MISSISSIPPI AND TECHE CREOLE

A demographic and linguistic case for separate genesis in
Louisiana

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ABSTRACT

This study presents a detailed examination of the early socio-demographic history of Louisiana with particular focus on European and slave settlement in the French and Spanish periods.   On the basis of these demographics as well as some textual evidence it is argued that despite theoretical predictions to the contrary, a Creole language did emerge and 'jell' *in situ* in the period 1719-1770. Instrumental in the creation of this language, which was spoken in settlements along the Mississippi River, were those African slaves who had arrived 1719-1731. Demographics also suggest that the Creole spoken to the west of the Atchafalaya River, unsettled until the 1760s, was the product of a semi-separate genesis. An examination of the relativization strategies of modern representatives of the two Creoles (PC and BB) in addition to the number of differences noted by Klingler (1992) suggest that this was indeed the case.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

AN	Archives Nationales
BB	Breaux Bridge Creole
CrFr	Creole French
DO	Direct object
GEN	Genitive
IO	Indirect object
LC	Louisiana Creole
Mau	Mauritian Creole
MC	Mississippi Creole
NP	Noun phrase
PC	Pointe Coupée Creole
PREP	Prepositional object
RC	Relative Clause
Rel	Relativizer
S1/S2	Sentence 1/2
Sey	Seychelles Creole
SU	Subject
TA	Tense Aspect (marker)
TC	Tèche Creole
TEMP	Temporal

INTRODUCTION

Baker's work on Mauritian since 1982 (v. Baker 1982, 1984, Baker and Corne 1982, 1986) has demonstrated the crucial importance of **detailed** demographic studies of individual societies in which Creoles languages came about.

His exhaustive research on the socio-demographic history of Mauritius has suggested a picture different from that previously painted by Chaudenson (1974, and, later, reiterated in 1979).

Interestingly it was in this 1974 work, *Le lexique du parler créole de la Réunion*, that Chaudenson first underlined the importance of a knowledge of demographics for understanding how a Creole emerged. His failure, however, to study these demographics in sufficient detail led him to the erroneous supposition that Réunionnais (or 'bourbonnais') was the progenitor of all the Isle de France Creoles.

Baker's (1982) convincing refutation of this claim on the grounds that Mauritius was not, as asserted by Chaudenson, settled from Réunion, but had rather a different socio-demographic history, led to his formulation of the 'events' hypothesis (1982, 1984) and gave rise to something of a polemic in Creole studies.

While the controversy raged, more in-depth research on the respective settlement histories of Mauritius and Réunion was carried out, and as a result we are now very well informed as to the social conditions prevailing in the former (v. Papen 1978, Baker 1982, 1984, Baker and Corne 1982, 1986) and the latter (v. Chaudenson 1974, 1979, 1992, Cellier 1985) in the periods relevant to the evolution of their respective languages.

In the light of new information, both Baker (1990, 1992, 1993) and Chaudenson (1992) have, to differing degrees, modified their hypotheses which today, at least vis-à-vis the general evolution of the societies in question, share some common ground.

The intrinsic polemic, whether Creole French represents a continuation of French (i.e. 'français avancé' cf. Chaudenson 1979, 1992) or a separate language 'created' by large numbers of slaves without a community L1 (cf. Baker 1992, 1993), however, remains firmly intact.

Jennings' recent study of Cayennais (1993, and in press) based on limited archival work in Paris and previously unexploited published material has indicated that a lot more work of a demographic nature needs to be carried out if we are to understand the exact social and linguistic situation in some colonies.

In his re-working of Baker's (1982, 1984) 'events' hypothesis and Bickerton's (1984) pidginization index he has come to the conclusion that differences in Creole languages are 'quantifiable and can be compared on a relative index of creolization whose poles are the substrate and the superstrate' (Jennings, in press).

In view of Jennings' work, then, it was decided that an in-depth socio-demographic study of Louisiana might account for the oft-mentioned heterogeneity of the Creole language spoken there (v. Broussard 1942, Phillips 1979, Neumann 1985, Marshall 1991, Valdman 1992).

Taking advantage of a short stay in Paris, I managed to undertake some archival (Archives Nationales) and library (Bibliothèque Nationale, Bibliothèque de la Marine) research on the demographic and settlement history of Louisiana.

Unfortunately, due to lack of time and financial constraints, this research was of a limited nature. Much of the enormous amount of

material available, particularly in the Archives Nationales, is still to be exploited. The results of this initial research, however, are embodied in the first part of this thesis.

As an aside, the extensive archival work of Gwendolyn Midlo Hall (1992) should be mentioned. Her excellent book *Africans in Colonial Louisiana* abounds with information useful to the creolist, although it must be said that most of it is gathered from a historical and/or socio-political viewpoint as opposed to a linguistic one. While, then, her work has done much in the way of filling many of the yawning gaps in the literature concerning the Colonial history of Louisiana, especially from an African-American perspective, its appearance does not preclude further investigation and/or exploitation of her sources from the point of view of Creole genesis.

Let us return, however, to the study at hand. As indicated above the first part of this work concerns the demographic and settlement history of Louisiana. Evidence brought to light in this section suggesting the likelihood of two separate, or at least semi-separate Creole geneses in Louisiana, is tested against linguistic data in section 2. This linguistic data is drawn from Klingler's recent (1992) study on Pointe Coupée Creole (PC) and Neumann's (1985) work on Breaux Bridge Creole (BB).

Working upon the principle that any given area of Creole syntax examined from a slightly different angle is likely to provide new information as regards to the evolution and/or development of a language, it was decided to undertake both a synchronic and diachronic study of relative clause constructions in Louisiana Creole(s).

The choice of relativization strategies, however, is not as arbitrary as it might seem. In the course of correcting Ehrhart's (1993) mis-analysis of relativiztion in Tayo, Corne discovered that the speech of the G3s (the principal subjects of Ehrhart's study) was marked by their frequent use of

modern relativization structures, leading him to conclude that relative clauses emerged in the formative period of Tayo's development.

In view of this, I began collecting data on the relativization strategies in several varieties of Creole French. Starting out with nineteenth century texts, I looked at Baissac (1888) and Anderson (1885) for Mauritius, Parépou for French Guiana, and Fortier (1895), Broussard (1942) and Neumann (1987) for Louisiana. Moving on to the modern texts I examined a number of Mauritian 'novels', including Asgarally (1977 and 1979), and Chiffone (1979) as well as Carayol and Chaudenson's (1978) collection of Indian Ocean 'contes'. The modern Guyannais story, *Sigré Bounyan Wara*, provided data for twentieth century French Guianese Creole, as did Neumann's (1985) 'étude morphosyntaxe' and texts of Breaux Bridge Creole for modern Louisiana Creole.

Out of all this exhaustive data gathering, some interesting patterns began to emerge. While the three Creoles differed in the way each handled relative clause constructions, there was an amazing degree of correlation within each language between the ninetenth century and modern texts (that is to say modern Mauritian was like nineteenth century Mauritian etc).

In the meantime, Chris Corne, having moved on to the study of relative clauses in Réunionnais, had been able to account for the peculiar optionality of the Réunionnais relativizer in all cases by a somewhat convoluted and inferential argument that claimed its introduction via Malagassy in the formative period of this language's evolution (v. Corne, in press, b).

Relative clauses, then, given their apparent early emergence in at least these Creole languages, seemed an ideal area of grammar to examine in an attempt to add some linguistic support to the conclusions drawn from the socio-demographic evidence.

This study starts with a brief outline of the early exploration of Louisiana and covers the period from the country's 'discovery' by the Spanish to the French establishment of a beachhead at Biloxi Bay in 1699.

Chapter 2, largely based on research done in the Paris archives and the Bibliothèque Nationale, examines in detail the early years of the colony up to the Louisiana Purchase. Primarily concerned with the origins and social circumstances of the European immigrants, population growth, mortality rates and conditions within Louisiana are also considered therein.

The linguistic implications of this European settlement are discussed in chapter 3.

Chapter 4 concerns the slave trade to Louisiana and is essentially in two parts. The first section deals with what I have termed 'the first wave' of slave importations (i.e. those slaves who were brought into French Louisiana by the Company of the Indies 1719-1731). Details of their ethnic origins, their arrival and their subsequent distribution in the colony are examined. The emergence of a slave culture within Louisiana is also given some attention.

The second part of chapter 4 looks at the 'second wave' of slave arrivals which commenced c. 1777-1782. Unfortunately due to the dearth of documentation surrounding the Spanish slave trade to Louisiana (for comments on this v. Hall 1992) this section is of a more superficial nature than the one preceding. It does, however, outline the the ethnic origins of this second group of slaves which are broken down, essentially, into two groups: Africans and Creoles from Saint-Domingue.

Chapter 5 comprises a dicussion of the above socio-demographic events and conditions and considers the facts with respect to Creole genesis in Louisiana. Both Baker (1982, 1984) and Chaudenson's (1992) theories are explored with respect to the situation in Louisiana and both

are rejected. Similarly, Valdman's (1992) hypotheses based largely on those previously elaborated by Chaudenson (1974, 1979) and Hazaël-Massieux (1990), are shown to be ill-founded.

Conclusions drawn from the demographic evidence presented above are tested against linguistic data in chapters 6 and 7. Statements on the relativization strategies of PC and BB are produced and results compared. A statement on relative clauses in nineteenth century LC is then made and discussed in the light of anomalies in the modern data.

Concluding notes are made in chapter 8.

1. THE FIRST EXPLORATIONS

1.1 THE SPANISH

The Spaniards were the first Europeans to encounter the land known today as Louisiana.

Hernando de Soto is credited with the discovery of the Mississippi River in 1541 (Saxon 1929: 51, Lauvrière 1940: 13, Oukada 1977: 2, Crété 1981: 1). He was preceded, however, by his fellow countrymen Ponce de Leon (1513), Alonzo Alverez de Piñeda (1519), and Panfilo de Navarez (1528), who all led expeditions to the area in the hope of discovering the fountain of youth. At least one of these explorers, namely Piñeda, may have actually been the first to discover the mouth of the Mississippi River which he named on his map *Rio del Espiritu Santo* (Lauvrière 1940: 11, Oukada 1977: 25).

No settlements were established, however, and it was not until the latter half of the next century, with the coming of the French, that real exploration and settlement began.

1.2 THE FRENCH

1.2.1 Jolliet and Marquette

Louis Jolliet, a merchant from Quebec and Jacques Marquette, a Jesuit priest, were the first Frenchmen to set off in search of the famed 'Northwest Passage', the great waterway to the West known by the Indians as the 'Meschacébé' (Lauvrière 1940: 18-19, Crété 1981: 1, Griolet 1986: 15).

It was believed that '...the upper outlet of this river would afford a passage to China, while the lower outlet would open into the Gulf of Mexico' (Crété 1981: 1).

French officials in Canada were not slow to realise the import of such a watercourse and in May 1673 Jolliet and Marquette were sent on an exploratory mission.

On June 17 they reached the Mississippi. 'Nous entrons dans le Mississipi avec une joye que je ne peux pas expliquer. Nous voylà donc sur cette rivière si renommée.' wrote Father Marquette (Lauvrière 1940: 20).

They continued on as far as the Arkansas River where, fearful of the purportedly hostile Indian tribes awaiting them further along the way, they decided to turn back.

Arriving home in August 1673, Quebec greeted Jolliet with '...le carillon des cloches sonnant à toute volée.' This was, however, to be his only 'récompense'. His hopes of establishing a concession in the Illinois country were dashed when in 1677 Colbert refused his proposition (Lauvrière 1940: 23).

It was to be a few more years yet before these lands were populated by the first White settlers.

1.2.2 Robert Cavalier de La Salle

Well aware of the economic ramifications of Jolliet's discovery, La Salle, after a preliminary expedition to the Mississippi, sought the permission of Louis XIV to complete exploration of the area and be granted rights over any lands he might come across.

Undoubtedly swayed by complimentary reports of the region by people such as the Franciscan monk Hennepin, the King, his sights set on

colonial power, agreed to La Salle's proposal (Barbé-Marbois [1830] 1977: 105-6).

La Salle's expedition left Canada in January 1682, reaching the mouth of the Mississippi in April of the same year. Naming the vast lands that he had passed through 'Louisiana' in honour of the King, he claimed them for France:

...Ce jourd'hui, 9 avril 1682, Je, en vertu de la Commission de sa Majesté que je tiens en main, ... ay pris et prends possession, au nom de Sa Majesté et des successeurs de sa couronne, de ce pays de la Louisiane, depuis l'embouchure du grand fleuve Saint-Louys du côté de l'Est, appelé autrement Ohio, ... et ce du consentement des Chouanons, Chicachas et autres peuples y demeurant avec qui nous avons fait alliance,- comme aussi le long du fleuve Colbert ou Mississipi et rivières qui s'y deschargent, depuis sa naissance au delà du pays des Sioux ... et ce de leur consentement et des ... Illinois ,... Akansas, Natchez, Coroas qui sont les nations les plus considérables y demeurant, avec qui nous avons fait alliance par nous ou gens de notre part, ... jusqu'à son embouchure dans la mer ou golfe du Mexique... (suivent douze signatures)

(La Salle, cited in Lauvrière 1940: 37).

With this successful first voyage behind him, La Salle returned to France to organise colonization. This time, however, luck was not on his side. He left La Rochelle with some two hundred and eighty people and a stockpile of provisions and tools (Barbé-Marbois [1830] 1977: 106, Crété 1981: 5). Arriving in the Gulf of Mexico he completely missed the inlets of

the Great River and finally landed in the bay of St. Bernard, Texas, in 1685 (Griolet 1986: 15). From here La Salle spent two years searching in vain for the Mississippi. In this time most of his band had been lost either to sickness or desertion and La Salle himself died at the hands of one of his own mutinous men.

Although La Salle failed to establish a colony, his mission '...opened the way to French fur traders, "coureurs de bois", and some missionaries who made frequent trips down the Mississippi shortly after' (Oukada 1977: 2). But embroiled in war with nearly every European nation, Louis XIV, in effect, forgot about his newest colonial acquisition and Louisiana remained unsettled for another ten years.

1.2.3 The Lemoyne Brothers

In the expansionist climate of the late seventeenth century, France, aware of the strategic importance of gaining control of the Mississippi River, decided upon another attempt at the colonization of Louisiana (Saxon 1929: 51, Oukada 1977: 3). The Canadian-born brothers Pierre Lemoyne d'Iberville and Jean Lemoyne de Bienville were to be instrumental in this settlement bid.

On October 24, 1698, the two set sail from Brest with a contingent of ships (Lauvrière 1940: 75-76). A beachhead was established at Biloxi, and it is from here that Louisiana's history of settlement truly begins.

2. EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT

2.1 THE EARLY YEARS (1699-1712)

Establishing its first settlement at Biloxi in 1699 with a group of about 80 men including '...5 officers, at least 2 of whom were Canadians, 5 petty officers, 4 sailors, 19 Canadians, 13 pirates from the Caribbean, 10 laborers, 6 cabin boys, and 20 soldiers' (Hall 1992: 3), France laid claim to all the lands extending '...from the mouth of the Mobile, which crosses Florida, to the bay of St. Bernard' (Barbé-Marbois [1830] 1977: 107).

Canadians were a numerically important group in the early years of the colony. As most of the soldiers originated from New France, nearly half the initial settlers were Canadian. Their numbers increased with the arrival of a new contingent of 60 men from Hudson Bay in 1700 (Giraud 1953: 83).

More Canadians arrived in Biloxi after 1700, attracted by employment prospects and the opportunity to market their furs. These nomadic 'coureurs de bois', well-atuned to life in a frontier society, did not prove to be the most suitable colonists. They soon provoked the dissatisfaction of those in charge. Annoyed with their free-spiritedness and indiscipline, the lieutenant Sauvolle accused them of 'mutinerie' and 'inconstance' (Giraud 1953: 85), and even in 1708 they were not considered legitimate settlers. Hall (1992: 3) quotes the census of that year as mentioning '...over 60 wandering Canadians who are in the Indian villages situated along the Mississippi River without the permission of any governor and who destroy by their bad and libertine conduct with the

Indian women all that the missionaries and others teach the savages about the divine mysteries of the Christian Religion.'

What was needed was the immigration of French families. Iberville's pleas for this type of immigration, though, fell on deaf ears. Merchants were not prepared to risk investment in ships for such an enterprise when a new war seemed imminent (Giraud 1953: 85-86).

A few artisan families were sent free of charge to Louisiana by the Minister of the Marine, but their arrival did little to boost the population: and it was with a mere four families and a few artisans originating from the Basque country and Rochefort that Iberville founded the new town of Mobile in 1701 (Giraud 1953: 87-88, Griolet 1986: 15).

A census taken in 1702 shows a fairly stagnant population base. There were about 140 people, all of whom were in the pay of the King (Giraud 1953: 89). Canadians were still numerically dominant and family groups were few and far between. The rest, soldiers, sailors, cabin boys and artisans were nearly all originally from the Atlantic seaports of France; Saint-Jean-de-Luz, Bordeaux, Rochefort, La Rochelle, Le Havre and Saint-Martin de Ré.

A longtime admirer of the 'esprit de la colonie' of the English, Iberville criticized France's lack of enthusiasm in peopling Louisiana, blaming their attitude for the 'informe et languissante' state of the colony. But in reality, the difficult conditions and climate of the colony did little to attract the 'classes aisées' that Iberville so desired (Giraud 1953: 89).

Thus a vicious circle was created; Louisiana could not develop without the mass immigration of French families, but the atrocious conditions, risk of disease, and lack of food and supplies which awaited them in the colony provided no incentive for this.

The situation became worse still when in 1702, tired of the climate and the isolation, 50 or so men (including 32 Canadians) left Louisiana for France or Canada (Giraud 1953: 92).

Few ships came to Louisiana in these early years, and during the Spanish War of Succession (1701-1714) their appearance became rarer still. In 1703 and 1704 the respective arrivals of the *Loire* and the *Pélican* seemed the start of more regular contact, but this was not to be. The next year the Minister of the Marine announced that ships would be sent only biennially to the colony. The following years witnessed only the arrival of the *Aigle* in 1706 and the *Renommée* in 1708. The colony then suffered a long three year wait before the *Renommée* returned to its shores in 1711 (Giraud 1953: 102, Lauvrière 1940: 110-112).

This long period of relative isolation did nothing to revive Louisiana from its inert state. Its small population was ravaged by famine and sickness and growth was inhibited by the lack of women.

The first step towards remedying this latter problem was the sending of a 'convoi' of 24 'filles', most of whom were from Paris with 2 or 3 from the La Rochelle and Rochefort region, who arrived in 1704 on the *Pélican*. Most of the women, judged favourably by the missionaries, were married soon after their arrival either to Canadians, soldiers, or French artisans. However the women found it difficult to adapt to their new environment, and the contagion carried to the colony aboard the *Pélican* affected many of them and carried away at least three of their number (Giraud 1953: 141-143).

A few other women, about whom little is known, were present in the colony. These were either members of immigrant families, like those who came on the *Renommée* in 1711, or single women who came alone. Whatever the case, the fact remained that in 1712 the chief complaint of the colonists was still the shortage of women (Giraud 1953: 141-143).

Although their numbers were small, other immigrants did arrive on the ships that came to Louisiana in these early years. In 1703 the *Loire* carried a contingent of artisans to the colony, 8 of whom are known to have been engaged in Rochefort and in Paris (Giraud 1953: 147). The *Pélican* brought two labourers, one carpenter, one edge-tool maker and two families of artisans in 1704, all of whom were from Paris (Giraud 1953: 142). Three families were transported on the *Renommée* in 1708 and 'several' came on the ship's second voyage in 1711 (Giraud 1953: 146).

This migration of skilled and semi-skilled craftsmen stemmed from the unemployment and ensuing poverty suffered by artisans during the war years. They tended to originate either from Paris, the western seaports or the industrial regions, all places where unemployment was particularly rife (Giraud 1953: 146). Their arrival, while not unappreciated by a colony struggling to get its feet off the ground, did little to solve the real problem, which was a lack of agricultural workers and families.

The stagnant nature of these first thirteen years is reflected in the census figures. In 1706 there were 24 families living in the colony. Two years later in 1708 the situation remained unchanged. The number of children noted, however, indicates some regression with 34 listed in 1706 while only 25 were counted in 1708. In 1704 about 195 colonists were living in Louisiana. In 1708 the total had increased by a mere four people. Complete figures are unavailable for the following years but if, as d'Artaguiette estimated, 27 families only were present in 1712, population growth was slow to say the least [1] (Giraud 1953: 154).

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[1] These figures are taken from Giraud (1953:154). Crété (1981:6) quotes sieur de La Salle who wrote in August 1708 that the inhabitants numbered 'two hundred seventy-nine persons, of whom six are ailing; plus sixty itinerant Canadians inhabiting the Indian villages along the Mississippi...' She also notes that in 1712, when it was handed over to Antoine Crozat, the colony consisted of '...two infantry companies numbering fifty men apiece, seventy-five Canadians in the service of the king, twenty-eight families, and twenty Negroes.' Assuming an average of two children per family and addding a similar number of itinerant Canadians to the 1712 total, one comes up with very similar figures for

Besides the rampancy of adult maladies brought on in part by the insufferable climate and lack of food, a low birthrate coupled with a high infant mortality rate almost guaranteed, without the speedy arrival of signifant numbers of immigrants, the demise of this nascent colony.

2.1.1 Summary

- As a colony, Louisiana got off to a very slow and inauspicious start.
- It remained fairly isolated with few ships arriving in the first years.
- The rural French families and agricultural workers so desperately needed for development never arrived.
- Growth was inhibited firstly by a lack of women and secondly by high mortality rates.
- Canadians played an important role in this early stage of the peopling of Louisiana.
- French emigrants came from Paris, the western seaports, or industrial areas.
- A small number of Black slaves[2] were already present; this colony therefore conforms to Chaudenson's (1992) 'colonie d'habitation' configuration.

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both years. Whatever the exact totals, the fact remains that there was almost zero population growth.

2 Taylor (1963: 3) claims that these Blacks were '...probably from the...[West]...Indies.'

2.2 THE CROZAT YEARS (1712-1717)

It was undoubtedly with some relief that the French government, its finances drained by the Spanish War of Succession, handed over the charter for this unprosperous and burdensome colony to Antoine Crozat. A wealthy financier, Crozat received the letters patent on 14 September, 1712 and was granted full trading rights in Louisiana for the next fifteen years. In exchange for this commercial monopoly, his only obligation was to send two supply ships and twenty new immigrants each year. The King would bear all military expenses: officers, troops, and fortifications (Barbé-Marbois [1830] 1977: 109, Lauvrière 1940: 137, Oukada 1977: 3, Crété 1981: 7).

2.2.1 Soldiers

With the exception of a small group of 25 workers, some accompanied by their families, who arrived in the colony in 1713 and the few settlers anticipated by the letters of patent, the only arrivals of real importance in the first few years were soldiers (Lauvrière 1940: 164, Giraud 1953: 245).

In 1715 two companies of soldiers recruited mostly from Paris with some from Nantes, arrived aboard the *Dauphiné*. Their number, 112, was smaller than expected due to the shipwreck of the *Justice*, which was carrying a further 12 men, and to losses incurred by desertion and disease. About two-thirds of these troops were tradesmen from the capital where in the absence of work and in the hope of receiving a 'haute paye' they enlisted in the army. As a result of the King's policy of limiting the number of married soldiers so as not to encumber the troops, only 9 women and 2 children accompanied these men to the colony (Giraud 1953: 245-249). This was hardly the mass immigration of family groups that Louisiana so desperately needed.

2.2.2 Women

The 1713 'convoi' of 12 'filles' from the French ports of Lorient and Port-Louis who arrived on the *Baron de La Fauche* was also ineffective in significantly increasing the population. Aside from the fact that their ugliness, poverty, and 'mauvaise réputation' repulsed rather than attracted husbands, there simply were not enough of them to make any real difference (Giraud 1953: 250). Besides, like the Canadian 'coureurs de bois', *habitants*, soldiers and even officers preferred the company of Amerindian women. The governor Lamothe-Cadillac wrote, 'Chaque garçon a des sauvagesses, les soldats comme les autres, ... ils les préfèrent aux filles qui viennent de France...' (Lauvrière 1940: 165).

Any hopes that these mixed unions would be recognized as legitimate marriages were quashed in September 1716 when the Marine Council rejected the notion. Opposition came from people such as the Commissioner Duclos who in December 1715 wrote:

> Quant aux mariages avec les sauvagesses, ils seraient déplorables: de moeurs libertines elles quittent aussi bien leurs maris français que leurs alliés sauvages, même aux Illinois; et, là même, ce sont plutôt les Français qui deviennent sauvages que les sauvagesses [...] deviennent françaises...S'il ne venait pas plus de Français en Louisiane que maintenant, la colonie deviendrait vite une colonie de mulâtres, lesquelles sont naturellement fainéants, libertins et encore plus fripons. (Lauvrière 1940: 166)

2.2.3 Other immigrants

The desire to populate Louisiana led the Marine Council to accept Crozat's proposal of the annual immigration of illicit salt merchants[3] and 'filles des hôpitaux'. Originally over one hundred of such immigrants were expected but the Marine Council, reluctant to meet the costs of such a large undertaking, reduced this number to about 30 (Giraud 1958: 113-115).

Other emigrants left for Louisiana in the Crozat years. Faced with miserable conditions at home and attracted by the free passage offered by the government, many people willingly applied to be sent to the colony (Giraud 1958: 116).

Officers and administrators were now beginning to arrive with their families and servants. There was also an increasing trend among women to join their husbands or other family members already in the colony (Giraud 1958: 116-117).

The French opinion of Louisiana was changing. Several people left for the colony determined to exploit its natural resources, including a group of merchants keen to capitalize on commercial ventures with the Amerindians or the Spanish (Giraud 1958: 117-118).

Ever-present were the Canadian adventurers and travellers, some of whom began to settle in the interior of the country. A few 'petits habitants' from Saint-Domingue also settled in Louisiana at this time.

The last French immigrants to arrive before the takeover by the Company of the West, came on the *Paix*, the *Paon* and the *Ludlow* in 1717. Six 'engagés' were recruited by the captain of the *Paix*. Aged between 18 and 22 and originating from Poitou, Saintonge, Aunis and Angoumois,

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3 These illicit salt merchants or 'faux sauniers' were people who sold salt, a highly illegal trade, as salt, as well as tobacco (cf. tobacco smugglers), were products over which the king held a commercial monopoly.

they were contracted to serve three years in the colony. They travelled aboard the *Paix* along with a small number of 'commis' and soldiers. Eighty civilians and about 150 soldiers were transported from Rochefort on the *Ludlow* and the *Paon* (Giraud 1958: 117, 119).

Despite their numbers, these newcomers by no means resolved Louisina's colonization problems. There were still not enough women in the colony to guarantee natural increase. Hundreds of immigrant families were needed even to begin to populate the vast lands of Louisiana.

Giraud (1958: 120), taking into account that there were around 300 people in the colony in the beginning of 1717, estimates that in March, after the arrival of the Royal frigates, the population would have reached about 550 people. Other sources indicate that even this modest figure is perhaps far too generous an estimate.

The fact that this tiny population was scattered around the administrative posts on Dauphin Island, and in Mobile, Biloxi, Pascagoula, Fort Toulouse, Natchitoches, and Natchez (Usner 1992: 31-32, Griolet 1986: 16), no doubt added to the colonists' isolation.

2.2.4 Hierarchy

In this fledgling society, however, a hierarchy was already establishing itself. At the highest echelon were members of the government, the director and auditor of Crozat's company, and officers and missionaries. Below them were their immediate subordinates, lawyers, and a few rare affluent colonists. Further down the scale came the 'gens de métier', the troops and the more humble farming families, amongst whom were quite a few Canadians. Most members of these latter groups were illiterate. On the whole, though, life was difficult for everyone with little luxury even for the most important members of society (Giraud 1958: 121-123).

The population at this time also included a number of slaves who formed the lowest caste in colonial society. For the most part these slaves were Amerindians, Tchitimachas mostly, with a few from the Missouri and Mobile tribes against whom France was at war (Giraud 1958: 127). A few Black slaves were also present in the colony. Centred around Mobile or Dauphin Island and belonging to the rare privileged such as Bienville, their very small number prevented them from playing an appreciable role in economic life. Their value, however, was already recognized and the colonists began to call for the introduction of Black slave labour (Giraud 1958: 127).

By the latter months of 1717 Crozat, tired of the great costs incurred by the first settlements of this unsuccessful colony, surrendered his rights back to the King. Even he, a celebrated entrepreneur, had been unable to turn the colony into a profitable enterprise (Barbé-Marbois [1830] 1977: 110, Oukada 1977: 3, Crété 1981: 7).

2.2.5 Summary

- Immigration brought about a slight population increase in Louisiana during the Crozat years.
- Initially soldiers, mostly from Paris with a few from Nantes, formed the most important group of immigrants.
- Craftsmen, either within the regiments or individually, continued to arrive in the colony.
- The arrival of a large group of illicit salt merchants and 'filles des hôpitaux' foreshadowed the importance such forced immigration was soon to have in the colony.
- Some 'petits habitants' emigrated from Saint-Domingue.

- A large group of settlers and soldiers sailed from Rochefort to Louisiana in the last year of Crozat's régime.

- Isolation was exacerbated by the repartition of settlers around the administrative posts.

- Canadians were still an important element in society.

- Despite the arrival of some 'filles des hôpitaux', the shortage of French women was still a major problem. Colonists counteracted this in part by entering into de facto relationships with Amerindian women.

- There was a minority of indigenous slaves and Black slaves in the colony.

2.3 THE REST OF THE FRENCH COLONIAL PERIOD

(1717-1763)

2.3.1 John Law and the Company of the West

In August 1717, John Law and his Company of the West, later called the Company of the Indies,[4] obtained the exclusive commercial monopoly of Louisiana (Lauvrière 1940: 197).

The Scottish-born Law had already succeeded in convincing the Regent to adopt paper money in order to rectify France's extreme financial straits. His scheme to sell shares in Louisiana's resources was in turn taken up and the result was the 'Mississippi Bubble' (Barbé-Marbois [1830] 1977: 111, Saxon 1929: 52, Oukada 1977: 3).

