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Focus on Creolist: Philip Baker

FOCUS ON CREOLIST: PHILIP BAKER

by Gertrud Aub-Buscher
University of Hull

Philip Baker came to Creole studies almost by accident. After school in Liverpool, he trained not as a linguist but as an accountant, and by the early sixties he had moved on into the media. He edited films for television and the cinema (you will find his name in the small print of the credits for the Peter Sellers film Waltz of the Toreadors and Lindsay Anderson's This Sporting Life), an activity which he did not wholly abandon until the 1990s. In 1965-6 his work took him to Mauritius for a stint with the Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation. That experience was to have a profound influence on his life and career. He has continued to spend time in the region; for example in 1966-67, he founded and edited the weekly Sunday Express, and in the early seventies, at the invitation of the International Extension College, he was involved in the establishment and direction of a pioneering overseas distance education unit, the Mauritius College of the Air.

Phillip Baker

The majority of his trips to the Indian Ocean have, however, been prompted by his interest in the Frenchlexifier Creole spoken around him. It caught his attention from the start, and he has continued to work on its grammar and lexicon ever since. His first article on the subject appeared in 1969, and was followed in 1972 by Kreol, A description of Mauritian Creole, the first comprehensive study of the language to be published since Baissac's Etude sur le patois créole mauricien of 1880. Written before he had any formal training

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in linguistics, it took account of current linguistic theory, and is still well regarded today. Mauritian Creole was to be the focus of both the dissertation for his University of York BPhil/MA in 1976 and of his 1982 PhD thesis for the University of London School of Oriental and African Studies. He has published on its verbal system, reduplication, grammaticalization, proverbs and systems of orthography, and written extensively on its origins (see the publications list below). The monumental Diksyoner kreol morisyen, Dictionary of Mauritian Creole. Dictionnaire du créole mauricien, he prepared in collaboration with Vinesh Y Hookoomsing, is a model of lexicography, giving glosses in English and French, as well as detailed and meticulously researched information on etymology and usage. In addition to academic publications, his output has also included practical courses on or in Creole: a correspondence course in Creole, and two booklets on rabbitkeeping, containing the same Creole text but in two different orthographies.

If he is one of the leading authorities on Mauritian Creole, his interest has not been confined to that, but has spread in ever widening circles. He has examined the languages which surround mauricien geographically or linguistically – Mauritian Bhojpuri and the other French-lexifier Creoles of the Indian Ocean and further afield. He has explored English-lexicon contact languages in the Pacific, Chinese Pidgin English and Cochin Creole Portuguese, and was the driving spirit behind the workshop and book (1999a) which firmly put Kittitian on the creolist map. His research on African languages has gone well beyond what is needed to establish possible inputs into Creoles, and more recently he has been investigating the language of the Vedda people of Sri Lanka. All his studies have been based on detailed research in the field and scrupulous consideration of the published literature and archival material.

The range and quality of his descriptive work would be enough to secure him a prominent place in the world of creolistics. However, he is also one of its most creative and original thinkers. Signs of this were evident early in his creolist career: not many student papers are quoted in standard academic textbooks as is his exam-option paper on 'The problem of variability with special reference to Derek Bickerton's study of Guyanese English', cited in John Holm's An introduction to pidgins and creoles (Cambridge University Press, 2000, p 56). His exploration of the process of creolization has been groundbreaking: as Robert Le Page says in the preface to Isle de France Creole (1982, p viii), he gives 'insights into historical linguistic processes and concomitant social processes of the utmost importance to

general linguistics and to creole studies'. What makes his work so valuable is the combination of painstaking attention to detail with the ability to see the larger panorama revealed by that detail: not the sweeping hypothesis which may or may not be supported by facts on the ground. The resulting articles are a joy to read – elegantly written, ingeniously argued, constructed with rigour, and always cool and objective even when refuting attacks levelled at him in what is one of the more disputatious corners of academia.

His career path has not been that of the traditional academic. For much of the time he has worked freelance, combining a continuation of his earlier pursuits (film and video, distance education) with appointments to participate in a wide range of linguistic projects. As a Research Fellow with the International African Institute in London, he was concerned with the classification and geographical spread of all the languages of Africa, their use in education and the media, and questions of orthography; he was employed by the University of Bamberg to establish the African and other non-French origins of Indian Ocean and Caribbean French Creoles for the Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Frankokreolischen; he did archival research and fieldwork for the Atlas of languages of intercultural communication in the Pacific, Asia, and the Americas; his expertise has been sought to advise on words of African origin for the Oxford English dictionaries; at the London School of Oriental and African Studies, he was the Research Coordinator for its Logosphere Programme; and he held a joint appointment at SOAS and the University of Westminster as Research Co-ordinator of the Languages of London Project, which culminated in the publication of Multilingual Capital in 2000, the amazing account of the 307 home languages represented in London schools.

In 1994 he became a Research Fellow at the University of Westminster and soon made his mark at that institution. He taught a very successful module on Creole, and the Creole linguistics research group which he helped to set up was an important element in the classification of linguistics at Westminster as a centre of international excellence in the 2001 Research Assessment Exercise. He was the chief organizer of the Westminster Creolistics Workshops, which, as many readers of the Carrier Pidgin will remember with pleasure, brought together young researchers and the big names in Creole studies in an informal atmosphere that was uniquely conducive to the fruitful exchange of ideas. Out of this venture grew the Westminster Creolistics Series, a collection of books on Pidgins and Creoles, for which he is the general editor (a grand title which hides the fact that the job also includes menial tasks such as copy-editing and formatting). He was also editor or co-editor for several of the titles which have arisen from the workshops. When the University of Westminster decided to stop underwriting the venture, he took it over, under the imprint of Battlebridge (see www.battlebridge.com), his own publishing firm, whose list includes not only the Westminster series but also other Creole-related titles. The world of Creole studies is lucky to have Battlebridge books: they are carefully edited and beautifully produced, and often reach parts that other publishers do not. 'A gem of a book' was the term applied to St Kitts and the Atlantic Creoles in a recent review in these pages '...It is rare to see such an interconnected and cohesive collection of papers in a workshop volume, and the careful approach Baker & Bruyn pursue in handling a new, and paradigm-altering corpus of data may be a model for future studies' (S Roberts, CP 30(1-3):19-20). Similar comments might well be applied to other volumes in the growing series.

Much of Philip Baker's output has resulted from productive collaboration with established scholars (Annegret Bollée, the late Chris Corne, David Dalby, Peter Mühlhäusler, to mention but a few) and they readily acknowledge the help they have had from him. Equally important is his contribution to the career of younger researchers, whom he has welcomed into the world of creolistics and encouraged to get involved in projects and publications, allowing them to make their name. His generosity is legendary, and many a creolist has had the benefit of his hospitality at his London flat.

In the summer of 2004, on retiring from the University of Westminster, he moved to Sri Lanka, not for a life of leisure in the sun, but to continue the publication of Battlebridge books and his research on the Vedda language. He had been there for only a few months when the great tsunami struck and swept away or damaged parts of his house and most of its contents within reach of the water, including not only two computers, but all back-up disks and most of his papers. Unfazed by a disaster which would probably have persuaded lesser mortals to give up and resort to the more conventional delights of retirement, he started rebuilding, and three months later was giving a party to celebrate the completion of the extension to his house designed to accommodate Battlebridge.

Philip Baker would no doubt be a richer man if he had stuck with accountancy or continued to make films, but the world of Creole studies would have been the loser. His contribution has been immense, as a scholar, an organiser, a publisher, and as a friend to creolists from all over the world. Long may it continue.

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OBITUARY: ROBERT BROCK LE PAGE

By Pauline Christie

Formerly of the University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica.

Born: London, December 8, 1920. Died: York, January 12, 2006
Educated: Christ's Hospital School, Horsham, Sussex
Keble College, Oxford University: 1948, BA (Oxon.);
1952. Ph.D. (Birmingham).

Professional Career

1948-1950: Teaching Assistant, University of Birmingham, UK
Tutor, Oxford University
1950-60: Lecturer, Dept. of English, University College of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica.
1960-64: Professor and Head, Dept. of English, University of Malaya
1964-88: Professor and Head, Dept. of Language (later Language and Linguistic Science), University of York, UK.

Some Career Highlights

1953: Launched informal linguistic survey of the British Caribbean.
1959: Organized the first International Conference on Creole language studies, at University College of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica.
1968: Played important role in organizing the Second International Conference on Creole Studies, University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica.
Elected Chairman, Linguistics Association of Great Britain
1970: Linguistic Survey of Multilingual Communities: Part I, Cayo District, British Honduras (now Belize)
1972: Foundation member, Society for Caribbean Linguistics (SCL).

1974: Linguistic Survey of Multilingual Communities, Part II, St Lucia
1978-80: President, SCL
1980: Festschrift, Aspects of Linguistic Behaviour. Special Issue of York Papers in Linguistics, 9. edited by M.W.S De Silva, presented by members of Department of Language, University of York.
General Editor, Cambridge University Press
1982: Elected Honorary Member of SCL
1982: Linguistic Survey of Multilingual Societies Stage III: South-East London.
1983: Organized First International Conference on Creole Studies in Europe, York, UK
1986: Launched International Group for the Standardization and Vernacularization of Literacy (with Andrée Tabouret-Keller)
1988: Retired from the University of York
2001: Awarded an honorary D.Litt. from the UWI.

Robert Le Page, who will be remembered as a pioneer in the study of Caribbean language among other achievements, arrived in Jamaica in 1950 to teach Anglo-Saxon at the new University College of the West Indies. He later admitted to having been intrigued from the very beginning by the snatches of conversation he overheard outside his office window, of which he understood very little. Some time later, this early interest was stimulated by a list of 'dialect' words and phrases that had been passed on to him by a colleague. Thus began approximately five decades of tireless research activity and his life-long promotion of language in the Caribbean as a serious field of enquiry.

His interest in the Jamaican vernacular led Le Page to the Linguistics Society of America's Summer School and Institute at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, in 1953. The aim was to equip himself for the first task he wished to undertake, namely, a linguistic survey of the British Caribbean. He traversed the region in search of data. Later on, he collaborated with Frederic Cassidy who had come to Mona in 1956 as a Fulbright Scholar, to produce the ground-breaking Dictionary of Jamaican English in 1967 and a second edition in 1980.

