

# Southern Bahamian: Transported African American Vernacular English or Transported Gullah?

**Stephanie Hackert**  
University of Augsburg<sup>1</sup>

**John A. Holm**  
University of Coimbra

---

## ABSTRACT

The relationship between Bahamian Creole English (BahCE) and Gullah and their historical connection with African American Vernacular English (AAVE) have long been a matter of dispute. In the controversy about the putative creole origins of AAVE, it was long thought that Gullah was the only remnant of a once much more widespread North American Plantation Creole and southern BahCE constituted a diaspora variety of the latter. If, however, as argued in the 1990s, AAVE never was a creole itself, whence the creole nature of southern BahCE? This paper examines the settlement history of the Bahamas and the American South to argue that BahCE and Gullah are indeed closely related, so closely in fact, that southern BahCE must be regarded as a diaspora variety of the latter rather than of AAVE.

---

## INTRODUCTION

Lexical and syntactic studies of Bahamian Creole English (Holm, 1982; Shilling, 1977) led Holm (1983) to conclude that on southern Bahamian islands such as Exuma, it was mainland African American Vernacular

English (AAVE) spoken by the slaves brought in by Loyalists after the Revolutionary War that predominated over the variety that had developed largely on the northern Bahamian islands. This ascendancy developed "...for the simple reason that it had

---

<sup>1</sup> Stephanie Hackert, Applied English Linguistics, University of Augsburg, Germany.

**E-mail:** stephanie.hackert@phil.uni-augsburg.de

John A. Holm, University of Coimbra, Portugal

**E-mail:** jholm@mail.telepac.pt

**Acknowledgements:** An earlier draft of this article benefited from the comments of Katherine Green, Salikoko Mufwene, Edgar Schneider and Donald Winford, whom we would like to thank here, while noting that responsibility for any remaining shortcomings is solely our own. Hackert would also like to acknowledge her indebtedness to the University of Heidelberg's Graduiertenkolleg "Dynamics of non-standard varieties" and the German Academic Exchange Service for supporting her fieldwork in the Bahamas.

**Epilogue:** This article was originally presented at a meeting of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics in London in 1997. For a number of years afterwards, it was scheduled for publication in a volume which never appeared. Its publication now obviously follows in the wake of a growing body of research on the origins of AAVE and earlier Bahamian Creole English, all of which, however, has confirmed the conclusions reached here. In particular Hackert and Huber (2007), which draws on historical and linguistic data, including a statistical analysis of 253 phonological, lexical, and grammatical features found in eight Atlantic English creoles, shows that Gullah and southern Bahamian Creole English are so closely related that the latter must be considered a diaspora variety not of AAVE but of Gullah.

**How to cite this article in APA style (7th ed.):** Hackert, S., & Holm, J. A. (2009). Southern Bahamian: Transported African American Vernacular English or transported Gullah? *The College of The Bahamas Research Journal*, 15, 12-21. <https://doi.org/10.15362/ijbs.v15i0.115>

little real competition. Most Loyalists from the American South went directly to the largely unsettled islands to the southeast to set up cotton plantations” (p. 307).

Contrasting the modern results of this emigration in the 1780s to that of a later group of American Blacks who emigrated to the Dominican Republic's Samaná peninsula after 1820, Holm (1989) concluded that: “Decreolization [of AAVE in the United States] would appear to have begun during this same time span since the descendants of the emigrants to the Bahamas speak creolized English while those in Samaná do not” (p. 501).

Although he went on to note that various factors could skew this kind of dating (e.g. the socioeconomic and educational level of the emigrants as well as the influence of local speech in their new countries), a time-line had been suggested for the mechanism that changed AAVE from a creole to a post-creole.

But what if AAVE had never been a creole? After listening to tape recordings of the speech of former American slaves, Holm (1991) became convinced that decreolization alone could not account for the present structure of AAVE. Even taking into account that their speech may have shifted considerably between their childhood in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century and the time they were recorded in the 1930s and later, it was clear that this was a variety of English with some creole features rather than a variety of creole with some English features. He had to conclude that:

The present study supports the view that the language of the ex-slaves, like earlier attestations of the speech of Blacks in the American South, indicates in the light of the relevant sociohistorical and demographic data discussed above that the language of Blacks born in North America (outside

of the Gullah area) was from its very beginning a semi-creole representing a compromise between the creole of slaves imported from the West Indies and the regional speech of British settlers. While American Black English has certainly undergone decreolization over the past 300 years in the sense that it has replaced many of its original creole features with those of English, this is not actually evidence that American Black English itself ever constituted an autonomous creole system. (Holm, 1991, p. 247)