Touted as a land of gold and other inexhaustible riches, the Company's stock soared. Many people set sail for Louisiana to seek out this fabulous wealth for themselves. Upon arrival, however, they discovered nothing more than a colonial backwater whose population had been decimated by famine and disease. Thus the 'bubble' burst in 1721 and the name of Mississippi came to be associated, for a long time, with that of bankruptcy (Barbé-Marbois [1830] 1977: 111, Saxon 1929: 52, Crété 1981: 7).

The Law years did see, however, a huge rise in immigration from France and the systematic introduction of Black slave labour.

One of the conditions of Law's takeover of Louisiana was that he procure 6,000 settlers for the colony within ten years. (Lauvrière 1940: 197) The Company of the West set about this task with a vengeance. In a little

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4 Barbé-Marbois ([1830] 1977: 115-116) writes, 'A company for the Indies was created in 1723. The Duke of Orleans was declared its governor. Its privileges embraced Asia, Africa, and America. In the deliberations of this association, composed of great noblemen and merchants, India, China, the factories of Senegal and Barbary, the West Indies and Canada were, in turn, brought into view.'

over three years (1717-1721), 7,020 colonists were sent in 43 ships to Louisiana (Hall 1992: 7).

Hall (1992: 7) divides these colonists according to the groups shown in Table I.

Table I

French colonists sent to Louisiana between 1717 and 1721

Officers	122
Soldiers	977
Employees	43
Workers of the Company of the Indies	302
Holders of land concessions	119
Their indentured servants (*engagés*)	2,462
Salt smugglers and other exiles	1,278
Women	1,215
Children	502
Total	**7,020**

Of these 7,020 people, however, it is estimated that something like 2,000 of them died before reaching the colony (Hall 1992: 7) and of those who did reach Louisiana '...at least half of them either perished or abandoned the colony before 1726' (Usner 1992: 33), as the census of that year lists only 1,952 French citizens, 276 indentured servants and 332 soldiers (Hall 1992: 8, Usner 1992: 46). Nonetheless, this represents an increase of 2,010 people in nine years (1717-1726), or an average increase of 223 people per year.

2.3.2 Concession holders and French 'engagés'

To encourage the rapid agricultural development of Louisiana, large land concessions were granted to wealthy Frenchmen. These men and their families were to constitute '...l'élément sain, utile, précieux...' of the colony (Lauvrière 1940: 213). As concession holders it was their responsability to supply a labour force to work their farms and thus attention was turned to the French peasantry. Unlike France's other Caribbean colonies, Louisiana had received few indentured servants or 'engagés' in its first years of settlement. This changed with the formation of the Company of the West. Right from the start, the Company began bringing to Louisiana large numbers of these 'engagés', who were chiefly recruited in La Rochelle, Lorient, Port-Louis or Paris, to work on the land concessions (Giraud 1966: 221-116).

Initially La Rochelle was the Company's main port. 'Engagés' recruited here, however, were not necessarily local. The personnel for the Cantillon concession, for example, engaged in February to March 1719, was comprised of only 7 artisans from La Rochelle with the majority coming from Brittany, Poitou, Touraine, Marennes and Oléron Island (Giraud 1966: 226).

When Lorient and Port-Louis overtook La Rochelle as the Company's most important ports, they also became centres of recruitment for indentured servants. Recruitment here, though, was almost exclusively Breton (Giraud 1966: 226-7).

Paris too, was a source for these 'engagés'. People were recruited principally from parishes in the central city and the Faubourg Saint-Germain (Giraud 1966:227).

These people were engaged, usually for a period of 3 years, by administrators, officers, concessionaries or employees of 'sociétés de

colonisation'. In some cases masters took with them to the colony domestics who had served them in France (Giraud 1966: 233-4).

2.3.3 German immigrants

Aside from these French recruits there were an estimated 1,300 German-speaking emigrants (Usner 1992: 33) including a company of Swiss soldiers. Most of them, however, were 'engagés' destined for work on concessions, especially those of Law and the Duke of Guiche. These people were all that remained of the approximately 4,000 Germans who, in the summer of 1720, had gathered at Lorient awaiting their embarkation for Louisiana (Giraud 1966: 277-283). Insanitary conditions and overcrowding both in the port itself and on the voyage took their toll. This shockingly high death rate is illustrated in La Harpe's (1831:244) report on the arrival of two ships in March 1721. He writes, '...la flûte les Deux-Frères commandée par le sieur Fontaine, arrivèrent [sic] avec quarante Allemands de la concession de M. Law, reste de deux cents qu'ils avaient embarqués en France, les autres étant morts pendant le voyage.'

Initially sent to Law's Arkansas, Détour aux Anglais and Nouveau Biloxi concessions, after his bankruptcy most of these Germans were relocated by Bienville to a spot on the right bank of the Mississippi not far from New Orleans. This area came to be known as the German Coast and these former 'engagés' of the Company became 'concessionnaires'. By 1731 they had attained the status of 'propriétaires' and in the ensuing years both they and their lands prospered (Lauvrière 1940: 266-268).

They soon too became assimilated into French society. Intermarriage with French women sped up this gallicising process with the adoption of the French language and customs and even names. The Schantz, for example, became 'des Chance', the Schaff, 'des Chauffe', and

'les Labranche' were originally known as the Zweig ('Branch') family (Lauvrière 1940: 268, Griolet 1986: 34).

2.3.4 Forced immigration

This free emigration differed somewhat from the forced emigration which also took off with the takeover of the Company of the West.

While Louis XIV had been against the idea of peopling his colonies with criminals, the Regent had no such misgivings. It was seen as an opportunity to rid the Metropole and the prisons of undesirable elements while at the same time populating the colony. The first shipment of 'false salt merchants' arrived while the colony was still under Crozat's control. Further shipments continued under the Company of the West. From 1717 those condemned to the galleys had their sentences commuted to a period of exile in Louisiana and in the following year an ordinance was issued enabling authorities in Paris and the Northern provinces to arrest '...tous vagabonds et gens sans aveu'. Those in a good 'état physique', after a period of detention in the Hôpital Général, would be sent to the colonies. This ordinance was extended in March 1719, becoming applicable to the whole of France (Giraud 1966: 252-5, Hall 1992: 5).

Many people were wrongfully arrested under this decree. Peasants travelling out of their district were advised to carry some form of identification in case charges of vagabondage were laid against them by the notorious 'bandouliers du Mississipi' who rounded up both the innocent and the guilty in a manner much akin to the naval press-gang system (Lauvrière 1940: 205, Giraud 1966: 255).

Unsurprisingly, this barbaric practice proved most unpopular. After a series of revolts in Saint-Martin des Champs, La Rochelle and Paris, the Regent, in May 1720, forbade further forced emigration to Louisiana,

'...étant donné qu'il se présente un grand nombre de familles étrangères et françaises qui offrent de s'établir...et que des concessionnaires refusent de se charger desdits vagabonds et criminels, parce que ce sont gens fainéants et de mauvaise vie' (Lauvrière 1940: 205).

While convicts, vagabonds, beggars, and sexual deviants made up the largest group of deportees, Louisiana also became popular as a place for 'respectable' families to send their less than respectable members. Concerned about their reputations, they petitioned the Lieutenant General of Police for the deportation of incorrigible sons, daughters and nephews accused of licentiousness, idleness, gambling, drunkeness or thieving. When the authorities believed that a particular candidate should be sent to the colony, they sent a note to the Regent (who had the final say on who was to stay and who was to go), stating, 'C'est un vrai sujet pour la Louisiane', '...un fort mauvais sujet et qui mérite...d'être du nombre de ceux qui sont destinés pour les nouvelles colonies' (Giraud 1966: 257-8). In many cases, however, the families had a change of heart and their relations were spared the trial of exile in Louisiana.

2.3.5 The 'filles des hôpitaux' and other female immigrants

Not so lucky were the 'filles' sent to Louisiana in an attempt to counter the colony's desperate shortage of women. Although the Regent's ordinances of 1718 and 1719 were supposed to apply only to men, many women were taken for similar crimes; vagabondage, begging, theft and debauchery, as well as prostitution, blasphemy, irreligion or murder. These women were mostly recruited from the Salpêtrière and other 'maisons de force'. After 1719, however, the idea of sending women to the colonies seemed to catch on and families proposed it in lieu of jail for their erring daughters. These women tended to come from lower class

families: many were from Paris, although there were some from other French provinces, and even a few foreigners amongst them, including some Irish, German, and Bohemian women (Lauvrière 1940: 206-8, Giraud 1966: 261-4).

Once this forced deportation was prohibited, however, the Company had to find a new means of supplying the colonists with 'jolies filles, raisonnables et bien faites.' So they turned their attention to the orphans resident at the Hôpital Général in Paris. Ninety-eight of these women, known as the 'filles de la cassette', were provided with a trousseau and sent off to be married in Louisiana. Unlike the contingents of convict women who had arrived in the colony beforehand, these 'filles de la cassette' were noted for their virtue. While one can understand that the former group, hindered by their living habits and often poor health, had difficulty in entering into regular unions, what seems curious is that the latter group too had problems. Of the 78 who eventually arrived in the colony, 19 were married quite quickly but several months later the rest had still not found suitable partners. Failing to attract 'bons habitants' they were eventually married to workers on concessions or sailors '..à la condition expresse de se fixer dans la colonie' (Lauvrière 1940: 206, 209-10, Giraud 1966: 342-3).

Overall, these shipments of women played only a small part in the peopling of Louisiana. Some of them totally failed to adapt to the spirit of colonization that so needed nurturing in Louisiana. A 'recensement' of 1723 bemoaned the presence of these 'useless' women:

> Il y a icy, Messieurs, quantité de femmes à qui on donne la
> ration aussi bien qu'à des Enfans qui sont Inutilles et qui ne
> font rien que causer du desordre, la plus part de ces femmes
> sont gastées de verolle et gastent les matelots il faudroit que

> vous Eussiés la bonté de donner ordre au Conseil de les faire
>
> monter dans les terres chez les sauvages,...
>
> (C13A7, Fol. 7, AN)

More significant were the women in the families of the concession holders, the 'engagés', the soldiers, the officers and the administrators, who tended to possess virtues more suited to the establishment of permanent homes (Giraud 1966: 342, 344).

2.3.6 Unsuitability of the new immigrants

This raises the question of the 'usefulness' of the other 'engagés' and forced immigrants that were shipped to Louisiana in the Law years.

Aside from their 'mauvais caractère' which will be discussed in due course, their contribution to the colonization of Louisiana can at best be described as weak.

Crowded into the coastal ports of Biloxi, Mobile and Dauphin Island, the new immigrants sometimes had to wait for up to a year to be transported to the concessions. Conditions were extremely unhygienic, and disease, famine and despair combined to produce a very high mortality rate. The Deucher-Coëtlogon concession, for example, lost 90 of its 240 'engagés' within a few days and an official report estimated that 500-600 people had died at Biloxi in the last six months of 1720 (Giraud 1966: 327-331). The country, as Father Pierre de Charlevoix, a Jesuit priest who travelled through Louisiana from 1720-1722, remarked, '...se vuida avec autant de promptitude qu'il s'étoit rempli' (Lauvrière 1940: 216).

So what of the survivors then? 'Engagés' were often criticized for their lack of skill and inability to carry out the tasks required of them. The oppressive climate and shortage of food made for conditions to which

these labourers were simply unable to adapt. As a result many either perished or were repatriated (Giraud 1966: 340).

The forced migrants made even less successful agricultural workers or defenders of the colony. In 1723 Bienville wrote:

> Il est bien désagréable pour un officier chargé d'une colonie de n'avoir pour la défendre qu'une bande de déserteurs, de faux sauniers et de coquins beaucoup plus à craindre que les ennemis; car ils sont toujours prêts non seulement à vous abandonner, mais encore à se tourner contre vous ... Quelle attache peuvent avoir pour le pays des gens qu'on y envoie par force et auxquels il ne reste plus d'espérance de revoir leur patrie?... (cited in Lauvrière 1940: 217)

A report written in June 1720 anticipated the potential drawbacks of these criminal immigrants:

> Without wishing to criticize the conduct of the Directors, I dare say that one should not be deluded into believing that it is possible to establish the colony with persons who were incapable of discipline in France, especially since it is noted that a man who was an excellent subject becomes a mediocre subject in America and a mediocre subject becomes very bad. We do not know the reason for this deterioration. Some attribute it to the food which does not have the same substance as in Europe, to a greater dissipation of the mind, or to other causes. Regardless of the reason, the fact is certain. What can one expect from a bunch of vagabonds and wrong-

doers in a country where it is harder to repress licentiousness
than in Europe?

(cited in Hall 1992: 7: her translation)

The answer, it would seem, was not much. By 1760, if the Governor Kerlérec's report is to be believed, there remained little trace of them. He wrote:

> On a envoyé à la Louisiane, en différents temps des hommes et des femmes dont on a voulu purger la France et le royaume; mais le peu de soin qu'on a pris à leur arrivée et encore plus leur paresse et leur mauvaise conduite ont occasionné leur destruction, et il n'en reste presque plus aujourd'hui. On peut regarder comme un bonheur pour cette colonie qu'une mauvaise race ait été éteinte dès son commencement et qu'elle n'ait pas donnée naissance à un peuple vicieux (cited in Lauvrière 1940: 217).

2.3.7 Origins of the new settlers

What then were the origins of the immigrants who reached Louisiana's unhappy shores during the Law years? And what dialects did they speak? An examination of some ships' lists of the period gives the breakdown of linguistic origins shown in Table II. [5]

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5 These ships' lists, published by Albert Laplace Dart in a series of installments in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 14 (1931), 516 - 520, 15 (1932), 68 - 77,15 (1932), 453 -467 and 21 (1938), 965-978, cover the period from 15 November 1718 to 11 April 1720. The origins of 312 passengers are identified in these lists, including officers, cadets, soldiers, holders of land concessions, private passengers, 'habitants', 'engagés', tobacco smugglers, illicit salt merchants, vagabonds, exiles, deserters and women and girls taken for fraud or other crimes.

All the reported places of origin for these passengers are noted and divided on the basis of provinces. The provinces of origin were then separated into patois speaking, semi-

Table II

Linguistic origins of passengers on ships bound for Louisiana 1718-1720

Patoisants		Semi-Patoisants		Francisants		Others	
Picardie	28	Normandie	17	Ile-de-France	71	Swiss	3
Lyonnais	21	Bourgogne	9	Anjou	22	Spanish	2
Bretagne	19	Lorraine	8	Touraine	9	Italian	2
Saintonge	14	Bresse	7	Orléanais	7	Irish	2
Artois	8	Poitou	6	Champagne	6	Basque	2
Dauphiné	7			Berry	5	Walloon	1
Angoumois	5			Beauce	3		
Flandre	5						
Languedoc	5						
Savoie	5						
Franche-Comté	4						
Medoc	3						
Auvergne	2						
Provence	2						
Marche	1						
Bourbon-nais	1						
Totals	**130**		**47**		**123**		**12**
Percentages	**41.7%**		**15.1%**		**39.4%**		**3.8%**

Table II, of course, represents only a small sample of emigrants. If one takes into account that most of the 'filles' and many of the criminals sent to Louisiana were 'Francisants' (coming, for the most part, from Paris), the results are comparable with the breakdown of linguistic origins in other French colonies, including Canada (cf. Chaudenson 1979: 101, Phillips 1979: 96-97 and Barbaud 1984: 126).

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patois speaking, or 'French' speaking categories following the model in Barbaud (1984: 126). The category 'Others' is reserved for the few immigrants of non-French origin.

2.3.8 Louisiana reverts to the status of a royal colony

After the financial collapse of Law's 'système' in 1721, the Company of the Indies ran the colony until 1731 when it too went bankrupt. The crown then took possession of Louisiana and many White settlers left (Oukada 1977: 3-4, Klingler 1992: 53, Hall 1992: 8).

In this period and indeed throughout the remaining years of French dominion, White immigration to Louisiana was negligible.

The colony stagnated. Without the impetus of immigration from France or other French possessions, the White population did not develop in such a way as to be able to implement a viable and self-sustaining economy even with the help of Black slave labour.

Bénard de la Harpe (1831: 375), estimated that in 1724 the colony '...est habitée par environ cinq mille personnes des deux sexes, y compris mille trois cents têtes de nègres'. In other words there were about 3,700 Whites. This number had dwindled to about 2,228 in 1726 (Hall 1992: 8). The Natchez massacre of 1729 and other Franco-Indian hostilities, the unbalanced sex ratio, famine and disease all took their toll on this already feeble population which dropped to low of about 1,200 in 1740. By 1746, however, the White population of Louisiana was estimated to be 3,200 and by 1763 there were reported to be around 4,000 Whites in the colony (Hall 1992: 8-9, Usner 1992: 108).[6]

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[6] Usner (1992: 80), estimates that there were 3,300 settlers and 600 soldiers in Louisiana in 1746. He notes, 'Individuals and families occasionally migrated to Louisiana, but most new households sprang from already-settled families or from discharged soldiers who decided to settle in the colony. During the 1750s about 100 Alsacians migrated to Louisiana' (Usner 1992: 80, footnote 6). If this is the case then the rather large population increase of 2,000-2,700 people in 6 years seems somewhat unlikely and some doubt must be cast on Hall's (1992: 8) figure for 1740.

2.3.9 Geographical distribution of the colonists

As for the geographical distribution of this small population, La Harpe reported in 1724, 'Aux environs de la Nouvelle-Orléans, il peut y avoir mille six cents personnes, y compris les troupes et les employés; le reste est répandu dans tous les postes de la colonie...' (La Harpe 1831: 375)

Usner (1992: 50-51), gives a more comprehensive view of the situation in 1726:

> In 1726 only 500 people occupied the posts and surrounding settlements scattered acropss the interior of the Lower Mississippi Valley - Fort Toulouse, Natchez, Yazoo, Arkansas, and Natchitoches. This left nearly 90 percent of the colonial population concentrated in the Gulf Coast settlements of Mobile, Pascagoula, and Biloxi and in settlements along the lower Mississippi River between Tunica and Balize. The towns of Mobile and New Orleans included 38 percent of all colonial inhabitants (14 percent and 24 percent, respectively), a relatively large urban population for such a sparsely settled colony.

These population patterns remained more or less the same until Louisiana experienced its second wave of White immigration when the Spaniards came into power. Ironically, it was just when the colony began to prosper on its own that this cession took place.

2.3.10 Summary

- The Law years were marked by a huge influx of immigrants from France.

- These immigrants comprised soldiers and administrators, holders of land concessions, 'engagés' recruited from among the unemployed urban lower classes and both the French and German peasantry, and forced immigrants: false salt merchants, tobacco smugglers, 'filles des hôpitaux', vagabonds, 'gens sans aveu', and other 'mauvais éléments' of society.

- Most of these immigrants originated from the north-west and centre-west of France with a slight majority of them 'francisants' or 'semi-patoisants' (ie. having a command of both their own patois and 'French').

- However due to many factors including their own poor state of health, the long wait in the pestilent coastal ports, the oppressive climate, famine and disease, the majority of these immigrants died or left the colony.

- Hostilities with the Amerindian tribes further contributed to the loss of 'colons'.

- French attempts to colonize Louisiana were almost a total failure. The White population remained low as did economic production.

- Ironically just as the colony began to prosper on its own, France ceded Louisiana to Spain.

2.4 OVERVIEW OF IMMIGRATION IN THE SPANISH PERIOD AND BEYOND (1763-1812)

2.4.1 The cession of Louisiana to Spain

The stagnant nature of Louisiana's population under the French régime was overturned with the take-over by the Spaniards. Between 1763 and 1800 Louisiana's population rose from 8,252 to 44,116 (cf. Hall 1992: 279). Most of this was due to the influx of French-speaking immigrants, some of whom were accompanied by their slaves.

In 1763, after suffering defeat in the French and Indian War,[7] France turned over to England all of Canada and all the French territory east of the Mississippi River, excepting New Orleans. In the secret treaty of Fontainebleau (1762) France ceded all the territory west of the Mississippi to Spain. This transaction became official in 1763 much to the chagrin of the people of Louisiana (Oukada 1977: 4, Hall 1992: 276).

Spain, however, was slow to take possession of Louisiana. In 1766 Antonio de Ulloa, the first Spanish govenor arrived with few troops and little money. Anti-Spanish feelings, prompted partly by Ulloa's attempts to restrict commerce, ran high and in 1768 the Superior Council of Louisiana orchestrated a rebellion which saw the expulsion of Ulloa from the colony (Crété 1981: 14, Griolet 1986: 22, Hall 1992: 276). Crété (1981: 14) writes:

Armed men paraded through the streets of New Orleans shouting: 'Hurrah for the King! Hurrah for Good King

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[7] This war is also known as the Seven Years War (cf. Oukada 1977: 5).

Louis! Hurrah for Bordeaux wine! To hell with Catalonian rotgut.

This uprising was soon quashed by the arrival in 1769 of General Alejandro O'Reilly. Accompanied by a large number of troops, O'Reilly quickly restored order and re-established Spanish rule. The leaders of the rebellion were arrested, tried, and six were executed (Crété 1981: 14, Hall 1992: 276).

Despite this rather bloody beginning to Spanish dominion, the following years saw a rule which was 'tolérante et parfois même débonnaire' (Lauvrière 1940: 409). For the most part French institutions and laws were maintained and French remained 'the common language of the colony and the chief language of the schools' (Crété 1981: 15).

French presence in the colony was indeed reinforced in the Spanish period and beyond with the arrival of the Acadian exiles, refugees from Saint-Domingue and other French political 'émigrés'.

2.4.2 The Acadians

The 1755 British expulsion of the Acadians from their lands in 'Acadie' (Nova Scotia/New Brunswick) and their consequent diaspora is known as the 'Grand Dérangement'. This sad moment in Canadian history saw the dispersion of perhaps 6000 to 7000 Acadian peasants throughout the United States of America, England, France, Cuba, and other Caribbean islands. A number of these exiles trickled into Louisiana soon after their deportation but large-scale Acadian immigration did not begin until the mid 1760s when it was encouraged by the Spanish (Neumann 1985: 8-9, Griolet 1986: 29-30, Usner 1992: 109).

In May 1763 Charles Aubry, the military commander of Louisiana, wrote:

> Lorsque j'ai rendu compte de l'arrivée d'une soixantaine de familles acadiennes, venues de Saint-Domingue, je ne croyais pas qu'elles seraient suivies de beaucoup d'autres, qui arrivent continuellement, et que la Louisiane allait bientôt devenir une nouvelle Acadie. J'apprends à l'instant qu'il y en a 300 dans le fleuve (Mississippi), tant hommes, femmes et enfants...Ce n'est plus présentement de centaines que l'on parle, mais de milliers... (cited in Griolet 1986: 30).

Acadians continued to arrive in the colony from the islands and even from France. Griolet (1986: 30) notes, 'Ceux mêmes qui s'étaient fixés dans le Poitou, se rendant compte qu'ils ne sont plus français mais américains, retournent dans le Nouveau-Monde.' For these 2,500-4,000[8] Acadian exiles, Louisiana was an El Dorado.

Spanish authorities welcomed the Acadians with open arms, alotting them uninhabited lands in south and south-western Louisiana. The first Acadian settlements were situated on Bayou Lafourche, along the Atchafalaya River, on the 'Acadian Coast' of the Mississippi, and in Attakapas and Opelousas. Eventually the Acadians, or 'Cajuns' as they are known today, populated all south-western Louisiana as far as the Texas border (Oukada 1977: 5, Neumann 1985: 9).[9]

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[8] The exact number of Acadian immigrants is not known (cf. Neumann 1985: 9, footnote 2) although estimates tend to range between 2,500 and 4,000.

[9] Despite the contrary claims of some writers (cf. Lauvrière 1940: 413, Read 1963: xviii), Klingler (1992: 64-66) assures us that there was no Acadian settlement in Pointe Coupée. A decree issued by the Spanish preventing Acadians from settling or seeking refuge in the area seems to have been obeyed as Klingler finds no Acadian names in Pointe Coupée marriage lists. What is more, local genealogists have uncovered no trace of Acadian immigration. Klingler (1992: 66) suggests that these writers 'were misled by the term

Despite the fact that much of 'Acadiana' was swamp and wasteland, the Acadians, who were primarily fishermen and small scale farmers, soon settled into and adapted to their new land. Absorbing other cultures, notably the Germans and Spanish, the Acadian population grew quickly, constituting a new and important element in Francophone Louisiana.

The Cajuns retained their own particular customs, essentially those of seventeenth century rural France, and remained a group quite distinct from the (White) Creoles. Their language, which evolved in Acadia as the result of specific immigration patterns, different from those of Quebec (v. Massignon 1962), was preserved relatively intact, partly because of 'the geographical isolation of the predominantly rural area where they ...[the Acadians]... settled' (Oukada 1977: 5-6). By 1861 Cajun was the language of 75% of the population of southern Louisiana (Ditchy 1932: 17).

2.4.3 The 'Isleños'

From 1778 to 1780 six ships brought 2,000 'Isleños' or Canary Islanders to Louisiana. This group was the only important contingent of Spanish-speaking immigrants introduced by Spain (Usner 1992: 110, Hall 1992: 277).

These Canary Islanders established a few settlements in southern Louisiana, including San Bernardo, situated between the east bank of the Mississippi and Lake Borgne, Valenzuela on Bayou Lafourche, Galveztown at the junction of the Amite and Iberville rivers, and New Iberia situated below Attakapas on Bayou Teche (Usner 1992: 110).

[kadžě], which is used in Pointe Coupée to refer to poor whites in general, without the implication that they are of Acadian background.' (cf. also Ditchy 1932: 65 and Valdman 1992: 84-85 for the use of 'cajun' to denote any poor White).

Mortality rates among these newcomers, however, were extremely high. This, in addition to the fact that these Spanish-speakers 'lived in isolation in a few rural areas', meant that they exerted 'little cultural influence upon the more numerous French, Acadian, and Creole-speaking inhabitants' (Hall 1992: 277).

2.4.4 Refugees from Saint-Domingue, and other political exiles

A group which was to assert more cultural and linguistic influence on the Louisiana population was that of the expelled planters of Saint-Domingue.

After the 1791 slave uprising in Saint-Domingue, many White Creoles, accompanied by their slaves, began arriving in Louisiana. Others, who had initially taken refuge in Cuba, came in later (1809) when Spanish authorities, taking exception to Napoleon's hostilities in Europe, issued orders for their deportation (Oukada 1977: 10-11, Griolet 1986: 45).

Neumann (1985: 10) estimates that something like 10,000 immigrants from Saint-Domingue, including Whites, Blacks, and 'gens de couleur', arrived in Louisiana before 1810. Debien and Le Gardeur (1981: 132) give the following details:

Une centaine de réfugiés paraissent être arrivés de Saint-Domingue entre 1791 et 1797 et le double de ce nombre entre 1797 et 1802. On peut estimer à plus d'un millier ceux qui purent entrer en 1803 et en 1804, mais sans qu'on puisse avoir même une idée de ceux qui parvinrent à gagner la France.

En 1809-1810, plusieurs milliers débarquèrent de Cuba. *Le Moniteur de la Louisiane* (no. du 27 janvier 1810) parle de

2,731 blancs, de 3,102 personnes de couleur et de 3,336
esclaves... (cited in Neumann 1985: 10, footnote 1).

Like the Acadians before them, these numerous immigrants served to
reinforce the Francophone community and possibly to influence the
language(s) spoken in Louisiana (cf. 3.1).

They settled in New Orleans, on the banks of the Mississippi and,
primarily, in Saint-Martinville where they set up a 'Petit Paris' in the
Attakapas (Griolet 1986; 46).

From the time of the French Revolution (1789) French royalists as
well as many of Napoleon's officers and soldiers began arriving in the
colony. The later revolutions of 1830 and 1840 also prompted the
immigration into Louisiana of a number of French political figures
(Oukada 1977: 11, Neumann 1985: 9, Griolet 1986: 46).

Commenting on the linguistic contribution of these French
immigrants Oukada (1977: 11) writes:

These successive waves of political 'émigrés' have [sic]
greatly enhanced the chance for the language to survive and
even prosper despite the threatening challenge from English.
Aside from the fact that such immigration had increased
numerically the size of the Gallic community, many of these
'Frenchmen from France' [...] were well educated and
initiated cultural activities such as theater, opera and printed
media for the first time in the Colony. It was, for instance, a
French printer who had fled the slaves' uprising in Santo
Domingo, Louis Duclot, who started the first known
newspaper in the State, *Le Moniteur de la Louisiane,* in 1794.

Later political immigrants, too, played an important part in local journalism. By 1810 nine newspapers were in circulation in the colony, largely because of the influx of journalists from Saint-Domingue. Following the revolution of 1830, fifteen more papers in New Orleans and four in the Parishes were founded. The first periodicals devoted to literature, art and music appeared after the arrival of another group of political refugees after 1848 (Oukada 1977: 12).

2.4.5 The Louisiana Purchase

In 1800 a secret treaty was signed ceding the territory of Louisiana back to France. The formal transfer, however, did not take place until 1802. Renewed French dominion, though, was brief. In a political move that was to make the United States a formidable world power and an indomitable naval force, Napoleon sold them the whole of Louisiana for fifteen million dollars (Crété 1981: 17-19). Nine years later Louisiana was admitted as the 18th State of the Union (Oukada 1977; 12).

While the French language (in whatever shape or form) survived, indeed flourished, under the Spanish régime, the American take-over and subsequent amalgamation of Louisiana into the United States saw the start of a decline in status of the French language, culminating ultimately in the essentially Anglophone nature of the State today.

2.4.6 Anglo-Saxon immigration

Anglo-Saxon presence in Louisiana had been established long before the colony's cession to the United States. However, these English-speakers, who were often merchants and traders, made up only a small minority of

the population. This was to change dramatically after the inclusion of Louisiana in the United States of America.

Oukada (1977; 15) notes that between 1810 and 1820 Louisiana's population grew from 76,556 to 153,407, a staggering 100.5% increase. Given that there was no sizable French immigration in these years, one could conclude that in this short space of time French-speakers in Louisiana had lost their numerical superiority.

2.4.7 Summary

- Spanish immigration policies saw the rapid growth of Louisiana's population.
- Aside from a group of Spanish-speaking Canary Islanders most of the new arrivals were Francophones.
- The first major group to arrive were several thousand exiled Acadians.
- This very prolific peasant group settled in south and south-western Louisiana along Bayou Lafourche, the Atchafalaya River, the 'Acadian Coast' of the Mississippi, in Attakapas and Opelousas.
- There is no record of any Acadian settlement in Pointe Coupée.
- The Acadians preserved their language and customs in the relative isolation of the swamps and the bayous.
- Refugees from the slave revolution in Saint-Domingue formed another important group of French-speaking immigrants. They brought with them equal or superior numbers of slaves, and were also equaled in numbers by 'personnes de couleur'.
- They settled primarily in the Attakapas territory (Saint-Martin Parish) and in New Orleans.