Before this publication, he had already edited a series entitled Creole Language Studies. The first volume, Jamaican Creole, was published in 1960. It comprised his historical introduction to that variety and four texts which were introduced, transcribed and translated by David De Camp. The second volume, which followed in 1961, contained the Proceedings of the first ever international conference on creole language studies, which Le Page had convened at Mona in 1959.
The important work, Pidginization and Creolization of Languages, (Dell Hymes ed. 1971) included papers from a second conference that was partly organized by Le Page in 1968. The special historical significance of this conference was pointed out by David De Camp in his introduction to this volume. He wrote: "If pidgin-creole as a separate discipline was born in 1959, it came of age in 1968." (Hymes ed: 1971:14).

Several Caribbean linguists benefited from Le Page's direction, even long after he had left the Caribbean. He made it possible for many of these to pursue graduate studies in his department at York, under sponsorships which he arranged. They include Donald Winford of Ohio State University, Walter Edwards of Wayne State University, Colville Young, the current Governor-General of Belize, as well as Kean Gibson and Hubert Devonish of the University of the West Indies. Throughout five decades he also actively encouraged other scholars, often from a distance.

Le Page's experience of multilingualism in the Caribbean and Malaya led him to think seriously about the nature of language and eventually to formulate his ideas in his well-known Acts of Identity theory. His achievements to that point were summed up in 1984 in a profile appearing in Carrier Pidgin (Vol.12/2:2) in which his friend Fred Cassidy referred to him as a "projector in the language field, one who …has pursued creole studies, has encouraged young scholars in the field, and has sought to work out a sound theoretical basis for these studies Le Page realized the complexity of the multilingual situations that held his interest and called for a multi-dimensional approach to the analysis of them. For him, language was primarily an aspect of behaviour in which speakers seek to identify themselves with or distance themselves from the groups with which they come in contact, subject to certain sociological and psychological constraints. His ideas, tested in two large-scale research projects undertaken in Belize and St.Lucia in the early 1970s, received their clearest expression in Acts of Identity, published in 1985 in collaboration with Andrée Tabouret-Keller. .

In addition to his serious academic pursuits, Le Page also dabbled in writing poetry as a hobby. The poems, some of which he included in his Memoirs, reveal his wry humour, which was sometimes directed at himself. He would also recall with pride his winning entry in 1964 in a competition organized by the now defunct magazine Punch. The editor had requested a humorous narrative poem based on a given line drawing by one Fougasse.

In his retirement, Le Page turned his attention to writing his autobiography, Ivory Towers, the Memoirs of a Pidgin Fancier, which was published and launched by the Society for Caribbean Linguistics at its conference in 1998. A shorter version of it, which remains unpublished to the best of my knowledge, he entitled The Luck of the Devil, a possible reference to his claim to have become a university professor by accident. His journey to the Caribbean was certainly a lucky accident for Caribbean language studies.

On a personal note

Early in 1966, I received a telephone call from an officer at the University of York, UK, asking me to contact Professor Robert Le Page who was then on a visit to Jamaica. I had put down York – then a new University - as my third option in applying for a Commonwealth Scholarship a few months previously, but I had not given it any further thought. My motivation for choosing York had come from a newspaper article about its Language Teaching Centre. I vaguely hoped to investigate the application of work being done there to my own teaching of French in Jamaica. Although I had known of Le Page's interest in the Jamaican vernacular while he was on the staff of the then University College of the West Indies during the 1950s, it had never occurred to me to pursue my own passing interest in that subject, and I certainly had no idea that Le Page had gone to

York.

The interview went very well, but I could never have guessed the consequences it would have for my professional career. I do remember, however, Professor Le Page telling me then that he would have to brainwash me if I came to York. Only later did I realize how different his ideas on language were from those that I had imbibed during my traditional undergraduate courses in Romance Philology in Edinburgh more than a decade earlier. After a year of study in the Department of Language at York, during which I was introduced to linguistics and the embryonic field of creole studies, I voluntarily switched allegiance, resigned from the high school teaching position in Jamaica from which I had gone on leave, and embarked on an entirely new career - all largely the result of Bob Le Page's imperceptible influence. My edited volume, Due Respect, Papers on English and English-related creoles in the Caribbean (Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad: UWI Press. 2001) is only a small token of my indebtedness to him, and that of many of my colleagues at the University of the West Indies.

Selected Publications

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EDUCATING CREOLE CHILDREN FOR THE FUTURE: CREOLE BASED TRILINGUAL EDUCATION

for San Andres, Providence, and Santa Catalina Islands Colombia, South America

By Ronald C. Morren
Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Western Caribbean Islands of San Andres, Providence, and Santa Catalina have an interesting history of English Puritans, pirates and buccaneers, plantation owners and slaves. In 1822 the islands became a part of present-day Colombia. English and Jamaican settlers, along with their slaves, however, continued to live there, using their English and English lexifier Creole languages respectively. By 1853 all slaves were freed in the Archipelago, many of whom were also given land that they formerly worked.

In 1845 the Baptist expression of Christian Protestantism was introduced by a former slave owner and readily embraced by the Islanders. It is said that at the beginning of the 20th Century 95% of the Islanders adhered to or were sympathetic to the Baptist Church. Indeed, the First Baptist Church building of San Andres, erected in 1886, is a Colombian national historic monument and is said to be the oldest Baptist church in "Latin America" (Turnage - n.d.). Today most Creole-speaking Islanders will say that they are Baptists, another way of distinguishing themselves from the Hispanic population that would predominantly identify themselves as Catholic.

For many years the Colombian government largely ignored these remote islands of the Western Caribbean. Their English lexifier Creole language and their historical ties to England and English speaking islands of the Caribbean inclined the Islanders to keep in touch with other Creole communities in the Caribbean, such as the Miskito Coast, Panama, and Jamaica, as well as with the

United States and England.

In 1953 the Colombian national government decreed the Island of San Andres a free port. This immediately brought a wave of "Continentals" (mainland Colombians) who set up businesses to take advantage of the free port status. According to local islanders, Creoles, lacking the knowledge of business laws and skills necessary to take advantage of the free port status, were ill prepared for this opportunistic change. They feel they have been denied the economic benefits of the island's free port position. Some yearn for the 'good old days' of fishing, raising cotton and copra farming. Though there are laws regarding the resettlement of "Continentals" and others on the islands, many immigrants have found ways to skirt around the law. Today there are approximately 100,000 people on the Island of San Andres with the native Islander Creole speakers being outnumbered 2-1. The vast majority of the non-Creole inhabitants are Spanish speakers, most of whom have arrived or been born on the Island since 1953 as a result of the island's free trade status.

LANGUAGE VITALITY

Just as the granting of free port status to San Andres Island produced a demographic change, it also accelerated a change in language use on the Islands such that the older generation of Islander Creole speakers fear that language shift is underway in the younger generation. Whilst Creole was once the domain of the home and English the domain of education, church, media, and official business on the islands, today Spanish is used in the media, education, business and government transactions. Although Spanish is now used in many of the churches on the islands, English is still the preferred language of those Baptist Churches where the majority of adherents are native Creole speakers. Some of these Baptist churches also house a public school. In such schools Spanish and English are both used as media of instruction. Islander Creole is still the preferred language, however, in the home or when interacting with Creole-speaking friends.

EDUCATION ON SAN ANDRES, PROVIDENCE AND SANTA CATALINA ISLANDS

The national government of Colombia regulates the educational system through local offices of the nation's Secretary of Education. Accordingly, in the archipelago there is a local secretary of education. On San Andres many of the teachers are originally from the mainland and, therefore, do not speak Islander Creole. Most of the teachers who teach in the public schools that are housed in the Baptist churches, however, speak Islander Creole as their first language. They also speak English and Spanish. Whatever their dominant language, however, all teachers graduated from a Spanish monolingual school of education with no training in bilingual education methodology. Textbooks used in the islander schools also are in Spanish and come from the mainland with mainland examples and illustrations.

Though there is a National Curriculum (all in Spanish) that all schools are expected to follow, in the 1991 Colombian Constitution, indigenous people groups are given the right to have education in their mother tongue. This right is extended to Islanders who are recognized by the national government as "Raizales" (roots) which means they are officially acknowledged as one of the 87 ethnic Colombian groups. To take advantage of this constitutional right, however, Islanders themselves must design and develop their own curriculum.

The leaders of the Christian University of San Andres, Providence, and Santa Catalina recognized that the practice of using the National Curriculum (in Spanish) with Islander Creole-speaking children was a means of acculturation and assimilation resulting in a slow deterioration of their traditional values and language. They felt that having Spanish-speaking teachers from the mainland with alien materials, unfamiliar methods, and a foreign language of instruction was probably the main cause for Creole-speaking children, as a group, to make the lowest average on the Pre-University National Test in Colombia--a test administered entirely in Spanish. The above concerns troubled not only the Christian University officials, but also parents, local indigenous teachers, and some politicians. Therefore, the Christian University of San Andres, Providence, and Santa Catalina decided that a new curriculum needed to be implemented on the Islands--a curriculum that began instruction in the mother tongue.

In the fall of 1997 my wife, Diane, and I were invited to San Andres to discuss the prerequisites of initiating a bilingual education program for Creole-speaking children of the archipelago. Several meetings were held with Island leaders, educators, pastors, and media.

In June of 1998 we were back on San Andres to hold a bilingual education workshop for local Islander Creole-speaking primary school teachers. During this workshop the foundations of bilingual education and the pedagogical and psychological importance of beginning instruction in the mother tongue were presented. Standardizing the written form of their language was also discussed. This workshop resulted in a children's ABC book and a book of short stories, both written in Islander Creole, for use in the Islands' preprimary grade. An orthography workshop was held on the Island that resulted in the formation of an orthography committee that was given the mandate to make decisions regarding writing conventions of Islander Creole.

