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A newsletter for those interested in pidgin and creole languages.

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Editor: John R. Rickford (Linguistics); Assoc. Editor: James A. Fox (Anthropology)

Phone (415) 497-4284

FOCUS ON CREOLISTS #12: WILLIAM A. STEWART

by John Holm (Hunter College, City University of New York)

William A. Stewart is one of the founding fathers of modern creole studies. His work from the 1960's onwards on creoles and especially Black English has given us some fundamental concepts and done much to influence the directions that research has taken over the past decades.

Stewart was born in Hawaii in 1930. He grew up in the ethnically diverse Kalihi district of Oahu, hearing mostly Azorean Portuguese from his peers. As Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics moved in, there was a shift of the street language to Spanish. Stewart distinctly remembers relexifying along with other children.

He moved with his family to California in 1940 and received his undergraduate and graduate degrees at U.C.L.A. in the 1950's. Drafted in 1952, he was first assigned as a translator to European Command Headquarters in Frankfurt, then was transferred to Paris the following year. After a year as a Fulbright scholar in Brazil, Stewart joined the Center for Applied Linguistics in 1960, which led to extensive travel in the Caribbean area and Africa. By this time he was fluent in Portuguese, Spanish, German, French, Dutch, Wolof, Haitian, Sranan, Papiamentu, and Gullah, and possessed a passive competence in a

number of other languages.

While in Washington D.C., Stewart taught periodically at Georgetown University and Johns Hopkins. He joined the faculty of Columbia University Teachers College in 1968 and began teaching in the doctoral program of linguistics at the City University of New York in 1972. That year he received a National Science Foundation grant to support his fieldwork and research on the decreolization of Gullah, beginning an extensive lexicographical project which is still in progress.

Stewart's publications include a number of "firsts" which have reached an unusually broad audience. Many reprints of his articles on Black English have become required reading for urban language teachers.



William A. Stewart

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Because of space limitations, the following account of his writings includes only the articles most relevant to creole studies.

His 1962 "Creole languages in the Caribbean" (in Frank A. Rice, ed., Study of the Role of Second Languages in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, Washington D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics) was the first study linking Caribbean creoles of various lexical bases through relexification, a concept which Stewart introduced. His "Outline of linguistic typology for describing multilingualism" (same volume) established a functional-sociolinguistic typology which is now widely used in language surveys. His 1963 "Functional distribution of French and Creole in Haiti" (in

Georgetown Monograph on Languages and Linguistics, No. 15) was the first discussion of languages in diglossic situations as style variants. His 1964 "Foreign language teaching methods in quasi-foreign language situations" (in Williams Stewart, ed., *Non-Standard Speech and the Teaching of English*, Washington D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics) introduced the concept of "quasi-foreign language" and included the first discussion of the pedagogical implications of Liberian Pidgin English.

Stewart's 1965 "Urban Negro speech: sociolinguistic factors affecting English teaching" (in Roger W. Shuy, ed., *Social Dialects and Language Learning*, Urbana: National Council of Teachers of English) was a seminal work, introducing the concepts of "basilect" and "acrolect" and making the first mention of stressed "been" plus verb for the remote past. It also included the first discussion of age-grading in Black English.

Stewart's 1966 *Introductory Course in Dakar Wolof* (with Cheikh Babou et al., Washington D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics) was one of the first West African language descriptions deliberately selecting an urbanized variety as the norm. It relates to Stewart's study of creole languages in that it contributed to his Africanist perspective on many linguistic problems that others had approached only from the perspective of standard English.

His 1966 "Social dialect" (in Beryl L. Bailey, ed., *Research Planning Conference on Language Development in Disadvantaged Children*, New York: Ferkauf Graduate School of Education, Yeshiva University) was an early attack on the deficit theory of children's Black English and the first creolist counterthrust to Labov's theory of copula deletion.