A somewhat similar position has been taken by Mufwene, who has suggested that the process that produced AAVE may have been “half-creolization” rather than decreolization (1987), and that the variety “may simply have resulted from a less extensive restructuring than that which produced Gullah” (2001, p. 316). Gullah, spoken in the coastal lowlands of South Carolina and Georgia, has long been recognized as a creolized variety of English. Winford (1997, 1998) traces the social and demographic histories of Virginia and the Carolinas from the 17<sup>th</sup> century and compares key structures in Gullah, AAVE and Southern White Vernacular English, concluding that “AAVE was never itself a creole, but it was created by Africans, and bears the distinctive marks of that creation” (p. 140).

If 18<sup>th</sup> century AAVE was not a creole, then why is the language of the southern Bahamian islands a creole? The present study examines historical evidence which indicates that this resulted from these islands having been populated predominantly by speakers of Gullah rather than AAVE.

### **BAHAMIAN VERNACULAR ENGLISH BEFORE 1780**

Columbus first set foot in the New World on the Bahamian island of San Salvador in 1492, but the Spanish were not interested in settling the Bahamas. The islands, built up from coral

reefs with thin soil and surrounded by waters often treacherously shallow for ships, offered neither agricultural nor mineral wealth. After depopulating the islands by carrying off their Arawakan-speaking Lucayan inhabitants to work the gold mines of Hispaniola in the early 1500s, the Spaniards abandoned the Bahamas. The islands remained virtually unpopulated until the advent of the British in the following century. In 1648 some seventy religious dissenters from Bermuda established an enduring colony on the Bahamian island of Eleuthera.

In 1656 "some troublesome slaves and native Bermudians and all the free Negroes" were sent from Bermuda to Eleuthera (Albury, 1975, p. 45). In the 1660s other Bermudians, mainly seamen and farmers, began to settle the present site of Nassau on New Providence Island. In 1670 these two northerly islands' combined population was 500; about 60% were White and 40% Black (Craton, 1962, p. 189). In this year Charles II granted the Lords Proprietors of Carolina on the mainland a patent that included the Bahama Islands, creating a single colony that endured as such for the next half century. In the same year Charleston, in what is now South Carolina, began to be settled by Whites and their slaves from Barbados (Wood, 1974, pp. 24-25). There was considerable commerce between the Bahamas and the mainland (Albury, 1975, p. 90), but it is unclear how many settlers and slaves arrived in the Bahamas via Carolina, although it is known that some slaves came from Jamaica, Barbados, Hispaniola and West Africa (Saunders, 1985, p. 3).

Because of its poor soil, the Bahamas never developed the large sugar plantations found elsewhere. Its inhabitants, White and Black, worked relatively closely together to make their living from small farms or the sea. In 1784, long after the White population of most British and French islands of the Caribbean had become a tiny fraction of the total, Whites

still made up a full 43% of the Bahamas' population. Nearly all of the population lived on the northerly islands of New Providence, Eleuthera, and Harbour Island; in 1768 it was estimated that the more southerly islands of Exuma and Cat Island were inhabited by a total of only 30 people (Saunders, 1985, p. 3).

Table 1  
Population of the Bahamas by race, 1670-1783

	1670	1721	1734	1773	1783
Whites	300 (60%)	756 (73%)	810 (59%)	1,952 (47%)	1,700 (43%)
Blacks	200 (40%)	275 (27%)	568 (41%)	2,191 (53%)	2,300 (57%)
Total	500	1,031	1,378	4,143	4,000

*Note.* Adapted from *History of the Bahamas* (p. 189), by M. Craton, 1962, London: Collins and *Slavery in the Bahamas, 1648-1838* (1-5, 15) by G. Saunders, 1985, Nassau: Nassau Guardian.

Since there is no known counterevidence to Bickerton's assertion that creolization occurs only "in a population where not more than 20 percent were native speakers of the dominant language" (1981, p. 4), it is possible that a fully creolized variety of English did not develop in the Bahamas itself before 1780, especially in view of the close working relationship between White and Black Bahamians during the first century of British colonization. It does remain likely, however, that slaves coming from areas where restructured English was spoken (e.g. Africa and the West Indies) brought creole features in their speech that became part of Bahamian.