In 1999 I was awarded a Fulbright Senior Scholar Lecture/ Research Grant to lecture and conduct research while advising the Christian University and Islander Creole-speaking primary teachers from three experimental schools on the design and development of not just bilingual, but trilingual pedagogical materials for primary schools where the large majority of students were speakers of Islander Creole. The three languages of this trilingual education experiment are Islander Creole, English, and Spanish. Islander Creole speakers decided that these three languages were very important to Islanders and that all three should be a part of

their children's educational experience. Creole because it is their mother tongue. English because it is the lexifier language of their mother tongue and an important international language of wider communication. Spanish because it is the official language of their country.

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

According to the National Ministry of Education of Colombia there are seven basic areas to be covered when planning school curriculum: math, language, social science, natural science, vocational studies, religion, and arts. This primary trilingual education curriculum addresses the first four: math, language, social science, and natural science. Although the trilingual curriculum development project covers a six-year period, this report focuses on the first two years, i.e. preprimary and first grades.

Trilingual Education Models

Cummins (2001:1) states that in ten studies of bilingual education, "90% ... demonstrate the effectiveness of bilingual and even trilingual education." Though instances of trilingual education are uncommon, where trilingual education is being utilized it almost always involves English as one of the three languages. Several European countries have rare, atypical schools that offer trilingual education; e.g. Spain, France, Germany, United Kingdom, etc. Such schools usually are attempting to make their curriculum more attractive to their clients. The three languages of instruction may be Basque, French, and English; French, Spanish, and English, etc. Israel also has an example of trilingual education involving instruction in Hebrew, French, and English.

There are even fewer examples where trilingual education is offered for the entire population of a given geographic region; but there are some. "Greenland wants to abandon Greenlandic-only instruction and move towards education in three languages: Greenlandic, Danish and English" (George 2001:1). Hong Kong, where Chinese (Cantonese) and English co-existed under British rule, now, under the sovereignty of the People's Republic of China has initiated a 'Biliterate and Trilingual' policy. Under this policy, English, Cantonese, and Mandarin (also know as Putonghua) are being taught to their students (Lai 2001). Luxembourg is a country where trilingual education has been practiced for several years and English is not one of the three languages (Hoffmann 1998; TEL2L 2001). The three languages used in primary education there are Letzeburgesch, German, and French.

Luxembourg's situation is quite similar to that of San Andres Island. The first language, or mother tongue, in each instance is relatively unknown outside of the small geographic area where it is spoken. In both cases the mother tongue is viewed by many as a sub-dialect or oral dialect of their second language (German for Luxembourg and English for the Islands). Their third language (French and Spanish respectively) is also an important world language.

Luxembourg's linguistic circumstances were considered similar enough to San Andres Island's linguistic situation that San Andres Islander Creole speaking educators chose to pattern the introduction of each of the three languages in their trilingual education program after the Luxembourg model. In both cases it is important to parents and community leaders that their children maintain traditional language and values. In both cases the relationship between the mother tongue and the second or lexifier language is seen as a strength to be taken advantage of. And in both cases the third language is seen as an avenue of upward social and economic mobility.

The two situations can be summarized as follows:

Societal Language Use

San Andres	Luxembourg
Languages used: > Islander Creole, English, Spanish > Most Raizales are trilingual Oral communication: > Islander Creole Written or official communication: > English and Spanish	Language used: > Letzeburgesch, German, French > Almost 100% are trilingual Oral communication: > Letzeburgesch Written or official communication: > French and German

Educational System

Preprimary school: > Two years (A & B), starts at age 5 > Proposed medium of instr: Islander Creole Primary school >five years, from age 7-11 >Primary medium of instruction: • Grade 1 - Islander Creole • Grades 2-5 - English moving to Spanish	Nursery school: > Starts at age 5 > Medium of instr: Letzeburgesch Primary school > six years, from age 6-11 > Primary medium of instruction: Grade 1 - Letzeburgesch Grades 2-6 - German (French introduced)
Secondary school: > Primary medium of instruction: Spanish (English as subject) Tertiary school: > Primary medium of instruction: Spanish or English	Secondary school: > Primary medium of instruction: French Tertiary school: > Luxembourg has no university
All teachers must master Spanish	All teachers must prove their mastery of Letzeburgesch, French and Standard German.

Islander Creoles do not want their children to lose their mother tongue nor the advantage they perceive that they have over Spanish speakers in learning English. Therefore, Islander Creole, the mother tongue of the targeted students, receives greater attention in the early years, especially preprimary and first grade. English as a second language is introduced in first grade and continues to be used throughout primary school. Spanish is introduced in second grade. English and Spanish continue throughout primary school with Spanish increasing in the latter years. See Chart 1.

Chart 1

Stage	Daily Sessions	Language Used	Procedure
Preprimary A & B	5 hours	Islander Creole	Create appropriate material
Grade 1	4 hours 1 hour	Islander Creole English	Create appropriate material (Big Books authored by Islander Creole speakers)
Grade 2	1 hour 3 hours 1 hour	Islander Creole English Spanish	Create & adapt curriculum content
Grade 3	1 hour 2 hours 2 hours	Islander Creole English Spanish	Create & adapt curriculum content
Grade 4	2.5 hours 2.5 hours	English Spanish	Adapt curriculum content
Grade 5	2 hours 3hours	English Spanish	Adapt curriculum content

Development of the Curricula Materials

The task for the four-month period (September-December 1999) was to develop the first grade curriculum and revise the newly written preprimary ABC Book that was already being implemented in the preprimary grade during 1999. (See Morren 2001 for a more detailed description of how the curricula materials were developed.) In view of the fact that all curricular materials for these two grades except oral English were to be written in Islander Creole, native speakers of the language (in this case the entire teaching faculty and the principals of the three experimental schools) accepted the task of composing the material for the new trilingual curriculum. The fact that every one of the teachers and principals from the three experimental schools were involved in the writing of the preprimary and first grade curriculum indicates the level of interest and commitment to trilingual education.

Colombia's national curriculum manual served as a guideline for the curriculum content. Additional objectives for each grade and each subject were obtained via the internet from various states in the U.S. Attention was given to organizing the curriculum so as to be culturally and linguistically relevant to the ambience of the Islands.

The faculty of each of the three experimental schools agreed to develop the curriculum for one of the subjects, math, science, or social studies. During the four-month period the experimental schools dismissed their students for a half-day each week so that the teachers could meet with Diane and me to plan the curriculum development task for that week. Then the teachers, working individually, in small groups, or as a whole unit, designed, developed and wrote the curriculum.

Since finances were limited, the resultant materials were planned and developed using the "Big Book Method". (For a description of the Big Book Method please see Waters 1998.) This was not only a cost-saving device, it made it possible to use the stories for more than one purpose. Thus, a Big Book that was specifically written about a social studies theme, for example, might also be used to teach reading and writing and perhaps science and math as well. (See Appendix I for the sequence of letters teaching reading and writing using the Big Books.) A total of thirty-two Big Books were developed on various themes. Each Big Book can be used for 1-2 weeks. The teachers themselves illustrated each Big Book. Copies of the Big Books for each experimental school were produced and reproduced using computers and photocopiers.

Summary

As can be seen, the language of primary emphasis changes during the child's school experience with the mother tongue being totally replaced by two languages as media of instruction. Students go from one minor language to two major languages. The students' first language is used initially giving it status and reinforcement. More books written in the mother tongue are needed. In their absence, finding suitable teaching materials is a constant problem. Adapting existing Spanish or English books has been the teacher's answer.

There is a need for more teacher training in the teaching of English or Spanish as a second and third language and teacher training in bilingual/trilingual education in general so that the teaching of content subjects through the medium of a second or third language can be more effective.

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APPENDIX I

SEQUENCE OF LETTERS TO BE TAUGHT IN SAN ANDRES, PROVIDENCE, AND SANTA CATALINA ISLANDER CREOLE

No.	Name of Big Book Story	Consonants	Vowels	Keywords	Conventions of Print
1	Ah Kyaan Stan Piknini	S P	I (short)	Sono, piknini Missa,	Every sentence begins with a capital letter.
2	Missa Tom di Gud Ole Man	M T	O (long)	Man, Tom ole	People's names are proper nouns and begin with capital letters.
3	Di Guol Teet	G X	E (long) EE	Bex, guol Teet	Telling sentences end with periods.
4	Johnny di Monky	J F	Ou	Johnny, frayd, Guos	Use quotation marks to show the words that people say.
5	Di Rat an di Cheez	R Ch, Z	A (short)	Rat, cheez	Asking sentences end with question marks.
6	Breda Nancy an Breda Taiga	N Br	E (short)	Nancy Breda	Titles before a name begin with capital letters
7	Biron Saylen Buot	B L	A/ay (long)	Biron, laan, saylin, name	Every sentence has a complete thought.
8	Di King Daata	W D	Aa U/Uu	Wite Daata, tuu	Review asking sentences and question marks.
9	Tom an di Wite Rat	Sm H	Ou	Smaal, hous	Names of places are proper nouns and begin with capital letters.
10	Di Pairat Morgan	K V Zh	Ai	Vizit, kapten, trezha, pairat	Review every sentence begins with a capital letter.
11	Wahn Lagahed Ride	Gr Pr Dr	I (long)	Grab Droundid, prablem, Ride	The word "Ah" always begins with a capital letter.
12	Di Gyal	Dr Gy Gr	O (short)	Drap Gyal, granmada Op, sohn	Review every sentence has a complete thought.
13	Di Likl Gyal Weh Laas Eena di Bush	W	U (short)	Waak Bush	Exclamation marks are used to show excitement.
14	Di Yong Gyal Wehn Waahn Go da Skool	Y	Oo U (long u)	Yong, yunifaam Skool	Review people's names are proper nouns and begin with capital letters.
15	Di Guana	Sh	I (short)	Extenshan, kill	Review names of places are proper nouns and begin with capital letters.

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Book Reviews

The Historical Evolution of Earlier African American English
by Alexander Kautzsch.

Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2002. Cloth Pp xviii + 335, ISBN 3-11-017301-8.
Reviewed by David Sutcliffe Universitat Pompeu Fabra

Alex Kautzsch's recent book, The Historical Evolution of Earlier African-American English (THE EAAE*), makes a sound contribution to the field, and provides us with meticulous analysis of Earlier African American English texts. The latter data consist of oral language transcribed directly from speech or from mechanically recorded interviews as well as written texts in the form of letters written by African Americans in the 19th century. Kautzsch looks at a range and combination of data not previously compared across, bearing on the question of AAE's origins. It is in this respect, and in the relative accessibility of the discussion, that Kautzsch makes an especially valid contribution. And Kautzsch is thorough: he goes through exhaustive processing of the data. To my mind also, the book has the added (if unsought) virtue of laying bare some of the weaknesses of the Anglicist approach. This is aided by the fact that Kautzsch's own approach is transparent, and his arguments are straightforward. Where one disagrees with him it is easy to say where, what and why. Kautzsch needs to be more tentative, in many cases, in his use of numbers: so often he writes flatly that such and such a linguistic change occurred in states X and Y, in decade Z, where what he means is: this is what he finds in these subdivisions of his (necessarily) limited data.But this is a style problem that judicious editing could have put right. There are other minor quibbles: For example, Kautzsch refers to the Ex-slave Recordings as tapes when in fact — with the exception of two of them—they consist of phonograph recordings made in the field. He sometimes writes "the last century" when he means the 19th century. He does not give Jeutonne Brewer credit for finding the Ex-slave recordings gathering dust in the Library of Congress, wrongly attributing this to Guy Bailey and associates. Lastly, he makes no reference to my work on the Ex-slave Recordings (Sutcliffe 1999a, 1999b, 2001), even though it bears directly on his subject matter. Details of the chapters: After a competent introduction, chapter 2 deals with methodology. Chapter 3, on the morphosyntax of the negative, goes on to provide a thorough exposition in which we see the evolution of this component in Earlier AAE. Variables rise and fall. For example we have aint + stem with present tense force: 1. I hop' ya ain't wanna kno' much mo' 'cause I 'bout through. (WPA Virginia; THE EAAE pg 54) This is a 19th century feature which apparently has vanished from contemporary AAE. On the other hand there is the fascinating finding that aint + stem with past tense force apparently occurred as an infrequent variant, in 19th century AAE. As is well known, this feature expanded greatly in the 20th century to become the quintessential marker of Black English it is today (see Weldon 1994). It is therefore not a new invention in AAE. Nor is there any evidence that it carried over from a British or Irish English dialect. Kautzsch (henceforth K.) makes little of this finding. As readers may know, aint past negative marker followed by stem verb occurs in a number of Atlantic creoles incluning Gullah. For example, Trinidadian has shi ee [aint]sing, while Gullah has i yent bin sing, or i yent sing for AAE past tense She ain sing ("She didn't sing") according to Hancock 1987: 300, (spelling adapted). Chapter 4, on the copula, is again meticulous, and the only reservations I have concern the conclusions that are drawn, as usual. Firstly looked at is the I + zero copula form, as in: 2. Ha! Ha! Ha! I ø goin' tel' yo' som'thin' else. (Perdue, Barden and Philips 1976; THE EAAE pg 99) After finding that this putative creole collocation occurs as a stable variant in Earlier AAE in AL, MS, NC, SC and VA, and to a lesser extent FL, TN, and GA, K cautions us not to jump to creolist conclusions. African Americans in the South at that time, he argues, showed "...a highly variable degree of creole features or remnants in their speech. And it is obviously too straightforward to conclude that the total of Earlier AAE had this creole feature" (page 102). I + zero copula was already recessive, or at least was only used by a minority in his sample (20 out of 117 speakers). K.'s basic contention here and in many other places in the book is that earlier AAE was not monolithic even within a particular area. If he means that, in addition to geographical varation, there was also a continuum of individual lects, from more to less creole, then I doubt whether for example Mufwene, or anyone on the creolist side of Shana Poplack, would seriously disagree with that. An interesting question is exactly why this first person zero copula should be taken as any more creole than use of zero copula with the third person (s/he +zero + predicate, or NP + zero + predicate) as in: Who child smaller dan mine? (Hancock 1987: 294 - spelling adapted). The structure is identical in every case. In fact, of course, K. is right: I + zero (+predicate) is highly recessive in modern AAE. Its place is taken by the more English-seeming I'm form, which can however be used monomorphemically, as in the question Is I'm right? (Hancock 1987: 293, spelling adapted). At the end of the chapter, where K. marshals his conclusions on copula use in Earlier AAE, he writes: Finally, what is also necessary to keep in mind is that on the whole, zero is—the one non-English variable — has minority status as opposed to contracted and full is in most environments, which on a larger

scale implies that slaves in the US South were quite capable of acquiring [that is, did acquire?] close approximations to some dialects of English." (page 155, addition in square brackets is mine). Here K. disregards the fact that many creoles similarly use more full forms than zero copulas. K.'s reason for his assertions here is that while copula deletion is present in his mid-19th century data, it occurs less often than contractions and full forms. And less often than in some contemporary AAE data. From this low(ish) level, copula deletion (or non-insertion) appears to increase over the last decades of K.'s timeframe. K. takes this as counter evidence to the notion of decreolisation as an historical process in earlier AAE. If the zero copula were creole-derived, he is saying, it would be seen to be decreasing not increasing. This argument is not tenable. If, as William Labov (2001) argues, AAE evolved over the 20th century to become more creol-like, then we would expect to find an increase in AAE's creole-like (or non-English) features compared with the 19th century. The fact that even Anglicists like Shana Poplack (2000) accept that copula deletion is not a Britishderived feature further squares with this. In any case, notice that K.'s analysis shows an Earlier AAE copula system which is hardly English, since it not only (1) uses zeroes, it also (2) may use the is copula with all persons (even the 1st singular). Furthermore, (3) there is a correlation between the form taken by the copula and the following syntactic enviroment. And indeed, table 49 (page 92), indicates that the actual distribution of copula deletion rate in AAE is similar to that found in the mesolectal creole Bajan. All this indicates restructuring and suggests the retention of substrate. In chapter 5, K. looks at relative pronouns with his usual thoroughness, going through all permuations and changes. One of the anomalis he finds is the survival of an older weh (or "where") relative as in: 3. My father was one o de founders o' de Underground Railroad where help de slaves to run away to de North. (Perdue, Barden and Phillips 1992; THE EAAE 172 K. admits that parallels between this form and Gullah's use of wehrelativization "...are hard to deny", (why deny them?). However, only 8 occurrences of weh relative were found overall in his data, all in Virginia, leading K. to conclude that the feature results from contact with a creole rather than actual prior creolisation of AAE. He observes that Virginia was one of the areas where creole influences were least likely (pg 173). Nonetheless, the creole influences were there, and this is supported by other evidence, such as the two 19th century Virginia semicreole sentences quoted in Hancock 1987:292), and the fact that Virginian Fountain Hughes (Exslave Recordings) uses creole morphemes (see Sutcliffe 2001: 150). Furthermore, Dance's Virginia data (1978) features two occurrences of this weh / where relative: 4. And the people say, "Just some o' them people where died, just some o' them people where died." (Dance 1978: 25) The speaker in question was brought up by former slaves in the hills of Virginia (Dance, personal communication). And the very fact that this feature is found at all in the WPA VA data, taken down by hand by two able fieldworkers (who were AAE speakers) speaks for the validity of these data. Chapters 6 and 7 provide useful analysis of written documents as evidence of 19th-century. AAE. Space restrictions do not allow further comment on these. In conclusion then, this a fine book but one which reflects some strange quirks in the writer's thinking. The fact that I have taken issue with K. on a number of points arises not so much from his data (valuable) and their processing (thorough), as from his idiosyncratic interpretations of the same. As K. works his way through his findings he appears consistently to reach for the nearest Anglicist explanations. As a result, K. too often limits his thought, where he could have treated us to a richer, more incisive discussion. Nonetheless, when viewed through a less doggedly Anglicist lens, K.'s data turns out to contain many little indications of adstrate or substrate creole influence. In fact, his own commentaries suggest this at some key junctures, despite his mitigations, apologies and Anglicist assumptions. He shows that at least one of the quintessential features of contemporary AAE (past reference aint + stem verb) goes back to our earliest attestations of AAE. And he is on record as saying that there was [quote] "differential creolisation" in areas across the American South (page 102). And, judging by the distribution for one feature, I + zero copula, this area included all states of the Deep South except, unexpectedly, LA (page 103). He explains that Black speakers in the South had "...a highly variable degree of creole features or remnants in their speech" (page 102, emphasis is mine). At these points, then, K. actually takes a position which is as creolist as Wolfram and Thomas (2002), or more so! And while he argues that we cannot assume there was ever a fully-fledged creole in widespread use in the South, many critics of the Anglicists would simply agree with him: the basilect baseline was more likely to have been a semi-creole (McWhorter 1998 called it "creolelean-ing"). Interestingly enough, Holm 2004, argues that even contemporary AAE is a semi-creole, at least as creole-like as any of the other semi-creoles he looks at, including Réunionais and basilectal Afrikaans. There is food for thought here.

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The Development of African American English.
Walt Wolfram and Erik R. Thomas.

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Reviewed by Alex D'Arcy
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In mining the rich resource of a long-standing biracial linguistic enclave – Hyde County, North Carolina – Wolfram and Thomas and their team of researchers from the North Carolina Language and Life Project (NCLLP) have been able to address a number of critical research questions regarding the diachronic and synchronic development of AAVE. Many of these issues also apply to dialect change more generally, such as which aspects of a variety change, which persist, and why. A key strength of this book is its insistence on avoiding the quagmire of the creolist vs. anglicist debate on the origins of AAVE, mitigating the criticism that its conclusions are dependent on a priori assumptions about the data itself (see Tagliamonte & Poplack 1993). Moreover, Wolfram and Thomas' systematic examination of linguistic evidence from multiple levels of grammar, in conjunction with their careful consideration of historical evidence, bolsters the validity of their findings and renders this book an invaluable asset in guiding further research on the development of AAVE.

The book begins with a table of contents, lists of figures and tables, and a preface, followed by ten chapters. It ends with a reference list and a detailed index; notes are located at the ends of each chapter. Notably absent, however, are appendices of data and demographic information about participants. This renders replicability of many of the analyses difficult, particularly in the instance of phonological variability.