Stewart's 1967 "Language and communication problems in Southern Appalachia" (Charleston, WV: Appalachia Regional Educational Laboratory) was the first comparison of black and white speech in Appalachia.

Two very important articles were Stewart's 1967 "Sociolinguistic factors in the history of American Negro dialects" (*The Florida Foreign Language Reporter*, vol. 5, no. 2) and his 1968 "Continuity and change in American Negro dialects" (*ibid.* vol. 6, no. 1). The first detailed the ties of Black English to the English-based creoles and West African Pidgin English, while the second contained the first explanation of how Black English had decreolized.

His 1969 "On the use of Negro dialect in the teaching of reading" (in Joan C. Baratz and Roger W. Shuy, eds., *Teaching Black Children*

to Read, Washington D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics) was a major position statement, arguing for Black English primers on grounds of possible dialect interference in beginning reading. It includes incidental first mentions of many Black structural features such as the habitual "-s."

His 1969 "Historical and structural features for the recognition of Negro dialect" (in James E. Alatis, ed., *Georgetown Monograph on Languages and Linguistics*, No. 22) was a second creolist counterthrust to Labov's copula deletion theory, arguing that the statistical profile of Black English copula equivalents derive from creole copula differentiation.

Stewart's 1973 "More on black-white speech relationships" (*Florida FL Reporter*, vol. 11) contains one of the first discussions of white planter competence in Black English, a theme taken up again in his 1974 "Acculturative processes and the language of the American Negro" (in William W. Gage, ed., *Language in its Social Setting*, Washington D.C.: The Anthropological Society of Washington). This was a major statement of the historical evolution of New World black varieties of English, positing linguistic history as a subset of a larger cultural development. It contains a number of first mentions of African features transferred to the New World creoles. (Ed. note: See p.25 for the distinction between specific and non-specific in the noun phrase.)

Stewart's 1978 "The laissez-faire movement in English teaching: advance to the rear?" (Margaret A. Lourie and Nancy Conklin, eds., *A Pluralistic Nation: The Language Issue in the United States*, Rowley, MA: Newbury House) argues that there are functional conflicts between Black English and Standard English that can lead to a breakdown in comprehension.

Stewart's 1981 "Gullah-English Bilingualism, Psycholinguistically Considered" (Conference on Gullah in the Carolina Low Country, sponsored by the Charleston Speech and Hearing Association) identified loss of structural salience when different points on the continuum merge as the cause of the loss of bilingual competence in individual speakers. Stewart's 1985 "From xenolect to mimolect to pseudocomprehension: structural mimicry and its functional consequences in decreolization" (forthcoming in the *Linguistic Annual*, New York Academy of Sciences) pursues the line of inquiry in his 1981 paper, expanding his analysis of comprehension breakdown.

Creole studies has been strengthened by Stewart's original insights and willingness to defend

positions in linguistic theory and educational policy that run counter to current fashions. We look forward to his future contributions to our discipline.

EDITOR'S NOTES

As of January 1985, the CP has become financially self-supporting. The Dean's Office and the Linguistics Department at Stanford have supported us generously over the past three three years, but from here on we will be relying entirely on subscriptions (and the occasional ad) for income. Responses to the subscription invoices which we enclosed with the last issue have been good, but we still have a number of outstanding debts to settle, and need to receive checks from those of you who haven't paid up yet.

We have also had to take other measures to reduce costs. The most important and immediate of these is the decision to come out three times a year instead of four, in April, August and December. This will effect big savings in every department: paste up, printing, and mailing. (Six dollars a year barely covers the cost of mailing the CP to subscribers in far-off places!) We hope that readers will not be too disappointed by this change in frequency of publication. We will still carry the same volume of information (that is, everything we receive); individual issues will generally run ten to twelve pages now, instead of eight. We are also contemplating one or two other cost-cutting changes in format, and a possible small increase in subscription rates, but we're trying to hold out on these as long as possible.