- Other political immigrants arrived from France in the Spanish and American periods. Some were royalists fleeing the Revolution, others were republicans and Bonapartists.

- Once Louisiana became part of the United States, however, Anglophone immigrants poured into the former colony and the English-speaking population soon surpassed the French-speaking one.

3. LINGUISTIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT OF LOUISIANA

While it has long been established that two varieties of North American French, Laurentian and Acadian, evolved separately and in slightly different directions due to differences in their respective demographic histories, the same logic has not been applied to the French of Louisiana.[10]

3.1 'Le français colonial'

In studies of 'Louisiana French', the Acadian or 'Cajun' dialect has received most attention. Colonial or 'Creole' French[11] is usually dismissed as being so similar to Standard French as not to warrant too much further investigation.

Formerly spoken by the 'aristocratic' White Creoles, planters and members of the 'haute bourgeoisie' of New Orleans, who, according to Read (1963: xvii): '...[spoke]...good French; for many of them - not a few, indeed - were educated in France', Colonial French has today ceased to function as a 'langue quotidienne', with only an estimated 3,000 to 4,000 speakers (cf. Neumann 1985: 18).

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[10] For details regarding the origins of settlers see Barbaud (1984) and Barbeau (1983) for Quebec and Massignon (1962) for Acadia.

[11] Ditchy (1932: 10) calls Colonial French 'Creole' French by virtue of its being spoken by the White Creoles of Louisiana. Read (1963: xxii), while expressing his desire to employ this same appellation, notes: 'I am debarred, unfortunately, from speaking of the former...[ie. Colonial French]...as the "Creole dialect", because this term is applied in Louisiana to the negro-French patois.'

It is claimed that this variety of 'Louisiana French' was introduced by the first French settlers. Conwell and Juilland (1963: 17) write:

> The Colonial French was considered the nearest equivalent
> of Standard French, having been brought to Louisiana by the
> first settlers.

And in a more recent publication Neumann (1985: 17) states:

> Il [le français colonial] fut introduit dans le pays par les
> premiers colons et plus tard renforcé par les réfugiés venant
> de Saint-Domingue.

Given the socio-demographic history of French Louisiana sketched in the previous chapters, these assertions seem highly unlikely, assuming, of course, that they refer to the variety (or varieties) of 'French' spoken by these first settlers. It would seem, rather, that this particular variety of French is a survivor of what Griolet (1986: 45) calls 'l'âge créole'.

Starting in the late eighteenth century and reaching its zenith in the first half of the nineteenth century, Creole society, based principally in New Orleans, was elitist in nature. The 'Vieux' Creoles, who were descendants of the first colonists, claimed, by virtue of this fact, to form a sort of Louisianian aristocracy (cf. Griolet 1986: 53). They were joined, from the 1790s, by refugees from Saint-Domingue, a number of whom were themselves true aristocrats (Griolet 1986: 46). The arrival of these 'créoles des îles' made quite an impact on life in the colony. Not only did they introduce a number of technical innovations such as Etienne de Boré's discovery in 1796 of a way of making sugar from the cane found in Louisiana (cf. Klingler 1992: 68), but they also introduced an element of

culture which had thitherto been lacking in Louisiana. These island Creoles introduced theatre and opera into the colony, began printing newspapers and opened schools (Griolet 1986: 26, 45-46). They spoke 'un français très pur' (Griolet 1986: 46) which, given their elevated status, would have been a socially dominant model for the rest of Creole society.

The Louisianian Creoles, many of whom were educated in France, probably spoke reasonably 'good' French by the early nineteenth century. The introduction of the colonists from Saint-Domingue and the contemporaneous arrival of a number of exiled French royalists as well as some of Napoleon's officers and soldiers would have served to reinforce this emergent and probably fairly standard Colonial French.[12]

This language, cultivated in the salons, cafés, and gaming rooms of the 'haute société' of New Orleans (Griolet 1986: 58), was almost certainly not the same language as that which was spoken by the first settlers in the Colonial French period (1699-1763), nor was it the language of the lower class, and probably illiterate, descendants of many of these same settlers. It would appear, rather, to be a later development coinciding with the elevation in status that comes with wealth, prosperity, and education.

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[12] Crété (1981: 127) notes two rather opposing observations made on the quality of the Creoles' French. One French traveller, Berquin-Duvallon, thought their French was good except for certain idiosyncrasies of pronunciation. He wrote:

'They slur and drag out certain syllables, especially final ones, giving their speech a certain singing quality. Many of them pronounce the js as zs and the chs as ce.'

Aubadon, another traveller, was quite uncomplimentary, however, when describing the speech of several 'French Creoles' he met. he wrote:

'This is a breed of animals that neither speak French, English nor Spanish correctly, but have a jargon composed of the impure parts of these three.'

Crété makes some reservations as to whether these 'French Creoles' were actually that, suggesting: 'It may be that Aubadon had encountered Acadians or Chacalatas ...[i.e. peasants]...- a fact that might explain the severity of his judgement.'

3.2 The Canadian factor

As we have seen, wealth and prosperity were not a feature of life in early Louisiana, at least not for the vast majority of settlers. The struggle just to survive the inhospitable terrain and climate left little time for educational pursuits. There were very few schools and, save for the few fortunate enough to be sent to France to be educated, most French Louisianians were illiterate (cf. Griolet 1986: 19-21). Frontier conditions demanded the speedy development of an accessible vernacular with which everybody could communicate, not a cultured 'literary' language.

3.2.1 Establishment

Initially Canadians played an important role in the establishment of the colony. Most of the bureaucratic elite were of Canadian origin, notably the influential LeMoyne brothers who founded Mobile and New Orleans. Many soldiers, too, were from New France, as were the numerous wandering 'coureurs de bois' who came to Louisiana to set up the fur trade. Eventually many of these trappers settled permanently in the colony, thus ensuring a continued Canadian presence in Louisiana.

Both their numerical importance and the prestigious positions held by some of their number, suggest that Canadian French (ie. Laurentian) would have had fairly substantial input into the emergent vernacular of Louisiana.

Dorrance (1935: 46-49) attributes most of the features of Missouri (originally part of upper Louisiana) French to Canadian influence. He considers the two to be one and the same language with Missouri French an isolated survivor of the Canadian French spoken in the eighteenth century. With one or two exceptions, he writes:

...the body of the Missouri French vocabulary has been brought fairly intact from Canada. The question, 'What is Missouri French?',then, has been answered by Canadian linguists and historians [...] Since even in French Canada there are differences in the language from district to district, it is to be expected that the French-speaking Missourian should have developed a tongue differing here and there from the Canadian, though based upon it. It must be remembered, too, that whereas in Canada the French language has been piously and defiantly preserved, it has survived quite by accident in Missouri, among untutored backwoods folk who have been for long years out of touch with the French of any other locality.

Thogmartin (1979: 111), too, notes the affinity that the French spoken in Old Mines, Missouri, shares with Canadian French, as does McDermott (1941: 2-3) for Mississippi Valley French. McDermott writes:

One considerable influence on the French vocabulary in the Mississippi Valley was that of Canada ... It is to be expected that usages developed in seventeenth century Canada became part of the word-stock of the Mississippi Valley.

One can assume, then, that Canadian French had a similar influence on that of lower Louisiana.

3.2.2 'Le français canadien'

While many traces of various French patois and/or regional varieties of seventeenth century French are discernable in Canadian French even today - in its pronunciation and vocabulary especially - Canada, which attained linguistic uniformity long before France itself, was essentially 'francisant' by the time of the first settlement of Louisiana (cf. Barbaud 1984: 18). The ascendancy of the Ile-de-France dialect is ascribed to the linguistic contribution of the 'Filles du Roy', Parisian women who became the matriarchs of the colony. These 'francisante' women passed on their language to their children who consequently had the dialect of Ile-de-France as their mother tongue (cf. Barbaud 1984: 182).

Barbaud (1984: 18) notes that by the beginning of the eighteenth century, '...le parler canadien-français est parvenu à se fixer dans la forme que nous lui connaissons aujourd'hui.' It would have been this relatively uniform language, then, that was transported to Louisiana.

3.2.2.1 Canadian lexical items in Louisiana French

Many lexical items of Canadian origin are still in use in twentieth century 'Louisiana French'.[13] Read (1963: 1-75) identifies the origins of 270 'French' words which he describes as constituting the 'native element' of

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[13] The 'Louisiana French', presented in Read (1963) includes both '...the dialect of the Creoles and that of the Acadians...' (Read 1963: xxii). He states:

> 'It is obviously impossible to erect an insurmountable barrier between the language of the Creoles and that of the Acadians. Both dialects have to a great extent the same native vocabulary, and both have borrowed from the same foreign sources - English, German, Spanish, African, and Indian. Manifestly, then, each has exerted some influence on the other.'

While this may be the case today, his inclusion of both varieties of French under the same title is not particularly useful when one is trying to establish the origins of the one particular variety, which is our present concern (i.e. Colonial French).

this language. Of these, 153 or 57% are Canadianisms. The majority of words not borrowed from Canadian French designate flora and fauna particular to the lower Louisiana area.

It should be noted, however, that this wordcount gives only a very approximate indication of Canadian influence on Colonial French. Read's inclusion of Acadian words alongside the more standard 'Creole' ones (cf. footnote 11) renders the above figures very uncertain. Whether this 'Canadian' influence dates from the French period or came in later with the Acadians is not made explicit. Laurentian may have had a greater or lesser influence on the emergent vernacular of French Louisiana. What we can ascertain, from travel accounts written by people such as Le Page du Pratz (1758) and Bossu (1768), is that words of Canadian origin were employed in early Louisiana. A good example is the word *mitasses*, 'leggings, puttees', as in *une paire de mitasses* , or, in a transferred sense, as in *une poule à mitasses*, 'a hen with feathers on its legs.' Le Page du Pratz, Margry and Lahontan all mention this word (Read 1963: 97), which came into Colonial French from a northern Amerindian language via Canadian French. Read (1963: 98) writes:

> *Mitasses* came into Canadian French from Algonquian (Nipissing or Cree) *mitas*, 'leggings', and reached the Gulf Coast more than half a century before the edict of exile was issued, in 1755, against the Acadians. The word is found in several Algonquian dialects...

Evidence of Canadian input can be traced by the presence of a number of other words of Algonquian and, especially, Iroquoian origin[14] which were

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[14] Read notes that Amerindian words which survive in the 'dialect of western Canada may be either Algonquian or Iroquoian', while those present in Acadian are likely to be

brought to Louisiana by Canadian missionaries, 'voyageurs', and 'coureurs de bois' (Read 1963: 77).

Other terms which we know to have been current in French Louisiana due to their appearance in archival documents, can also be attributed to Canadian influence. Delachaise, in October 1723, for instance, mentions sending a 'cargo' of slaves '...a *l'habitation* de la Compagnie' (C13A7, Fol. 51, AN). In 1725 a letter complaining about the lack of slaves in the colony notes the bad effect this was having on the '...petits *habitants* ' especially (C13A9, Fol. 51, AN). And the 1726 census divided up Louisiana's population into four broad categories, one of which was labelled *habitants* (cf. Usner 1992: 46).

McDermott (1941: 2) notes the particular employment of the nouns *habitant* and *habitation*, which in Standard French mean 'inhabitant' and 'house' respectively, in Canadian French:

> In early Canada there were four classes of population: the military, the religious, the trading company and its employees, and the true colonists who had come 'to dwell' permanently in the new land. Since these colonists - 'inhabitants' - settled on farms and were expected to devote themselves to agriculture, the word *habitant* in Canada became synonymous with 'farmer'. The term was carried down to the Mississippi Valley in this particular sense, so that in almost every instance *habitant* should be translated 'farmer', and *habitation*, 'farm'.

Algonquian only (Read 1963: 78). This is because of the geographical location of the two Amerindian peoples (for details cf. Read 1963: 77).

Dorrance (1935: 81), too, notes the Canadian origins of these terms in Missouri French.

3.3 Other French inputs

While Canadian French was perhaps the first variety of French brought to and implanted in lower Louisiana, it was not the only one. Unlike the French of Missouri situated in upper Louisiana, in lower Louisiana eighteenth century Canadian French was not simply left to evolve on its own (cf. Dorrance 1935: 47-48). It is for this reason that one cannot take Missouri or Mississippi Valley French as being indicative of the type of Colonial French current in eighteenth century lower Louisiana. What these two varieties can be seen as possibly representing, though, is the Canadian element in Louisiana's emergent vernacular.

3.3.1 'Le français maritime et les parlers de l'Ouest'

To this 'base' of Canadian French, then, was added, initially, the French spoken in the western seaports of France, and Paris. Soldiers, sailors, cabin boys and a number of artisans were nearly all recruited from cities on France's Atlantic seaboard. It is to these immigrants that Louisiana Colonial French possibly owes the introduction of nautical terminology, or, as Hull (1979a: 173) calls it 'le français maritime', defined as:

> ...un français régional des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles, langue que j'ai appelé le français maritime...pour faire ressortir le fait que son foyer était les ports de l'ouest de la France (surtout La Rochelle et Nantes) et qu'il a dû se parler à bord des

vaisseaux engagés dans le commerce avec l'Amérique du Nord...

Many of the nautical terms cited in Hull (1979a) appear in twentieth century 'Louisiana French'. Some examples are *gréyer*, meaning to 'equip, furnish, provide' (cf. Read 1963: 43), *paré*, meaning 'ready, prepared' (Read 1963: 56), and *être après* + infinitive marking progressive aspect (cf. Griolet 1986: 373) which is equivalent to *être en train de* + infinitive in Standard French.[15]

3.3.2 Other contributions

While a few settlers continued to trickle into the colony, including the first contingent of 'filles' and several artisans from Paris, the first thirteen years of colonisation can only be described as a miserable failure. The small population was quite isolated, a trend which was to continue in the second phase of settlement when Louisiana was in the hands of Antoine Crozat.

The years 1712-1717 did see a slight increase in immigration from France. A large number of soldiers from Paris and Rochefort arrived, as did a small group of 'filles' from Brittany, some false salt merchants and 'filles des hôpitaux', probably from Paris, artisans from western France, colonists from Rochefort and wives and families of administrators and officers. Canadians still constituted an important element of society.

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[15] Etre après (à) + infinitive occurs in Classical French (where it finally became être à + infinitive) and is still extant in regional varieties of French including Laurentian (cf. Chaudenson 1974: 684).

This influx of people continued the immigration, and therefore probably linguistic, trends established in the first phase of settlement - most French immigrants were from the west coast of France or Paris.

3.3.2.1 Amerindian inputs

There is one more factor which needs to be considered before one examines the input of John Law's colonists into the French spoken in Louisiana - that is the influence of local Amerindian languages. As indicated in previous chapters, the growth of Louisiana was severely inhibited by the lack of French women. While some 'filles', mostly from Paris (thus sowing the seeds for the eventual 'francisation' of the language), were brought in, most men struck up relationships with Amerindian women. Even on the rare occasions when French women were available for marriage, Native American women were often preferred. One of the chief complaints concerning these unions, however, was the fact that it was rather '...les français qui deviennent sauvages que les sauvagesses [...] deviennent françaises...' (Duclos 1715, quoted in Lauvrière 1940: 166). While this was not beneficial to 'French' population growth and hence the survival of the colony, these relationships did furnish the emergent language with a number of Amerindian terms.

Other sources for Amerindian loanwords include contact with Amerindian slaves, most of whom were domestics, political relations with Amerindian tribes, and trade. The importance of the latter in providing lexical input is reflected by the dominance of the Choctaw language in Amerindian borrowings. According to Read (1963: 76-77):

From the Choctaw language the French borrowed more words directly than from any other Indian source, a fact that

may be ascribed to the numerical superiority of the Choctaws over other Southern tribes, and partly to the close kinship of Choctaw with the Mobilian dialect. The 'Mobilienne', thus named by the French after Mobile, the great trading post of the Colonial period, served as a medium of communication for all the tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley, and extended its influence as far north even as the mouth of the Ohio. It was as important to the Indians and white traders of the Colonial period as French is today to the diplomatic circles of Europe. To British traders it became known as the Chickasaw trade jargon, because of the close resemblance between the Chickasaw and the Choctaw or Mobilian vocabulary. Now the Mobilian is based chiefly on Choctaw, and contains indeed so much of the Choctaw vocabulary that this circumstance proved to be decisive in rendering the influence of Choctaw greater on the French language than that of any other Indian dialect.[16]

Amerindian borrowings include such words as: *taïque* 'squaw', *soco* 'muscadine', *choupique* 'Bowfin fish', *bayou* 'bayou', *bachoucta* 'a dye', all of which are from Choctaw (cf. Read 1963: 81-107). Many of the loanwords designate flora and fauna, geographical features, or everyday items associated with frontier life.

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[16] Drechsel (1987: 434, 442) claims that it was a 'genuine pidgin' which 'functioned as a widespread intertribal, interethnic, and international contact language in the lower Mississippi region and served true communicative purposes in multilingual environments well into the 20th century'. Holm (1988: 600) also notes: 'Historical records describe Mobilian as a public language used in trade, courts of law, and politics. It was a medium through which many Indian words entered French and English...'

3.4 Louisiana's *lingua franca*

On the eve of the take-over by John Law and the Company of the West and the subsequent mass immigration of French and German subjects, one could suppose that some sort of *lingua franca* had evolved in Louisiana. Given the dominance of Canadians in all sectors of society, and notably among the bureaucratic elite, it seems likely that Canadian French constituted the base of this emergent vernacular. As previously noted Canada, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, was 'francisant'. The newly arrived Parisian immigrants, then, would have easily understood the new language and with adaptions here and there, quickly picked it up. Migrants from the west of France, too, would have been obliged to adopt this new language for communicative purposes, not without, however, their own additions such as the previously mentioned nautical terms. Most of these immigrants, however, were not from the educated upper classes and the language or dialect which they spoke would have reflected this. Borrowings from Amerindian languages further enriched the emergent vernacular, working with the other input languages and dialects to produce, ultimately, a variety of North American French that was particular to Louisiana.

Although the birthrate was very low at this time, the point should be made that the first generation of children born in the colony, were most likely to be born of mothers speaking the French of the Parisian region,[17] a

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[17] Many more children, of course, would have been born to Amerindian women. Despite having French fathers, though, these children were not usually considered as part of the French population at this early stage. This was because marriages between French men and 'sauvagesses' were not considered legitimate (cf. Lauvrière 1940: 166), and children were likely to stay with their mother who remained within the tribe. The children, then, were more likely to be brought up as Amerindians rather than French people. Their mother tongue, certainly, was an Amerindian language and French, if spoken at all, would have been of the L2 variety.

trend which would be reinforced with the arrival of large numbers of women from the Paris prisons.

While it seems certain that some sort of emergent 'Louisiana French' was in use at this stage, no claims are being made as to either its stability or homogeneity. The scattering of the population around the administrative posts, some of which were quite isolated, Natchez and Natchitoches for example, would have done little to encourage the homogeneity of this emergent vernacular. Further research is needed to determine the origins of the colonists in each settlement in order to establish which dialects were dominant and hence the direction in which 'French' was evolving in each place. A new language, such as it was, for it should be remembered that there was no such thing as 'Standard French' in France at this time,[18] is by nature unstable, constantly changing and evolving to accomodate new speakers and situations. The arrival of several thousand new immigrants from France, then, would have had quite a linguistic impact.

3.5 John Law's immigrants

The settlers brought in in the Law years were a disparate collection of individuals. Aside from the few concession holders, the group was mostly composed of people from the lower end of the socio-economic scale. There were 'engagés' drawn from among the unemployed urban lower classes as well as from the French and German peasantry, forced immigrants, including false salt merchants, tobacco smugglers, vagabonds and other criminals, as well as groups of 'filles' from Parisian jails and a large number of soldiers.

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[18] See Rickard (1974) for an overview of the history of the French language and the emergence of a standard language.

The availability of a number of ships' lists gives an indication of the origins of some of these settlers. The lists reveal quite a large number (41.7%) of 'patoisants', although only immigrants from Picardy, Lyon, Brittany, and perhaps Saintonge arrived in significant enough numbers to have wielded any linguistic influence. Speakers of the Ile-de-France dialect vastly outnumbered those speaking any other individual dialect and 'francisants' and 'semi-patoisants', many of whom were probably bilingual in their own patois and in French,[19] constituted a slight majority. If one considers the number of forced immigrants recruited from Paris, including groups of 'filles', as well as the number of Parisian immigrants who had arrived prior to Law's take-over, the importance of these 'francisants' becomes quite evident. It was they who ensured the nascent vernacular would be essentially 'French' in nature.

The input of other dialects, though, cannot be disregarded and it was the particular merging of the 'French' spoken in western, northern, and central France that went into producing Louisiana French, which although based on the French of Canada, was a quite separate variety of North American French.

3.6 Nascent Louisiana French as the superstratal input into an emergent Creole

What, then, was the linguistic situation at the time of the first slave introductions? Given the unavailability of contemporary linguistic data, this question is almost impossible to answer. What is certain, though, is that it was not the French of the early nineteenth century or 'l'âge créole'.

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19 Rickard (1974: 120) notes that by the seventeenth century in the north of France, '...the upper classes normally spoke only French, while the lower orders spoke a French coloured by dialect, or were bilingual in French and dialect.'

Not enough time had elapsed to allow the emergence of a uniform language.

Language shift is often seen as a three generational phenomenon (cf. Corne, in press, a) with the emergence of a 'community' language usually taking about 50 or 60 years. This would seem to have been the case with Louisiana French. In 1752 the traveller Vaugine said of the language of the Creoles:

> ...les habitants de la dépendance de cette capitale parle bien
> sans patois, quoy que la plus grande partie ne soient sortis que
> des villages de France et du Canada (quoted in Griolet 1986:
> 20).

As Griolet notes, however, Vaugine is talking about the town of New Orleans only and this observation '...ne saurait y englober les émigrés forcés de John Law' (Griolet 1986: 20). The point he is making here is that the language would have varied depending on the locuteur's social staus and education, a point which Oukada (1977:103) raises, too, when discussing the probable dialectal variants in Colonial French. He writes: '...not all the Creoles were educated and hence able to comply with the norms prescribed by "L'Académie"...'

It seems likely that the incoming Africans were not exposed to a standard and uniform superstrate language at all. The isolation of settlements (v. above) did little to cultivate homogeneity and everything to encourage dialectal variety:

> ...we know from the present knowledge in areal linguistics
> that Colonial French could not have been homogeneous in

the strict sense. Conversely, one would expect remarkable
dialectal "variants"... (Oukada 1977: 103).

If this was the case, it may be supposed that differences in the 'superstrate'
might well have had an effect on the homogeneity of an emergent Creole.

The preceding discussion, then, establishes that in the early years, a
specific local variety of North American French was evolving in
Louisiana. It was this language, then that constituted the 'superstratal'
input of an emergent Creole. Let us now examine the origins of the slaves
and determine the African languages which constituted the 'substratal'
element of Louisiana Creole.

4. THE SLAVE TRADE TO LOUISIANA

Before 1709, when Bienville acquired some for his own personal use, there were no Black slaves in Louisiana. Numbering only about 20 in 1712, these few slaves arrived on the ship *La Vierge du Grace* and came from Havana and Saint-Domingue. Employed as domestic servants and gardeners, their contribution to the economy was slight. Their adaption to the climate and their capacity for hard work, however, was quickly recognized and the colonists began to clamour for the large-scale introduction of Black slave labour (Hall 1992: 57-58, Giraud 1958: 127).

When Antoine Crozat took control of the colony in 1712, one of the privileges of the patent issued to him was the right to bring in one shipment of slaves per year. This quota was never fulfilled, as there were no importations of slaves from Africa in this period (Taylor 1963: 5).

French experimentation with Amerindian slavery proved unsuccessful. The obvious disadvantages were the ease of flight back to their own tribe or other friendly tribes and the bad feeling that this enslavement generated between the Amerindians and the French. Crété (1989: 165) writes, '...si l'indien était superbe chasseur, il était mauvais cultivateur, peu fait pour les travaux rudes et difficile à maintenir en servitude...' This unsuitability of Native Americans as a labour force underlined the colony's need for African slaves. In 1713, the newly appointed Governor of Louisiana, La Motte Cadillac, wrote:

> ...on languissoit plutôt qu'on ne vivoit dans un des plus
> excellens pays du monde, parce que l'on étoit dans

l'impossibilité de faire des travaux et les premières avances

que les meilleures terres demandent...

(cited in Crété 1989: 165).

Despite the evident need, Africans were not introduced into Louisiana in any significant numbers until the colony was ceded to John Law and his Company of the West.

4.1 IMPORTATION OF BLACK SLAVE LABOUR

The Company of the West was charged with providing Louisiana with a certain number of slaves.[20] This obligation was facilitated when on 15 December 1718 the Company acquired all the rights and privileges to the Senegal Company. Although this Senegal concession was to provide the great majority of Louisiana's slaves over the next twelve years, the first shipments of slaves came from Juda (Ouidah, Whydah) on the Bight of Benin (Lauvrière 1940: 197-198, Hall 1992: 59).

In the summer of 1718 the first two French slave ships destined for Louisiana left St Malo. The Company of the West issued the captains of these ships, the *Aurore* and the *Duc du Maine*, with instructions specifying where to trade for slaves. They were told '...not to trade for any negro or negress who is more than thirty years of age, as far as possible, or less than eight.' They were instructed to '...trade for a few [slaves] who know how to cultivate rice' (Sanders 1931: 172-173).

The Company, concerned with keeping the mortality rate low, specified that the captains proceed to Louisiana as swiftly as possible and

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[20] The exact number is unclear. Lauvrière (1940: 197) reports that the Company was to populate the colony with '...6.000 blancs et de 3.000 noirs en dix ans...' Crété (1989: 166), however, claims, '...il était stipulé que 3000 captifs noirs devraient être introduits chaque année dans la colonie.'

orders were given '...to take great care of the health of the negroes, to prevent lewdness between the negresses and the negroes and the crew, to have them properly cared for [and] to have the space between the decks cleaned and scraped every day in order that no corruption at all may be generated there' (Sanders 1931: 173-174).

By all accounts these were sound instructions as mortality aboard the *Aurore* [21] and most other slave ships that arrived in Louisiana before 1725 was extremely low (Hall 1992: 73).

in 1719 the *Aurore* arrived in Louisiana with 200 slaves of the 201 it had taken on board in Juda. These slaves were disembarked at Pensacola where due to the Spanish seige they were immediately employed in the fortification of the settlement. Despite their efforts, France lost Pensacola as well as many of this first 'cargo' of African slaves to the Spaniards (Moody 1924: 207, Hall 1992: 63).

A short while later the second ship, the *Duc du Maine,* landed 250 slaves in Louisiana. It was estimated that these ships could carry 400 and 500-600 slaves respectively (Sanders 1931: 173, Hall 1992: 63), but due to the shortage of 'merchandise' in the slave warehouses in Juda, they were forced to leave without their full quota. This slave shortage probably played a part in the low mortality rate of some slave 'cargoes' shipped to Louisiana before 1725. Cutting out the waiting period in the insanitary and crowded warehouses of Africa that typified the later years of the trade, meant that the slaves' journey to the New World was relatively quick and there was less time for diseases to develop and for despair to set in (Hall 1992: 62-63, 74).

Despite this dearth of slaves, three other ships took on 'captifs' at Juda in 1720 and 1721. Unlike the ships that departed from the Senegal

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[21] The number of slaves actually embarked on the *Duc du Maine* are unavailable. It is not therefore possible to calculate a mortality rate for this particular ship.

concession around the same time, these slavers suffered quite high death rates.[22] The first to arrive was the *Afriquain* carrying only 182 slaves of the 280 that it had embarked. The *Duc du Maine* completed its second voyage on 23 March 1721 with 394 'nègres' on board, '...reste de quatre cent cinquante-trois', and in June of the same year the *Fortuné* arrived in Louisiana with 303 slaves (La Harpe 1831: 245, 253).

The *Néréide*, the only slave ship to come from Angola in the French period, arrived in April of 1721. It, too, suffered a reasonably high mortality rate, landing just 294 of the 350 slaves it had taken on (La Harpe 1831: 248-249).

The arrival of these first slave ships, however, posed what was to be a chronic problem for the Louisiana colonists. As much as they had called out for the introduction of slaves, seeing them as the only way to some sort of prosperity, their impoverished state prevented them from being able to purchase these 'nègres bruts' in hard currency. When, two and a half months after its arrival, no offers had been made on the first 'cargo' of slaves brought on the *Duc du Maine*, the Company was forced to accept payments made in paper money (Hall 1992: 63).

Details of this scheme are outlined in the first article of the 'reglemens pour la colonie' issued on 20 September 1721:

> Les nègres seront vendus aux habitans à six cent soixante livres d'Inde pièce, conformément à ce qui a été réglé par la compagnie, pour le paiement desquelles ils feront leurs billets payables dans trois ans, par parties égales du jour de la

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[22] The average mortality rate for the two ships from Juda, the *Afriquain* and the *Duc du Maine* as well as the *Néréide* from Angola is 21.4%. This figure is comparable to the figure of 22.4% that Curtin (1969: 277) cites for the average slave loss in transit sustained by the slave traders of Nantes in the period 1720-1724.

délivrance, en tabac ou en riz, suivant ce qui sera réglé par les directeurs par rapport à la qualité des terres des habitans.

Si après la seconde année echue l'habitant qui aura reçu des nègres se trouve débiteur de ses billets en entier, sans avoir fait le paiement la première année, les nègres seront vendus au profit de la compagnie, après un seul commandement de payer, et sera la vente des nègres affichée, indiquée et publiée dans toutes les habitations du quartier, un mois d'avance; si le produit de la vente desdits nègres ne suffit pas pour le paiement de la compagnie, le débiteur sera contraint au paiement du surplus, et sera conduit en prison dans le chef-lieu ou la résidence du commandant du quartier, pour y demeurer jusqu'à parfait paiement.