Chapter 1 briefly introduces the goals of the book, but the primary focus is the corpus itself. Wolfram and Thomas highlight the unique nature of their database, as it relies neither on written documents nor on expatriate varieties to examine the development of AAVE in the period after 1800. Considerable attention is given to analytical concerns such as sample design and statistical methodology, with a breakdown of the analyses to be discussed in subsequent chapters. However, while the NCLLP database includes data from over 140 participants, the empirical analyses on which the book is based include data from a subsample of only 49 or fewer participants. Furthermore, AAVE speakers are broken into four groups based on age clusters (these align somewhat with historical events such as World War II and the desegregation of Hyde County schools), while European American speakers are broken into just two age groups. Since many of Wolfram and Thomas' conclusions are based on alignment patterns between these two ethnolinguistic groups, this mismatch is somewhat disconcerting and should be kept in mind when evaluating the strength of the conclusions. The chapter ends with a succinct summary of the major conclusions of the book, and suggests how these may be generalized from Hyde County to a supralocal variety of AAVE.

Chapter 2 introduces key issues in examining the development of AAVE. These include, but are not limited to, the debate on the origins of this variety, concerns raised by written texts, the lack of early recordings (a technological impossibility until the beginning of the 20th century) and the subsequent dependence on transplant communities outside the United States, issues in donor source attribution (i.e., the determination of the origins of AAVE features and their subsequent development), and hypotheses regarding the current state of the variety. Despite the enormity of these issues, this chapter provides a strong synthesis and thus forms a good foundation for other researchers in the field.

Chapter 3 is one of the major contributions of this book, since here the linguistic dialect enclave construct is critically examined. Wolfram and Thomas focus on the notion of 'historical isolation' and discuss the factors familiar from historical linguistics (e.g., geography, economic autonomy, historical continuity, etc.) that have contributed to the definition of linguistic enclaves. After consideration of the common assumptions about linguis-

tic change in isolated communities, the authors propose a set of sociolinguistic principles to guide analyses of enclave dialect situations. These principles are exemplified in further chapters.

Chapter 4 introduces the sociohistorical background of Hyde County, and justifies the definition of this region as a dialect enclave.

Chapters 5 through 8 contain the empirical analyses of morphosyntactic, phonological, and prosodic variables. Each aims to uncover the diachronic development of the forms in question as well as to arrive at a description of their synchronic distribution through apparent time comparisons of quantitative data.

The morphosyntactic variables of WAS/WEREN'T leveling, copula IS/ARE absence, and third person -S marking are the foci of chapter 5. Each variant is situated within the broader linguistic context, be it a historical variety of English, a regional variety, or AAVE. The statistical analyses are thorough, yet the discussion of leveling to WEREN'T could have benefited from a more detailed examination of the roles of subject type and ethnicity. For example, although the weights for both variables indicate a range of 22 between the most and least favoured factors, indicating comparable strength of subject type and ethnicity, only ethnicity is chosen as significant. Why? This puzzling result warranted further investigation. Nonetheless, the analyses reveal that while African American and European American speakers are fairly aligned in their use of some local dialect features, use of distinctively AAVE characteristics (e.g., copula absence, 3rd singular -s absence) is maintained, increasing even, in the speech of African American Hyde Countians. Given the distribution of such features across the African diaspora, their sustained use in this isolated variety leads the authors to suggest that they must have formed a part of the English brought to Hyde County by African Americans in the eighteenth century. Wolfram and Thomas also observe that dialect features in the speech of older African Americans in Hyde County 'seem to be additive rather than replacive' (89). Unfortunately, much of the support for this contention comes from morphosyntactic structures not discussed in this chapter or elsewhere in the book; as noted above, appendices would have been helpful.

Chapters 6 and 7 concentrate on phonological features; chapter 6 considers vocalic alignment between the two ethnolinguistic groups, while chapter 7 considers consonantal alignment. These chapters are packed with phonetic information and measurements and thus require a careful reading in order to sift through the analyses. This kind of detailed phonetic examination prohibits large sample sizes simply because of the time and effort involved. However, it is not clear on what basis participants were selected, nor is the methodology for handling type-token ratios made clear. Again, this must be considered when assessing the results.

Chapter 8 examines the relative frequency of high pitch accents in order to determine the degree of intonational alignment between the two groups of speakers. Accordingly, this chapter begins with a summary of the (little) research that has been conducted on intonational differences between European and African Americans. While pitch accents were marked impressionistically, the sheer amount of data considered (20,062 syllables) and the rigorous cross-checking of the coding mitigate against this problem. Despite the limited scope and brevity of this chapter (9 pages), Wolfram and Thomas are able to determine a robust and long-standing intonational difference in Hyde County, with African Americans using substantially more high pitch accents than their European American cohort.

Chapter 9 provides an empirically critical, yet often overlooked, element in any sociolinguistic endeavor: here the 'relation of the individual to the group' (160) is examined. The two primary issues considered are 1) the extent of linguistic homogeneity among individuals and 2) intracommunity variation in earlier AAVE. The discussion of this second issue is largely descriptive, raising questions rather than providing answers (e.g., to what extent does the degree of social contact between groups affect vernacular usage?). Regarding the first issue, quantitative analyses of morphosyntactic and phonological features indicate a mixture of group homogeneity and individual variation. Crucially, individual variation is largely restricted to the frequency of individual variants, while group homogeneity is reflected by the constraint hierarchies. This important finding, which other researchers have argued is critical in determining the underlying grammar of a variety (e.g., Poplack & Tagliamonte 2001), is relegated to a footnote; the discussion focuses instead on correlations between subsets of the structures considered.

Chapter 10 is the most ambitious chapter of the book. Here Wolfram and Thomas extrapolate from the Hyde County findings and discuss their implications for both the past and present development of AAVE more generally. Issues such as the origins of AAVE, the trajectory of change, and ongoing norming of AAVE are tackled. Adherents of the creolist and the anglicist hypotheses alike will find this chapter stimulating, due to the authors' efforts to emphasize evidence for both sides. Of particular interest is the summary of vernacular dialect alignment (Table 10.3: 206), where 20 features from three levels of grammar are profiled for five dialect groups: elderly African and European Americans, younger African and European Americans, and urban AAVE. Based on these results, there is a clear ethnolinguistic divide between younger African and European Americans, indicating a move

toward a supralocal AAVE norm among younger African Americans.

On the whole, The Development of African American English is impressive in its sensitivity to the larger questions at issue. Empirical questions raised throughout this book are highlighted in the text (e.g., what is the origin of intonational differences between African and European Americans?) and provide excellent signposts for future research. This book also offers an exciting view of the insights to be gained from detailed examination of a variety of diagnostic features, rather than limiting investigation to a single linguistic category such as phonology or morphosyntax. Moreover, this enterprise provides compelling documentation of the synchronic development of AAVE as it moves toward a 'supraregional' North American norm.

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A Study of African-American Vernacular English in America's "Middletown": Evidence of Linguistic Convergence.
Xiaozhao Huang

Black Studies, Volume 12. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellon Press, 2000. Pp. xxi+286.

Reviewed by JAMES A. WALKER, York University (Toronto)

The "divergence hypothesis" (DH), which argued that African American Vernacular English (AAVE) was becoming more unlike other American English vernaculars (Labov & Harris 1986), was a controversial topic in the 1980's (cf. Bailey & Maynor 1989; Butters 1989) but has figured little in recent literature on AAVE. Citing criticism of earlier research for its lack of time depth and incompatible methods of data collection, Huang (H) argues that his book represents "the first linguistic investigation into the issue of language change in AAVE ever carried out in a mid-sized northern city in the United States" (67) and the first to address the DH diachronically.

The first three chapters (1-95) provide a selective review of the literature on AAVE and the DH and present the methods and hypothesis of the study. The research site is Muncie, Indiana, a small Midwestern town chosen as America's "Middletown" (Lynd & Lynd 1929), which since the 1860's has been home to a small African American community currently constituting about 10% of the population (7). H uses interviews with elderly and young African Americans conducted as part of oral history and documentary film projects in 1980 and supplements them with interviews he conducted himself in 1993. Criticizing previous studies for focussing on only a few linguistic features, H discusses five phonological and 23 syntactic features in Chapters 4 (97-129) and 5 (131-237). However, with a few exceptions, these nonstandard features are largely absent from H's data — in fact, nine of the syntactic features occur only once or not at all. In his conclusion (239-57), H uses the decrease of those nonstandard features which do occur as evidence that Muncie AAVE has converged with White Vernacular English (WVE).

Although the stated goal of this book is to address the DH controversy, its methodological drawbacks obviate drawing any firm conclusions about divergence. Muncie's African American community is "small and diverse", featuring daily association with whites (253), in contrast to the social segregation in cities such as New York, Philadelphia and Detroit which was originally adduced as the cause of divergence (Labov and Harris 1986). Since H provides no comparable data from Muncie WVE (137, 215), the interpretation of his results as "convergence" is (at best) an argument from negative evidence. The fact that younger speakers in each time-period use more of the nonstandard features suggests the alternative interpretation of age-grading, a possibility which H considers but does not pursue (235). As he himself notes (254), these features, rather than declining, may in fact be innovative in Muncie AAVE, taking on adolescent peer-group functions. In addition, the scarcity of nonstandard features might be explained by the very different circumstances under which the data were collected, most of which were unlikely to have overcome the problem of the observer's paradox (Labov 1972). Finally, the apparent decrease in nonstandard features between 1980 and 1993 may instead reflect different regional origins of the speakers: while the 1993 speakers are natives of Muncie, all but two of the elderly 1980 speakers were born outside Indiana (mostly from the southern states of Tennessee and Arkansas) and only arrived in Muncie in adulthood (73).

These methodological issues would be less of an impediment if there were more linguistic analysis. For most features, H simply reports overall frequencies of occurrence, which can fluctuate for any number of non-linguistic reasons (cf. Rickford & McNair-Knox 1994) and tell us little about the underlying linguistic system. For several syntactic features, H provides raw numbers of occurrence. Since he does not delimit the context in which the speaker has a choice between forms, these numbers may simply reflect the fortuitous occurrence of contexts which favor a particular form. His argument that the non-synonymy of lexical items makes it impossible to determine a variable context for syntactic variation (174) ignores the criterion of equivalence in grammatical function (rather than strict semantic equivalence) employed fruitfully in previous studies (e.g. Richardson 1991; Poplack & Tagliamonte 1996).