On the positive side, we will be trying to improve our coverage of publications and news by increasing our pool of advisory editors, and assigning specific editors responsibility for covering a number of different journals and events (including our sibling newsletter, *Gazet Sifon Ble*). This is in response to a terrific suggestion by Chris Corne, one of our most active correspondents. Two new advisory editors have been added as of this issue: Glenn Gilbert and John Holm, and we hope to add several more during this year.

Our thanks to John Holm for his Focus article on Bill Stewart, who has been at the centre of many

developments and issues in creole studies in pidgin-creole studies and the study of Vernacular Black English. We have one focus article planned for later this year, but need one more; as usual, we are happy to hear from volunteers to write the articles for this series.

We are grateful to Derek Bickerton for sharing with us his preface to the Japanese edition of *Roots of Language*, which we are certain will be of interest to many of our readers. We will be happy to print comments and queries in response to this preface or in relation to any other issues in pidgin-creole studies.

CONFERENCES AND LECTURES

The Twenty-eighth Annual Meeting of the AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION will be held jointly with the Middle East Studies Association in New Orleans, Louisiana, from November 23 to 26, 1985. Papers and panels on all aspects of African Studies and from every discipline in the arts, humanities and sciences are encouraged. For further information, write: ASA Annual Meeting, 255 Kinsey Hall, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA 90024 (Phone 213 206-8011).

At the AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY ANNUAL MEETING on December 27-30, 1984, the following two papers of interest were presented:

Michael I. Miller (Virginia Commonwealth University), "Evidence for a Virginia Plantation Creole."

Patricia C. Nichols (San Jose State University), "African-American children's stories."

The AMSTERDAM CREOLE WORKSHOP on "Universals versus substrata in creole genesis" was held April 10-12, 1985 at the Univ. of Amsterdam (P.C. Hoofthuis, Spuistraat 134, The Netherlands). Papers scheduled for presentation included:

Mervyn Alleyne, "Substratum influences--guilty until proven innocent."

Jacques Arends, "Genesis and development of the Sranan copula."

Philip Baker and Chris Corne, "Universals, substrata and the Indian Ocean Creoles: a plea for a non-confrontational approach."

Derek Bickerton, "Creoles and West African languages: a case of mistaken identity."

Hans den Besten, "On the genesis of negative doubling in Afrikaans."

Martha Dijkhoff, "The passive

participle in Papiamentu: introductory observations."

Hein Eersel, "Aspects of the universals versus substrata controversy."

Glenn Gilbert, "Dêjâ vu, or where have I seen that before?"

Ian Hancock, "A componential approach to Creole genesis."

John Holm, "Substrate diffusion."

Hilda Koopman, "West African and Haitian syntax."

Claire Lefebvre, "Relexification in creole genesis revisited: the case of Haitian Creole."

Salikoko Mufwene, "Universalist and substrate theories complement one another."

Peter Mühlhäusler, "The development of adjective-noun order in Tok Pisin."

Pieter Muysken, "The syntax and morphology of *p* in the creole languages."

Gillian Sankoff, "The New Guinea in Tok Pisin."

Pieter Seuren and Herman Wekker, "Semantic Transparency as a factor in creole genesis."

Norval Smith, "Function words and the substrate."

Guy BAILEY (Texas A & M University) and Natalie MAYNOR (Mississippi State University) presented a paper entitled "The present tense of *be* in Black English: 100 years of syntax" at the Rocky Mountain American Dialect Society Meeting in El Paso, Texas, on October 19, 1984.

The Fifth COLLOQUE INTERNATIONAL DES ETUDES CREOLES will be held in May, 1986, at Réunion. Theme: "La créolisation: dynamique des cultures, langues et sociétés créoles." For information, write: Institut d'études créoles, Université de Provence, 29 avenue Robert Schumann, 13621 Aix-en-Provence, France.