#### GULLAH BEFORE 1780

Charleston, first settled in 1670, had some 800 British settlers and 300 slaves by 1672. According to Wood (1974, pp. 24-25), almost half the Whites and more than half the Blacks came from Barbados, where the spread of large sugar plantations was pushing small farmers off their land and forcing them to emigrate. Other settlers included French

Huguenots and religious dissenters from the British Isles and from other colonies in British North America (Baptists, Quakers and Catholics), as well as settlers from Bermuda, the Bahamas, the Leeward Islands and Jamaica (Wood, 1974, pp. 24-25; Joyner, 1984, p. 13).

During the first years of settlement the colonists traded with the American Indians for deerskins and raised livestock, sending meat to Barbados in exchange for slaves and sugar. By the 1690s it became clear that the low country was suitable for raising rice, for which there was a growing market in southern

Europe and the Caribbean. Although the British settlers had no experience in cultivating rice, their slaves did since it had long been grown in various parts of Africa. The intensive labor needed for its cultivation led to a great increase in the importation of slaves: by 1708 the colony's population of 8,000 was equally divided between Whites and Blacks, but by 1740 there were 40,000 slaves as opposed to only 20,000 Whites (Joyner, 1984, pp. 143-152). The proportion of inhabitants of American Indian, European and African ancestry underwent the following shifts:

Table 2  
Estimated population of South Carolina, 1685-1775

	1685	1700	1715	1730	1745	1760	1775
<b>Total</b>	11,900	14,100	19,200	33,400	62,400	97,500	179,400
<b>American Indian</b>	84%	53%	27%	5%	2%	1%	0.3%
<b>White</b>	12%	27%	27%	29%	33%	40%	40%
<b>Black</b>	4%	20%	45%	65%	65%	59%	60%

*Note.* Adapted from *Powhatan's mantle: Indians in the colonial Southeast* (p. 38), by P. H. Wood, 1989, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press and from "On the origins of African American Vernacular English: A creolist perspective, part 1: the sociohistorical background" by D. Winford, 1997, *Diachronica*, 14(2), p. 323.

These figures suggest that during the first generation of colonization, Blacks made up a small minority who either learned English as a second language through relatively close contact with native speakers under frontier conditions, or else arrived from Barbados or elsewhere in the British West Indies with some knowledge of Creole English. In the next generations, however, the Black population (coming increasingly straight from Africa with little or no knowledge of English or Creole) became the majority, leaving White native speakers a minority of about a third to two-fifths of the population.

Although this might seem comparable to the Bahamian population in 1783 (58% Black and 42% White), it must be remembered that the above figures are for all of South Carolina, not just the coastal low country, where the

concentration of Blacks was much higher. Segregation was instituted in South Carolina in 1720 after it was separated from the Bahamas and North Carolina, and a 1726 survey of two low-country parishes indicated that two-thirds of the slaves lived on plantations, defined as having twenty-five to a hundred hands (Wood, 1974, p. 160). The social and linguistic relations on such plantations had to differ considerably from those between Black and White Bahamians working together on small farms or at sea. Thus, quite apart from the continuing existence of creolized English in Gullah country today, the above historical social and demographic data support the development of a creole continuum in this area during the 18th century, albeit one that developed in a society with a relatively high percentage of

native speakers of English, keeping the speech of most Creole speakers quite mesolectal in comparison to varieties such as Jamaican or Sranan.

### AAVE BEFORE 1780

The cradle of AAVE's development was Virginia, the first and most populous colony of the colonial South. Although Africans were first brought into Virginia in 1619, they did not arrive in considerable numbers until 1680, making up 6% of the colony's population in 1685 and 9% in 1700. Until this period Blacks were a small minority in relatively close contact with White indentured servants, making it likely that the Blacks had enough access to the English of native speakers to learn it through normal second language acquisition.

As tobacco farming spread during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the importation of slaves grew and the proportion of Blacks increased from

22% in 1715 to 40% in 1760. Thus later newcomers were less likely to have as much access to native-speaker models of the target language, but Whites still made up a substantial majority of the population.