Thus, despite the bold claims cited at the beginning of this review, this book actually sheds little light on the DH controversy. While it could have added to the growing body of work on AAVE outside of the major cities (e.g. Cukor-Avila 1997; Hinton & Pollock 2000; Wolfram, Thomas & Green 2000) which has illuminated the role of ethnicity and social setting in the evolution of language, the book's methodological and interpretive problems vitiate any such potential contribution. A more detailed linguistic analysis, adhering to the principle of accountability and making use of a comparative approach to language contact (cf. Poplack & Tagliamonte 2001; Tagliamonte 2002), might begin to answer some of the questions which this book raises.

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Processes of language contact: Studies from Australia and the South Pacific. By Jeff Siegel (ed.)

Saint-Laurent (Canada): Fides. 2000. Reviewed by Donald Winford Ohio State University

This anthology brings together a fairly wide variety of studies of contact vernaculars in the Pacific region. It consists of eleven chapters dealing with eight distinct languages, as well as various themes central to Contact Linguistics. The title of the collection is appropriate, since all of the chapters deal with one or another of the processes by which the Pacific contact vernaculars emerged, evolved, diffused and continued to change under varying circumstances.

For convenience, my review will sometimes depart from the order of the chapters, and divide them instead into two groupings based on two broad themes. One has to do with the processes of change involved in the genesis of Pacific contact vernaculars, and the other with their evolution, spread and continuing development. Chapters 1 – 4 and 6 – 7 all fall more or less into the first category, while the remaining chapters fall into the second.

Chapter 1, by Harold Koch, reexamines the role of Aboriginal languages in the formation of Australian Pidgin English (APE) grammar. Koch shows that certain features of APE, including the transitivizing suffixes –im and –it and the so-called adjective marking suffix –pela both emerged in earlier New South Wales pidgin and that substrate influence from Aboriginal languages played a role in their emergence. This finding sheds new light on the links between APE and Melanesian Pidgin English (MPE), and demonstrates that the features in question were not independent developments in MPE, as implied in some earlier scholarship. This chapter, like others in the volume, emphasizes the importance of accurate socio-historical documentation as well as early textual evidence in reconstructing the history of contact vernaculars.

Chapter 2, by Terry Crowley, examines the so-called predicate marker i- in Bislama. This is another feature that has been crucial to the issue of substrate influence on MPE. Crowley's analysis supports the traditional view of the role of Central Oceanic languages in shaping MPE grammar, but presents a richer set of data from Bislama, which offers a more accurate and comprehensive account of the functions of –i. Crowley's sketch of the grammaticalization of –i reveals how the interaction of English input, substrate influence and internally motivated change resulted in this feature of Bislama grammar. The chapter also provides some interesting insight into the relationship between focusing strategies and predicate marking in Bislama.

Chapter 4, by Christine Jourdan, also deals with the role of substrate influence in another variety of MPE, Solomon Islands Pijin. Jourdan presents a fascinating account of the kinship system of this language and shows that it is based primarily on the model of languages belonging to the Eastern and Western Solomic groups, though it does not include all the distinctions found in those languages. As a result of the reanalysis of English kinship terms according to substrate semantic categories, the term brata (< brother) can refer to siblings of either sex as well as to male and female cousins. Similarly, anti (< aunt) can refer to uncles and aunts, nephews or nieces, depending on the gender of speakers and the relatives in question, and which generation they belong to. This chapter is a welcome addition to our understanding of the emergence of semantic fields in contact languages, and the role played by the substrate languages in this process. Jourdan also offers an interesting account of how differences between urban and rural settings, and concomitant changes in the structure of family groups, have led to changes in the expression of kinship relations. Influence from English is also a key factor in these changes.

Substrate influence is also the main theme of chapter 3, by Jeff Siegel, Barbara Sandeman and Chris Corne. They examine the origins of the TMA system of Tayo, a French-lexicon creole that emerged in New Caledonia within the last 100 years. The principal aim of the chapter is to identify and test principles or constraints that determine the nature and extent of substrate influence in the emergence of the Tayo TMA system. The chapter builds on Siegel's previous accounts of availability constraints and reinforcement principles as major factors in regulating substrate influence or "transfer" from learners' L1s into a developing contact language. The authors argue that such principles allow for predictions about which particular TMA categories Tayo would have. By and large, the predictions seem to work, though more comprehensive data and analysis might have strengthened the case. There might have been some discussion of how far the distribution and meanings of the Tayo TMA categories coincide with those of the substrate languages on the one hand, and French on the other. Also of interest are continuing developments in the TMA system such as increasing use of past marker te and adverbial tcha (< déjà "already") among younger speakers. If these are indeed later developments in Tayo, this has implications for the role that bilingual children play in creole development as well as for gradualist models of creole evolution.

Chapter 6, by Joan Bresnan, pursues the issue of principles and constraints in pidgin genesis by examining the shared features of pidgin pronominal systems. Bresnan attempts to account for the fact that these systems are reduced to a small set of core or "unmarked" categories. She examines various hypotheses that attempt to explain this, but discards most of them in favor of an eclectic approach that assigns a role to both universals (markedness constraints) and typological congruence among the languages in contact. The chapter argues that markedness in pronominal systems can be explained in terms of the referential role and functions of the pronouns themselves, and not exclusively by their syntactic characteristics. Properties of pronouns such as (shifting) reference are more basic than others such as their use to refer to topical elements, or their classification according to finer distinctions of person, number and gender, that may be relevant to agreement. Moreover, free pronouns are more transparent than bound or zero forms. The least marked pronominal system is therefore one consisting of free forms that express only the most basic semantic distinctions. Bresnan employs the formal framework of Optimality Theory to explain how markedness constraints (iconicity, transparency) account for the simplified structure of pidgin pronominal systems. This chapter is an important step toward further use of theoretical models in explaining the principles that lie behind the emergence of contact phenomena in general.

Chapter 7, the second of Terry Crowley's contributions to the volume, takes a somewhat different approach to the question of universals in contact-induced change. Crowley reminds us that many changes we tend to associate with language contact can also occur as a result of internal tendencies. A common example of this is simplification. Crowley questions whether there is a predictable correlation between language contact and processes of simplification on the one hand, and between language isolation and increasing complexity on the other. In this connection, he evaluates Thurston's distinction between esoteric languages (those used mostly for intra-group communication and exoteric languages (those used for intergroup communication).

The conventional wisdom is that esoteric languages become increasingly complex, while esoteric ones become simpler. Crowley discusses two languages of Vanuatu, Ura and Sye, that are clear exceptions to this general assumption. He is no doubt right to question the assumption that all languages can be easily categorized as esoteric or exoteric, or that the two types always coincide with tendencies toward complexity and simplicity respectively. His contribution reminds us that facile predictions often fail, and that we need to base our generalizations on firm linguistic and sociohistorical evidence.

The remaining five chapters of the volume focus more on later developments in several contact varieties, including their evolution over time, their diffusion and their changing social functions. Chapter 5, by Ian Malcolm, focuses on the evolution of Aboriginal English from its roots in early Australian Pidgin English (APE) in the later 18th century to its current use as the primary vernacular of most Aborigines. Malcolm compares earlier pidgin texts with a recorded sample of contemporary

Aboriginal English and finds evidence of both continuities and discontinuities. The continuities include features such as copula absence in some contexts, variable use of tenses, as well as certain phonological features. The discontinuities include various kinds of inflection on nouns and verbs, overgeneralization of English rules, for example, double marking of past tense and possessives. Malcolm ascribes these features to a later "restructuring" stage of pidgin development, implying that Aboriginal English is in fact an altered "depidginized" form of APE.

This line of argument poses problems similar to those raised by (other) pidgin or creole continua. The general assumption seems to be that the closer approximations to English in all these cases results from a gradual process of qualitative decreolization, or in this case depidginization. Both of these imply a process of gradual intrusion of English features into the pidgin or creole, leading to significant changes in its grammar. But the variety of Aboriginal English that Malcolm describes may well be a (more recent) creation in its own right, the result of more successful second language acquisition, with APE exerting some influence on the outcome. Most if not all of the features that Malcolm lists as discontinuities are typically found in other cases of imperfect learning of L2 English, and the same appears to be true of several of the apparent continuities from APE. Moreover, the absence of such basic pidgin features as past bin, possessive belong, transitivizing suffixes –im and –it etc. in the sample of Aboriginal English, suggest that it may be a result of L2 learning rather than of socalled depidginization.

Chapter 8, by Jane Simpson, examines some of the factors involved in the spread of pidgin and creole varieties of English among Aborigines. Simpson notes that there are strong similarities among all these varieties, and offers three explanations for them. One is similarity in the kinds of foreigner talk English that earlier colonists used to communicate with Aborigines. Another is the role of universal processes of change in pidgin and creole formation, and the third is diffusion through movement of speakers. This chapter focuses on the last of these, more specifically on the role played by "Afghans" from Northern India and Afghanistan, who were key players in the camel trade. Their involvement in exploration, construction and freight cartage brought them into close and continued contact with Aborigines, with whom they used pidginized English. Simpson provides a detailed look at the early records of Afghan speech which display many lexical and grammatical characteristics typical of Australian Pidgin English. She presents a convincing case for her conclusion that the Afghans learned their forms of pidgin from both Aborigines and other non-English speakers, and spread them further among other Aborigines who worked and traded with them, and in some cases married them. This contribution is a model of how sociohistorical documentation can be used in tracing paths of diffusion of languages. An added bonus is the collection of texts of earlier Afghan pidgin English included as an appendix.

Chapter 9, by Jen Munro, traces the emergence of Kriol as a first language in the Roper River area of Northern Australia and its subsequent spread and use over a much wider area. The chapter provides a rare glimpse at the role played by the English-lexicon contact languages of Australia in the current attrition and death of Aboriginal languages. Munro begins with a detailed sociohistorical account of the spread of New South Wales pidgin into Northern and Western Australia and argues that the pidgin was first nativized in the Roper River community. She presents compelling evidence that Kriol was later introduced to various new Aboriginal settlements, where it first became a lingua franca for use among linguistically heterogeneous groups. As these settlements became more permanent, Kriol was increasingly adopted as a first or primary language, reflecting its speakers sense of their new communal identity. The spread and consolidation of Kriol is linked to the increasing obsolescence of ancestral languages. Munro succeeds admirably in showing that creole genesis accompanied by continuing language shift provides a unified explanation for the diffusion of Kriol.

