holds for phrases: some putative calques might be universals of pidginization, and "an indirect manifestation of former Pidginhood" (Parkvall 2000: 113), i.e. prior to creolization. Parkvall (2000: 113) comments as follows on EYE + WATER 'tears': "for people struggling to communicate the notion 'tears' in a multilingual contact situation, what more promising course should they adopt", i.e. "a combination of 'eye' and 'water'?"

Consider next the role of linguistic universals. Universals of pidginization presuppose compliance with universals identified in the literature on linguistic typology. Moravcsik (2013: 34) suggests the following absolute/unrestricted universal: "If words for a part of the upper body and a part of the lower are in a derivational relationship, the upper-body term is the base". Hence, if a language does not have a word for 'toe', it derives it from 'finger', i.e. FOOT + FINGER / FINGER + (OF) + FOOT 'toe' is typologically consistent, whereas *HAND + TOE / TOE + (OF) + HAND' is predicted not to occur. The prediction is borne out by the forms found in English-lexifier pidgins and creoles.

As is well known, pidgins generally favour transparency over opacity. The equivalents in English of many compounds and phrases occurring in the English-lexifier pidgins and creoles, e.g. *bold*, *stubborn*, *tear*, *toe*, are morphologically opaque. Not surprisingly, in pidgins, such morphologically opaque words are typically replaced by lexicalized, semantically transparent compounds and phrases (Parkvall 2000: 113, Avram 2004: 102).

Morphologically opaque words in English would have been less salient and less likely to be of use in the multilingual contact situation. These are replaced in pidgins and creoles by a compound or a phrase consisting of more frequent words, already known to the non-anglophone participants in the contact situation.

Consider, finally, the part played by metaphors. According to Cassidy (1971: 215), "some metaphors […] are so obvious that they may be expected to turn up" in the lexicon of pidgins. Likely candidates include EYE + EATER 'tears', MOUTH + WATER 'saliva', SALT + WATER 'sea; coastal', SWEET + MOUTH 'flattery; flatterer' (see also Parkvall 2000: 113, Avram 2004: 103).

11. Conclusion

One obvious finding is that "what you see is not always what you get" and that, in a number of cases, calques after African languages may exist "only in the eyes of the beholder".

Importantly, the possibility of a "conspiracy of factors" should not be disregarded. Likely combinations of factors might include the following: universals of pidginization + calques after African languages: in the multilingual contact situation, "what would have been a calque for some participants would have been a lexical innovation for others" (Parkvall and Baker 2012: 232); universals of pidginization + calques after African languages + retentions from the lexifier language; calques after African languages + retentions from the lexifier language.

The Relexification hypothesis should be amended to account for two situations: "first-degree" relexification, i.e. compounds and phrases which are direct calques after African languages; "second-degree" relexification, i.e. compounds and phrases modelled on other creoles, in which these are direct calques after African languages

Transplanted calques, while providing evidence for historical-linguistic relationships among various English-lexifier creoles, cannot serve as indicators of the lexical contribution of substrate languages (for a similar point with respect to loanwords from African languages see Bartens and Farquharson 2012: 190).

Finally, caution needs to be exercised when using putative calques as evidence of historical-linguistic relationships between the various Atlantic English-lexifier pidgins and creoles, given that, as put by Cassidy (1971: 215), some apparent calques may be "the outcome of coincidence or 'reinvention'" and "some coincidences need not indicate historical relationship".

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