A similar situation prevailed in North Carolina, where the White population remained at about 75% from 1715 to 1775 (Wood, 1974). Thus the maximum percentage of native speakers associated with full creolization was always greatly exceeded in most of the old South, leading to the sociolinguistic circumstances described by Reinecke: "In several instances the slaves were so situated among a majority or a large minority of Whites (and there were other reasons as well for the result), that they, or rather their creole children, learned the common language, not a creole dialect ... This happened in ... the southern United States in general" (1937, p. 61).

Table 3  
Estimated population of (East) Virginia, 1685-1775

	1685	1700	1715	1730	1745	1760	1775
Total	43,600	63,500	96,300	153,900	234,200	327,600	466,200
American Indian	7%	3%	1%	0.6%	0.3%	0.1%	
White	87%	88%	77%	67%	63%	60%	60%
Black	6%	9%	22%	32%	36%	40%	40%

*Note.* Adapted from *Powhatan's mantle: Indians in the colonial Southeast* (p. 38), by P. H. Wood, 1989, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press and from "On the origins of African American Vernacular English: A creolist perspective, part 1: the sociohistorical background" by D. Winford, 1997, *Diachronica*, 14(2), p. 320.

Pockets of greater restructuring may have developed in localities with demographics more similar to those in South Carolina's low country, as Schneider (1989) suggests, making AAVE the "...product of a few presumably independent creolization processes in localities with an exceptionally dense Black population ... with a certain degree of leveling, mixture and perhaps loss or even spreading of such forms in the post-emancipation period" (1989, p. 278).

However, our present understanding of what

is required for full creolization to take place indicates that this is not what happened to AAVE in most parts of the American South.

On the other hand, it has become clear that the features which modern AAVE shares with Caribbean varieties of Creole English but not with Southern White Vernacular English cannot all be explained through the kind of borrowing associated with language contact, i.e. between a less restructured AAVE and more restructured varieties brought in by

Pidgin English speakers from Africa or Creole English speakers from the Caribbean or individuals from the Gullah country.

While this could explain lexical borrowings (even ones with syntactic implications, e.g. the complementizer *say*), it is doubtful that it could explain systemic differences like zero copulas (although these can occur in some White varieties of Southern English, apparently through borrowing from AAVE). The only remaining explanation for the origin of such features is that AAVE is the result of English having undergone a less extensive degree of restructuring than that which led to Gullah or the English-based creoles of the Caribbean and Suriname, i.e. having undergone semi-creolization as defined by Holm (1988, 1992), Thomason and Kaufman (1988), Mello (1997) and Green (1997). Such limited restructuring would still have allowed for both inflectional simplification and the retention of certain substrate features such as a correlation between the form of the copula and its following syntactic environment (Holm, 1984).

#### **BAHAMIAN VERNACULAR ENGLISH AFTER 1780**

Despite the severing of political ties between the Bahamas and the mainland after the United States declared its independence in 1776, cultural and linguistic affinities were actually strengthened by the massive influx of Loyalists after 1783.

Given the small size of the Bahamas' population before 1783 (one fiftieth the size of South Carolina's), profound demographic and linguistic changes could be expected from the arrival of the mainlanders and their slaves.

About 1,000 Loyalists came directly from New York (Albury, 1975, p. 12). These Whites, largely officers and merchants and their families, settled in and around the capital of Nassau on New Providence and on other northern islands like Abaco. Durrell (1972) describes the speech of today's White

Abaconians as evocative of that of 18<sup>th</sup> century New Englanders, e.g. in their use of the archaic pronoun *ye* and regionalisms such as *lotting* 'planning' (Holm, 1982; Wentworth, 1944).