(cited in La Harpe 1831: 289-290)

Once this new form of payment had been accepted, colonists could not get enough slaves. The 'cargoes' of the *Afriquain* and the *Duc du Maine* in groups of two men, two women, a boy, and a girl were distributed to the colonists and 'concessionnaires'. When the *Néréide* arrived a month later, however, food was so short that few concession holders were able to take slaves (Hall 1992: 64). Eight hundred and seventy slaves were brought into the colony on these three ships. Of these slaves, 35 died shortly after their arrival and 537 were sold to individuals. This left 298 slaves. Forty of these were destined to work on the boats that travelled up the Mississippi to the Illinois country. 'Négrillons' were sent to New Orleans and adult males were kept for the public works.[23] The 'cargo' of

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[23] These figures are adapted from those of Hall (1992:64-65) who states that 349 slaves arrived on the *Duc du Maine* in 1721. La Harpe (1831: 245), however, reports that 394, in

the *Fortuné,* the last ship to arrive from Juda until the *Diane* in 1728, was sold to the colonists although some slaves were kept for the Company (Hall 1992: 64-65).

The *Ruby* transported the first load of slaves from the Senegal concession to Louisiana in 1720. It arrived with 127 of the 130 slaves it had taken on in Gorée. Several other ships were sent to Senegal after the *Ruby,* but only one, the *Maréchal d'Estrées,* returned to Louisiana. It had on board 196 slaves, four having died on the middle passage (Hall 1992: 65-66).

A year passed before the next slave ships arrived in Louisiana. The *Expédition* and the *Courrier de Bourbon* both arrived in 1723, the former unloading 91 slaves from Gorée, the latter 87 slaves from Gorée, Gambia and Bissau. Due to the famine, only 15 of the *Expédition's* slaves were purchased by colonists. The rest were kept by the Company for its construction projects or taken by Company officials for their own private use (Hall 1992: 66-67).

No slave ships came to Louisiana in 1724 or 1725 due to the shortage of slaves at the Senegal concession. The colonists soon became desperate. In February 1725 officials wrote:

> Toute la Colonie est dans l'impatience devoir arvinece [sic;
> 'de voir arriver'] des Nègres, dont elle a [...] grand besoin,
> surtout les petits habitants [...] manqués d'aides...
> (C13A9, Fol. 51, AN)

They go on to say that several settlers who had left Louisiana could have been retained if only they had been supplied with slaves.

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fact, arrived. I have used La Harpe's figure for the *Duc du Maine* and adjusted Hall's figures accordingly.

This initial phase of the slave trade to Louisiana was marked by a shortage of slaves in the 'captiveries'. This meant a slow start for slave introductions but ultimately this shortage proved beneficial. As soon as slaves arrived at the trading posts they were loaded onto ships and sent on their way. The relative speed of their transferral from Africa to the New World meant that slaves were stronger and more likely to survive the trials that awaited them in the colonies. Of the 2,124 Africans who arrived in Louisiana between 1719 and 1723, 1,385 are reported in the colony's 1726 cesus - a remarkable survival rate compared to that of the Europeans (Hall 1992: 72-74).

This low mortality rate, both in transit and in the colony itself, did not continue in the later and most active period of Louisiana's African slave trade which resumed in 1726. Once peace with the English and British had been negotiated at the Senegal concession, the Company of the Indies was able to enforce its exclusive trade right in the area. Now, however, there were not enough ships to carry the deluge of slaves that flooded the 'captiveries' at Galam and the Atlantic coast. Hall (1992: 76) writes:

> After enduring a stay in the 'captiverie' at Galam following a long journey downriver, 'captifs' sickened and died in the 'captiveries' along the Atlantic coast while awaiting long-delayed ships belonging to the Company of the Indies. By the time these tardy ships arrived, many of the surviving slaves were in no condition to withstand the transatlantic crossing...When these ships arrived in Louisiana, they had to enter the Mississippi River at Balize in the face of contrary winds and tides and ever-shifting sandbars that blocked the channels. Sick and dying, exhausted, short of food and water,

often without clothing even in midwinter, the 'captifs' waited for days for flatboats and pirogues to take them up the Mississippi River to New Orleans, where they often encountered food shortages. Many of them died on their way to New Orleans or shortly after their arrival.

On 26 February 1726, the '...vaisseaux [sic] *La Mutine* chargé de 228 Nègres est arrivé...' (C13A9, Fol. 245, AN). A number of these slaves must have died upon arrival as certificates for 'deux cent huis Nègres' only were issued in April (C13A9, Fol. 251, AN).

This month also saw the landing in Louisiana of '250 testes de Noire' on the *Aurore* (C13A9, Fol. 251, AN). The arrival of these slaves brought welcome relief to Louisiana's colonists who had had to wait two years for their delivery. Many of them, however, were kept by the Company for public works in the town of New Orleans. This move prompted discord among the colonists as to who would receive the rest of the slaves (Hall 1992: 72).

In 1727 the *Annibal* arrived with an unspecified number of slaves (Hall 1992: 60) and the *Prince de Conti* unloaded '...266 Noirs assez beaux...' Many of these 'Noirs', however, were sick '...avec le flux de sang,...[et]...fluxion sur les yeux...' which left many of them 'borgnes' or 'aveugles' (C13A10, Fol. 184, AN). Sick slaves were auctioned off by the Company of the Indies and those left over were given to settlers with a month's guarantee (Hall 1992: 77).

The *Duc de Noailles*, which had left Senegal with 347 'captifs' arrived in Louisiana in early 1728, landing only 262 slaves. Those who made it to Balize were all sick with scurvy and dysentery. Twenty more died before reaching New Orleans. At New Orleans 110 were put into hospital. Pains were taken to separate those with scurvy and those with

dysentery but these efforts were in vain. All the slaves contracted dysentery and at least another 25 died (C13A11, Fol. 27, AN)

A marked contrast to this ill-fated voyage was that of the *Vénus* which arrived at Balize on 15 June 1728, '...avec 341 têtes du Nègres restants de 350 dont il a été chargé au Senegal.' This low mortality rate seems due to the swiftness of the trip. Governor Périer wrote, '...jamais vaisseau n'a fait une traversée plus heureuse, il n'a esté que quatre mois six jours aserendre de france au Senegal y prendre sa Carguaison et lavendre icy... (C13A11, Fol. 51, AN). Curiously the slaves, who had suffered no illnesses on the crossing, nearly all became sick with scurvy about a month after their arrival in Louisiana. The healthy Blacks were sold to the colonists but many were returned upon their contraction of this disease. The Company of the Indies was forced '...to get these colonists to take them back and treat them at their homes, guaranteeing them for a month. They accepted, and...[the Company officials]...branded them with the mark of the Company so others could not be substituted in their place...[They]...did this because...[they]...thought that a colonist who only has one or two blacks would take much better care of them than a hospital where there are already almost 200 suffering from this disease' (Périer 1728, cited in Hall 1992: 84-85).

The third slave ship to arrive in 1728 was the *Flore*. It left Gorée with 450 Blacks, '...tant hommes que Negresses et Negrillons suivant la facture', but only 320 arrived in New Orleans. These slaves were '...attaqués de l'Escorbut si violamment qu'il en est mort plus de deux tiers de ceux qui ont été Vendus...' (C13A11, Fol. 351, AN).

The only ship to embark slaves from Juda in this busy period of the French slave trade to Louisiana, the *Diane*, also reached the colony in 1728. It unloaded 464 of the 516 slaves taken aboard at the Bight of Benin.

The following year, three ships, all with slaves from the Senegal concession, landed in Louisiana. Mortality on board all of them was high. The *Galatée* arrived in January with only 260 of the 400 Blacks it had taken at Gorée. Forty-five sick slaves had been left in Saint-Domingue, as well as some crew members. A further 25 to 30 Blacks died from scurvy upon arrival in Louisiana (C13A11, Fol. 305, AN). The *Vénus* landed 363 of the 450 slaves with which it had been loaded and the *Duc de Bourbon*, which had embarked 400 slaves, reached Louisiana with just 319 (Hall 1992: 77).

One more slave ship arrived whilst the colony was under the jurisdiction of the Company of the Indies. The *St Louis* landed 291 slaves in 1731. This number included the remains of the 'captifs' of the *Néréide* who were picked up in Saint-Domingue (Hall 1992: 77).

It was not before time. Colonists were desperate for slaves, paying up to 1000 livres for ill and dying Blacks. In 1729, officials complained:

> We have seen during this last auction as well as the preceding ones, slaves dying 15 minutes after they were sold, and in large numbers. Others died before they left New Orleans, and still others only lasted two days ... There are settlers all of whose slaves died in less than a week...We believe that you should fix the price of sick blacks below the price of those who are in good health, in order to prevent the total ruin of settlers, because there are some ... who will never be able to pay for them regardless of how good their intentions may be, unless another slave is given to them [to replace those who die].
>
> (cited in Hall 1992:86)

By this time, however, the Company of the Indies was on the brink of collapse. Faced with revolts in its Senegal concession, aboard its slave ships, as well as in Louisiana itself,[24] it renounced its claim to the colony to the French crown (Hall 1992: 86).

Apart from one private shipment of 190 slaves from Senegal in 1743 (Hall 1992: 60), the French slave trade to Louisiana ended in 1731. In twelve years the Company of the Indies landed a total of 5,741 slaves in the colony. If one adds the 1743 'cargo' of the *St Ursin* the number of legitimate slave imports from Africa in the French period totals 5,931. These slave imports are summarised in Table III.

Table III

Slave importations from Africa to French Louisiana

Ships and their origin	Number of slaves embarked	Year landed	Number of slaves landed
Juda (Whydah)			
l'Aurore	201	1719	200
le Duc du Maine	-	1719	250
l'Afriquain	280	1721	182
le Duc du Maine	453	1721	394
le Fortuné	-	1721	303
la Diane	516	1728	464
Total from Juda			1,825
Angola			
la Néréide	-	1721	294

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[24] In 1729 the Natchez Indians revolted, killing about one-tenth of Louisiana's White population and destroying the Company's tobacco settlement. This had quite devastating effects on the colony. Many settlers left and those who remained were in desperate straits (Hall 1992: 86).

Total from Angola 294

<u>Senegal</u>

le Ruby	130	1720	127
le Maréchal d'Estrées	200	1721	196
l'Expédition	100	1723	91
le Courrier de Bourbon	100	1723	87
la Mutine	235	1726	208
l'Aurore	350	1726	250
l'Annibal	-	1727	241[25]
le Prince de Conti	300	1727	266
le Duc de Noailles	347[26]	1728	262
la Vénus	350	1728	341
la Flore	450	1728	320
la Galatée	400	1729	260
la Vénus	450	1729	363
le Duc de Bourbon	400	1729	319
le St Louis	350	1731	291
le St Ursin	220	1743	190

Total from Senegal 3,812

OVERALL TOTAL FOR THE FRENCH SLAVE TRADE 5,931

Sources: Calculated from information in the Archives Nationales, Paris (C13A9, Fols. 245, 251, C13A10, Fol. 184, C13A11, Fols. 51, 305, 351), La Harpe (1831: 245, 248, 253, 256) and Hall (1992: 60, 77, 382-397).

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[25] No information is given as to how many slaves were embarked on or landed from the *Annibal*. The figure of 241 is an estimate arrived at by averaging the numbers of all slave 'cargoes' which reached Louisiana and were from the Senegal concession.

[26] Three Blacks were later embarked from La Caye, Saint-Domingue, making this total 350.

Slaves found their way into Louisiana by means other than legal importation by the Company of the Indies. In 1758 a British ship carrying a 'cargo' of slaves from Africa was captured by a French convoy. One hundred and twenty slaves were brought to New Orleans where they were sold (Hall 1992: 160).

Other British ships were allowed to dock in New Orleans in the final years of French rule. Coming from Jamaica on the pretext of exchanging prisoners with the French, these ships also sold slaves, probably introducing several hundred of them (Hall 1992: 25, 160).

The smuggling of slaves into the colony was not unknown. Taylor (1962: 6), mentions the case of a settler living near Mobile who, in 1736, '...made an agreement with an English ship to establish a slave market on an island near the mouth of the Mobile River.' It would seem that most of these smuggling operations were British based and the slaves introduced either came directly from Africa or from the English colonies (Taylor 1962: 12, Hall 1992: 279). In any case, the small numbers involved and their late arrival did little to change the overall picture in Louisiana which was an emerging slave population of predominantly Senegambian origin.

4.2 ETHNIC ORIGINS OF SLAVES IMPORTED INTO LOUISIANA IN THE FRENCH PERIOD

4.2.1 Senegambia

The majority of slaves (64%) shipped to Louisiana in the French period were from Senegambia, that is the area between the Senegal and the Gambia rivers (Hall 1992: 29). The Company of the Indies' Senegal concession, however, encompassed a much larger geographical area, stretching from Arguin Island in the north and including Upper Guinea and Sierra Leone. As the Company held exclusive commercial rights in both Louisiana and the Senegal concession, the latter was the most convenient and logical source for Louisiana's Black slave labour force.

Curtin (1975: I, 6) claims that Senegambia is '...a region of homogeneous culture and a common style of history.' He backs up this assertion by noting that Sereer, Wolof, and Pulaar[27], three of the area's principal languages, are closely related and that the fourth, Malinke, is a mutually intelligible language spoken by the Mande peoples in the east.[28] Mahoney and Idowu (1965: 142) write:

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[27] Greenberg (1955: 7) disputes the supposition that Fulani (Pulaar) is a Hamitic language. He instead claims that it is a member of the West Atlantic subfamily of the Niger-Congo family of languages (1955: 10) and that it '...shows a particularly close relationship to the Serer-Sin and Wolof languages of Senegal.

Westermann and Bryan (1952:18-19), too, group these three languages together as 'West Atlantic' languages. They note that Wolof is an important trade language spoken or understood throughout Senegambia and they also indicate the vast distribution of the Fulani language and the '...great number of people who have adopted...[it]...or who speak it as a second language.'

[28] The Mande languages are classified by Greenberg (1955:10) as a subfamily of the Niger-Congo languages. Westermann and Bryan, however, group them separately. They note that 'Malinke, Bambara, and Dyula,...are so closely interrelated that they must be considered, on a linguistic basis, as dialects of one Cluster, in spite of the vast area over which they are spoken and the great number of people speaking them...' (Westermann and Bryan 1952: 33).

The Mandinka language early became the *lingua franca* of much of this region, partly because of the hegemony of Mali and the trading capacity of the Mandinka. Indeed, ... [it was] ... reported that anyone who could speak this language could travel and trade with great facility from the mouth of the Gambia to the Upper Niger, a linguistic frontier for Mande and West Atlantic tribes.

Living side by side for centuries, a lot of interchanging of people and culture had occurred in Senegambia and the result was a region which displayed relative cultural uniformity.

Hall (1992: 29) further claims that this uniformity spread as far as Upper Guinea where '...there was a heavy Mande overlay...due to the influence of waves of conquerors, immigrants, and refugees displaced from the north.' The entire Senegal concession, then, may be viewed as a relatively homogeneous cultural entity.

The Company of the Indies' African headquarters was located at Fort St. Louis, near the mouth of the Senegal River. One of its most important trading posts, however, was situated much further inland on the upper reaches of this same river. 'Chemins de nègres' descending the river were purchased and the 'captifs' were held at this post of Galam. Slaves from here and other trading posts including Joual and Bissau were brought to Gorée Island where they awaited shipment to Louisiana (Hall 1992: 32-33).

Wolofs, prized for their 'pure' blood, intelligence and loyalty, were brought to Louisiana to serve as slaves. In the colony these Blacks were called 'Senegal' by the French, although amongst themselves the

appellation 'Wolof' was still used. Le Page du Pratz, recommending their use as domestics and tradespeople, wrote:

> They are very appreciative, and when one knows how to attach them to oneself, one sees them sacrifice their own friends in order to serve their masters. They are good commanders of other 'nègres', because of their faithfulness and appreciativeness as well as because they seem to be born to command. Since they are proud, they can easily be encouraged to learn a trade or to serve in the home by the distinction they acquire over the other 'nègres', and the advantage their status allows them in acquiring clothes.
> (cited in Hall 1992: 41)

A number of Mandinga, Sereer and Fulbe also arrived in Louisiana in the French period (Usner 1992: 33, Hall 1992: 403) but the people known as the Bambara[29] figured most prominently in the slave ranks.

Unlike the Fulbe and Mandinga who protected their people against slavery, the Bambara fought amongst themselves, capturing and selling their own people to the major slave traders, the Mandinga. Valued highly

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[29] Galloway (1984: 84) gives the following definition of the Bambara:

> The Banbara are a tribe of the Mandingo family living on both sides of the upper Niger in present-day Mali. The center of their country is about where 5 degrees west longitude and 12 degrees north latitude cross. The Banbara were skilled agriculturalists and craftsmen in gold, ivory and iron.

The Bambara, along with the Soninke and Malinke '...are significant in West African history as the group which established some of the ancient West African empires.' Social organisation consists of '...age grades of both sexes as well as secret societies, which are particularly composed of elderly men' (Mabogunje 1971: 18-19).

Unlike the Mandinga, the Bambara resisted Islam and maintained their traditional Mande beliefs. Their language, Bambara, is a Mande language closely related to Malinke. Oral history was important and was communicated by storytellers (jeli) in the form of myth and legend. Collective wisdom was transmitted in the frequent citation of proverbs (Hall 1992: 41, 45).

as slaves, noted as 'the best men of all Africa for labor...robust, good natured, intelligent...' (Brüe 1723, cited in Hall 1992: 42), Bambara were used by the French at the Senegal concession as domestics, guides, interpreters, boatmen, and even soldiers (Hall 1992: 41-42).

Hall (1992: 42-43) claims:

> There is little doubt that the Bambara brought to Louisiana were truly ethnic Bambara. They constituted a language community. Louisiana officials reported that four hundred Bambara slaves speaking the same language were involved in the conspiracy of 1731. There was a Bambara court interpreter in Louisiana. Slaves testifying in court identified their own nations. The influential quotation cited by Gabriel Debien indicating a variety of peoples labeled Bambara who were not truly Bambara dates from 1789. By that time - sixty to seventy years after the French slave trade to Louisiana - the term 'Bambara' had taken on a generic meaning and was widely applied to peoples coming through St. Louis from the interior of the continent. Many distinct ethnic communities had by then been incorporated into the Bambara warrior group, and Bambara identity had long been ascendant.

In Louisiana the Bambara maintained cultural and linguistic ties.[30] After playing a role in the Natchez uprising of 1729, the Bambara joined forces

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[30] A few words of Bambara or Mande origin still exist in Louisiana Creole today. Read (1963: 122-123) attributes the word *gris-gris*, 'An object worn as a protective charm against evil, or used, on the other hand, for the purpose of inflicting injury', to Mande origin. Hall (1992: 163) also notes this example and adds the word *zinzin*, 'an amulet of support or power' to the list. She claims that this 'has the same name and meaning in Bambara.' And *gombo*, Louisiana's most famous dish, is also attributed to Bambara in which it means 'okra' (Hall 1992: 188).

again in 1731 in an alleged plot to kill all the Whites from Pointe Coupée to Balize. They planned to take possession of the colony, ruling over the slaves of other nations who would continue to serve them as bondsmen. However the plot was discovered by the French. The leaders, eight men and one woman, were all executed - the men were broken on the wheel and the woman was hanged (Hall 1992: 106, 110).

One of the conspirators was a slave known as Samba Bambara. He appears to have been an important and influential member of the slave community. Samba had been an interpreter at the Galam post in Senegal. After his arrival in Louisiana, he resumed his occupation, becoming a court interpreter for Bambara slaves. He was also appointed 'commandeur' of the slaves of the Company of the Indies (Hall 1992: 108-109).

Confronted with a dossier of condemning evidence compiled by Le Page du Pratz at his trial in 1731, Samba Bambara reportedly uttered the question:

(1)   *Qui cila qui dire cila à toi?*

When told it was Le Page du Pratz he responded:

(2)   *M. le Page li diable li sabai tout*   (Hall 1992: 110).[31]

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[31] Hall (1992:110) claims that these citations are in Louisiana Creole. This not, however, the case. Although a distinct Creole language would have been emerging in 1731 it would not yet have ' jelled'. The second sentence especially displays decidedly pidgin features which would correspond to Samba Bambara's exposure to contact varieties of French as an interpreter in Africa. The lack of embedding of the relative clause and the lack of a relative pronoun are indicative of the pidgin stage of language development (cf. Bickerton 1981: 14, Bickerton 1984: 175-176, Romaine 1988: 241-251). Corne (1993, and in press a, b) claims that relativization is a very early feature of at least some Creoles.

There are many other instances of Bambara appearing before the courts. If, in 1731, as Hall (1992: 112) estimates, Bambara constituted 15% of the adult African slave population, their defiant attitude is amply reflected in the number of criminal accusations made against them. Hall (1992: 112-113) presents data showing that of the 27 slaves accused of crimes by the Superior Council of Louisiana (1729-1752) whose African nation was identified, 18 were Bambara. This makes for an astonishing 67%.

In 1748 a 45 year old Bambara herdsman was questioned about the murder of a French soldier. He had been implicated by a young Creole (ie. locally-born slave) who hoped to escape punishment. When the Bambara confronted the Creole he said:

(3)   *Cela n'est pas Bon, s'y toy mourrir, mourrir seuls et n'y a pas faire mourrir monde qui n'y a rien faire avec toy* . (quoted in Hall 1992: 114).[32]

4.2.2 Bight of Benin

Six ships carried slaves from the port of Juda in the Bight of Benin to French Louisiana. These slaves made up 31% of the total number of slaves brought to the colony in this period.

No information is available as to the exact ethnic breakdown of peoples exported from Juda at this time. One can, however, make an educated guess based on records in Louisiana itself and literature on the slave trade from the Bight of Benin.

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[32] This sentence is a mixture of French and an L2 version of the emergent Creole (v. 5.6). Among the creole/pre-creole features are:

  (i)   *toi* (subject) which is *to* in modern LC
  (ii)   the single verb form *mourrir*
  (iii) *n'y a pas* emerging as a possible negator

Hall (1992: 404), in an examination of Pointe Coupée inventories covering the years 1771-1802, uncovered the following slave 'nations' from the Bight of Benin: Yoruba, Mina,[33] Chamba, Fon, Adó and Hausa.

While some of these Pointe Coupée slaves probably came in the French period, it seems likely that the majority were new arrivals brought in by the Spanish. While not shedding a lot of light on the exact origins of the first shiploads of slaves from this area, this list does indicate nations who were actually exported as slaves from Juda.

Hausa make up only 0.7% of slaves from the Bight of Benin in Hall's list. Curtin (1969: 188) notes that Hausa slaves only appear on slave lists from the French Antilles after 1790. This suggests that Hausa slaves were probably not among the first 'cargoes' brought to Louisiana by the French.

Curtin (1969: 186-188), however, does name some other peoples who were shipped as slaves from Juda in the eighteenth century. He mentions slaves called 'Ardra' or 'Arada' who were probably people sold by the 'Allada', an 'African kingdom in present-day southern Dahomey', the 'Faeda' or 'Juda', people coming from that coastal port, and the 'Popo' and 'Adia' (Adja), again coastal peoples of Dahomey (Benin). Further inland he notes that the 'Chamba' are 'the only listed representatives of the broader Gurma cluster, which also includes such people as the Basair, Gurma, Konkomba, and Moba.' The 'Nambo' and 'Cotocoli' represent the Tem cluster and the Bargu cluster is represented by the 'Barba' and 'Samba'. The 'Nupe', alternatively known as the 'Tacoua' or 'Tapa' also feature on these lists.

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[33] Unlike some historians of the Atlantic slave trade who sometimes include Mina slaves with Gold Coast slaves, assuming that they came through the slave tading post of El Mina (e.g. Curtin 1969: 185-186), Hall (1992: 319) assumes that they came from the Mina coast on the Bight of Benin and were therefore Ewe speakers (cf. Westermann and Bryan 1952: 83).

An ethnic breakdown of slaves on the Rémire sugar plantation in French Guiana in 1690, lists 'Foin', 'Arada', 'Juda', 'Popo', and 'Ayo' (Oyo Yoruba) as peoples coming from the Bight of Benin (Curtin 1969: 189 and cf. also Jennings 1993: 65-67). This breakdown pertains to an earlier period, some thirty or so years prior to the Louisiana imports, but it provides an interesting contrast to the much later ethnic breakdown as presented in Hall (1992: 404). Not present at this early stage are the Mina, Chamba, Adó or the Hausa, while neither the Arada, Juda, nor Popo feature in the Pointe Coupée inventories of the late eighteenth century. This points to a shifting source for slaves over the years in the Bight of Benin. In the early years the coastal area seemed the more important source but by the late eighteenth century the slave trade had moved further inland.

Given that in the early eighteenth century the coastal kingdoms of Allada, Juda, Great Popo and others were engaged in warfare over who was to have a share in the European slave trade (Akinjogbin 1971: 320), that often slaves were war captives, hence the appellation 'captif' (Hall 1992: 33), and that the war between Juda and Allada (1712-1722) in which the latter '...closed all the trade routes used by Whydah (Juda) traders to procure slaves from the interior (Akinjogbin 1971: 322), one can draw the tentative conclusion that the coastal regions were more important slave sources for Louisiana and that perhaps some of these slaves were war captives.

If one were to assume then that the inland peoples, speakers of the Gur languages (cf. Westermann and Bryan 1952: 66-70), were not shipped to Louisiana in any great numbers, the majority of those who were, that is the coastal peoples, were all speakers of either Ewe or Yoruba.[34] Both of

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[34] The following languages are classified as Ewe by Westermann and Bryan (1952:83-84): Popo, Mina, Fon, Adia, Alada (Ardra). People living in Juda are Fon speakers and therefore belong in this group too (Westermann and Bryan 1952: 84). Yoruba is spoken in 'South-western Nigeria, west of the Niger Delta, and extending inland for about 200 miles to the middle Niger; also in Dahomey and French Togoland (Westermann and Bryan 1952:

these are in the Kwa group of languages, a subfamily of the Niger-Congo languages (cf. Westermann and Bryan 1952: 83-85, Greenberg 1955:10).

Relations between these peoples do not, however, stop there. Cultural and political contact was strong between the Yoruba, Aja and Ewe peoples in pre-colonial times. So strong was this contact, in fact, that 'by the early seventeenth century the Yoruba language was the *lingua franca* of both the Aja and the Ewe' (Akinjogbin 1965: 316, cf. also Akinjogbin 1971: 305). These peoples also shared an affinity in religious beliefs, social organisation[35] and economics (Akinjogbin 1971: 306-307). One can therefore conclude that the slaves transported to Louisiana from Juda came from a relatively homogeneous cultural area and if they did not have a command of Yoruba, the *lingua franca* , they at least spoke related (Kwa) languages.[36]

4.2.3 Angola

Only one shipload of slaves from Angola arrived in Louisiana during French rule. The *Néréide* landed in 1721, unloading 194 slaves from the port of Cabinda, a mere 5% of all slave arrivals in the French period.

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84). The people listed as Adó were probably Yoruba speakers too. Curtin (1969: 187) writes, 'It is possible that 'Ado'...[refers]...to people from Otta, which would mean southwestern Yoruba.'

[35] Social organisation was based around respect for age. 'The "father" or "elder brother" was given instant obeisance irrespective of acquired wealth or military reputation.' Inheritance was patrilineal. Most of these peoples were town-dwellers and the 'town and its surrounding villages was a basic unit of social and political organisation' (Akinjogbin 1971: 306).

[36] The word *voudou* has survived until today in Louisiana Creole. Read (1963: 127) writes, 'Voudou is borrowed from African (Dahomey) vodu "fetish". In the related Ewe dialect the word signifies "a god", "a supernatural being", "an object regarded as a fetish."' Whether this word came into use during the French period or whether it was a later contribution from Haïtian Creole is uncertain.

As for slave arrivals from the Bight of Benin, no information is available as to the ethnic breakdown of these 'Congo' slaves.

Curtin (1969: 188) reports that 'nationalities' were very loosely classified 'south of Cape Lopez'. 'Congo' was a very broad term that encompassed slaves shipped from Angola and other parts of western Central Africa, all of whom were Bantu speakers.

The Bantu languages, which Greenberg (1955: 38) classifies as belonging to the Niger-Congo family of languages, are all quite closely related (Shaw 1971: 75).[37]

4.2.4 Summary

- The majority of slaves that arrived in Louisiana (1719-1731) were from Senegambia.
- The Senegambia area was culturally and linguistically fairly homogeneous, due partly to Mande influence.
- Wolof, Sereer and Pulaar were closely related languages and Mandinka (Malinke) served as a *lingua franca* for much of this region.
- Many of the slaves shipped from Senegambia were Bambara, an inland tribe who spoke a Mande language closely related to Malinke.
- All of the slaves brought from this area, then, shared a common linguistic tie, in that they all probably had some understanding of a Mande language.
- In the colony, the Bambara maintained cultural and linguistic ties, working as a group to incite disorder and revolt.

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[37] The Louisiana creole word *wanga*, meaning a harmful charm, is probably of Congo origin (cf Read 1963: 125 and Hall 1992: 302). This word could possibly have been introduced by this one shipload of Congolese slaves. Alternatively it could have been a later apport, brought in by Central African slaves imported during the Spanish period.

- The 1731 Bambara conspiracy involving 400 slaves renders especially suspect the notion that slaves were unable to regroup themselves into linguistic and social communities. This is, in fact, what appears to have happened.

- 31% of slaves imported into Louisiana came from the Bight of Benin.

- Evidence suggests that coastal peoples were the most important slave source from the Bight of Benin area for Louisiana in the French period.

- Slaves from these areas spoke Ewe or Yoruba, both Kwa languages, with the latter serving as a *lingua franca* for the area.

- Like Senegambia, this region was quite culturally homogeneous.

- A single shipment of Congo slaves arrived in French Louisiana, all of these slaves being probably speakers of Bantu languages.

- This, in essence, shows that in the period 1719-1731:

a) Most Africans were from Senegambia with a second substantial group coming from the Bight of Benin. Very few slaves came from Angola.

b) Slaves therefore spoke either a Senegambian language or a Kwa language. A small minority were Bantuophones.

4.3 ESTABLISHMENT OF AFRICAN SLAVES IN THE COLONY

The slaves who survived the Atlantic crossing, and who were spared infection so rampant in Louisiana's new and unfamiliar disease environment,[38] began a new life of toil and misery in one of France's most unhappy colonies.