The following report on the First COLLOQUIUM ON CREOLE LANGUAGES AND LANGUAGE CONTACT, held at the University of Essen on January 26, 1985, was submitted by Peter Mühlhäusler:

After a long interval of apparently diminishing interest in creoles, a group of West-German scholars succeeded in organizing a scientific meeting at the University of Essen devoted entirely to creoles and related topics. The meeting was intended to propagate interest in creolistics in the German-speaking countries and therefore the majority of the speakers invited were Germans doing research work in this special field of linguistics. The list of contributors and participants also included well-known creolists from the Netherlands and the United States, among them Pieter Seuren and Glenn Gilbert.

The entire session was chaired by

Dr. Werner Enninger (University of Essen), whom we must thank for finally making the colloquium become a reality. Dr. Norbert Boretzky (University of Bochum) read a short paper entitled "Einleitende Worte über die Kreolistik in der Bundesrepublik" which summarized the history of creolistics in the Federal Republic of Germany and discussed the current state of the art. The main section was opened by Dr. Hans den Besten (University of Amsterdam) with his paper entitled "Die doppelte Negation im Afrikaans" on the double negation in Afrikaans. He convincingly demonstrated that double negation can by no means be explained as a Dutch feature in Afrikaans. Then Dr. Boretzky argued against the inclusion of the various Gypsy languages in the number of creoles in "Sind Zigeunersprachen Kreols?" by showing how different the two types of languages are. The third paper of the day, entitled "Kritische Bemerkungen zu Kreol-Wörterbüchern," was read by Dr. Peter Mühlhäusler (Oxford) and dealt with the principles of composing creole dictionaries. The gist of his argument was that the existing dictionaries are products of Eurocentric etymologies.

After the break, Dr. Ingrid Neumann (Bamberg) continued with a description of the history of the French-based Creoles of Louisiana and Haiti in "Bemerkungen zur Genese des Kreols von Louisiana und seiner historischen Relationen zum Kreol von Haiti." According to Neumann, the creole of Louisiana was already well established before Haitian speakers could influence its development. Dr. Mark Sebba (York) presented his arguments for serial verbs by showing that serialization is mainly an argument increasing strategy in "Arguments for serial verbs." Dr. Peter Stein (Regensburg) gave an impression of his editorial work on the early sources of the Negro Dutch of the former Danish Antilles in his paper entitled "Bemerkungen zur Edition der Sklavenbriefe aus St. Thomas, 1737-1768." He concluded that the main features of the later creole were already present in its earlier stages. The session was closed with a diachronic analysis of the repetitive aspects of some Portuguese-based creoles presented by Thomas Stolz (Bochum) in "Die Aktionsart Repetitiv in den portugiesisch-basierten Kreols." Stolz cited evidence for a strong tendency of creoles to mark a distinct aspect/actionsart for the repetition of an action.

The organizers of the colloquium intend to publish the papers in a separate volume in German. Boretzky, Enninger and Stolz are already planning a follow-up

conference for late November of this year. Information about the papers and the Second Colloquium can be obtained from: Thomas Stolz, Ruhr-universität Bochum, AKS-Clearingstelle, Postfach 10 21 48, 4630 Bochum 1, Federal Republic of Germany.

A CONFERENCE ON ENGLISH LINGUISTICS will be held at the University of Michigan from August 18 to 24, 1985. For information, write: Richard W. Bailey, Department of English, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109.

The GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY ROUND TABLE ON LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS will be held June 27-29, 1985, at Georgetown University in Washington, D. C.. The conference is entitled "Linguistics and language in context: the interdependence of theory, data, and application." Registration fee is \$45 (\$15 for students), payable to Georgetown University. Write: Deborah Tannen, Co-Chair, GURT 85, School of Languages and Linguistics, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C. 20057.

Ian HANCOCK recently gave some talks on pre-1800 (i.e. pre-returned-Jamaicans) Guinea Coast Creole English speakers and on the African origins of Atlantic Creole at Emory University and the University of Georgia.