**Table 4**  
**Population of the Bahamas by race, 1784-87**

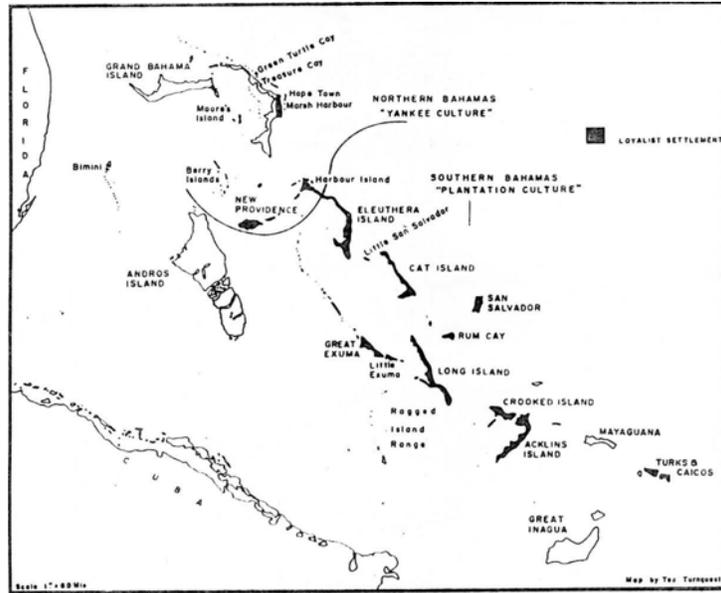
	1784	1786	1787
Whites	1,700 (43%)	2,900 (33%)	3,300 (29%)
Blacks	2,300 (57%)	5,900 (67%)	8,000 (71%)
Total	4,000	8,800	11,300

*Note.* Adapted from *Slavery in the Bahamas, 1648-1838* (p. 1-5, 15) by G. Saunders, 1985, Nassau: Nassau Guardian.

Another group of Loyalists were from the American South; the planters among them tended to take their families and slaves directly to the largely unsettled islands to the south and east of New Providence, where the British government granted them lands. There is substantial evidence that their slaves were more often speakers of Gullah rather than AAVE. Florida, which Britain had gained from Spain in 1763, remained loyal during the American war of independence, and many Southern Loyalists fled there when their side lost the war. Of the 13,000 refugees who arrived in East Florida in 1782, "over 8,000, including nearly 5,000 slaves, had come from 'Carolina'" (Lambert, 1987, p. 260). Moreover, "Virtually all of the Blacks and a substantial majority of the Whites who came from 'Carolina' were South Carolinians" (Lambert, 1987, p. 260). A considerable number of the remaining Loyalists were from neighbouring Georgia, where Gullah had spread along the coast. When Florida was returned to Spain in 1783, "The largest group, 3,247 (of whom over 2,200 were Black), went to the Bahamas" rather than other parts of the British Empire (Lambert, 1987, p. 260). "Those interested in commercial agriculture took up lands on Exuma, Abaco, and Cat islands, several of the 'out islands' that had been sparsely settled until this time"

(Lambert, 1987, p. 207), where they set about raising "cotton of the sea-island variety" (Lambert, 1987, p. 207). It is documented that specific estates were set up by South Carolinians, such as that of John Kelsall on

Little Exuma (Craton & Saunders, 1992, p. 233) or had slaves likely to have come from South Carolina, such as that of Denys Rolle on Exuma, who brought 140 slaves from East Florida in 1783 (Saunders, 1983, p. 21).



The Bahamas, showing Loyalist settlements between 1783 and 1788

Note. From *Bahamian loyalists and their slaves*. (p. 8) by G. Saunders, 1983, London: Macmillan Caribbean. Reprinted with permission of the author.

The following table indicates the dramatic demographic changes this immigration brought about on particular islands:

Table 5  
Old vs. new slaves on various Bahamian islands, 1788

	Old	New	Total	% New
New Providence	1,024	1,264	2,288	55%
Long Island	306	476	782	61%
Andros	56	132	188	70%
Exuma	75	679	754	90%
Cat Island	16	442	458	97%
Crooked Island	--	357	357	100%

Note. Adapted from *Slavery in the Bahamas, 1648-1838* (p. 12-13) by G. Saunders, 1985, Nassau: Nassau Guardian.

Not included are islands that received no new slaves (Eleuthera, Harbour Island), northern islands like Abaco, or southern islands not

included in the 1788 survey (e.g. Inagua). Andros should also be excluded on the grounds that "the bulk of its original settlers ... migrated to the island from the Mosquito Coast in 1783" (Parsons, 1918, p. ix) and can therefore be presumed to have been speakers of Miskito Coast Creole English (Holm, 1978) rather than Gullah. On New Providence and Long Island it is unclear what sociolinguistic forces prevailed in the eventual blending of what must have been two distinct vernacular varieties in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, but it is likely that elements of the speech of both groups survive in the folk speech of the two islands today. However, this leaves three southern islands that received all or almost all of their slave population during the loyalist influx: Exuma, Cat Island and Crooked Island. On these islands it is certain that the mainland varieties predominated in that they had no real

competition, especially after most Whites left these islands. Cotton exhausted the thin soil, and then insects destroyed what was left of the Bahamian cotton industry by the early 1800s. Most of the estate owners were ruined financially and gradually abandoned their plantations, leaving their slaves to fend for themselves in virtual freedom.