The slaves were geographically quite concentrated. In 1726 three-quarters of their number were located in concessions along the Mississippi River below the Cannes Bruslées settlement (Usner 1992: 51), a mere '5 lieues' (c. 20km) distance from New Orleans (Giraud 1966: 334). Already a small, slaveowning elite was emerging in this agricultural area - 28% of Louisiana's total slave population at the time was living in five concessions at Chapitoulas. Only one quarter of the colony's 639 households, however, owned slaves (Usner 1992: 51).[39]

Throughout the 1720s French, and therefore slave, settlement spread along the banks of the Mississippi from south of the town of New Orleans as far north as the settlement of Pointe Coupée. Free land, usually consisting of 5 *arpents* [40] of river frontage stretching back in a long strip a further 40 *arpents*, was granted by the Company of the Indies to settlers

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[38] If African slaves had a natural resistance to malaria, something that European immigrants lacked, their bodies were powerless to combat 'respiratory and intestinal viruses' contracted from Europeans. Other diseases like scurvy, dysentery, and infections to the eye, consequences of unsanitary shipboard conditions and poor nutrition, also proved fatal for the newcomers (Usner 1992: 34, 37, 40).

[39] Some cases of extreme slave concentration were evident even at this early stage of Louisiana's development. In Cannes Bruslées there were 29 Whites and 56 slaves, in Chapitoulas there were 42 Whites and 396 slaves, below the German village there were 106 Whites and 214 slaves, and in Pascagoula there were 29 Whites and 68 slaves.

[40] Read (1963: 3) defines 'arpent' thus: 'ARPENT, m. An old French measure of land, less than an acre, 605 arpents being equivalent to 512 acres. The arpent is also a lineal measure, roughly equal to 192 feet. 'Arpent' is still in common use among the French of South Louisiana. Dial. - Can.-Fr.'

in order that they set up their own *habitations* (small farms). These neighbouring farms formed a 'single settlement or district' (Usner 1992: 155). This region remained the principal area of settlement. In 1763, at the end of French rule, 80% of Louisiana's population 'lived along the Mississippi from just below New Orleans to Pointe Coupée' (Usner 1992: 279). The slave population here increased from an estimated 3,630 in 1746 to 4,598 in 1763 (Hall 1992: 182).

While all the settlers clamoured for slaves, the reality was that only a very few could afford them. The result was a very uneven slave distribution. A few Whites owned one or two slaves but most Africans were concentrated in the holdings of a few members of the 'military-bureaucratic elite'. This congregation of large numbers of Africans, often from the same ethnic group, on a few estates 'facilitated the protection and adaption of African cultural patterns' (Hall 1992: 161-162, Usner 1992: 45).

The Company of the Indies held quite a number of slaves on its plantation near New Orleans. Some of these slaves were sent to work as sailors, others were apprenticed to tradesmen in the town. Most slaves were accomplished in some sort of trade or skill. Indeed, the appellation 'plantation' was something of a misnomer as save for a small plot reserved for the growing of food for the slaves, the land was not cultivated (Moody 1924: 207, Hall 1992: 133-134).

These slaves instead served as communication links in the colony. Hall (1992: 134) notes the observations of the King's officials in 1731, when the Company turned Louisiana over to the crown. These officials detailed the occupations of the slaves in an effort to convince the King of their indispensability both to him and the colony:

> Some of them worked with the corps of soldiers guarding
> New Orleans. Others had been stationed a long time at

Balize. They had always worked on fortifications, and they also went up the river to get fresh water for the garrison. They served on the pirogues and the rowboats that came and went between Balize and New Orleans, bringing food and other supplies to the garrison. Some of them served at the fort at Natchez and some at Mobile. Ten of them were sent to live aboard *le St Louis* for maritime service, in addition to those who were detached from the company to serve as sailors on the same ship ...'The voyages to the military posts are made exclusively by water, mostly up river. Sailors are necessary . Most of these blacks are used in this trade ... If the Company ... is permitted to sell them to settlers, all work will cease ... and there will be no more navigation.'

An inventory of these slaves was sent to the King. There were '148 men, 68 women, 18 boys and girls, and several nursing infants.' Convinced of their value the King purchased these slaves, and they continued their valuable work on the royal plantation until 1760 when, on the eve of the Spanish takeover, they were finally sold (Hall 1992: 134-135, 137).

Other slaves in the colony were employed as soon as possible after their arrival, preparing the land for cultivation, building levees and erecting fences and farm structures, cutting trees and producing and harvesting crops. Each slave was also required to work for the Company of the Indies for 30 days on public works, doing such onerous tasks as 'clearing land, building and restoring the levees, digging drainage ditches and canals, and constructing docks and public buildings' (Hall 1992: 126-127).

In their spare time slaves engaged in marketing activities. They peddled both their master's and their own produce (Usner 1992: 201). The

relative freedom of slave movement about the colony, whether it be to trade, hunt, navigate the waterways, or socialize (cf. Klingler 1992: 58), in turn allowed contact with other Africans belonging to the same language community and enhanced cultural retentions.

The existence of maroon communities throughout the eighteenth century further increased contact between slaves. These communities became extensions of Creole slave society, 'where the creole slaves openly asserted their control over their lives, their families, their property, and their territory' (Hall 1992: 212).

The geography of lower Louisiana allowed for ease of flight and subsequent movement along the waterways, and the swamps afforded plenty of places to hide. From the time of the first slave introductions there had always been runaways in Louisiana. Usner (1992: 186) mentions a group of 'recently arrived Africans' who, in 1727, fled from their 'labour on the public levee.' After a period spent in hiding, during which they 'killed two of Sieur Filard's cows', they were caught. These slaves like others 'whose West African background made them more familiar than Indians with cattle' turned to rustling to survive. Groups of fugitive slaves banded together and travelled from farm to farm feeding off 'cattle, hogs and poultry, sometimes with assistance from the local slaves.' They established an underground market system trading in meats, a way of 'supplementing on their own initiative the meager diets provided by many owners' (Usner 1992: 186-187).

Slaves ran away because of 'unjustified and excessive punishment, overwork, and inadequate food' (Hall 1992: 142). Often they did not leave alone. Sometimes whole families left together, other times wives and children followed husbands. Lovers tended to abscond together. 'Going off together and setting up a household in the woods and swamps', Hall (1992: 145) writes, 'was sometimes a ritual of courtship.'

Over time, maroon communities became more and more sophisticated. Permanent settlements were established and cultivation of crops and production of trade goods began to take the place of rustling and raiding as means of economic survival. The growth of the cypress industry had much to do with this new form of 'marronage' (cf. Hall 1992: 202-212 for details). Fugitives survived for extended periods of time on the outskirts of their master's estates, surrounding the plantations. Constant contact was maintained with those slaves still with their masters, making discipline difficult. If masters were too harsh it was all too easy for a slave to run away and join his brethren in the maroon communities.[41]

Other options aside from 'marronage' were open to some slaves seeking freedom. Due partly to the lack of White women,[42] much miscegenation took place between White men and African women. Both the mothers and any children resulting from these unions were often freed and more often than not absorbed into the White population (cf. Hall 1992: 240-241, 257).

A free population of African descent, too, emerged quite early on in the town of New Orleans. Slaves were freed for various reasons - some for good service, others through marriage or less formal relationships with free people and some were able to purchase their own freedom.

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[41] Life under the Spanish régime, which was marked by repressive measures against slaves, pushed more and more slaves into 'marronage'. Bands of fugitives became quite powerful and very difficult to extirpate. The most famous of Louisiana's maroons was St. Maló who headed a very large community of runaways in the 1780s. This band was particularly defiant and extremely powerful. St. Maló set up a slave network with contacts on nearly all the plantations and other maroon communities. Hall (1992: 213) writes, 'Spanish officials believed,with good reason, that there were few slaves in the colony who were not directly or indirectly accomplices of St. Maló.'

[42] This much cited reason for concubinage with slave women does not always ring true. In Pointe Coupée, for instance, white women of marriageable age often outnumbered men. The men, it seemed, simply preferred Black women (cf. Hall 1992: 240).

Military service was another avenue to emancipation for some slaves (Hall 1992: 128-130).

A factor in the preservation of what Hall (1992: 160-161) calls 'an unusually cohesive and heavily Africanized culture in lower Louisiana' was the accent placed on the slave family. Slaves were sold in family units which were 'scrupulously protected in practice as well as in law' (Hall 1992: 168); evidence for this exists in inventories drawn up when entire estates were to be sold. Families were listed together. A single price was evaluated for the family group including the father, mother, and all children aged under 14 years.[43] The children, both African-born and Creole, were brought up in these 'tightly knit, nuclear families' which were headed 'by both African parents', the role of whom, in this world lacking in both educational and religious institutions, was crucial in the education and socialization of their offspring (Hall 1992: 168-169).

As African arrivals after 1731 were few, the slave population had to rely on natural increase to survive. The pro-family policy implemented in the colony did much to encourage a continuously high birthrate among slaves. This occurred despite the uneven sex ratio of slaves arriving from Africa.[44] The sex ratio, though, probably evened out before too long as, with the coming of the Chickasaw wars (1730s), many Black slaves were enlisted as soldiers and consequently lost their lives (Hall 1992: 168, 171, 173).

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[43] Under the Code Noir, which came into effect in Louisiana in 1724 (Crété 1981: 8), fourteen was the age after which children could be sold without their parents (Hall 1992: 169).

[44] Hall (1992: 171) notes that there was a sex ratio of 2.2 males to each female on the 7 slave trade voyages for which such information is available. 'Indian women', she writes, 'surely made up the deficit among African women introduced into Louisiana. The extent of Indian-African race mixture is now being studied by calculating the numbers of slaves referred to as *grif* on slave inventories dating from the Spanish and early American periods.'

The *Ordonnateur* Salmon wrote in 1741 that the inhabitants of the colony:

> ...voyent avec chagrin quelques Negres qui commencent a estre vieux, percissent tous les jours, et que depuis douze ans qu'il ne s'en ess introduis dans la Colonie, cette espèce ne subsiste presqu'a presens que par les productions ... En effet d'environ quatre mille noirs de toutes espèce et tout age, il y en a les deux Tiers de Creolles, c'est la difference qu'il y a de ce pays-cy aux Isles Antilles ou il ne se fait que très peu de productions...
>
> (C13A26, Fol. 138, AN)

By 1741, then, ten years after the last shipment of Africans, locally born slaves outnumbered their African counterparts. A young and presumably sexually balanced population base had emerged, one which would ensure the survival of African cultural influence in Louisiana.

The growth of this slave population, however, had been far from even. As previously mentioned, wars against the Indians took their toll. Mortality was high among those slaves imported after 1726 and survivors were often worked so hard and fed so little (cf. Hall 1992: 127-128) that death quickly overcame them. The census of 1726 lists 1,385 Black slaves as opposed to 2,240 Whites[45] (Usner 1992: 46). By 1732, largely due to the continued importation of Africans, the slave population had risen to 3,600. Between 1732 and 1741 the slave population had increased from 3,600 to 4,000. This number included only 1,320 Africans, the remainder of the 5,741 who were brought into the colony from 1719 to 1731. While the

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[45] 'Engagés' and soldiers are included in this figure.

overall slave population increased, 'there was a 37 percent decline among Africans' (Hall 1992: 175).

From this point (1741) on the Black population in Louisiana continued to grow slowly. In 1746 it was estimated at 4,730, quite a substantial increase, but one which was natural given the period of relative peace during these few years. While Blacks formed a majority in the colony from the late 1720s, this majority remained small, as Table IV indicates.[46]

Table IV

Comparison of the Black Slave and Free population of French Louisiana

1721-1763

Year	Slave population	Free population	%[47]
1721	533	1,082	33
1725	1,540	2,228	41
1726	1,385	2,240	38
1727	1,561	1,462	52
1732	3,600	1,720	68
1741	4,000	1,200[48]	77
1746	4,730	3,200	60
1763	4,598	3,654[49]	56

[46] This can be contrasted with the rather disproportionate population distribution that emerged in other French colonies quite early on in their colonial history. In Saint-Domingue, for example, the slave population was reported to be 50,000 in 1728. By 1754 this had risen to 172,000 in an overall population of 190,000 including 14,000 Whites and 4,000 Mulattoes. Slaves represented 91% of this population (Davis 1929: 23).

[47] The figures in this column represent slaves as a percentage of the total population.

[48] V. note 6 for comment on this extremely low figure for 1741.

[49] This census covers the area from the mouth of the Mississippi River through Pointe Coupée only whereas the others cover the entire colony.

Sources: This table is partially adapted from Hall's Figure 1 (1992: 10). Partial censuses covering the years 1721, 1722, 1725, 1726, 1727 and 1731 found in the Archives Nationales, Paris (50M 5Mi1240) provide additional information. The figures for the year 1726 are supplied by Usner (1992: 46).

There are no censuses for the years 1746 to 1763. Even taking into account the fact that the 1763 census included only people living in the area between the mouth of the Mississippi and Pointe Coupée, one can see that population growth was minimal. The slave population, indeed, seems to have declined, probably once again due to slave involvement in warfare - this time King George's War. Despite this, most French settlements in Louisiana were estimated to be predominantly Black, New Orleans especially (Hall 1992: 175-176).

Table V shows a breakdown of the population at individual settlements. The figures for this table are somewhat skewed, however, due to the fact that 'settlers' meant males only. With the addition of the estimated 1,500 French women and children present in the colony, figures for some settlements would probably show a fairly even distribution of Blacks and Whites. The number of Blacks includes men, women and children.

Table V

Population of French settlements in Louisiana in 1746 [50]

Settlement	Number of settlers	Number of Blacks
Balize	-	30
New Orleans	800	3,000
Des Allemands	100	200
Natchitoches	60	200
Natchez	8	15
Pointe Coupée	200	400
Arkansas	12	10
Illinois	300	600
Missouri	20	10
Petits Ouyas	40	5
Pascagoulas	10	60
Mobile	150	200
TOTAL	1,700	4,730

An exact ethnic breakdown of the slave population in each of these settlements would be extremely useful from the point of view of the genesis of the Creole language (among other things). Unfortunately these figures are not available at the time of writing. Given that Senegambians constituted about two-thirds of slave imports in the French period one can assume that they and their descendants formed an ethnic majority in the slave populations of most of these posts.

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[50] This table is taken from Hall's Table 8 (1992:177).

One must not forget, however, the slaves brought in from the port of Juda on the Bight of Benin. A significant number, 1,361, arrived in Louisiana between 1719 and 1721. Given the fairly low mortality of slaves arriving in the colony before 1726, the chances are that many of these slaves survived.

These two ethnic groups, then, were the founders of Louisiana's Black population. Their role was crucial in the formation of the slave culture, for newcomers, as Hall (1992: 159) notes, 'must adjust to a great extent to the culture and language they encounter.' The 'creole or African-American slave culture', she adds, was moulded 'through a process of blending and adaption of cultural material brought by the slaves who were first introduced.'

As previously mentioned both the Senegambians and the peoples of the Bight of Benin placed great importance on the place of the elderly in society. Old people, men in particular, were highly revered and their influence was therefore far reaching. This was a cultural trait that continued in the newly formed slave society of Louisiana.

Inventories show that once they had survived the hardships of the slave trade voyages and slave life in the colony, quite a few slaves lived to an advanced age. The 1769 inventory of the Prévost estate, for example, lists 18 children under age 15, 28 adults between the ages of 15 and 44, and 26 over age 44 (Hall 1992: 185-186). Any slave aged 50 or over was almost certainly African born as no slaves were imported into Louisiana before 1719. The Prévost estate included 21 slaves over the age of 50 representing 29% of the slave population. An inventory of the Lafrenière estate, also taken in 1769, reflects a similarly high survival rate among the elderly[51] (Hall 1992: 184-186).

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[51] Of the 31 slaves listed on this inventory, 8, or 26%, are aged 50 or over. For more details v. Hall (1992: 184).

These elderly Africans exerted much influence over both the second and third generations of slaves living on the same estate. They shared not only all their knowledge and wisdom[52] with their own children whom they raised in peculiarly close family units, but also with their grandchildren - for once slaves reached such an age that they were unable to carry out normal duties they were assigned the task of looking after all the children whose parents were required to work the land (cf. Mam-Lam-Fouck 1982: 272 for a description of this with respect to French Guiana). As childminders or 'parrains' they would have related the tales of Bouki and Lapin, stories of Senegambian origin which have survived until today.[53] Given the reverence owed to the elderly which was dictated by the ancestral cultures, these old African slaves found themselves in a very powerful position in the emergent African-Creole society. Their close contact with both their children and granchildren ensured the transfer of African cultural patterns and, perhaps, language.[54] [55]

The retention of African names is one way in which this cultural transfer manifested itself. This trait can also be interpreted as slave resistance to 'francisation'. In an examination of slave lists and judicial records, Hall (1992: 166, cf. also Appendix D, 408-412) notes the prevalence

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[52] As previously mentioned wisdom was passed on in the form of proverbs in the Bambara culture. This practise extended to other Senegambian peoples, such as the Fulbe (cf. Hall 1992: 197). The prevalence of proverbs in Louisiana creole then, (cf. Broussard 1942: 33-37 for a small selection of these maxims) can probably be attributed to these first African slaves.

[53] Hall (1992: 194) writes, 'The Bouki and Lapin tales are populated by lions and elephants. Mande folk literature includes the rabbit and the hyena stories. Stories about the astute, resourceful rabbit who triumphs over the stronger but loudmouthed and stupid hyena, who retained his Wolof name, were no doubt brought by slaves coming from Senegambia.' She attributes, too, the Brer Rabbit tales, anglicized versions of Louisiana creole folktales, to Senegambian origin.

[54] The African (L1) patterns of these older Africans probably influenced the emergent Creole (cf. Manessy's 1989 notion of cryptotypes - 'hidden patterns').

[55] One can compare this to the role of grandparents in culturo-linguistic transition in a different, non-African, Creole context, that of the Melanesian-inspired Tayo of New Caledonia (cf. Ehrhart 1993: 32).

of African names, not only among African born slaves but also among Creoles. Many slaves who were listed under French names also had an African name, and often it was by this African name that they were known. There are many cases in judicial records, for example, where for identification purposes African names were used. In a trial in 1748 a slave whose French name was 'Joseph' was identified as 'Feriment' by a fellow slave. At this same trial another slave testified that his name was 'Jarry' dit 'Claude'.

Religious beliefs, too, were passed on by these founding contingents of African slaves. As seen in a previous chapter, words pertaining to magic, such as *grisgris* and *zinzin*, were introduced into the Louisiana Creole language and culture at an early date. Le Page du Pratz, writing before 1734, said of the slaves, 'They are very superstitious and attached to their prejudices and to charms which they call "gris-gris"' (Cited in Hall 1992: 163).

Intimate knowledge of poisons was also a feature of religious life, a skill at which the Bambara were reputedly adept. Numerous court cases dating from the 1720s detail charges of poisoning brought against slaves. If the Bambara were skilled at poisoning, they were also skilled at making protective charms. 'All adult Bambara males', Hall (1992: 162) claims, 'knew how to make charms.'

Creole slave society, then, left to flourish on its own in fairly insular[56] conditions, owed much to the African slaves brought to Louisiana in the years 1719 to 1731. Their input to the emergent Creole

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[56] Slave society was insular because, although there was much contact between the slaves already present in the colony as well as with colonists and to some extent Amerindians, there were few other slave introductions after 1731. A further shipment of 190 slaves did arrive in 1743. These slaves were from Senegambia, however, and only served to reinforce the dominant ethnic groups already present in Louisiana. The few slaves smuggled into the colony did not arrive early enough or in numbers large enough to have much of an effect on the Creole culture which had already emerged by the time the second wave of slave imports began after 1782.

culture almost certainly extended as far as language (a notion to be explored in the following chapter), providing a legacy which has endured to this day.

4.3.1 Summary

- Slaves were geographically concentrated along the Mississippi River from below New Orleans to Pointe Coupée from the time of their introduction to the end of the French period (1719-1763).[57]

- Slaves were not evenly distributed among colonists. Many owned no slaves at all, others owned a few. Most of the slaves, however, were clustered on a small number of estates.

- The gathering together of slaves from the same ethnic groups on single estates encouraged cultural and linguistic solidarity.

- The 'plantation' of the Company of the Indies offers an interesting insight as to how quite a number of slaves were employed in French Louisiana. As there was no cash crop cultivated as such, these slaves navigated the waterways, serving as vital supply and communication links. Alternatively they were sent to New Orleans to work as tradesmen or employed as sailors.

 - Other slaves in the colony, although required to carry out more conventional tasks, such as clearing and cultivating the land and building levees and farm structures, were almost as free as the Company's slaves to move about the country. This freedom of movement allowed contact with other slaves of the same language community (assuming the natural human tendency to seek out one's own kind) thus reinforcing cultural autonomy, while at the same time giving rise to the necessity of

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[57] 1763 is the date of the treaty which saw the formal ceding of Louisiana to Spain. The Spanish did not actually take over, however, until 1768-1769 (cf. Griolet 1986: 23).

communicating with Africans of other ethnic groups in such spheres as the trading of foodstuffs. Compulsory service on the public works would have had similar effects.

- Maroon communities played an important role in slave society, providing communication networks and places of refuge for the said slaves.

- Running away was not the only path to freedom. The children born to White men and Black women were usually freed along with their mothers and absorbed into the White population. These and other former slaves freed for good deeds, military service etc, formed a free population of African descent which was discernable early on in Louisiana's history.

- The slave family unit was important in French Louisiana - African parents and, later, grandparents wielded great influence over their offspring, passing on African names, religious practices, superstitions, folktales and (perhaps) linguistic patterns to their Creole children.

- Blacks formed a small majority in Louisiana from the late 1720s which continued throughout the French period. The numbers of Blacks and Whites were quite even in many settlements.

- After 1731 (the end of systematic slave introductions, save for the single shipment in 1743) the slave population had to rely on natural increase to survive until the second wave of slave introductions began after 1782 (cf. 4.4).

- Various factors, including disease, famine, and warfare took their toll on the African slaves so that by the 1741 two-thirds of the slave population was reported to be Creole.

4.4 OVERVIEW OF SLAVE INTRODUCTIONS IN SPANISH AND AMERICAN LOUISIANA

4.4.1 Spain re-opens Louisiana to foreign slave imports

During the final years of French rule, numbers of smugglers operating from Jamaica and the British Atlantic colonies began introducing slaves into Louisiana. This contraband trade continued after the Spanish take-over when a few Cubans also got involved (Hall 1992: 279).

In 1777 Spain issued a decree authorizing the importation of slaves from Saint-Domingue and other Caribbean islands. The French merchants who brought in thse slaves traded them for Louisiana commodities. By the 1780s United States merchants, too, began to bring in some slaves from Jamaica and other islands in the English West Indies. As no customs records exist for this trade it is impossible to tell exactly where these slaves were from and what numbers were involved (Hall 1992: 279-280, Usner 1992: 111).

The slave trade was further diversified after 1782 when Spain allowed traders from any nation to import slaves into Louisiana duty free (Hall 1992: 213, 280). Although records pertaining to the number and nature of slaves imported at this time are not available either, Hall (1992: 281-302) in an in depth examination of the slave lists and inventories of Pointe Coupée Parish (1771-1802) reveals that 'almost all the slaves brought in by traders from St. Domingue, Jamaica, The United States, and Cuba came directly from Africa' (Hall 1992: 283) and that they came in large numbers (Hall 1992: 213).

4.4.2 The new arrivals from Africa

In the absence of similar studies on other parts of southern Louisiana, no definitive conclusions can be drawn from Hall's research (see above) as to the exact nature of the slave population of Spanish Louisiana as a whole. In fact the ethnic makeup of slaves in other districts could well have been different. What one can ascertain from the slave lists and inventories of Pointe Coupée is that a large number of Africans did enter the colony in the Spanish period and that these Africans, for the most part, reinforced the African nations already present in the colony.

Despite the legalization of the slave trade with Saint-Domingue in 1777, only 7 slaves from the French Caribbean appear in the Pointe Coupée lists. A number of English-speaking Creoles, however, were present, most of whom belonged to the one planter, Dr. Benjamin Farar, a wealthy immigrant from South Carolina. Excepting local Creoles then, all the rest of the slaves were Africans (Hall 1992: 284).[58]

Of the Africans brought to Pointe Coupée in the Spanish period 28.7% were from the Bight of Benin, 27.1% were from Senegambia, 23.8% came from Central Africa and 11.5% were from the Bight of Biafra. Lesser numbers came from the Windward Coast, Mozambique, Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast (cf. Hall 1992: Appendix C).

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[58] In Appendix C, Hall (1992: 403) gives the following breakdown of the slave population in Pointe Coupée: Africans 39.4%, Local Creoles 43.8%, Imported Creoles 5.3%, and Unidentified Nations 11.5%. The adult slave population, though, was heavily Africanized. Hall (1992: 286) writes:

> Africans totaled over 60 percent of the adults on slave inventory lists throughout the Spanish period, peaking at over 75 percent for a few years after 1782 when Spain allowed slavers of all nations to introduce their 'merchandise' free of duty.

Rather than throwing the post into cultural and linguistic chaos, this influx of West Africans reinforced ethnic groups already present in the colony (cf. 4.2).

As previously established (cf. 4.2.1), Senegambians accounted for approximately two-thirds of slave imports in the French period. The Bambara, the dominant element of this group, formed a large and well organised language community. The arrival of this new contingent of Senegambians, 54% of whom spoke mutually intelligible Mande languages (cf. Hall 1992: 289), undoubtedly strengthened pre-existing cultural traits. This was aided by the continuing tendency to group slaves of the same nation on single estates (Hall 1992: 293-294).

The other important slave group both in the French period and, especially, in the Spanish period, were from the Bight of Benin. Of these slaves the Yoruba, Mina, Chamba, and Fon were the most numerically important (cf. Hall 1992: Appendix C). Hall (1992: 291) writes:

> ...slaves from the Bight of Benin constituted language, religious, and cultural clusters on estates [...] Significant numbers of Fon (Dahomean) and Yoruba women were clustered on the same estates [...] Several large estates in Pointe Coupée had slaves who came overwhelmingly from the Bight of Benin. For example, the inventory of Claude Trénonay's slaves taken after his murder in 1791 showed that among 41 African slaves whose region of origin can be identified, 50 percent (twenty-three) were from the Bight of Benin. Seven were from Senegambia, six from the Bight of Biafra, and only two from Central Africa.

It was these slaves, the Fon and Yoruba women especially, who introduced religious practices which were to deeply influence the slave culture, 'accounting for the emergence [...] of voodoo in Louisiana' (Hall 1992: 302), for Louisiana voodoo, unlike its Haitian counterpart, was dominated by women.[59] [60]

Although slaves from Central Africa came to Pointe Coupée in quite significant numbers in the Spanish period, their cultural and linguistic influence was minimized by the fact that they spoke mutually unintelligible languages and that Congo women had very few children. The most important point, however, is that there was no pre-existing group of Central African slaves that constituted a language community to which the newcomers could assimilate themselves. These 'Congoes' and slaves of other nations had to socialize themselves 'into a culture and language that had long been formed by slaves who had come overwhelmingly from Senegambia' (Hall 1992; 302).[61]

The high percentage of African adults in the Spanish period ensured continuing African influence in Pointe Coupée. Most Creole slaves had at least one parent who was African, and sometimes African grandparents and even great-grandparents who were living. African men, whose chances to form new families were limited, often informally adopted orphaned slave children, both African born and Creole. This

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[59] Despite this fact, the prevalence of voodoo in Louisiana was undoubtedly due to the influx of slaves from Saint-Domingue. See Crété (1981: 167-179) for a description of voodoo practices in Louisiana.

[60] Hall (1992: 294, 320) also mentions the existence of a Mina language and social community 'which functioned throughout lower Louisiana for many years.' It was this group of slaves who organized what was known as the 'Mina conspiracy' of 1792 (v. Hall 1992: 319-333 for details).

[61] Trace of Congo influence exist, however, in the *bamboula*, a folkdance, and the term for a magical charm, *wanga* (Hall 1992: 302, cf. also 4.2.3).

practice '...surely contributed toward re-Africanizing the culture and creating and extending a fictive kinship network' (Hall 1992: 298).

4.4.3 Slaves from Saint-Domingue

While the slave records of Pointe Coupée do not reflect any great influx of slaves from the French islands after the freeing up of trade in 1777, there is no doubt that some slaves did arrive at this time. Their number and their distribution around the colony, however, is unknown. Any influence these slaves might have had on the Louisiana Creole language (v. 5), therefore, is unascertainable.

A group who was to greatly influence the direction Louisiana Creole was to take, at least in the area of Saint-Martin Parish, were those slaves who accompanied their masters in their flight from Saint-Domingue after the Black insurrection of 1791.

These new immigrants began arriving after 1791 and groups continued to come in over the following fifteen or so years (cf. 6.2.3). Despite the law passed in 1807 forbidding any further importation of slaves into the United States, it was between 1809 and 1810 that the largest contingent of these former Saint-Domingue planters and slaves arrived in Louisiana (Griolet 1986: 69-70).

Some of these newcomers established themselves in New Orleans but the vast majority settled alongside the Acadians in Saint-Martinville, in the Attakapas territory (Griolet 1986: 70).

That this new wave of slave immigrants constituted a distinct group quite separate from the original slave population of Louisiana is indicated by Griolet (1986: 70), who writes:

Les Noirs francophones se répartissent donc en deux groupes: les anciens esclaves établis à la Nouvelle-Orléans et dans les plantations essaimées le long du Mississippi, et qui parlent le créole [...] et les Noirs de la région de Saint-Martinville, originaires de Saint-Domingue.

4.4.4 Anglophone Slaves

After Louisiana became part of the United States, there arrived in the former colony a massive number of Americans, many of whom were accompanied by their slaves. Other English-speaking slaves arrived as a result of the increased trade with the rest of the United States, particularly the eastern seaboard (Klingler 1992: 73-74).

Klingler (1992: 73-74) writes:

American planters eventually came to hold a majority of Louisiana's large plantations. Pointe Coupée was no exception, and by 1860 Americans [...] held 47 of the 61 plantations with 50 slaves or more [...] it seems likely that the English-speaking slaves who accompanied the Americans to their new home played a significant role in spreading English among the rest of the slave population.

Table VI

Comparison of the slave and free population of lower Louisiana 1763-1800

Year	Slave	Free	%[62]
1763	4,598	3,654	55.7%
1766	5,893	5,930	49.8%
1777	9,201	7,728	54.4%
1788	20,673	18,737	52.5%
1795	19,926	16,304	55.0%
1797	23,698	19,389	55.0%
1800	24,264	19,852	55.0%

Source: Table VI is adapted from Hall's Figure 8 (Hall 1992: 279).