G. HAZAEL-MASSIEUX gave a lecture on "Créole et enseignement" on October 28, 1984, for the Association pour le Respect de l'Identité Antillo-Guyanaise in Marseille, France.

L. F. HOFFMANN delivered two lectures on "The sociolinguistic situation in Haiti" in Haiti in November, 1984.

The HUMANISTIC APPROACHES TO LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS CONFERENCE will be held on July 1-26, 1985 at Georgetown University, Washington DC. For more information, write: Deborah Tannen, Linguistics Department, Georgetown University, Washington DC 20057.

The International Theatre Institute (Paris) and the Union of African Performing Artists (UAPA) under the auspices of UNESCO, are organizing an INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM ON COMMUNICATION AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES IN THE FIELD OF THEATRE IN AFRICA. The colloquium will take place in Dakar, Senegal, in November, 1985, and will last five days. Suggestions for panels and applications for participation should be addressed to one of the following: M. André Louis Perinetti, Secretary-

General, ITI, UNESCO, Paris, France; Professor E. A. Ayandele, Regional Advisor for Culture in Africa, UNESCO/BREDA, PO Box 3311, Dakar, Senegal; or Dr. Hansel Ndumbe Eyoh, Department of English, University of Yaoundé, PO Box 755, Yaoundé, Cameroon.

Roger KEESING (Australian National University) delivered a lecture on "Solomon Islands Pijin and the Oceanic Substrate" to the Department of Linguistics at Stanford in December, 1984.

The LINGUISTICS SOCIETY OF AMERICA will hold its 60th Annual Conference in Seattle, Washington, from December 27 to 30, 1985. Deadline for abstracts is September 10. For further information, please write: LSA Secretariat, PO Box 1337, 3421 M. St., NW, Washington, DC 20007.

The MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION will hold its next conference from December 27 to 30, 1985, in Chicago. For information, write: Convention Manager, MLA, 62 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

Salikoko MUFWENE presented a paper entitled "Some problems related to investigating Gullah in the field" at the University of Alabama Conference on Linguistics in the Humanities and Science held in Birmingham, Alabama, in April, 1984.

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY (Hyderabad, India) organized a National Seminar on Tense and Aspect on January 11-12, 1985, in which the following two papers were presented:

Jean M. Aitchison, "Tense and aspect in child language, pidgins and creoles."

M. V. Sreedhar, "Tense and aspect in pidgins/creoles: a case study of Naga Pidgin compared with Assamese and Sema Naga."

The Fourth Annual Conference on PERSPECTIVES ON BILINGUALISM will be held on June 7, 1985 at the Ferkauf Graduate School of Psychology, Bronx, New York. For more information contact: Joshua A. Fishman, Ferkauf Graduate School of Psychology, Yeshiva University, 1165 Morris Park Ave., Bronx, NY 10461.

John T. SCHNEIDER (University of Witwatersrand) presented the paper "Sub-Saharan cultural extensions in Brazil: the relevance of lexical data" at the Language and History panel of the annual African Studies Association Conference held at UCLA in October, 1984.

Our report in the last issue on the SOCIETY FOR CARIBBEAN LINGUISTICS CONFERENCE held from August 29

through September 1, 1984, omitted two papers which were also presented. They are:

Glenn Gilbert, "Schuchardt's Creole Study X: on the Negro-English of West Africa."

Robert B. Le Page, "The need for a multidimensional model" (read by Lawrence Carrington in Le Page's absence).

Peter STEIN recently presented the following papers: "Die Anfänge der Verschriftung einer Kreolsprache: Das Negerhollands im 18. Jahrhundert," at the Sixth Symposium über Sprachkontakt in Europa, in Kreolischen in Mauritius. Untersuchungen zur Sprache ausgewählter Sprecher," at the Internationales Kolloquium--Soziolinguistische Variation, Theorie und romanistische Applikation, in Leipzig, November 1-3, 1984.