Chapter 10, by Geoff Smith, focuses on the current relationship between Tok Pisin and English in Papua-New Guinea, and assesses the extent of English influence on the contact vernacular. This is an interesting look at patterns of code switching in a creole community. Smith examines a corpus of speech from younger native speakers of Tok Pisin recorded in several rural and semi-rural areas. He shows that Tok Pisin speakers borrow numerous words from English, but generally adapt them fully to their L1 phonology and morpho-syntax. He compares this with patterns of single morpheme insertion of the sort found in intra-sentential code switching, but concludes rightly that the two cannot be distinguished. By contrast, he finds very few examples of the incorporation of English phrases into Tok Pisin or of inter-sentential switching. The patterns of switching suggests that Tok Pisin is maintaining its autonomy despite English influence. Smith finds little evidence of a continuum between the two languages and notes that speakers appear to be quite aware of their distinctiveness. Still, borrowing from English results in a certain loss of internal strategies of word formation in Tok Pisin, and this may have implications for future change. For the moment, however, Tok Pisin is holding its own against its former lexifier language.

The final chapter of the volume, chapter 11, is by Chris Corne, to whose memory the anthology is dedicated. The chapter spans the themes of genesis and development that tie the book together and is a fitting climax. Corne examines both the origins and the continuing evolution of negative structures in Tayo. He

addresses the difficult issue of how we can tell whether a feature emerged in the initial stages of genesis or resulted from later developments. Corne's answer is that features that are shared by Tayo and its principal substrates are more likely to be early than those that aren't, though he acknowledges that this assumption may not always hold. The paper focuses mainly on several negative structures that appear to be recent developments in Tayo due to French influence. Corne suggests that younger bilinguals play a key role in introducing such features. This is in keeping with what we know about many kinds of contact induced change, including creole formation. One of Corne's most interesting observations is that the same kinds of mechanisms of change (transfer in particular) are involved in both creole formation and decreolization, with only the direction of influence differing. The chapter is a fitting conclusion to the anthology, bringing together several linguistic and sociolinguistic themes that pervade the collection. On the whole, this is a fine collection of papers, which provides valuable information on Pacific contact vernaculars, and addresses several issues of continuing importance to the field of Contact Linguistics.

Nigerian Pidgin in Lagos: Language Contact, Variation and Change in an African Urban Setting
by Dagmar Deuber

2005, Battlebridge

In Nigerian Pidgin in Lagos: Language Contact, Variation and Change in an African Urban Setting, Dagmar Deuber attempts to free Creole studies from what she says is the "straighjacket" of assuming that all contact between a pidgin/creole and its lexifier must result in some sort of hybrid mesolect along a P/C continuum. Deuber exhaustively mines an 80,000-word corpus of Nigerian Pidgin – what she calls "NigP" – to show that in a situation where English is the official language, educated NigP speakers display the same characteristics in their NigP speech as do educated speakers of any other indigenous Nigerian language. Using grammar as the differentiating factor between Nigerian Pidgin and Standard English, Deuber outlines how the traditional beliefs of decreolization along a P/C continuum, which are based on West Indian models, do not fit the Nigerian context.

Deuber argues that NigP is a language independent from English, that previous assumptions of a P/C continuum in Nigeria are flawed and that English's influence on NigP is restricted to a relatively few areas of the language. She makes some necessary – yet influential – methodological choices, including deciding on a standard orthography for NigP, limiting her research to only educated NigP speakers in Lagos, not controlling for young students in her samples and drawing a somewhat subjective line between borrowed words and code-switching. Her conclusion regarding the lack of a P/C continuum in Nigeria is well supported by the evidence, just as her assessment of NigP's current role and future prospects in Nigeria are well founded and realistic. Her book is weakest, though, when it tries to extrapolate that there is no pseudo-pidgin in Lagos. While this conclusion may also be true, it points to one of several areas that may still require further research.

Background

Two major views exist regarding NigP's genesis. Up to a certain point, most scholars agree: NigP developed as a restructured form of English, supplanting an earlier pidgin Portuguese, for use as a coastal West African trade language among Africans and Europeans. Beyond that, one camp of linguists represented by Elugbe and Omamor argues that NigP developed out of the jargon of traders and concubines in the southeastern portion of Nigeria, with some influence from Sierra Leonean Krio speakers. Another camp represented by Huber argues that only a small number of middlemen spoke such a jargon and that a more likely origin for the language was in the southwest around Lagos, where recaptives (slaves captured by the British on the high seas and released on the West African coast) settled in high numbers in an environment that included Krio and an English-based jargon. He explains NigP's dominance in the modern, eastern Nigerian NigP "heartland" as a result of the eastward spread of the language through trade.

As Deuber correctly points out, NigP forms just one portion of a triglossic situation in southern Nigeria, where English is the "high" language, NigP the "low" language and indigenous languages straddle the two categories as the ethnic and educational makeup of a specific situation permits. She is careful not to overreach and claim that NigP is widely used in the north, where Hausa is instead the lingua franca. Deuber accurately describes NigP's role in modern Nigerian society as a language largely for informal or comedic situations, unaccepted by the establishment, with no standardization in orthography and with significant lexical and phonological differences among the various ethnic substrates.

Deuber says previous studies would have one believe that the Nigerian situation, where the English lexifier exists as the official language, should be ripe for decreolization among educated speakers. In DeCamp's 1971 work on the "post-creole stage" of a language's development, he argues that when a lexifier is the official language of a community in which a Creole is spoken and a social stratification breaks down, a Creole may move beyond the Creole stage in Hall's view of the P/C life cycle. In this decreolization process, the basilectal speakers of a Creole modify their speech in the direction of the acrolect, resulting in the creation of a hybrid mesolect. Explanations for this process range from

Bickerton's early work, arguing that the years after emancipation lead to a change in language use, to Alleyne's view that mesolects develop first in plantation societies. Alternatively, Bickerton's later work and Mufwene's research argue that a progressive process of restructuring the lexifier – rather than decreolizing the basilect – creates a mesolect.

While Deuber does write that she "will accept that some form of a continuum model is a valid characterization of the linguistic situation in places such as Jamaica and Guyana," she does abide similar research into West African creoles. While Todd suggested in 1974 that advanced West Indian compulsory English education is the only reason that decreolization is more advanced in the Western Hemisphere than in West Africa, Deuber argues that "at present there is in actual fact little hard evidence of P/C continua in Nigeria and the other parts of anglophone West Africa that I have discussed, and such statements as have been made about continua or decreolization in these areas seem to owe a great deal to the early work of DeCamp and Bickerton."

Methods

Deuber attempts to prove that the NigP used by educated Nigerian speakers is free of English influence by gathering an 80,000-word corpus of educated NigP speech, analyzing it for English influences, comparing its grammar to a corpus of standard English and assessing its satisfactoriness and intelligibility among all NigP speakers. She is always forthright with the subjective – yet well researched – choices that influence her work.

Deuber's corpus includes 40 Lagosian samples of NigP, each of roughly 2000 words, taken from face-to-face interviews, structured discussions and conversations as well as radio broadcasts of news reports, advice columns and dramas. While she controlled for educational background, ethnic group and time spent in Lagos, she did not control for age and occupation, accepting a bias toward young students as they are the primary users of the language in the Nigerian sociolinguistic reality. However, she ignored Hausas in her corpus and in her choice of "informants" who helped analyze the data, even though that ethnic group is well represented in Lagos.

To standardize the transcription of her corpus, Deuber chose a spelling format that uses Latin characters, though there is no universally accepted spelling of NigP. In a few cases, this choice could present a problem, as in turning the NigP "bicos" into the English "because." Deuber says the phonological differences between NigP and English are too minor to be analyzable, but uneducated NigP speakers rarely understand the pronunciation implied by "because."

Deuber also makes some difficult choices when she attempts to determine which NigP words are borrowed from English and which represent code-switching. She does an admirable job of using earlier studies into code-switching and NigP grammar to determine a subjective baseline of which words she would accept as code-switching versus borrowing, ultimately settling on a standard of relative frequency. In especially long instances of code-switching, Deuber removed whole passages, possibly skewing her results against a finding of English influence.

After transcribing the texts, Deuber worked with 22 educated faculty and students of the University of Lagos to examine the corpus for instances of English words (some of which had NigP equivalents), the subjective rating of "satisfactoriness" as an example of correct NigP grammar, and the rating of intelligibility to a NigP speaker.

Results

Deuber's most significant result is that the main aspects of English influence in educated NigP are code-switching for whole segments of speech, switching of single words, lexical borrowing in areas with which NigP does not usually deal (like higher education) and limited grammatical borrowing.

Deuber explains the lexical borrowing as a natural feature of the two languages sharing a common lexicon. Thus, she writes, this borrowing should not be interpreted as such an important influence on NigP as grammatical borrowing from English might be. The study found that only 3% of the entire corpus is made up of non-NigP words or idiomatic expressions, even though 275 discrete nouns were borrowed from English for speakers' use in the corpus.

Regarding grammatical borrowing, which Deuber considers more important to assessing English's influence on NigP, she finds the influence limited chiefly to a few examples, like the plural "s" and the third person plural pronoun. Meanwhile, she finds that NigP's tense/aspect system and the genitive "s" remain immune to borrowing. Additionally, she says that educated NigP speakers may use conjunctions and prepositions more frequently than their non-educated counterparts, but they are used correctly according to NigP grammar.

Overall, Deuber's informants found that more than 80% of the extracts would be intelligible to a common NigP speaker and that more than 90% ranked as fully or fairly satisfactory according to use of NigP grammar.

Most importantly for her thesis, Deuber concludes that whenever English forms appear in educated NigP, they are fully grammatical. As opposed to the predictions of the P/C continua researchers, Deuber says there is no hybrid mesolect developing in Nigeria, as in the West Indies.