Note: The 1763 census covers settlements from the mouth of the Mississippi River through Pointe Coupée. The 1795 census includes Natchez, Pensacola, and Mobile. The 1797 census excludes Natchez and Arkansas. The 1800 census includes West Florida.

4.4.5 Summary

- From the late French period English smugglers had been illegally importing slaves into Louisiana. They were joined by some Cubans once Spain took over.

- In 1777 Spain legalized the slave trade with Saint-Domingue.

- In 1782 controls on slave importation were loosened further when Spain announced that traders from any nation could import slaves.

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[62] This column represents slaves as a percentage of the total population.

- Although no customs records exist for these importations, slave lists and inventories suggest that a large number of the new slaves had come directly from Africa.

- In Pointe Coupée most of the newly arrived Africans were from the Bight of Benin, Senegambia, and Central Africa.

- The Senegambians and slaves from the Bight of Benin reinforced pre-existing language communities.

- The influx of Yoruba and Fon peoples saw the introduction of the voodoo religion into the slave culture.

- A Mina language group existed in the colony.

- Other African slaves had to adapt to the pre-existing slave culture.

- After 1791 Saint-Domingue planters and their slaves began arriving in Louisiana. Many more came in the years 1809-1810.

- Most of these people settled in the Attakapas territory where many Acadians were already living.

- The relative absence of slaves from Saint-Domingue in the Pointe Coupée slave lists (which cover the period 1771-1802) and the fact that most of the second wave of Saint-Domingue immigrants settled in Saint-Martin Parish, tends to suggest that very few if any former planters or slaves from this island settled in Pointe Coupée.

- The influx of American planters after the Louisiana Purchase, however, saw the arrival of many Anglophone slaves who settled all over Louisiana, including Pointe Coupée.

5. MISSISSIPPI AND TECHE CREOLE - TWO SEPARATE STARTING POINTS FOR CREOLE IN LOUISIANA ?

5.1 Introduction

It has long been recognized that the Creole language spoken in Louisiana is far from homogeneous. Broussard (1942: ix), in his study of the Creole of Saint-Martin Parish, notes:

> In the fundamentals of grammar, particularly the conjugation of the simple verbs, there exist [...] marked differences between the dialects of the various parishes.

More recently Phillips (1979: 101) and Marshall (1991: 75) point out the variability of the Creole language from one region to another, while Neumann (1985: 21) and later Valdman (1992: 80) make this distinction more explicit. They state the existence of two separate geographical zones in which Creole is spoken. Neumann (1985: 21) writes:

> On peut donc distinguer deux zones ... [where Creole is spoken] ... séparées par le bassin d'Atchafalaya - on pourrait eventuellement [sic] parler du 'créole du Tèche' et du 'créole du Mississippi' - et il reste à savoir si cette bipartition a des conséquences linguistiques.

Her explanation for this geographical distinction is that the Creole spoken west of the Atchafalaya River has undergone a process of decreolization due to its co-existence with Cajun French. She writes:

> Il semble que le créole de la vallée du Mississippi soit moins atteint par quelques phénomènes de décréolisation que le créole à l'ouest de l'Atchafalaya, ce qui peut être dû à la moindre proportion de Cajuns dans les paroisses bordant le fleuve (Neumann 1981: 39).

While the Creole spoken in south-west Louisiana may well be merging with Cajun,[63] an examination of Louisiana's socio-demographic and settlement history suggests that this is not the reason for the apparent division of Louisiana Creole into two separate geographical zones.

Demographics indicate, rather, that there were (at least) two separate starting points for Creole in Louisiana, thus accounting for this heterogeneity. The first is the indigenous Creole which emerged and 'jelled' approximately 1720-1770. The second is largely a later development which may or may not have had input from Mississippi Creole but which was certainly influenced by the large number of Creole-speaking (slave) immigrants from Saint-Domingue who arrived at the turn of the nineteenth century.

While Valdman (1992: 92) acknowledges that Louisiana Creole 'crystallized' in the period 1720-1760, he clings to his earlier claim that this language was 'importé des Antilles, en particulier par des imigrants [sic] en provenance de la Guadeloupe, de la Martinique et de Saint-Domingue...' (Valdman 1978: 30), albeit in a less direct way. Taking into

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63 See Neumann (1985: 44-70) for a discussion of decreolization in the Creole of Breaux Bridge.

consideration Chaudenson's (1974, 1989) theories on the evolutive tendencies of colloquial French (français avancé) and perhaps more importantly Hazaël-Massieux's (1990) hypothesis of a single point of origin for all the Caribbean Creoles,[64] Valdman takes the view that Louisiana Creole had its origins in a common Caribbean base language and was indirectly, through the speech of the Whites, imported from Saint-Domingue. He writes:

> Close links among French Caribbean colonies - witness the fact that French vessels bound for Louisiana put in at the Cap Français (Cap Haïtien) for at least a month - led to the spread during the early colonial period of many common features and account for the striking similarities found in the forms of Creole French recorded in Cayenne, the lesser Antilles, Saint-Domingue, and Louisiana, some of which still persist today.

If one were to apply this logic to Chaudenson's concept of 'generations' of Creoles (v. Chaudenson 1992: 61-64), Louisiana would be, in effect, a third generation Creole, having evolved primarily from Haïtian which, according to him, is a second generation Creole.

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64 Guy Hazaël-Massieux (1990: 96-97), in an attempt to account for certain features shared by all the New World Creoles, applies Bartoli's stratigraphic dialectological model to Creole languages of the Americas and proposes that all these Creoles had as their point of origin the island of Saint-Kitts. It was from here, initially, that the language spread to other islands in the area. In this scenario Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Saint-Domingue formed the 'aires centrales' in the formation and diffusion of this language which extended as far as Louisiana (described as both an 'aire latérale' and an 'aire postérieure').

Unlike Hull (1979b: 213), who proposes that all French Creoles evolved from a Maritime French-based calque of Gulf of Guinea Portuguese Creole, Hazaël-Massieux suggests that it was within the Caribbean itself that some sort of common base language emerged that was to have much influence on all the creoles in the area.

Socio-demographic evidence, however does not bear this out. Aside from a very small number of White 'petits habitants' who came to Louisiana from Saint-Domingue in the Crozat years (1712-1717), there was very little contact with, let alone immigration from, Saint-Domingue before the end of the eighteenth century, thus indicating, rather, that Louisiana Creole, that is the 'original' Creole, evolved separately and *in situ* as has been suggested by Baker (1987).

Let us now examine the conditions under which this original, or to borrow Neumann's (1985: 21) nomenclature, 'Mississippi', Creole emerged.

5.2 Demographics

The history of the origins, introduction, and establishment of Louisiana's slave population (as presented in Chapter 4), raises a number of interesting points a propos of Creole genesis. We have seen that: To summarise

- Regular African slave imports commenced in 1719 and ended in 1731.[65]
- Altogether 5,741 slaves reached the colony in this 12 year period, averaging 478 new arrivals per year.
- The only other slaves to arrive in the French period were an undetermined (although probably quite small) number of illegal imports and one further shipment of Africans in 1743.

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[65] The very first Black slaves to arrive in Louisiana, however, were the twenty imported from Havana and Saint-Domingue in 1709. Largely employed as domestics, their access to the emergent local variety of French would have been good. Indeed by the time the first shipments of African slaves arrived in the colony these slaves, in all probability, spoke 'French' as competently as the White colonists. Their input into the creolization process, then, would have been no more important than that of the Whites. For our purposes, then, the 450 Africans imported in 1719 constitute the beginning of slave introductions into Louisiana.

- 64% of slaves were from Senegambia, an area which was culturally and linguistically quite homogeneous due to the dominance of the Mande peoples.[66]

- Most of the other slaves came from the Bight of Benin. These slaves were, in all likelihood, coastal peoples who spoke a Kwa language, either Ewe or Yoruba.[67]

- A single shipment of Bantu-speaking Congo slaves arrived in the colony.

- Slaves tended to maintain cultural and linguistic ties within the colony (cf. the Bambara community, v. 4.2.1). v. Speedy 1994: 75

- Most of Louisiana's slaves were concentrated in concessions along the banks of the Mississippi River from just south of New Orleans to Pointe Coupée.[68]

- From 1727 slaves were more numerically important than Whites.

- This majority was small, however, averaging about 53% throughout the colonial period.

- As regular importations ceased after 1731, the slave population had to rely on natural increase to survive. As early as 1741 locally-born slaves made up two-thirds of the slave population.

- Population figures for individual settlements indicate a fairly even distribution of Blacks and Whites (v. Table V). v. Appendix III

- Distribution of slaves among colonists, however, was not even.

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[66] Mandinka, in fact, served as the local *lingua franca* in Senegambia.

[67] In this region Yoruba functioned as the *lingua franca* .

[68] From the 1720s this stretch of land emerged as the principal area of settlement. Looking at Table V, one can see that 93% of the slave population of lower Louisiana was living in this same agricultural area, with the remaining 7% situated in the Gulf Coast settlements (ignored here are the territories of upper Louisiana, including Natchitoches, Natchez, Arkansas, Illinois, Missouri and Petits Ouyas). This high concentration of the population, Black as well as White, continued until Acadian immigrants began settling west of the Atchafalaya River in the Spanish period. In 1763, when Spain took control, 80% of Louisiana's inhabitants were living along the Mississippi.

- Most slaves were clustered on a relatively small number of estates with many settlers owning few, if any, Blacks.

- The preservation of African cultural traits was facilitated by:

1) The tendency to assemble slaves of the same ethnic groups on single estates.

2) The importance placed on the slave family.

3) The role elderly slaves played in the upbringing of children.

- Contact with other slaves was brought about by:

1) The relative freedom of movement which was granted to some slaves in order to trade, hunt, navigate the waterways, or socialize.

2) The meeting of slaves from different estates on the public works.

3) The existence of maroon communities with links with slaves still living on the estates.

- This inter-slave contact either:

a) Reinforced cultural and linguistic ties if the slaves were from the same ethnic group, or:

b) Brought about the need for an inter-slave inter-ethnic means of communication if the slaves were from different nations.

5.3 Theoretical predictions

Despite the implications this last point has for Creole genesis, the overall socio-demographic picture painted above does not suggest conditions conducive to the emergence and 'jelling' of a Creole language. In fact, according to some current theories, the situation is such as to suggest that a Creole should not have emerged.

The more or less equal numbers of slave and free persons, the even distribution of these two groups around individual settlements, and the freedom of movement enjoyed by some slaves are all factors characteristic

of Chaudenson's (1992) *société d'habitation* configuration, a phase in which, superficially at least, Louisiana remained throughout the colonial period.[69] Throughout this first phase Chaudenson supposes that the 'target' language is the locally-evolving form of French, a community language which slaves have ample opportunity to acquire. Under these conditions it is not a Creole that emerges, but a continuum of approximations of French. Incoming slaves learn the approximate language of those who came before them, as do those who follow, and so on. According to Chaudenson (1992), a Creole would not 'jell' until Phase II of colonial development, when the establishment of a plantation economy required the massive importation of slave labour.

Baker's (1984) Events hypothesis,[70] [71] too, predicts that a homogeneous Creole language will not emerge unless foreign-born slaves continue to be imported in substantial numbers for some years following Event 2. If this does not happen then the continuum of speech forms, which emerges between Events 1 and 2, will not be broken, resulting in the type of linguistic continuum which survives in Réunion today.

Applying the Events hypothesis to Louisiana, then, one gets the following results:

Event 1: 1727

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[69] The term 'colonial period' encompasses both the French and Spanish colonial régimes.

[70] This hypothesis relies on the timing of three demographic events which are crucial in the evolution of a Creole language. These events are:

1) When the number of slaves surpasses the number of members of the 'ruling class'.
2) When the number of Creole (i.e. locally-born) slaves surpasses the total number of members of the 'ruling class' (both locally-born and foreigners).
3) When the regular supply of slave immigrants came to an end.

For more details v. Baker (1984: 116-124).

[71] Baker himself no longer adheres to this theory, advocating instead the 'creativist' hypothesis (v. Baker 1990).

Event 2: 1741

Event 3: **1731**

The fact that in Louisiana Event 3 occured prior to Event 2, meant that there was no continuing influx of pidginizers who would limit the locally-born slaves' access to the language of the 'ruling class'. Locally-born slaves had a good chance, therefore, of acquiring the 'community language' (i.e. French), and the emergence of a Creole language would have been unlikely.

However, as textual evidence confirms (v. 5.5), a Creole language **did** emerge and 'jell' in the colonial period, well before Louisiana's transition to a plantation economy.

How, then, on the basis of demographics, and in the face of theoretical predictions to the contrary, can we account for the emergence of this Mississippi Creole?

The key, it would seem, lies in an approach based on the examination of the demographic and settlement history with a view to finding out who was where, when and, most importantly, under what conditions.

5.4 Discussion

While the broad picture suggests a situation much akin to Chaudenson's (1992) *société d'habitation* configuration, a more in-depth investigation reveals quite a different state of affairs in Louisiana.

Let us start with slave introductions. According to Chaudenson (1992: 94), a *société d'habitation* is characterized, initially, by its rather small servile population which increases slowly over quite a lengthy period of time. In Louisiana a large number of slaves (5,741) arrived

within a relatively short period of time (12 years) and, although they never formed a vast majority, soon overtook the White population. Such a numerially and temporally concentrated pattern of slave importations must have produced a different set of linguistic and social consequences from those of a colony in which slave growth was gradual (e.g. Réunion). The effect, one might expect, would have been to create conditions more in line with those of a *société de plantation* .

The fact that these slaves were geographically concentrated and, more importantly, unevenly distributed among the colonists, further enhanced what one might term the *société de plantation* effect.

Commenting on the situation in Pointe Coupée, Klingler (1992: 56-57) writes:

> Louisiana would not develop a true plantation economy until the nineteenth century, approximately a century later than ...[Saint-Domingue]... Nevertheless, the beginnings of slaveholding patterns characteristic of that economy were already discernable [sic] in Pointe Coupee by 1745. For if most slaveholders owned a handful of slaves or even just one or two, the fact that 209 of 426 slaves in the district, or 49 percent, were distributed among the eight *habitants* who owned twenty or more of them shows an early tendency towards concentration [...] Among the 49 percent ...[of slaves]... who found themselves in a substantial majority on the larger farms, those who worked in the fields must have had only limited contact with their white masters or overseers, and thus little opportunity to learn their language.

Another unusual factor, demonstrating further the highly artificial concept of the existence of two separate phases of colonial and, as a consequence of this, linguistic development, was the abrupt ending of slave importations in 1731. After this date, then, the slave population had to rely *more or less* on natural increase to survive. As a consequence of this there emerged a large group of first generation Creoles (i.e. locally born slaves), all of whom were growing up at roughly the same time without any previously established means of inter-ethnic communication. It was up to these slaves, then, to create an adequate language out of whatever resources were available.

It should be underlined here that an inter-slave community language was needed in Louisiana despite the fact that:

a) Slaves imported into Louisiana were not speaking a *vast* multitude of mutually unintelligible languages, instead falling into one of three main linguistic groups.[72]

b) The retention of ancestral languages was enhanced by the tolerance of African language communities within the colony, the practice of clustering slaves from the same ethnic groups on single estates, and the prevalence of tightly-knit family units in which children used their African L1 for communicative purposes.

While all of these factors no doubt reinforced the slaves' cultural identities and perhaps, on a linguistic level, resulted in the transfer of a good many more African cryptotypes into the emergent Creole than might

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[72] This can be compared with the situation in St. Louis, New Caledonia in which the coming together of peoples of basically three different language groups resulted in the evolution of Tayo (v. Corne , in press, a)

be expected (cf. Manessy 1989),[73] they do not preclude the slaves' desire to communicate with slaves of different ethnicities, with their masters, and with other members of society. It was acting upon this desire, then, that provided the vehicle for the emergence of a Creole language.

If we are to assume, however, that a community language arose separately on each plantation, as the above scenario, in effect, predicts, it by no means developed in isolation. To the contrary, opportunities for intra-plantation communication in Louisiana were plentiful - slaves left the plantation to trade, hunt, work (on the public works), and socialize. Often direct contact was maintained with maroon communities who served as important links in inter-slave communication networks around the colony. Thus any major differences which had emerged in individual community languages were soon ironed out when contact was made with other groups. This allowed for the emergence of, if not a thoroughly homogeneous Creole (i.e. MC), at least a single language with (relatively minor geographical and/or social variation.

[handwritten: Mississippi Creole] *[handwritten: Some]*

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[73] Jennings (in press) underlines the tendency of bilingual children to transfer syntactic structures from one language to another. On the Rémire plantation in French Guiana a majority of slaves were speaking an Ewe language, and therefore the transfer of Ewe structures via these G2 children was to be expected. He also suggests that the non-Ewe speakers living on this plantation 'were probably targeting both French and Ewe to communicate with the other slaves, using Ewe structures common to their native languages...' (cf. also McWhorter 1992: 43 for the transfer of African structures into Saramaccan via bilinguals).

The above scenario may also be applied to Louisiana. Given the predominance of Senegambian slaves in the colony, one would expect that they constituted a majority on many, if not most, estates. The transfer of Senegambian structures into the Creole, then, seems highly possible, although further research is required, including an examination of linguistic evidence, before any definitive conclusions can be drawn.

5.5 More theories

The situation in Louisiana can, to some extent, be compared to that of St. Louis, New Caledonia. While the institution of slavery was not a factor in New Caledonia, the village of St. Louis was, in a sense, a European 'artefact', whereby the establishment of a reduction in the area brought together numerous Melanesians of differing tribal groups speaking mutually unintelligible languages, all within a relatively short period of time (for details v. Corne, in press, a). [1994] The desire of these displaced Melanesians to communicate with each other gave rise to the evolution of a Creole language, known within the community as Tayo.

As is the case for Tayo, Mississippi Creole, which emerged and 'jelled' c. 1720-1770, was the product of what Corne (in press a) calls the [1994] 'fifty year/three generation language shift'. His model for the development of this former language can therefore be applied to the latter.

In Louisiana, the first generation (G1) slaves were those Africans who arrived in the colony 1719-1731. These immigrants had to pidginize the language of the ruling class (ie. the emergent local variety of French v. 3) in order to communicate with their masters and, more importantly, amongst themselves.

The second generation (G2) were the locally born children of the G1 pidginizers. These Creoles had an African language as their L1 which, [probably] while proving adequate for communication with family members and slaves of the same nation, was not at all useful for interethnic communication. If these children were to become fully-functioning members of society their acquisition of the community language was vital. Save for their parents' (highly variable) pidginized varieties of L2 French, though, there was no pre-existing community L1. These slaves had to 'acquire/create L1 competence on the basis of their exposure to (some

(1994)

subset of) the varieties of pidginized L2 French' available to them (Corne, in press a), thus playing a crucial role in the creolization process.[74]

The third generation (G3) had as their L1 the nascent Creole. While they were still exposed, to some degree, to ancestral languages or ancestrally-influenced L2 pidgin (for example via the 'parrains'), any influence these latter might have had could only have been indirect.

Creole genesis in Louisiana, then, as Baker's (1990, 1992, 1993) creativist hypothesis suggests, was the 'conséquence heureuse' of the huge problem of interethnic communication faced by slaves of different nations who were gathered together on estates.

The solution to this problem was the creation of a suitable community language which was achieved by drawing on available resources, including, presumably, universals.

The creativist rejection of the concept of a target language (v. Baker 1993: 3-4), too, allows for the emergence of a Creole in any plurilingual society where interethnic communication is needed for everyday survival and where there is no pre-existing community-wide L1, regardless of overall ratios of slave to free, thus making the hypotheses presented in 5.3 (ie. those of Chaudenson 1992 and Baker 1984) redundant.

Having established, on the basis of demographics, the likelihood of the genesis of a Creole language in Louisiana, let us now examine some textual evidence which supports this claim.

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74 Arends (1993: 376) indicates, however, that the influence of adults on the emergent Creole must not be dismissed. In a similar vein, Jennings (in press) suggests that the pidgin used between slaves speaking mutually unintelligible languages would have been more complex than that used between slave and master, involving 'calques of typically African structures [...] These calques may have found their way into the Creole through the influence of adult speakers [...], especially the old 'parrains', who probably spoke a complex pidgin after many years' contact with their owners, and who were responsible for the slave children.' Therefore while the role of the G2 children is a crucial one, that of their parents (and in the G3's case, grandparents), must also be considered.

5.6 Textual evidence

As early as 1748 slaves were producing testimony in court records in a language which, although variable, shows a number of Creole-type features, including the use of a single verb form (the infinitive), and the substitution of the tonic pronouns *moy* and *toy* for the atonic cliticised pronouns *je* and *tu* . The lack of tense marking in some of the sentences indicates their pre-creole status, yet the concurrent appearance of quite sophisticated French forms such as *pendants que* and subject-verb inversion, *tirer vois* [sic, = *vous*], shows French influence.[75] As all of these sentences were uttered by Africans, one can assume that the language presented below is both a mixture of French and an L2 version of the emergent Creole. Some examples of this language are:

(3)   *Cela n'est pas Bon, s'y toy mourrir, mourrir seuls et n'y a pas faire mourrir monde qui n'y rien faire avec toy.*   [1748]
'That is not good. If you must die, die alone and do not make others die who had nothing to do with you.'[76]

(4)   *Vu! laisser la notre trapes. Pourquoi tirer vois [sic, = vous] sous notre trapes?* [1748]
'Hey you, leave our traps alone. Why are you firing under our traps?

(5)   *Ou toy courir Charlot pendants que nous diner?*   [1748]

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[75] It should be remembered, however, that these testimonies were recorded by Francophones whose inscriptions of the slaves' language may have been influenced by their French perceptions.

[76] All of these sentences are cited in Hall (1992: 114, 177-178).

'Where did you go Charlot while we were eating?'

(6)   *Qui toy tuer, Charlot?*   [1748]

'Who did you kill, Charlot?

(7)   *Comment, Bougre, pourquoy tourner ton chemise comme ça?*
        [1748]

'Hey, fellow, why do you turn your shirt that way?'

(8)   *Et quelle manière est cela, travaille donc!*   [1748]

'What are you doing, work, then!'

Klingler (1992: 1, footnote 1) mentions Marshall's (1990) discovery of what she considers to be Louisiana Creole in a legal document dated 1773. Unfortunately this example is not available to the present author at the time of writing. What are available, though, are two sentences published four years later by the traveller Bossu who was in Louisiana 1751-1762: *recorded the following sentences*

(9)   *Vous pas mire donc Maître à moi, ça Caïman qui mange monde?*
        moi déja vu bête tant grosse comme ci-là, qui gagne ferdoches en
        haut dos à ly.
        'Ne voyez-vous pas, mon Maître, que c'est un Crocodile qui dévore
        les hommes? J'en ai vu de pareils dans ces parages, qui portoient
        sur leur dos des petits rameaux ou branches vertes.' (Bossu 1777:
        83)

(10)   *Blanc-là ly pas faire mal à moi; pourquoi toi v'lé moi faire mal à l*
        y? Moi pas v'le déshonorer famille à moi. Moi Negre, ça bien vrai;
        ma moi gagné sentiment tout comme blancs mêmes.

'Ce soldat ne m'a jamais fait de mal; pourquoi voulez-vous que je lui en fasse? Je ne veux pas déshonorer ma famille. Je suis Negre, il est vrai; mais j'ai autant de sentiment qu'un François.' (Bossu 1777: 374)[77]

Documentation from the late eighteenth century bears witness to the widespread use of Louisiana Creole among slaves and many Whites. During the 1792 Mina conspiracy trial, the *comandante* of the Pointe Coupée post testified that the accused slaves had been interrogated in:

the Creole language which is a mixture of that of the blacks, and of French which is pronounced with great diversity. They do not understand either the real French language or English, but they all understand and can explain themselves perfectly well in creole, which is a mixture ... of the language of their nations and of French which is badly pronounced and even more badly conjugated, which language is not known by all the French and English settlers of the province, but I, the witnesses and the notary who assisted at the interrogation know it very well (Leblanc 1792, cited in Hall 1992: 193: her translation).

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[77] Whether or not these two sentences are in fact examples of Louisiana Creole is debatable. Neumann (1987: 2, footnote 2), believes that they may actually be Haïtian. Hull (1993: 394) cautions:

This does not seem to be any authentic Creole, certainly not Louisiana Creole. Words such as *mire, monde,* and *gagne* are typical foreigner-talk vocabulary, as well as Creole (though *mire* is not in Louisiana Creole), but the past participle construction *moi déjà vu* for the completive is only European.

The Mina slaves, who had come to Louisiana in the second wave of African slave introductions after 1782, had only limited knowledge of Louisiana Creole and were therefore rather disadvantaged during their original interrogation. At their trial in New Orleans, the governor Carondelet ordered that the prisoners be questioned again with proper interpreters. Hall (1992: 325) writes:

> The wheels of justice ground slowly. While Carondelet personally presided, each accused slave was asked again each original question of his interrogation through the Louisiana Creole interpreters and was also asked to respond in the same language. Then each question was asked once more in the Mina language by the Mina interpreters. During the reinterrogation of Jacó, slave of Santiago Fabre, the conclusion was, 'While the accused understood many words, he did not understand the real meaning of the questions, because when the Mina interpreters explained them, he answered well and elaborated upon his answers.' The linguistic capability of the Mina slaves in Louisiana Creole was generally poor, and they explained that their knowledge of the language had improved while they had been working in the city ...[New Orleans]... during the past year.

Clearly, then, a Creole language had evolved *in situ* by about 1770, well before the mass immigration of Saint-Domingue planters and slaves and the new arrivals from Africa. This Creole emerged in areas inhabited by

Blacks and Whites, that is along the Mississippi between New Orleans and Pointe Coupée and in a few other areas east of the Atchafalaya Basin.[78]

How, then, do demographics account for the sudden appearance of a Creole language west of the Atchafalaya River, an area which had remained largely uninhabited until the mid-1760s?

5.7 A second wave of slave importations

The collapse of the Company of the Indies in 1731 spelt the end of regular slave introductions into Louisiana. It was not until some fifty years later, when the Spaniards loosened trading controls, that slaves once again began arriving *en masse*. These new slave immigrants fell into two broad categories:

1) Africans

2) Slaves from Saint-Domingue

Let us deal firstly with the Africans, the importation of whom recommenced immediately after controls were lifted in 1782.

5.7.1 The new *bossal* slaves

A large number of Africans arrived in the colony in this second wave of slave introductions. The census for 1777 counted 9,201 slaves in Louisiana. By 1788 this figure had jumped dramatically to 20,673 (v. Table *Appendix 4*

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[78] Margaret Marshall's discovery of a French Creole language spoken on Mon Louis Island, Alabama (part of Louisiana in the French period) v. Marshall (1991), provides further convincing evidence that a Creole language did evolve in Louisiana in the colonial period. As Mobile was taken by the British in 1763, thereby removing the chance of further input from French, one can conclude that the Creole must have emerged and 'jelled' prior to this date.

VI). While natural increase and the arrival of slaves from other areas partly accounted for this population growth, most of it can be attributed to the new arrivals from Africa.

These newcomers undoubtedly had quite an impact on society.[79] Their linguistic influence, however, was lessened, although certainly not eliminated, by the following factors:

1) The existence of a well-established slave community.

2) The existence of an interethnic means of communication (ie. Mississippi Creole).

3) The fact that many new Africans were from Senegambia and the Bight of Benin, thus reinforcing ethnic groups already present in Louisiana.

As documentation concerning the Mina trial suggests, these new slaves were expected to **learn** the community language, 'Louisiana' Creole (v. 5.6), assuming, of course, that they were sent to areas in which this language was spoken.

In the course of this language learning process one can assume that adaptations were made and that the new arrivals perhaps introduced some new vocabulary and/or grammatical constructions.[80]

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[79] Cultural impact is demonstrated by the introduction of the voodoo religion into the colony by the large numbers of Yoruba and Fon slaves who came in at this time.

[80] A parallel case would be that of Mauritian Creole. After this language had emerged and 'jelled' there arrived a large number of Indians on the island, brought in to work as indentured labourers. It was these immigrants who were responsible for the introduction of the distributive numerals and the G *so* N genitive construction into Mauritian Creole (cf. Corne 1983, 1986).

5.7.2 Slaves from Saint-Domingue

After the 1791 slave uprising in Saint-Domingue, expelled planters began arriving in Louisiana with their Creolophone slaves. An estimated 10,000 immigrants from this island, of whom over two-thirds were either slaves or 'personnes de couleur', came into the colony before 1810 (v. 2.4.2.2 and *v. Speedy 1986* 4.4.3). *37-39, 105-106*

These new immigrants settled primarily in the Attakapas district (Saint Martin Parish), today the seat of Francophone Louisiana.

This area, west of the Atchafalaya River, was more or less uninhabited until the arrival of the Acadian settlers in the 1760s. By all accounts, these Acadians quickly established themselves in the area. By 1789 the census figures for Attakapas counted 2,270 Whites, 1,216 slaves, and 210 free Blacks (Klingler 1992: 69).

The origins of these Attakapas slaves, who constituted a mere 33% of the population, are not known. What can be assumed, given that there was no settlement in the area prior to the early 1760s,[81] is that the community language was not likely to have been a locally-emerged Creole. For, while some of these slaves may have come from plantations in the Mississippi area (and would therefore have spoken Mississippi Creole), it seems likely that most were recent arrivals from Africa or, to a *v. Speedy 1994 : 101, 105-106* lesser extent, from the French Caribbean (cf. 4.4.1 and 4.4.3).[82] If, then, the majority of the slaves in the Attakapas region [1765-1791] had only recently

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[81] Population figures show that in 1766 there were 24 slaves and 137 settlers living in Attakapas (Usner 1992: 182).

[82] This assumption is based on the fact that the purchase of newly arrived slaves was both easier and cheaper than that of those living on established plantations. The price of a male bossal slave was estimated at 250 piastres by the Spanish governor Carondelet in 1794 (Hall 1992: 271). By contrast, throughout the Spanish period, slaves living in Pointe Coupée were purchasing their freedom for prices as high as 1,050 piastres (Hall 1992: 271). While these prices were undoubtedly inflated, they must, to some extent, have indicated the value of 'seasoned' slaves (as opposed to *bossals*).

arrived in the colony, it may be supposed that they spoke highly variable (pidginized) L2 varieties of (Acadian) French.[83] The impact of the arrival of large numbers of Haïtian Creole-speaking slaves into such a community must, therefore, have been great.