As seen above, there is substantial indication that most of the new slaves came from South Carolina or Georgia and were speakers of Gullah rather than AAVE. Evidence of the American origin of their speech can be found in the occurrence of regional words on these islands that are also found in Gullah and in the American South generally, but which have not been attested in the English creoles of the Caribbean proper, e.g. *hoe-cake*: 'cornmeal cake'; *gutlin*: 'greedy'; *sperrit*: 'ghost'; *Hoppin' John*: 'beans and rice'; and *ninny*: 'breast' (Holm, 1982, p. v). Of course people travel, bringing with them their words and turns of phrase. Bahamians have long been skilled seamen, and there has been at least as much internal migration within the Bahamas as there has within the United States. Still, the country folk's speech is anything but uniform: different islands are well known among Bahamians for their distinctive speech, as attested by remarks like "Cat Island people does talk bad."

### CONCLUSIONS

We can conclude that the development of Bahamian, Gullah and AAVE did not involve the restructuring of English to as great an extent as did the development of creoles like Sranan and Jamaican, and that the most likely cause for this was the relatively high proportion of native speakers of English (and probably their more frequent linguistic interaction with non-native speakers) as the three North American varieties evolved. Both creole-influenced dialect of English (AAVE) and an English-influenced variety of creole (Gullah) were brought into contact with a variety probably somewhere between the two

(Bahamian) when the Loyalists brought their slaves to the Bahamas in the 1780s. While this contact surely affected the vernacular speech of all the islands, historical and linguistic evidence indicates that it was Gullah that predominated on Exuma, Cat Island and Crooked Island, which received 90 to 100% of their slave population from the North American mainland, especially South Carolina and Georgia.

Thus, the creole nature of the folk speech on these southern Bahamian islands should not be interpreted as evidence that AAVE had been fully creolized on the mainland before 1780 (and later decreolized) since the language that was brought there was in all likelihood 18<sup>th</sup> century Gullah rather than 18<sup>th</sup> century AAVE. This new interpretation undermines the most compelling evidence we knew of to support the hypothesis that AAVE was ever fully creolized, and it provides further indication that AAVE—from its beginning—was the product of semi-creolization.

As a new generation of linguists continues to describe the vernacular speech of the Bahamas (e.g. Albury, 1981; Rafi, 1983; Lawlor, 1986, 1988; Donnelly, 1992; Seymour, 1995; McPhee, 2003; Hackert, 2004; Reaser, 2004), it bears repeating that the histories of Bahamian, Gullah and AAVE are interrelated in fundamental ways, and closer study of each variety promises to cast new light on the structure and development of the other two.