Rather, the difference between the educated and non-educated varieties of NigP is in the discourse level of the speaker, Deuber says. She claims that her research shows that the register a NigP speaker uses depends on his or her level of education, with more educated speakers more easily segregating English and NigP in their speech. This intrigu-

ing conclusion is unfortunately unsubstantiated by the meager three speakers used as sample for non-educated NigP.

Pseudo-pidgin

As opposed to decreolization, the process of creating a pseudo-pidgin is the development of a language that resembles a pidgin or creole but lacks its standardization and includes numerous mistakes when evaluated by a fluent speaker. Earlier researchers, like Omamor, claimed that a pseudo-pidgin exists in the written forms of NigP, for example the Wakabout newspaper column, but Deuber disagrees.

However, Deuber ignores some results from her own research, such as the broadcast samples that her informants found unnatural, but which she says are rather the result of the "hyperpidginization" of newscasters as they translate into pidgin. Her research also uncovers phrases that are superficially NigP or have the "flavor" of NigP but do not conform to its rules, like "minister of aviation matter." Furthermore, her informers may be revealing their own bias against a basilectal form of the language when they say something is "hyperpidginized," a question that could only be resolved by using non-educated informers. Lastly, it is possible the researchers Deubers draws on to determine the baseline form of NigP were overzealous in their characterization of what is NigP, lending to an academic view of NigP that is considerably more narrow than the accepted form on the street.

Conclusion

Deuber has, through thorough research, created a good resource for future studies of NigP. Her work points immediately to areas for further study, such as non-educated NigP, while suggesting other topics as well: the effect of satellite television on NigP, the music of NigP entertainers like Daddy Showkey coming out of Lagos' Ajegunle neighborhood, and whether educated NigP speakers maintain basilectal speech because the non-educated basilectal-speaking NigP is so much bigger than a potential acrolectal population in under-educated Nigeria.

Deuber's information-loaded book (complete with an excellent CD resource) is not for the lay reader. However, Nigerian politicians and education officials might benefit from Deuber's insightful, and suitably realistic, predictions about NigP's future, given its situation caught between conservative elites who consider it a "broken" or colonial language and ethnic minorities who seek to maintain their own linguistic identity. As she writes, certain modest proposals of NigP's use in primary education, recognition as a Nigerian language and expansion in the media are the most realistic. She acknowledges that part of NigP's great appeal is that it is accessible across ethnic lines, but that such accessibility could be hampered by the standardized orthography that would necessarily accompany national acceptance. Wisely, she notes that NigP is ingrained in Nigerian culture, but foresees little immediate change in its acceptance throughout the country.

Creolization of language and culture
Robert Chaudenson

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Reviewed by Mikael Parkvall, Stockholms Universitet

In 1992 French creolist Robert Chaudenson published Des îles, des hommes, des languages, detailing the Aixois school of creolist thought. Translated and reedited by Salikoko Mufwene (assisted by three of his students), the book has now become available in English. Since 1992, Chaudenson's views of creole genesis have become inceasingly popular outside Francophone circles, and this volume now for the first time offers Chaudenson's new non-Francophone followers a possibility of assessing the original.

Chaudenson's hypothesis is based on the case of Réunion, whose French-lexifier Creole (FC) variety is the one he is most familiar with. The creologenetic scenario is summarized as follows: the société d'habitation era (before the establishment of large-scale plantations) is characterised by a close contact between the European "Robinsons" and the "Men Friday" slaves. (pp 100-1). French was the target language of the slaves, and since the social distance between the population groups was not yet considerable, they were rather succesful and wound up speaking something relatively close to French, rather than a pidgin (pp 124-5). In fact, they were so successful that their variety was "not in any way 'reduced' or 'restricted'" (p 128). This "close approximation", in turn, provided the target and main input of subsequent arrivals, who thereby came to speak an "approximation of an approximation". Even later arrivals acquired an "approximation of an approximation of an approximation", and so on, until the end result became today's creoles (pp 124-9). A variety which is "not in any way reduced or restricted" being an approximation of a target language, rather than identical with it may seem like a contradition in terms, but the varieties chronologically intermediate between the lexifier and the creole are, in Chaudenson's view, equally expressive as either of these two, albeit different. In classic creologenetic scenarios, this intermediate variety is a pidgin, thus a language with reduced expressivity.

Many of Chaudenson's stances, similarly, would benefit from better explanation and an attention to internal consistancy and coherence. For example, Chaudenson categorically denies

the possibility of defining creoles on language-internal grounds. However, he then states that Canadian French and Cuban Spanish are definitely not creoles, while Réunionnais definitely is (pp 141, 144). The grounds for this distinction are unclear. Another example is Chaudenson's concession (p 161) that creoles are not the result of "normal" language transmission, accompanied by remarks that seem contradictory. He states that "Creolization is a radical linguistic mutation, since structural changes touch [...] areas that are not, in principle, affected by change associated exclusively with internal linguistic factors" (p 163). Yet, he then suggests that most of the "typically creole" features of English-lexicon creoles discussed in Bickerton (1981) "may be linked to the variational and evolutionary tendencies of English" (p 167). In a final example of questionable choices, Chaudenson draws parallels between colonial varieties of French (e.g., in North America) and FCs. For instance, he demonstrates (pp 174-5) how overseas French dialects have tended to generalise the 3sg form of verbs. This hardly forwards his thesis, however, given that this is precisely what the creoles in question have not done – rather, it is the infinitive which has been generalised (for a discussion of this, see McWhorter & Parkvall 1999).

Another probematic issue is one of selective use of both linguistic and socio-historical data. In his survey of the role played by second language acquisition (SLA) in creole genesis, the only feature common to SLA and creoles other than Réunionnais which is discussed in any detail is the preference for periphrastic rather than synthetic future constructions. This is even more remarkable, since he also states (p 159) that synthetic future constructions, wherever they exist, survive only thanks to normative pressure (in other words, they are prone to disappear regardless of SLA). This begs the question as to why there exist plenty of non-standard lects in the world that manifest constructions which are more synthetic than the corresponding ones in their standard varieties. An avoidance of contradictory linguistic data can also be detected in Chaudenson's case against substrate influence. One of the prime candidates for evidence of African substrate influence in Atlantic creole is verb serialisation, which is not discussed at all.

Chaudenson does, however, occasionally recognise the possibility of substrate influence on creoles. Thus, an African may be source for the merger of 1pl and 2pl into one single form (nou) in Haitian. The collapse of 2pl and 3pl (into zot) in the Indian Ocean may similarly stem from influence from Malagasy or Tamil (pp 177, 184). However, while the "extreme peculiarity" of creoles is indeed due to the presence of substrate languages, these do hardly excert any positive influence on the emerging creole (pp 147-8). What makes a creole different from its lexifier, in Chaudenson's view, lies in the role played by second language acquisition (SLA) in creole genesis. To illustrate this, he adduces evidence from the ESF project, but he clearly hasn't spent much time studying those data. The project is said (pp 135-6) to be concerned with "completely informal" acquisition, and with the learners of French having Arabic and Portuguese as their mother tongues. Very few of the subjects were in fact completely untutored, and those learning French in fact spoke Arabic and Spanish.

An avoidance of contradictory socio-historical data is also discernable in Chaudenson's attempt to minimize the role of substrate languages in creole formation. Slaves had little opportunity to retain linguistic Africanisms, he claims, because plantations were deliberately ethnically mixed. An explicit prohibition of African language usage, coupled with the slaves' limited opportunities to leave the plantations, further reduced the use of ancestral tongues (pp 72-81). Here again, the actual historical evidence is not clearly in favour of Chaudenson's position – many have argued that the slaves had more opportunities than previously believed to meet and converse with fellow countrymen (Alleyne 1996:46; Arends 2001; Du Tertre 1667-71:504-5, 527, 529; Geggus 1991:404; Hall 1992:289, 294; Klein 1986:146-7; Marshall 1997:337-8; Rochefort 1658:321-2; Thomas 1997:401; Thornton 1992:172-5, 200; Wimpffen 1797 vol. 2:34). There is also evidence of African languages and ethnic identities being partly retained and even transmitted to those locally born (see e. g. Patterson 1973:23-4 and Jennings 1993:82-3). In the famous Goupy des Marets slave inventory from French Guiana, many locally born children bore African names. (Jennings 1993:71), and legendary Haitian revolutionary leader Toussaint Louverture was born in Haiti, but spoke a Gbe language (Geggus 1991:409).

Such a subjective approach to data selection and analysis points up a felt need for strict methodological rigor in the field of creolistics, and resistance to relying too heavily on emotionally- or intuitively-based judgments. For instance, throughout the book Chaudenson chides Anglophone creolists for their alleged ignorance of French. Speaking this language natively enables Chaudenson to discover the "Frenchness" of French-lexicon creoles. Interestingly, some substratist creolists claim that it is thanks to their background in African languages that they can discern the "Africanness" of the same creoles. This is a non-subtle way for creolists to suggest that they who are (native) speakers of either a lexifier or a substrate are the only ones capable of appreciating the truth of their own hypothesis, and thus the only ones qualified to seek a hypothesis to begin with. This logic can only be described as "circular."

Another suggestion for improvement would be to take extreme care to avoid the appearance of the "strawman" approach. Chaudenson reports unnamed creolists who are said to have suggested that the disappearence of the preverbal negator ne in FCs provides a good illustration of the typological

discrepancy between French and FC. As is well known, this morpheme is normally dropped in spoken French as well. I find it hard to believe that any serious linguist would have forwarded such an argument, and Chaudenson fails to provide a reference here, further deepening my scepticism.

It is not only the generic Anglophone creolist who is exposed to Chaudenson's criticism, but he also has a go at a few people writing in French. About 25 pages (roughly pp 70-95) centre around a severe criticism of Fleischmann (1983). Chaudenson's scepticism in this regard is well founded, and I am basically in agreement with him. I have a difficulty, though, with understanding why such a large proportion of the book is devoted to this particular subject – after all, neither Fleischmann in general, nor his 1983 article in particular can be said to have a profound influence on the field. Meanwhile, claims of more influential non-superstratist works are not dealt with.

In summary, Creolization is a highly polemic work, occasionally thought-provoking, but for the most part flawed. Chaudenson gives a detailed and interesting account of what the lexifier input in French creoles genesis must have looked like, but ultimately has little to say about how it turned into the creoles we know today.

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