While it is not asserted that the Creole spoken today west of the Atchafalaya River, or more precisely in Saint Martin Parish, is a **direct** 'offshoot' of Haïtian Creole, the input of this latter into the emergent community language must have been substantial.

Given the fact that all languages change and evolve over time, however, the exact extent of this 'input' is not quantifiable. Factors such *(cf. Neumann 1985: 21)* as the co-existence, since its inception, of Tèche Creole with Cajun French and, later, with English, have influenced the way in which the language has developed, although whether the appearance of certain Cajun French features in Tèche Creole is the result of a recent 'merger' between the two (ie. decreolization), requires further research.[84]

What is almost certain, however, is that the concept of decreolization, as it is usually understood, cannot be used to explain the differences between Mississippi and Tèche Creole. Demographic evidence clearly indicates that there were two separate starting points for Creole in Louisiana. Tèche Creole emerged quite some time after Mississippi Creole

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[83] 'Acadian' is bracketed here for, although Acadians constituted the majority of the White population in this area, it is not likely that many of them were slaveholders. Their impoverished state reduced them to a level little higher than that of the slaves, indeed some of them 'worked in the fields side by side with the black slaves' (Valdman 1992: 84-85). It was precisely this close interaction with the slaves, however, that made Acadian French, initially, a 'target' language (loosely speaking) for the first group of pidginizers and/or language learners (with such a low percentage of slaves in the area it seems likely that many achieved a good command of Acadian French, although judgement must be reserved until slave distribution is known, an area which requires further research), and, later, an important input into the local Creole, for which the other major input was Haïtian Creole.

[84] The amount of interaction between Cajuns and Blacks in the nineteenth century (v. footnote 83), as well as the higher ratio of Whites to slaves suggests that some phenomena of 'decreolization' in Tèche Creole may date from this time.

on the other side of the Atchafalaya Basin, a natural barrier. Unlike Mississippi Creole which was an entirely indigenous creation (i.e. slaves speaking African languages were instrumental in its evolution), Creole-speaking slaves from Saint-Domingue had a major input into this latter language.

Given the different times, geographical locations, and groups of people involved in the creation of these two languages, linguistic differences are to be expected. The following chapter explores some of these linguistic differences, with particular attention given to relative clause constructions.

6. A COMPARISON OF RELATIVE CLAUSES IN POINTE COUPEE (MISSISSIPPI) AND BREAUX BRIDGE (TECHE) CREOLES [85]

6.1 Introduction

Corne (in press, a and b) claims that relative clauses (henceforth RCs), emerged during the formative period of the development of at least three varieties of Creole French and thus bear witness, perhaps in diluted form over time, to that early period.[86] [87]

Available early attestations of Lousiana Creole (LC), or more specifically Mississippi Creole (MC), confirm the emergence of relativization strategies in the formative period of this language. In 1748 a sentence containing SU *ki* was produced by an L2 speaker of the emergent Creole (cf. 5.6).

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[85] The Creoles spoken in Pointe Coupée and Breaux Bridge are taken as the modern representatives of Mississippi and Tèche Creole respectively. This seemingly arbitrary decision, however, is made on the basis of the availability of two recently published thorough descriptions of these two languages (i.e. those of Klingler 1992 and Neumann 1985, respectively).

[86] Corne's study (in press, a) of relativization and thematization strategies in Tayo reveal that these structures are well attested in the usage of the first generation of monolingual speakers of L1 Tayo (ie. G3s). Similarly, relative clauses appear early on in Isle de France (cf. Corne, in press,b). In 1805, relativization involving obligatory SU *ki* is attested, while the 'modern obligatory SU *ki*, optional DO *ki*/Ø arrangement is attested from 1818...' The optional character of the Reunion relativizer *k* is ascribed to seventeenth and possibly eighteenth century Malagassy influence.

[87] Romaine's (1992) study of relativization in Tok Pisin shows that this is not the case for elaborated pidgins. Relativization strategies in these languages, rather, appear to have evolved gradually over time.

(3)   *Cela n'est pas Bon, s'y toy mourrir, mourrir seuls et n'y a pas faire*

        mourrir monde qui n'y rien faire avec toy.   (cited in Hall 1992: 114)

        'That is not good. If you must die, die alone and do not make

        others die who had nothing to do with you.'

The SU *ki* strategy appears again in one of the sentences published by Bossu (1777), which dates from around 1751-1762.

(9)   *Vous pas mire donc Maître à moi, ça Caïman qui mange monde?*

        moi déjà vu bête tant grosse comme ci-là, qui gagne ferdoches en

        haut dos à ly.

        'Ne voyez-vous pas, mon Maître, que c'est un Crocodile qui dévore

        les hommes? J'en ai vu de pareils dans ces parages, qui portoient

        sur leur dos des petits rameaux ou branches vertes.' (Bossu 1777:

        83).

Due to the fragmentary nature of early textual attestations, however, there are no examples of DO or any other oblique relativization strategies. Given the vast preference LC (MC in particular v. 6.3.9) has for subject relativization, the fact that it is this strategy which occurs in both the texts is hardly surprising.

In the light of Corne's (in press, b) findings that modern relativization strategies emerged in the formative stage of a Creole, and hence represent, more or less, the situation in this early period, it seems that an examination of these strategies would be an ideal place to look for differences in Mississippi and Tèche Creoles, differences which should not, therefore, be explainable by decreolization.

6.2 The Corpus

The following statement is divided into two sections. The first section is based on data drawn from Klingler's (1992: 91-252) grammatical sketch of Pointe Coupée Creole (hereafter: PC). His (1992:135-138) statement on relative pronouns in this variety of Creole is adapted and revised below (6.3).

The second is based on data culled from Neumann's (1985) study of Breaux Bridge Creole (hereafter: BB). In this she presents a comprehensive morpho-syntactic analysis of the variety of Creole spoken in Breaux Bridge based on a large body of taped oral material, a small part of which is reproduced in section C of the book.[88] The following statement (6.4) is based on data drawn from sections B and C of this book.

6.3 The Creole of Pointe Coupée

The basic pattern in PC is an antecedent head NP + Rel + Clause. All except one of the examples are right-branching.[89]

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[88] Neumann's statement is, more specifically, representative of the creole of the Blacks living in Breaux Bridge. She writes, 'Nous avons décidé de nous concentrer dans ce travail sur le parler des Noirs, parce qu'il nous paraît moins affecté par la "décréolisation", un phénomène qui résulte du contact étroit entre les créolophones et les locuteurs du cajun.' (Neumann 1985: 2) Consequently most of her informants are Black. For a linguistic overview of the creole spoken by Whites v. Neumann (1984).

[89] The sole example of centre-embedding is:

(iv)   *gòmbo file se sa tu le kadžē ti kōne kwi gombo, u nēpòt ki ti kapab kwi gòmbo, mè apre gòmbo l fini, sa dòn li 'flavor' e sa 'thicken' li.*
'File gumbo (sassafras), that's what all the Cajuns who cook gumbo, or anyone who can cook gumbo, puts in after it's done, it gives it flavor and thickens it.' (Klingler 1992: 136)

6.3.1 Relativization of the subject NP

In non-cleft sentences, the relativizers are *ki* (which may become *k* preceding the progressive marker *e* and other vowels, and sometimes before the consonant *t*. [90] Variants are *ke* (rare) and *ti*. [91] Cleft sentences (*se* + NP + Rel + Clause) work in exactly the same way as non-cleft sentences .

(11) *se pare kõm mo kuzĕ ki e travaj pu ĕ nõm soti "Mississippi" li marje ave ĕ fãm isit*

'It's like my cousin who works for a man from Mississippi, he (the employer?) is married to a woman (from) here.'[92] (Klingler 1992: 136)

(12) *gẽ èn ã dè mun ki fe tu, k e labure tu la tè la*

There are a few people who do everything, who cultivate all of the land.' (Klingler 1992: 136)

(13) *se mo papa k te kõne di sa*

'It was my father who used to say that.' (Klingler 1992: 136)

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90 The progressive marker *e* is peculiar to the Creole of Pointe Coupée. It occurs in no other variety of Creole nor in other varieties of Lou (cf. Neumann. 1985: 209). While Whites often use both *ape* and *e*, Blacks prefer *e*, some never using the *ape* form (Klingler 1992: 160-161).

91 For this rather peculiar form, Klingler (1992: 136) notes, 'A small minority of speakers frequently use the form [ti] rather than [ki] as a relative pronoun (although they use [ki] in the interrogative)', thus indicating that for these speakers *ti* indeed functions as a special relativizer.

92 All the glosses are Klingler's.

(14) *mo te gẽ ẽ aksidã ke arive mo lòt zu*

'I had an accident happen (lit., that happened) to me the

other day.' (Klingler 1992: 136)

(15) *gòmbo file se sa tu le kadžẽ ti kõne kwi gombo, u nẽ pòt ki ti kapab*

kwi gòmbo, mè apre gòmbo l fini, sa dòn li "flavor" e sa "thicken" li

'Filé gumbo (sassafras), that's what all the Cajuns who cook gumbo,

or anyone who can cook gumbo, puts in after it's done, it gives it

flavor and thickens it.' (Klingler 1992: 136)

6.3.1.1 The [± human] pronoun *sa* + *k(i)* is equivalent to English 'the one/those who'.

(16) *la myzik se žwè trwa fwa. la, sa ki te e fe bal la li se*

hele, "to the bar!"

'The music would play three times. Then, the one who was

holding the dance would shout, "To the bar!"' (Klingler 1992: 137)

(17) *sa k ole bat "go ahead" bat, mwa mo pe e bat, mwẽ*

'Those who want to fight, let them go ahead and fight; me, I don't

want to fight.' (Klingler 1992: 137)

6.3.2 Klingler (1992: 136) states, 'In a very few instances, [sa] appears also to function by itself as a relative pronoun, subject or object.'

(18) *mo lẽ m gòmbo, sa to fe jè*

'I liked the gumbo you made yesterday.'

(19)   _sa_ to fe avec mo paròl je _sa_ mo te dòn twa la?

'What are you going to do with the words I gave you?'

However, like Neumann's sole example of *sa* functioning as a relative pronoun, these sentences have been mis-analysed (v. footnote 97). In fact they follow exactly the pattern of indirect interrogation with the [-human] pronoun *sa* functioning as the antecedent NP, not a relative pronoun.

6.3.3 Relativization of the direct object NP

Relativization of direct objects is unmarked.[93]

(20)   _sè tè_ krejòl Ø_nu te tu parl ã r/lãtur...

'It was Creole we (all) spoke around here...' (Klingler 1992: 223)

(21)   *tu piti je* Ø_mo gẽ a se pu li

'All the children I have are by him' (Klingler 1992: 111)

6.3.4 Relativization of the prepositional object

Relative pronouns are omitted. Prepositions are stranded.

(22)   *m ẽ m mun je* Ø_ m ẽ travaj pu astè la

'the same people I'm working for now.' (Klingler 1992:137)

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93 Klingler (1992: 137) lists the following example as direct object relativization:

(v)   *mo pa gẽ di li* _sa ki_vu fe dã la kizin
      "I won't tell her what you do in the kitchen"

This is in fact another example of indirect interrogation. It is still a kind of clefting, however, cf. Kihm (1993).

6.3.5 Relativization of the genitive

The genitive is marked by *ki* :

(25) *le fèj tòršõ/ã sa se de laeb <u>ki,</u> le fej je kum ẽ mòrso lẽž*

'Dishrag, that's a grass whose leaves are like a piece of cloth.'

(Klingler 1992: 185)

6.3.6 Focus

Focus may involve both subjects and direct objects. Focus is usually expressed with the use of the presentative *èna* (there is/are) and its variants *ẽnæ/ẽ* (there was) and *ẽnave* (there was) + NP + Rel + Clause. Occasionally *(je) te gẽ* (there was/were) functions as a focussing device. The relative pronoun may be *ki, k, ti,* or Ø for subjects and Ø for direct objects.

(26) *"Down South" je dèmokrat, astè je turnẽ, <u>èna</u> plè <u>ki</u> e turnẽ republikẽ*

'Down South people are Democrats. Now there are many

who are turning Republican.' (Klingler 1992: 134)

(27) *<u>èna</u> <u>k</u> truve turnẽ isi je blese...*

'Some were sent back here wounded...' (Klingler 1992: 203)

(28) *ẽ <u>næ/ẽ</u> ẽ n nõm <u>ti</u> sòti tšuwe*

'There was a man who was murdered.' (Klingler 1992: 136)

(29) *<u>èna Ø</u> pa gẽ nuvraž*

'There are some [people] who don't have jobs.' (Klingler
1992: 137) [94]

(30)   *je te gẽ ẽ pe mun Ø̲ te ka li:r ave ekri*
'There were a few people who could read and write' (Klingler 1992:
169)

(31)   *èna ẽ lòt Ø̲ vu kupe li "by cube"*
'There is another which you cut into cubes' (my gloss) (Klingler
1992: 193)

(32)   *...e te gẽ ẽ vje fòm Ø̲ je te pel li madòm*
'...and there was an old woman they called Madam' (Klingler 1992:
196)

6.3.7 Distribution

PC relativizes most frequently on subjects. Direct object relativization is
the next most frequent, followed by relativization on prepositional objects
and genitives. Focussing in PC only occurs on subjects and direct objects,
with the former occuring far more frequently than the latter.

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94 When *èna* itself functions as both the presentative and the NP, meaning people or
things who, Ø relativizer (v. note 96) for a discussion of the Ø relative subject pronoun).

6.3.8 Summary

Relativization in non-cleft sentences works in the same way as in cleft sentences. Other focussing devices work similarly.

While the vast majority of Klingler's examples are right-branching (98.8%), PC does allow centre-embedding.

PC vastly prefers to relativize on subjects (84.4%). The subject relativizer may be *ki, k, ke, or ti* , and is obligatory.

No relativizer occurs with DO relativization (8.4% of all relative clauses).

PC has only one strategy for relativization of the prepositional object. Relative pronouns are omitted and prepositions are stranded. This is quite infrequent, occuring in only 3.6% of examples.

Relativization on the genitive is very rare (1.2%) and is marked by *ki*.

As regards distribution: SU > DO > PREP > LOC > GEN

6.4 The Creole of Breaux Bridge

Within NPs relative clauses function as post-posed adjectives, as in PC. The relative clause is a sentence S2 embedded in a matrix S1. S2 is usually right-branching, sometimes centre-embedded. The relative pronouns are *k(i)* subject and *ke , Ø , ki* non-subject. The basic pattern is an antecedent head NP + Rel + Clause.

6.4.1 Relativization in non-cleft sentences

6.4.1.1 Relativization of the subject NP

The relative subject pronoun is *ki* (*k* preceding the vowel *a*) [95], which is obligatory: [96]

(33)   *...fodre mo te kuri mene li kote ẽ nom blõ <u>ki</u> te kone lir.*

      (Neumann 1985: 382,84)

      'I had to take it [the letter] to a white man who could read.'

(34)   *...parske mo gẽ mo piti-je <u>k'ape</u> vini derjer.*   (Neumann 1985:

        404,13)

      '...because I have my children who are following me.'

6.4.1.1.1   The singular demonstrative pronoun *sila* + *ki* is equivalent to English 'the one who/which'. The [± human] pronoun *sa* + *ki* , and the plural demonstrative pronoun *lezla/sezla* + *ki* are equivalent to English 'those/these who'.

(35)   *Li don mwa <u>sila ki</u> te kase.*   (Neumann 1985: 174)

      'He gave me the one which was broken.'

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[95] The relative subject pronoun *ki* elides when followed by the progressive TA marker *ape*, thus *ki ape* becomes *k'ape*. This loss of the final vowel when followed by the vowel *a* also occurs with personal pronouns (*m'a*), TA markers (*t'ape*), and the negator *pa* (*p'ape*) (cf. Neumann 1985: 209).

[96] Ignored in this study are certain structures allowing Ø relative subject pronoun. These structures, usually involving verbs of perception and/or certain existentialpresentatives, have a verb + direct object NP which doubles as the subject of the following verb, which may have certain pre-posed TA markers. They are common to most varieties of CrFr: v. Corne (1977: 52) and Michaelis (1993: 62-64) for Sey, Neumann (1985: 214) for BB, and Papen (1978: 285) and Corne (1970: 34) for Mau. Such predicates are also widespread cross-linguistically cf. Winford (1993: 299-307, 352).

(36)   *Tu sa ki pa bõ...*   (Neumann 1985: 408,18)

'All those who are not good.'

(37)   *...o lezla ki te pø p' õgaže.*   (Neumann 1985: 370,197)

'...or those who couldn't employ anyone.'

(38)   *Tu sezla ki katolik mõ2 pa la vjon dõ karem.*   (Neumann 1985: 164)

'All those who are Catholic do not eat meat during Lent.'

6.4.1.2 Relativization of the direct object NP

6.4.1.2.1 Relativization of complements is usually unmarked. [97]

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[97] Our data contain one example of what at first appears to be the use of the impersonal pronoun *sa* as a relative pronoun.

(vi)   *Et la li rakõte li sa li te kone fe le swar kuri mõže mai sa Frõswa te kone met deor pu le zozo-la.* (Neumann 1985: 436,55)
'And there, he told him that he would go every night to eat the corn that François always put outside for the birds.'

Neumann (1985: 177) also notes this apparent anomaly, stating, 'Une fois nous avons relevé le pronom *sa* remplaçant un pronom relatif'

However a brief examination of indirect interrogation strategies (which, as we are interested in relative clauses with 'real' antecedents, we have not included in this study) indicates that this example should be included in that category.

Indirect interrogation works just like other relativizations in BB, as it does in Reunion (v. Corne , in press, b), with *sa* functioning as the antecedent NP. As in other relative clauses the pattern for subjects is Antecedent NP *sa* + *ki* (obligatory) + Clause

(vii)   *...les mõ di twa sa ki te fars.* (Neumann 1985: 368,168)
'...let me tell you what was hilarious.'

The direct object pattern is Antecedent NP *sa* + ∅ + Clause.

(viii)   *WELL, mo kone sa ∅ to min.* (Neumann 1985: 374,248)
'Well, I know what you mean.'

Our one example of *sa* apparently replacing a relative pronoun, then, would seem to conform exactly to the pattern of direct object indirect interrogation. The sentence, then, should be reanalysed thus:

(ix)   *...li te kone fe le swar kuri mõže mai, sa ∅ Frõswa te kone met deor...*

(39)   *...tu fom Ø je t'ole.*   (Neumann 1985: 382,78)

'...all the women they wanted.'

(40)   *Lapē, to kone tur Ø mo deźa źue twa.*   (Neumann 1985: 396,19)

'Rabbit, you know the recital[98] that I have already played to you.'

6.4.1.2.2   Very occasionally the relative complement pronoun *ke* is used.[99]

(41)   *Tu spes martir ke je te fe je!*   (Neumann 1985: 382,79)

'All sorts of tortures that they made them suffer.'

6.4.1.2.3 Neumann gives, as an example of *ki* functioning as a direct object pronoun,

(42)   *ē bo źur ki li kuri la...*   (Neumann 1985: 176)

which she glosses: Un beau jour qu'il se rendit là...', but this is better seen as an adverbial construction.

It seems probable that the speaker paused after the word *mai* and Neumann failed to note this in her transcription. If this is the case then our example indeed fits into the category of indirect interrogation.

[98] Usually *tur* means 'trick'. Here, however, the context indicates that it is not a trick that was played but rather some sort of musical performance, hence the gloss 'recital'.

[99] Neumann (1985: 162) notes, 'Etant donné que dans les textes anciens on ne relève pas de pronom relatif complément, les cas d'insertion du pronom relatif dans ce contexte doivent être considérés comme un phénomène de décréolisation.'
According to our data this is not the case. In fact the use of a relative pronoun marking direct object relativization is more widely attested in nineteenth century texts (v. 7.3.1.2 below).

6.4.1.3 Relativization of the indirect object

There are no attestations of this in the data.

6.4.1.4 Relativization of the prepositional object

There are two strategies:

(a) Relativizers *ki/ke* are optionally omitted. Prepositions are stranded. [100]

(b) PREP + *ki*, which alternates with (a).

(43)   ...*le REGULAR bug Ø li kuri lekol avek,*.. (Neumann 1985: 362,92)

'...the REGULAR guys that he went to school with,...'

(44)   *Mo se kōtō kone pu ki t'ape parle* (Neumann 1985: 164)[101]

'I would like to know what you are talking about.'

6.4.1.5 Relativization of the genitive

There is one example where the genitive is expressed with the relative pronoun *ke /ki* + the possessive.

(47)   *Piti ke/ki sa momō muri res ek mwa* (Neumann 1985: 176)

'The child whose mother died lives with me'

---

[100] This is also the case in the Creole of Pointe Coupée (v. Klingler 1992: 137). Our attestations, teamed with those of Neumann (1985: 162) and Klingler, refute Lane's claim (1935: 12) that, 'Relative objects of prepositions are never used.'

[101] Or, alternatively:

(x)   *Mo se kōtō kone ki t'ape parle pu.*

6.4.2 Relativization in cleft sentences

Cleft sentences, structurally speaking, work identically to non-cleft sentences. The pattern is presentative *se* + NP + Rel + Clause.[102]

6.4.2.1 When the subject is focussed *k(i)* is obligatory. *Se* may be omitted in negative emphatic sentences.

(48)   ...*se py mõ k'a eseje õkor kuri-la!*   (Neumann 1985: 438,77)

'It is no longer me who will try to go back there again!'

(49)   *Pa Lul ki va fe sa!*   (Neumann 1985: 326)

'It is not Loule who will do that!'

(50)   *Se te li ki te sõje li mile....* [103] (Neumann 1985: 418,1)

'It was he who looked after the mules.'

6.4.2.2 The relative pronoun is always omitted in direct object position.

(51)   *Se premje fwa Ø mo ton ẽ mile koze!* (Neumann 1985: 420,39)

'That is the first time that I have heard a mule speak!'

(52)   ...*s te ẽ ti JOB Ø mo te fe apre lekol.* (Neumann 1985: 368,177)

'It was a little job that I did after school.'

---

[102] The demonstrative pronoun *sa* may be added to cleft sentences for emphasis.

(xi)   *Sa-fe se sa k'arive dõ le tõ-sa-la.* (Neumann 1985: 380,50)
'That is what happened in those days.'

[103] The presentative *se* often occurs in sentences in the past (v. Neumann 1985: 248, footnote 1).

6.4.2.3 Time adverbials occur in cleft sentences. Relative pronouns are omitted.

(53)   *Se la Ø li wa twa!* (Neumann 1985: 368,173)

       'It was then that he saw you!'

6.4.3 Other focussing devices

6.4.3.1 Subject focus may also be expressed with the use of the following presentatives:

na 'there is/are' + NP + *ki*

ena or the variant form *ina* 'there is/are (people/things)' + NP + *ki*

(e)nave 'there was/were' + NP + *ki*

(54)   *Na en bos k'ape sorti õ mo nepol!* (Neumann 1985: 390,30)

       'There is a blister that is coming up on my shoulder.'

(55)   *žordi ena ẽ ta le piti ki pa kone bjẽ parle, pa lõgle , FRENCH.*

       (Neumann 1985: 356,34)

       'Today there are lots of children who cannot speak it well,

       not English, but French.

(56)   *...ina ki res tužur dõ l nor.* (Neumann 1985: 434,37)

       'There are still those who stay in the North.'

(57)   *Enave ẽ Zwif ki te gẽ ẽ stor.* (Neumann 1985: 414,4)

       'There was a Jew who had a shop.'

6.4.3.2 Direct objects are focussed with the use of the presentative *ena/ina* + NP + *ke*.

(58)   *Ena le Blo ke no pel le 'gro ŝjẽ'* (Neumann 1985: 114)
       'There are some Whites that we call the "big dogs"'

(59)   *Eske ina pa dot ŝjoẑ ke nu pø plõte?* (Neumann 1985: 176)
       'Is there nothing else that we could plant?'

6.4.3.3   There is one example of focus on a temporal.   The relative pronoun is omitted.

(60)   *Na-le-fwa Ø mwa e Alma no va parle* (Neumann 1985: 216)
       'There are times when Alma and I speak [Creole] to each other'

6.4.4 Distribution

Within both non-cleft sentences and cleft sentences BB relativizes most frequently on subjects. This is followed by relativization on direct objects, prepositional objects, temporals and genetives. Other focussing devices occur only with subjects, objects and temporals.

6.4.5 Summary

Non-cleft and cleft sentences work identically. Non-clefts are more frequent (48.3%) than clefts (25.9%). Other types of focussed sentences occur (25.8%) of the time.

Most RCs (96.6%) follow the matrix clause (ie. are right-branching). Very few are centre-embedded.

Subject relativization occurs most frequently in BB (68.7%). The relative subject pronoun (*ki,* or *k* when preceding the vowel *a*) is obligatory.

Relativization on direct objects is less frequent (18.3%). The relativizer is usually omitted. Very occasionally *ke* or *ki* is used.

Prepositional object relativization not very frequent (6.8%). Relative pronouns are usually omitted and the preposition is stranded. Occasionally the pattern PREP + *ki* occurs.

Temporals are rare (2.1%). They are unmarked (ie. Ø Rel)

Relativization of the genitive is very rare (1 example, or 0.7%), using *ke/ki* + possessive.

Thus: SU > DO > PREP > TEMP > GEN

6.5 Comparison

The above statements on the relativization strategies of PC and BB **do** reveal some differences.[104]

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[104] PC and BB also display some similarities in their relative systems, all of which, however, are common cross-linguistically.

As regards to distribution, the following statement may be made for both PC and BB: SU > DO > PREP > (TEMP) > GEN. This conforms broadly to Keenan and Comrie's (1977) Accessibility Hierarchy which ranks 'the relative accessibility of different syntactic positions to relative clause formation' (Keenan and Comrie 1977: 96).

The overwhelming preference for right-branching relative clauses shown by both PC and BB is a common phenomenon in Creole languages (v. Corne, in press, a, Mufwene

1) In BB the relative subject pronoun is *ki* (which becomes *k* when preceding the progressive TA marker *ape*). In PC, however, the relative SU pronoun may be *ki, k, ke,* or *ti.*

2) The use of *k* as a relative SU pronoun is governed by a different set of rules in the two Creoles. In BB *ki* elides when followed by *ape.* In PC either *ki* or *k* may be used when preceding the progressive *e,* (v. (11), (26), (12)) although *ki* elides when followed by other vowels (v. (17)). Before an initial consonant *t, ki* or *k* may occur, although the latter is more common (v. (13), (27), and (16)).

3) The English equivalent of 'the one/those who' is expressed by the [± human] pronoun *sa + ki* in PC. BB on the other hand, distinguishes between singular (*sila + ki*) and plural (*sa/lezla/sezla + ki*).

4) DOs are less frequent in PC (8.4%) than BB (18.3%).

5) In PC DOs are unmarked (ie. Ø Rel). BB, however, allows *ke,* and *ki* (rare), as well as Ø Rel (the usual strategy).

6) PC has one strategy for relativization on PREPs (Ø Rel, prepositions stranded), while BB has two (Ø Rel, prepositions stranded, and PREP + *ki*).

7) Relativization on temporals is unmarked (ie. Ø Rel) in BB. PC does not appear to relativize on temporals.

1986: 2, Romaine 1992), as is the absence of relativization on IOs (v. Corne, in press, a and b). Universals, then, are clearly at work.

8) Relativization on the genitive (rare in both) is marked by *ke/ki* + the possessive in BB, while in PC *ki* (and no possessive) is used.

At a glance it would appear that the relativization system of BB is undergoing decreolization. The singular/plural distinction and use of more 'French' forms (*sila, sezla* + *ki*) to express 'the one/those who', the use of *ke* to mark DOs, the higher frequency of DOs in BB than PC, and the PREP + *ki* strategy to mark relativization on prepositional objects all point in this direction.

An examination of relativization in nineteenth century LC texts, however, indicates that these features are not recent developments. They would seem to date, rather, from an earlier period. With this in mind, let us now turn our attention to these earlier texts.

7. RELATIVE CLAUSES IN NINETEENTH CENTURY LOUISIANA CREOLE

In order to be comparable to the above synchronic study of relativization in PC and BB, a diachronic study would ideally involve an examination of early texts from both regions. Unfortunately such data are not available.

Despite the uncertainty surrounding the identity of the authors of Neumann-Holzschuh's (1987) texts, however, the texts from which we have drawn our data would seem to represent the Creole spoken in the greater New Orleans area as well as that west of the Atchafalaya River.

The isolation of PC (cf. Klingler 1992) and its distance from New Orleans, the 'hub' of nineteenth century Creole society (v. Crété 1981) makes it unlikely that any of the texts represent the Creole of this region.

While, then, the following statement may not prove particularly useful with respect to establishing either the stability or development of relativization strategies in PC, it may provide such clues for BB.

7.1 The Corpus

The following statement is based on data collected from Neumann-Holzschuh's (1987) sample of nineteenth century LC texts, Fortier's (1895) collection of folktales and Broussard's (1942) texts.

Neumann-Holzschuh's (1987) material includes the first published texts in LC; *La Cigale et la Fourmi* (1846) and the *Chant du Vié Boscugo* (1858), eight 'contes créoles' and letters to the editor published in *Le Meschacébé*, several fables printed in *Comptes Rendus de l'Athénée louisianais (CRAL)*, some articles from the satirical weekly newspaper *Le*

Carrillon, two of Alcée Fortier's 'contes' and some of Alfred Mercier's fables (for more details v. Neumann-Holzschuh 1987: 1-4).

Fortier's (1895) texts are gathered from a number of informants both 'colored' and 'negro' from New Orleans and la Vacherie in Saint James Parish. Fortier writes, 'In Louisiana we have three kinds of tales: the animal tales, of which some are, without doubt, of African origin; fairy tales or märchen, probably from India; and tales and songs, real vaudevilles, where the song is more important than the plot.'

Broussard (1942) presents a grammar of the LC spoken in Saint Martin Parish followed by an assortment of idioms, folklore and his own translations of La Fontaine's fables (for more details v. Broussard 1942: 31-33). Although *Louisiana Creole Dialect* was published in 1942, Broussard's material is included in this section as it appears more indicative of nineteenth century LC than twentieth.