## REFERENCES

- Albury, A. F. (1981). *The status of the -ed suffix in Black Bahamian English*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of London, University College, England.
- Albury, P. (1975). *The story of the Bahamas*. London: Macmillan Caribbean.
- Bickerton, D. (1981). *Roots of language*. Ann Arbor, MI: Karoma.
- Craton, M. (1962). *History of the Bahamas*. London: Collins.
- Craton, M., & Saunders, G. (1992). *Islanders in the stream: A history of the Bahamian people*. (Vol. 1). Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Donnelly, J. (1992). *Adjectives as stative, process and causative verbs in Bahamian Creole English*. Paper presented at the meeting of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics, Barbados.
- Durrell, Z. (1972). *The innocent island: Abaco in the Bahamas*. Kennebunkport, ME: Durrell Publications.
- Green, K. R. (1997). Nonstandard Dominican Spanish: Evidence of partial restructuring. (Doctoral dissertation, City University of New York, 1997). *Dissertation Abstracts International*, A 58(01), 147.
- Hackert, S. (2004). *Urban Bahamian Creole: System and variation*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Hackert, S., & Huber, M. (2007). Gullah in the diaspora: Historical and linguistic evidence from the Bahamas. *Diachronica*, 24(2), 279-325.
- Holm, J. A. (1978). The Creole English of Nicaragua's Miskito Coast: Its sociolinguistic history and a comparative study of its lexicon and syntax. (Doctoral dissertation, University of London, University College, 1978). *Dissertation Abstracts International*, A 42(11), 4816.
- Holm, J. (with Shilling, A. W.). (1982). *Dictionary of Bahamian English*. Cold Spring, NY: Lexik House.
- Holm, J. A. (1983). On the relationship of Gullah and Bahamian. *American Speech*, 58(4), 302-318.
- Holm, J. A. (1984). Variability of the copula in Black English and its creole kin. *American Speech*, 59(1), 291-309.
- Holm, J. A. (1988-1989). *Pidgins and Creoles*. (Vols. 1-2). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Holm, J. (1991). The Atlantic creoles and the language of the ex-slave recordings. In G. Bailey, N. Maynor & P. Cukor-Avila (Eds.), *The emergence of Black English: Texts and commentary* (pp. 231-247). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Holm, J. (1992). *A theoretical model for semi-creolization*. Paper presented at the meeting of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics, Barbados.
- Joyner, C. (1984). *Down by the riverside: A South Carolina slave community*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Lambert, R. (1987). *South Carolina Loyalists in the American revolution*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.
- Lawlor, A. (1986). *An investigation in progress: Past forms and their functions in Bahamian English*. Paper presented at the meeting of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics, Trinidad.
- Lawlor, A. (1988). *Bahamian English or Bahamian Creole? A sociolinguistic investigation*. Paper presented at the meeting of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics, Bahamas.
- McPhee, H. (2003). The grammatical features of TMA auxiliaries in Bahamian Creole. In M. Aceto & J. P. Williams, (Eds.), *Contact Englishes of the Eastern Caribbean* (pp. 29-49). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Mello, H. R. De. (1997). The genesis and development of Brazilian vernacular Portuguese. (Doctoral dissertation, City University of New York, 1997). *Dissertation Abstracts International*, A58(01), 149.
- Mufwene, S. S. (1987). Language variety in the South: Perspectives in Black and White edited by Michael B. Montgomery and Guy Bailey. [Review of the book]. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 2, 93-110.

- Mufwene, S. S. (2001). African-American English. In J. Algeo (Ed.). *Cambridge History of the English Language: Vol. 6: English in North America* (pp. 291-324). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Parsons, E. C. (1918). *Folk-tales of Andros Island, Bahamas*. Lancaster, PA: American Folk-lore Society.
- Rafi, I. F. (1983). *A morphological and syntactic analysis of an Eleuthera, Bahamas idiolect*. Unpublished master's thesis, Atlanta University, Atlanta, GA.
- Reaser, J. (2004). A quantitative sociolinguistic analysis of Bahamian copula absence: Morphosyntactic evidence from Abaco Island, The Bahamas. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 19(1), 1-40.
- Reinecke, J. (1937). Marginal languages: A sociological survey of the creole languages and trade jargons. (Doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1997). *Dissertation Abstracts International* A28(08), 3170.
- Saunders, G. (1983). *Bahamian Loyalists and their slaves*. London: Macmillan Caribbean.
- Saunders, G. (1985). *Slavery in the Bahamas, 1648-1838*. Nassau: The Nassau Guardian.
- Schneider, E. W. (1989). *American earlier Black English*. Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press.
- Seymour, K. C. N. (1995). *The decreolization of Bahamian English: A sociolinguistic study*. Unpublished master's thesis, Georgetown University, Washington, DC.
- Shilling, A. (1977). Some non-standard features of Bahamian dialect syntax. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Hawai'i, 1977). *Dissertation Abstracts International*, A39(08), 4923.
- Thomason, S. G., & Kaufman, T. (1988). *Language contact, creolization and genetic linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Wentworth, H. (1944). *American dialect dictionary*. New York: Crowell.
- Winford, D. (1997). On the origins of African American Vernacular English: A creolist perspective. Part I: The sociohistorical background. *Diachronica*, 14(2), 305-344.
- Winford, D. (1998). On the origins of African American Vernacular English: A creolist perspective. Part II: Linguistic features. *Diachronica*, 15(1), 99-154.
- Wood, P. H. (1974). *Black majority: Negroes in colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono rebellion*. New York: Knopf.
- Wood, P. H. (1989). The changing population of the colonial South: An overview by race and region, 1685-1790. In P. H. Wood, G. A. Waselkov & M. T. Hatley (Eds.), *Powhatan's mantle: Indians in the colonial Southeast* (pp. 35-103). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.