S. THOMASON (University of Pittsburgh) gave a lecture on "The role of simplification in pidgin genesis" at the University of California at Santa Barbara on February 7, 1985.

COURSES

Hazel Carter taught a 3-unit seminar course on AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND CARIBBEAN CREOLES (African 921) at the University of Wisconsin at Madison during the Fall semester, 1984. Topics covered included an overview of pidgin-creole studies, characteristics of pidgins, development in creoles and 'natural' languages, Caribbean and other Atlantic Creoles, some relevant African languages, pidgins and creoles in Africa, and the African contribution to Caribbean and Atlantic creoles. Participants were required to select a creole and one or more African languages known/suspected to have been involved in its development, to produce short descriptions of each, and to discuss the contribution of the African language(s) on various levels (phonology, morphology, syntax, lexis). For further information, write Dr. Hazel Carter, Department of African Languages and Literature, University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI 53706.

An intensive summer course in first-year CAPE VERDEAN KRIOLU will be taught by Arturo Lomba at the Boston University African Studies Center from June 17 to August 9, 1985. Prof. Lomba of Eastern Nazarene College is a native speaker,

and taught Boston University's first presentation of this course last summer. The course this summer will provide an orally oriented intensive introduction to spoken and written Cape Verdean Kriolu and Cape Verdean culture, and will provide 16 Continuing Education units of credit which are convertible to regular academic credit at many, but not all universities. Tuition is \$750, and some financial aid may be available. Application deadline is April 30. For further information, contact Dr. Stanley Cushingham, African Studies Center, Boston University, 270 Bay State Road, Boston, MA 02215.

Albert Valdman writes that he is in the process of completing a new text for the learning of HAITIAN CREOLE to supercede Basic Course in Haitian Creole. The new text, Ann pale kreyòl, includes a companion volume called Introduction to Haitian Creole.

INTRODAKSEN LONG STADI BLONG BISLAMA ('Introduction to Bislama Studies' ED. 183) is the title of an innovative course organized by Terry Crowley and taught by Bill Camden and himself at the University of the South Pacific, Vanuatu from January 2 to February 8, 1985. According to Crowley, this is the first course ever offered for degree credit through the medium of Melanesian pidgin--in this case, Bislama. The course itself covered the development of Bislama, including its relation to other Pacific pidgins, its status, phonetics and orthography, grammar and vocabulary. The course attracted twenty students, and was apparently a great success. For a five-page report on the course, write Dr. Terry Crowley, Pacific Language Unit, University of the South Pacific, PO Box 12, Port Vila, Vanuatu.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Our announcement in the December '84 CP of the review of BAKER and CORNE's Ile de France Creole by Chaudenson in Etudes Créoles 6.2 (1983) should have included the information that it was followed by 'Commentaries' by Corne (pp.225-229) and Baker (pp.230-236), followed in turn by a closing note by Chaudenson (p.237).

The Belize College of Arts, Science and Technology (BELCAST)

announces the inaugural issue of the BELCAST JOURNAL OF BELIZEAN AFFAIRS. The journal will be publishing material on topics relevant to Belizean affairs consistent with its objectives. The editor of the journal regards it as a potentially important forum for the discussion and analysis of developments in Belizean research and education as well as for the publication of Belizean literary works. Subscription is \$12 US per year for two issues. For more information on the journal write Angel E. Cal, Editor-in-Chief, Belcast Journal of Belizean Affairs, P.O. Box 990, Belize City, Belize.

The BILINGUAL FAMILY NEWSLETTER, under the editorship of George Saunders (author of Bilingual Children: Guidance for the Family), began publication in February, 1984. Cost is £3 per year (four issues) for individuals, £4.50 for libraries and institutions. Write: Multilingual Matters Ltd., Bank House, 8A Hill Rd., Clevedon, Avon B521-7HH, England.

