d. Refereed Scholarly Articles:

5. 1980b. “‘Prototype' and 'kin-class’.” *Anthropological Linguistics* 22.29-41.
    Reprinted in abridged version in *the legacy of Ibo landing*, ed. by Marquetta Goodwine and the Clarity Press Gullah Project, 175-183. Clarity Press.
    Reprinted with very minor improvements from Mufwene (2005a, in *Gene, Sprachen, und ihre Evolution*, ed. by Gunther Hauska)
43. 2006b. “Grammaticization is part of the development of creoles.” *Papia* 16.5-31.