Most of the texts are written by Broussard himself in his own rendition of the 'Creole dialect' spoken by the 'negroes', '...a dialect which I learned from my nurse, which I used exclusively up to the age of seven, and which I have spoken bilingually with French to this day' (Broussard 1942: X). He writes:

> The translations of La Fontaine's fables are my own. La Fontaine's homilies lead themselves easily to the dialect. I translated them without effort into the language of my childhood. To assure the integrity of the dialect, I read them to my old nurse and to other Creole negroes who nodded approval. A few suggested changes that were too salty for adoption.

The folklore tales are those of my childhood told over and over by my nurse and repeated by my mother. I wrote them as I remembered them.' (Broussard 1942: 32-33)

Broussard's Creole then is that of his childhood. In its comparability with the other (late) nineteenth century material it would appear to be a valid representation of the speech of this period.

However, it must be noted that Broussard, Fortier and all the authors of Neumann-Holzschuh's texts are White Francophones and it may be supposed that their creole may have been influenced, to differing degrees, by their French perceptions.

Fortier takes care to point out that the tales he 'collected and edited' are given 'in the Creole dialect', the study of which, 'is of importance and interest, and the tales have been carefully written in Louisiana dialect, in order that the material may be of use to the philologist' (Fortier 1895: Preface).

While indicating the linguistic value of the eight 'contes créoles' published in *Le Meschacébé* which are, 'écrits dans un créole que nous considérons comme assez authentique' (Neumann-Holzschuh 1987: 2), Neumann-Holzschuh cautions that, from a linguistic point of view, the satirical letters to the editor published in *Le Meschacébé* and the articles printed in *Le Carrillon*, 'il s'agit forcément d'un créole défiguré, non représentatif' (Neumann-Holzschuh 1987: 2-3). These texts are included in this study as, however much it may have been affected by their French perceptions in later life, their white Creole authors probably had LC as their mother tongue. Griolet (1986: 71) notes, 'la langue maternelle des Créoles de Louisiane n'est pas, au XIXe siècle, le français mais le créole', and Mercier (1880) in Neumann-Holzschuh (1987: 140) writing on the usage of Creole says, 'Tous les petits blancs d'origine française, en

Louisiane, ont parlé ce patois concurrement avec le français; il y en a même parmi nous qui ont fait usage exclusivement du dialecte des nègres, jusqu'à l'âge de dix ou douze ans.'

7.2 Chronological considerations

A chronological examination of Neumann-Holzschuh's (1987) texts which span a fifty-six year period (1846-1902) reveals no significant differences or developments of RCs in the creole used. The language, rather, seems quite stable. Neumann-Holzschuh's (1987) texts then, along with Fortier's (1895) and Broussard's (1942), are treated as a single body of data representative of nineteenth century LC. The occasional differences are footnoted.

7.3 Description

Nineteenth century Lou allows both right-branching and centre-embedded relative clauses. The relative pronouns are *k(i)* subject, *ke, ki* and *Ø* non-subject. [105]

7.3.1 Relativization in non-cleft sentences

7.3.1.1 Relativization of the subject NP

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[105] All examples are cited in their original orthography. However, as nineteenth century orthography was far from homogeneous, indeed one often finds several variant spellings for one lexical item in the same text, I have, in the descriptive passages, elected to use Neumann's (1985) orthography. Variants include:

Subject: *ki, k', qui, qu'a, qua*
Direct Object: *Ø, ke, ké, que, qué, ki, qui*

The relative subject pronoun is *ki* (*k* preceding the vowel *a*) [106], which is obligatory.

(61) *Compère Bouki pélé Compair Torti ki té apé passé dan*

      chimin. (Neumann-Holzschuh 1987: 53,64)

      'Compère Bouki called out to Compair Torti who was going

      along the road.'

(62) *Alors l'Irlandais jété li méme dans do l'eau qui té très haut...*

      (Fortier 1895: 20,11)

      'Then the Irishman threw himself into the water that was

      very deep.'

(63) *Li oua ein tit limiè qui té loin.* (Broussard 1942: 80,22)

      'He saw a little light which was far away.'

---

[106] In Neumann's (1987) texts, the relative subject pronoun *ki* elides when followed by the progressive TA marker *ape* , thus *ki ape* becomes *k'ape*. There is only one exception to this rule in Neumann's texts, and this example comes from one of Fortier's tales, in which the elision of *ki* with *ape* does not occur.

(xii)   *...enfin li oua dé la tête qui ape batte ensemb,...*
     '...at last, she saw two heads which were fighting,...' (Neumann 1987: 156,26)

In Fortier and Broussard's texts however, elision occurs when the future TA marker *a* is preceded by *qui* , thus *qui a* becomes *qua* in Fortier's texts and *qu'a* in Broussard's.

    This loss of the final vowel sound when followed by the vowel *a* is common to all texts and occurs with personal pronouns (*m'a*), TA markers (*t'ape*), the negator *pa* (*p'ape*) as well as the relative pronoun *ki* (*k'ape* , *qua*). c.f. Neumann (1985: 209), Neumann-Holzschuh (1987: 12), Fortier (1895: XI, notes 19,20,39) and Mercier (1880) in Neumann-Holzschuh (1987: 142-144) who offers the following explanation for this phenomenon:

> 'Yéva et *vouva* se réduisant à la simple voyelle *a*, cela peut paraître extraordinaire; mais les diminutions de ce genre ne sont pas rares dans l'histoire des langues, surtout quand un mot passe d'une langue dans une autre. Dans le latin nous voyons l'impératif *ito* va, se contracter en *i*. Un mot grec de quatre syllabes, *episcopos*, évêque, se rapetisse à mesure qu'il marche vers le Nord; arrive en Scandinavie, il est réduit à l'état de monosyllabe, *ops*. (Mercier 1880 in Neumann-Holzschuh 1987:144)

(64) *Compair Bouki, <u>ki</u> té dija koné tou zesse bitacion là, couri*

drette côté lécurie,...   (Neumann-Holzschuh 1987: 65,52)

'Compair Bouki, who already knew all the ins and outs of

the *habitation*, went directly to the cowshed,...'

(65) *Fomme L'ogre <u>qui</u> té pensé li sé ce cacher yé, laissé yé rentrer...*

(Broussard 1942: 82,4)

'The ogre's wife who thought of hiding them from him, let them

come in...'

(66) *Compair Lapin, no va gagnien gran bal sandi [sic] <u>ka</u> pé vini.*

(Neumann-Holzschuh 1987: 35,10)

'Compair Lapin, we are going to have a grand ball this

Saturday.'

The singular demonstrative pronoun *cilà* + *ki* and the [±human]

pronoun *ça* + *ki* are equivalent to English 'the one/those/these who.'

(67) *..alors <u>cila qui</u> donne li la paille dit li...* .(Fortier 1895:

50,13)

'...so the one who gave him the straw said to him...'* [107]

(68) *...jiche dizo <u>cilà ki</u> rêté.*   (Neumann-Holzschuh 1987: 49,7)

'...only the bones, the ones which which were left.'

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[107] Many of Fortier's glosses are not literal. In cases where a more literal gloss is needed to demonstrate relativization structures I have taken the liberty of providing my own. My glosses henceforth are marked with an asterisk *.

(69)   *...et pas blié vini premier avril pou oua <u>cila</u> dans nous*

      zotes <u>qua</u> mangé posson d'avril la.   (Fortier 1895: 64,25)

      'Don't forget to come on the first of April, that we may

      see which of us will be the April fool.'

(70)   <u>*Cilà qu'a*</u> *dévinain li sa ca marier mo fille.*   (Broussard 1942:

      54,13)

      'The one who shall guess it will be able to marry my daughter.'

(71)   *...et tout <u>ça qui</u> yé dans so pays.*   (Fortier 1895: 42,15)

      '...and all those who are in his country.'*

(72)   <u>*Ça qui*</u> *joué 'vec chiens 'trapé des pices.*   (Broussard 1942:35,4)

      'Those who play with dogs catch fleas.'

7.3.1.2 Relativization of the direct object NP

The relative direct object pronouns are *ke* and *ki* [108] although more usually relativization of complements is unmarked.

(73)   *..li voyagé longtemps jisqua li vini coté même rivière* Ø *li*

      té traversé avec Compair Lapin...   (Fortier 1895: 42,3)

      '...she travelled a long time, until she came to the same

      river which she had crossed with Compair Lapin...'

(74)   *...dan ein gonbotte* Ø *li acheté avé président Djonsone.*

      (Neumann-Holzschuh1987: 103,33)

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[108] There are five attestations of *ki* functioning as a relative direct object pronoun in non-cleft sentences and one example of *ki* functioning as a direct object pronoun in cleft sentences in Neumann-Holzschuh's (1987) texts. No examples of *ki* as a direct object pronoun occur in Fortier's or Broussard's material.

'...in a gunboat that he bought from President Johnson.'

(75)   *..dans même chimin Ø yé té pronne pou' vini.*   (Broussard 1942:
78,7)

'...by the same road that they had taken to get there.'

(76)   *Ein Chatte Ø yé té pélé Rodila/Mangé tellement desrats...*
(Broussard 1942: 95,1)

'A cat that they called Rodila/Ate so many rats...'

(77)   *Bouki quitté so charrette là, et parti cherché premié lapin
qué li té oua.*   (Neumann-Holzschuh 1987: 89,26)

'Bouki left his cart and went to find the first rabbit that
he had seen.'

(78)   *...Compair Lapin té toujou au courant toute sorte nouvelle
qué Compair Bouki té raconté li.*   (Fortier 1895: 2,3)

'Compair Lapin was always up to date with all the news
that Compair Bouki told him.'*

(79)   *Et sauvé la vie Loup comme ain bête qui li té.*   (Neumann-
Holzschuh1987: 117,12)

'And saved the wolf's life like the beast that he was.'

7.3.1.3 Relativization of the indirect object NP

One example of indirect object relativization occurs in the data.

(80)   *...yé pibliké dan gazette ké yé té allé donné yé fille à cilà ki té fé*

   yé cado ein batô...   (Neumann-Holzschuh 1987: 73,10) [109]

   '...they published in the newspaper that they were going to give to

   their daughter, the one who had made them a present of a boat...'

7.3.1.4 Relativization of the prepositional object

This is rare. There is one example of *on ki* (on which) in Neumann-
Holzschuh's texts and one example of *divant ki* (in front of which) in
Fortier's texts. Thus the strategy is PREP + *ki*.

(81)   *...ein la tabe on ki yé té gaigné ein gran live...*   (Neumann-
   Holzschuh 1987: 109,12)

   '...a table (up)on which there was a large book...'

(82)   *Li répondé ye té dans la maison a coté divant qui yé té*

   gagnin ein caillou.. .(Fortier 1895: 84,1)

   'She replied that they were in the house near by, before the

   door of which there was a pebble...'

7.3.1.5 Relativization of time adverbials

One time adverbial occurs in the data. It is marked by *où*.

(83)   *Ein jou li profité ein ti moment ou Compair Lapin té apé*

   dromi,... (Fortier 1895: 22,7)

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[109] Neumann-Holzschuh (1987: 73, note 2) notes, 'Ce conte contient quelques structures qui ne
font pas partie du créole basilectal, comme par exemple[...] l'emploi de la preposition *à*...'

'One day she took advantage of a moment when Compair

Lapin was sleeping... '*

7.3.2 Relativization in cleft sentences

These work identically to non-cleft sentences. The pattern is presentative

se + NP + RP + Clause.

7.3.2.1 When the subject is focussed, *k(i)* is obligatory.

(84)   *Oui, c'est moin qui mangé vous dezef.*   (Fortier 1895: 30,33)

'Yes, it is I who ate your eggs.'

(85)   *...c'était so maman qui té rendi avant li.*   (Neumann-Holzschuh

1987: 91,56)

'...it was his mother who had returned before him.'

(86)   *...et c'était li qui té roi.*   (Broussard 1942: 62,3)

'...and it was he who was king.'

7.3.2.2 The presentative *se* combines with Ø, *ke,* or *ki* when the direct object is focussed.

(87)   *...c'était lavache Compair Lapin Ø mo té apé débourbé.*

(Fortier 1895: 4,32)

'...it was Compair lapin's cow I was pulling.'

(88)   *C'est toi, Ø m'ole.*   (Broussard 1942: 48,3)

'It is you that I want.'

(89)   *Cé ein ti zenne zan ké mo té zamé kontré...*   (Neumann-Holzschuh

   1987: 99,8)

   'It is a young person that I had never met...'

(90)   *...c'est ein bêtise qui mo pas connin fait.*   (Neumann-Holzschuh

   1987: 96,9)

   '...it is a bit of foolishness that I do not know how to do.'

7.3.2.3 In cleft sentences the presentative *se* combines with Ø, *ke* or *où* to
mark time adverbials. [110]

(91)   *Cé on 4 jiyet Ø lampérau Chalomon marié avé ein*

   négraice...   (Neumann-Holzschuh 1987: 103,34)

   'It was on the 4th of July that the Emperor Salomon of

   Israel married a negress...'

(92)   *Cé on 4 jiyet ké Bon Djié fé nou zot zens coulair.*   (Neumann-

   Holzschuh1987: 102,20)

   'It was on the 4th of July that God made us coloured people.'

(93)   *C'est mois où ti zozo dja pande yé ti dezef.*   (Neumann-Holzschuh

   1987: 131,87)

   'It is the month when the little bird has already laid the

   little egg.'

7.3.3 Other focussing devices

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[110] All time adverbials in cleft sentences occur in Neumann-Holzschuh's (1987) texts. The
examples marked by Ø or *ke* all come from Texte 13, while those marked by *où* all come
from Texte 27.

Focus (of subject only) may be expressed with the use of the following presentatives:

(yé) na 'there is/are' + NP + *ki*

einna 'there is/are' + NP + *ki*

navé/yé n'avait/yavé/yapa 'there was/were/was not' + NP + *ki* [111]

yé té gagnin /yé gain 'there was' + NP + *ki*

ala 'this is' + NP + *ki*

(94) ...*yé na* quichoge *qui* ben drole,... (Fortier 1895: 8,9)

'...there is something which is strange,....'*

(95) *Einna* plein moune *qui bêt'* comme ça. (Broussard 1942: 109,12)

'There are lots of people who are stupid like that.'

(96) *Navé* ein jouife *ki* té boucou lémé grinbek.... (Neumann-Holzschuh 1987: 103,37)

'There was a Jew who really liked money...'

(97) *Yé n'avait* ein tas *qui* té séyé trois fois... (Broussard 1942: 58,23)

'There were many who had tried three times...'

(98) *Yavé* eune madame *ki* té gagnin cate fille. (Neumann-Holzschuh 1987: 152,1)

'There was once a lady who had four daughters.'

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[111] *Yéna, yapa* and *yave* only occur in Fortier's (1895) texts. (*Yave* occurs twice in Neumann-Holzschuh's (1987) texts but these are, in fact, reproductions of two of Fortier's tales published in 1888 in the *Journal of American Folk-lore I*. Neumann (1985: 270, note 3) commenting on the presentative *ena* writes, 'Fortier (1895) et Broussard (1942) donnent aussi les formes *yéna* et *yavé* ; elles ne sont pas admises par nos témoins.'

(99) *Yapa arien dans moune qui té fait li plis pair qué ça.*

(Fortier 1895: 14,22)

'There was nothing in the world that frightened him more

than that. '*

(100) *Yé gain plein moune qui croit yé si smatte.*   (Broussard 1942: 97,1)

'There are many people who think that they are so smart.'

(101) *Yé té gagnin ein qui té si bien habillé,...* (Fortier

1895: 70,1)

'There was one who was so beautifully dressed,...'*

(102) *...ala ein Mamzelle Lapin Blanc qui riche....* (Fortier

1895: 52,20)

'Here is Miss White Rabbit who is rich...'*

7.3.4 Distribution

The patterns of distribution in nineteenth century LC more or less match
those of both PC and BB. Non-cleft sentences are far more frequent than
cleft sentences. Within both categories, subject relativization is vastly
more frequent than that of direct objects, temporals, prepositional objects,
or indirect objects respectively.

7.4 Summary

In nineteenth century LC non-cleft and cleft sentences are identical in structure. Non-cleft sentences are, however, vastly more frequent (76.0%) compared to 17.6% for clefts. Other focussing devices occur less frequently (6.4%).

Most relative clauses follow the matrix clause (83.0%) with centre-embedding occuring 17.0% of the time.

The relative subject pronoun (*ki*, or *k* preceding the vowel *a*) is obligatory. LC vastly prefers to relativize on subjects (77.8%).

Direct object relativization is much less frequent (12.4%). DOs are usually unmarked (ie. Ø RP). Sometimes the relative pronoun *ke* is used. Occasionally *ki* is used as a direct object pronoun. This, however is rare.

Temporals are less frequent still (2.6%). They are marked by *où* , Ø or *ke* .

Relativization of the prepositional object is rare (0.4%). There are only two examples in the data, both of which retain the relative pronoun *ki* .

Indirect object relativization is extremely rare (0.2%).

Thus: SU > DO > TEMP > PREP > IO

7.5 Comparison

Aside from features such as the predominance of SU relativization[112] and other distribution patterns, all of which may be attributed to universals, nineteenth century LC has very little in common with modern PC. Its correlation with BB, however, is worth noting.

1) Both have the obligatory SU pronoun *ki* which elides to *k* when followed by the TA markers *ape* and *a*.

2) The singular (*sila* + *ki*) and plural (*ça* + *ki*) distinction for the expression of 'the one/those who' exists in both.

3) DO relativization patterns are identical. Both use the zero pronoun strategy but also allow *ke* and *ki*.

4) Relativization of prepositional objects is handled by the PREP + *ki* strategy in nineteenth century LC. This same strategy is attested in BB.

5) Relativization of temporals may be marked by Ø RP in nineteenth century LC as it is in modern BB.

The features, then, outlined in 6.5 which seem to suggest that the relativization system of BB is undergoing decreolization, are, in fact, all attested in the nineteenth century texts. One can therefore (tentatively)

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[112] This is a feature common to most French lexicon Creoles (Tayo being the exception v. Corne, in press, a). A broader study of relativization strategies in (selected) French Creoles shows that Mauritian Creole, Seychellois, Cayennais, and Réunionnais all prefer to relativize on subjects (Speedy, ms; cf. Corne, in press, b).

conclude that this is not a modern phenomenon but rather one which dates back well over a century.

7.6. Discussion

The above statements on relative clauses in modern PC and BB and nineteenth century LC reveal a number of interesting points concerning Creole in Louisiana.

The first, as predicted by their differing socio-demographic histories, is that modern PC and BB display some differences in their respective relative systems.

Let us start with the subject relativizer. In BB, as in most other French Creoles, the SU relativizer is *ki* (v. Corne 1970: 34 for Mauritian, Comhaire-Sylvain 1936: 69 for Haïtian, and St-Quentin 1872: 123 for Cayennais).[113] [114] This becomes *k* when followed by *ape* in BB. In short there is **one** form. In PC, however, the SU relativizer may be *ki, k, ke,* or *ti.* As mentioned above (v. 6.5), the usage of *k* in PC differs from that in BB in that it cannot be attributed to pre-vocalic elision. It must, therefore, be regarded as a separate relativizer, not the result of *ki* contraction.[115]

The use of *ke* (rare) to mark relative SU seems a typically 'French' phenomenon. This usage of *ke* in PC, however, is probably not due to any recent borrowing from the lexifier as Cajun has never been spoken in

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[113] This would seem to derive from the French relative subject pronoun *qui* (cf. Bickerton 1991,1993).

[114] SU *ki* is obligatory except with *ena* and other existential presentatives (cf. 6.3.6 and footnote 96). This is also the case in Isle de France (cf. Bickerton 1991:25).

[115] More research is required in order to determine the exact nature of *k*. The rather limited data base available (i.e. Klingler's 1992 grammatical sketch) is not adequate to determine exactly which domains require and/or restrict the use of this form.

the parish and 'colonial' French disappeared long ago (cf. Klingler 1992: 76). It would seem to date, then, from an earlier period.

The form *ti*, which at first glance seems rather unusual, may in fact be explicable by the regular palatalization of /k/ in some varieties of North American French. Morgan (1978: 94) notes this phenomenon in Laurentian, whereby '/kyi/' or '/tyi/' may be used to denote French *qui*.

As Laurentian was one of the major inputs into the French vernacular of Louisiana (v. 3), which in turn had a major input into Mississippi Creole, the usage of *ti* in PC may be a vestige of an earlier system.[116]

Still within the domain of SU relativization is the presence in BB and absence in PC of a singular/plural distinction for expressing 'the one/those who'.

The appearance of the PC strategy in a number of other French Creoles (notably Cayennais, Seychellois, and Mauritian, v. Speedy ms.), suggests that this is the more common one in modern Creoles. As noted above (v. 7.5), however, the presence of this distinction in BB cannot be attributed to decreolization, at least as it is commonly understood (cf. Rickford 1986), since it is attested in the nineteenth century LC texts.

Let us turn, now, to the relativization of DOs. In PC the situation is simple: Ø Rel. In BB, however, the relative pronouns *ke* and *ki* may be used as well as the more usual Ø Rel strategy. While this feature, too,

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[116] The fact that in Yoruba (speakers of which were present in the crucial 'jelling' stage of PC's development) relative clauses 'present the head to the left, and introduce the restricting clause by the invariable particle *ti*...' (Keenan and Comrie 1979: 349), is also worth noting. While the form is the same, however, its function is not identical to that of PC. In Yoruba *ti* may be used to mark SU, DO, or GEN relativization, IOs and other obliques are handled by a serial verb construction (Keenan and Comrie 1979: 349, cf. also Oyèláràn 1993). Thus while the argument for convergence seems strong on the basis of lexical correlation, the hypothesis is weakened by the fact that, unlike Yoruba, PC does not use *ti* to mark DOs.

initially appears attributable to decreolization, again its usage in the nineteenth century texts precludes this.

The other important difference between between PC and BB is the fact that PC has only one strategy for relativization on prepositional objects (Ø Rel, prepositions stranded) while BB has two (Ø Rel, prepositions stranded and PREP + ki).

A pattern, therefore, seems to be emerging. In PC there are a number of variant forms of a relative clause subordinator which appear only in SU position. DOs and all other obliques are unmarked (i.e. Ø Rel).[117] PC, then, does not appear to have relative pronouns. BB, on the other hand, uses *ki* for SU, *Ø/ke* for DO, and *ki* (optional) for PREP. BB, then, does have relative pronouns which are marked for case.

The differences noted above in the respective relativization systems of PC and BB, while perhaps of a minor nature, are real. They may therefore be added to the list of differing features in PC and BB as compiled by Klingler (1992: 493). These are:

1) The near total absence of grammatical gender in PC as opposed to its usage in BB.

2) The more systematic use of postposed definite determiners (especially plural [je]) in PC.

3) A lesser tendency in PC to mark nonspecific nouns with a determiner than in BB.

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[117] The exception is relativization on the genitive which is marked by *ki*. As this is very rare (only one attestation) it is ignored here.

4) A greater tendency for nouns to occur with agglutinated [la] and [le] in PC.

5) The fact that while both PC and BB have numerous verbs with both a long and short form, the two varieties differ in their use of these forms. In BB the long and short forms appear in complementary distribution determined by grammatical context while in PC there is a significant amount of free variation in their use.

6) The frequent use of the *pase* comparitive construction in PC in addition to the more French-like construction with *ke* as opposed to the appearance of only the latter in BB.

Klingler (1992: 494) also notes the existence of features peculiar to PC, which set it apart not only from BB but from other French Creoles.

1) The unusually high number of agglutinated nouns for a French-based Creole of the Americas.

2) The usage of the element [le] in agglutination, disproving the previously held view that this form was limited to the Indian Ocean.

3) The TA progressive marker *e*.

An in-depth examination of other areas of grammar (in a similar vein to that of relative clauses above), may reveal more differences between the two varieties of Creole spoken in PC and BB.

While the lack of early PC texts precludes any discussion as to whether patterns of relativization emerged in the formative period of MC

(as is the case in Tayo, Réunion, and Mauritius v. Corne, in press, a and b), the appearace of a subject relativizer in a 1748 textual fragment of the (pre) Creole suggests that this was probably the case. The subject relativizer *ti*, in particular, which may be attributed to Laurentian and/or Yoruba, certainly points in this direction.

Similarly, while the nineteenth century LC texts indicate that the relativization patterns in BB are not the result of recent decreolization but date back to at least the 1850s, the time depth involved (most texts were written at least 80 years after the arrival of the Acadians) preempts any conclusions as to whether these features were present from inception.

On the basis of linguistic evidence which is admittedly rather incomplete and, in the case of the nineteenth century texts, quite suspect,[118] one cannot draw any definitive conclusions with respect to the hypothesis that Creole had two different starting points in Louisiana. The differences between the two, however, many of which support Klingler's (1992: 493) claim that PC is of a more 'basilectal' nature than BB, tend to suggest that PC represents an isolated descendant of early MC.

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[118] The limited data bases for both PC and BB (the only sources being Klingler's 1992 grammatical sketch for PC and Neumann's 1985 grammar and texts for BB) do not provide sufficient information upon which conclusions may be drawn about the language. The nineteenth century texts,too, must be treated with caution as very little is known about the background of many of their authors' save for the fact that they were all White Francophones.

8. CONCLUSION

The detailed examination of the socio-demographic history of Louisiana (chapters 2 and 4) teamed with the comparative study of relative clause constructions (chapters 6 and 7) presented in this thesis has led to the formulation of a number of hypotheses/conclusions regarding Creole genesis in Louisiana:

1) That a Creole language did emerge and 'jell' *in situ* in the period 1719-1770.

2) That this Creole was a new creation representing a solution to the problem of interethnic communication.

3) That Senegambian and Kwa languages as well as the emergent local variety of French provided the principal inputs into the creation of this language.

4) That this language (or variants of) was spoken in the areas of European and slave settlement, primarily along the Mississippi River (hence its appellation Mississippi Creole), and in some of the Gulf Coast settlements.

5) That the widespread use of Creole to the west of the Atchafalaya River, an area unsettled until the 1760s, represented a separate, or at least semi-separate genesis.

6) That two of the major contributers to this language (Tèche Creole) were:

a) the Creole-speaking slaves who arrived in the area *en masse* at the turn of the nineteenth century, and b) the Cajun peasants who maintained close contact (both at work and in the social domain) with the slaves.

7) That the differences displayed in the relativization strategies of PC and BB reflect their respective semi-separate geneses.

8) That relativization strategies in BB have remained stable since the nineteenth century and that their more 'acrolectal' appearance is not the result of recent decreolization.

The emergence of a Creole language in Louisiana has demonstrated the danger of the elaboration of general theories of creolization based on one or two case studies. It has been shown that only by studying the socio-demograpic histories of individual Creolophone areas can any predictions be made as to the likelihood of Creole genesis.
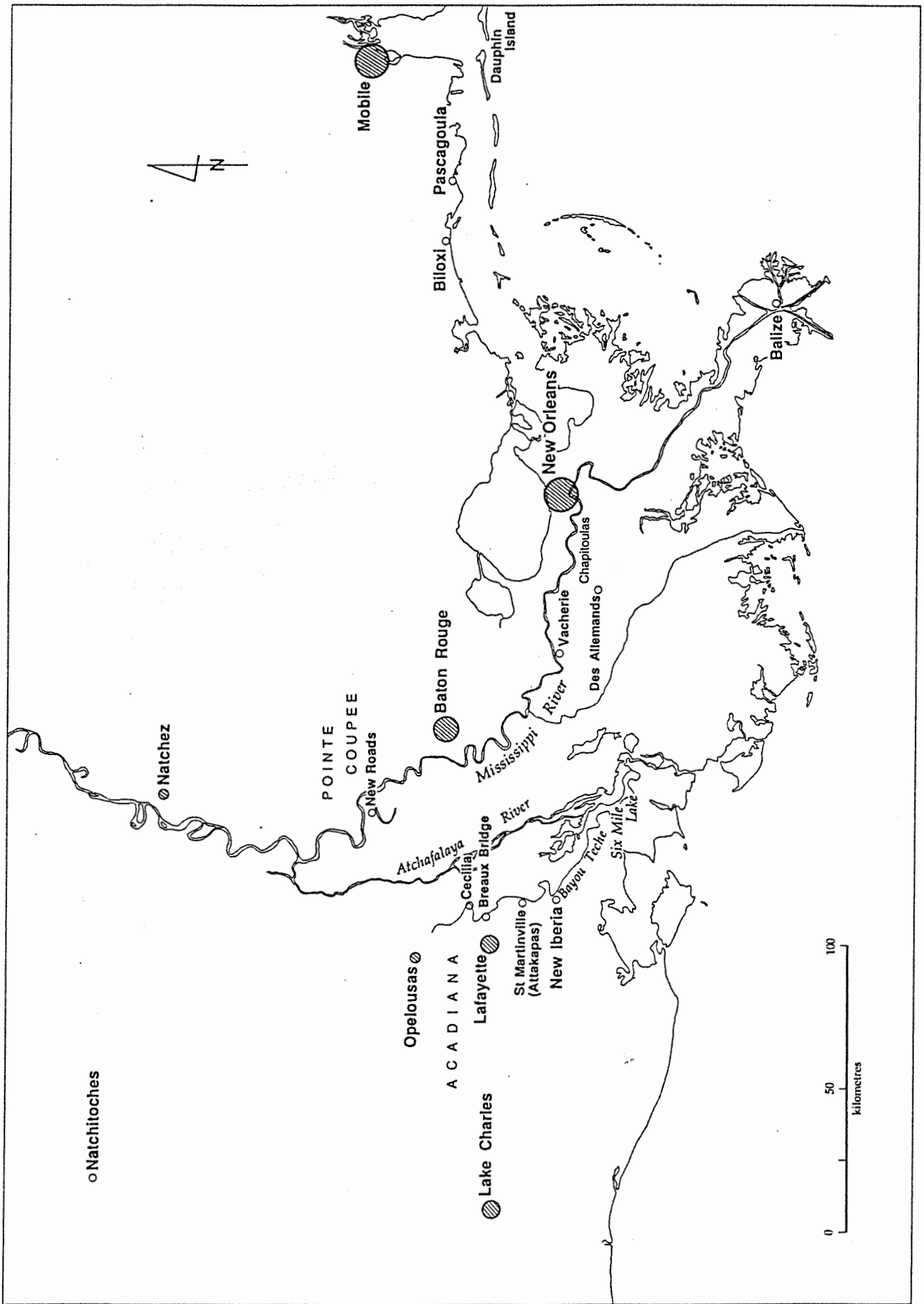
APPENDIX. Figure1. Colonial Louisiana - places named in the text.

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