Virginia Mixson GERATY is nearing completion of Gullah Fuh Oonuh (Gullah for You). The book is suitable for use as an introductory-level textbook. Included is a 3,000 word vocabulary and English translations of idiomatic expressions used by Gullah speakers. Geraty does not hold a degree in linguistics, but she has lived among Gullah-speaking people for over fifty years and has an intuitive knowledge of the subject. When she was asked to teach a course on Gullah at the College of Charleston, she found that no textbook had been written on the language, and thus decided to write her own.

The final report on a research project on GRIQUA AFRIKAANS is now available. The report consists of five volumes. The first two comprise a wide range of articles based on the Griqua data, and the last three include a complete publication of this data. It is available at R92.00 (including postage). Checks must be made payable to "Griqua Afrikaans." To order, write: Mrs. A. S. De Wet, Afrikaans and Dutch Department, University of the Orange Free State, P.O. Box 339, Bloemfontein 9300, Republic of South Africa.

Peter Mülhäusler writes that the long-awaited HANDBOOK OF TOK PISIN (Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, 1985) is at the printers. The CP will publish a full list of the handbook's contents in a future issue.

JOURNAL is a new publication interested in all innovative findings in education either in approach or in content. Contributions may vary from predominantly theoretical to specific and practical insofar as they explicitly relate to the general theme of this journal. Topics of preference include, for example, the effects of vernacular and/or standardized languages for instruction, the education of linguistic minorities, instructional effectiveness in multicultural and multilingual communities, problems of literacy and biliteracy, sociological and/or sociolinguistic analysis of educational issues, and the spread of languages of wider communication, particularly in higher education. Contributions are welcomed from all countries and from all disciplines. Manuscripts are reviewed anonymously by competent scholars. All articles, books or journals for review or listing should be sent to the editor, Juan Cobarrubias, Association for Research on International Education, P.O. Box 1301, Scarsdale, NY 10583-9301.

Creolists are invited to submit papers for possible publication in the SOCIETY FOR CARIBBEAN LINGUISTICS OCCASIONAL PAPERS SERIES. Priority will be given to papers on the Atlantic Creoles, though other papers may be accepted. Members of the society will be given preference over other candidates. Papers (two copies) should be submitted to: Dr. Donald Winford, Secretary-Treasurer, Society for Caribbean Linguistics, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad, West Indies.

The SOUTHERN ENGLISH NEWSLETTER resumes publication, now on a steadier, quarterly course, after a two-year absence. As mentioned in the original issue, the purpose of the newsletter is to be a clearinghouse for announcements and items of all kinds related to the study of the English language used in the Southern United States. All announcements are welcomed, as well as reviews of books cited in the newsletter, short articles, and just about anything else that enlightens us on language patterns in the South or of Southerners. The newsletter is distributed free of charge, in the interest of keeping readers up to date with research on Southern American English. To be put on the mailing list, write Prof. Michael Montgomery, Dept. of English, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC 29208.

M. V. SREEDHAR's "Standardized Grammar of Naya Pidgin" is being

printed by the Government of India Press, Nasik. It is expected to be completed by the end of April. In the next issue we will summarize information on another book that he is currently editing, *Studies in Pidgins and Creoles: Languages of Wider Communication*.

Cambridge University Press has assumed publication of *STUDIES IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION*, formerly published by Indiana University. The journal, edited by Albert Valdman, is devoted to problems and issues in second language acquisition and foreign language learning, defined broadly to include problems of language contact (interference, transfer, and pidginization). Each volume contains three issues, one of which is devoted to a single theme or topic. The other two issues contain theoretically oriented papers, reports of empirical research or discussions with broad pedagogical implications, research notes, and review articles. For further information, write: Harry Florentine, Circulation Manager, Cambridge University Press, 32 E. 57th Street, New York, NY 10022.

Back issues of *TE REO* (1958-1983) are now available for only \$1 each, as is also Chris Corne's *Essai de grammaire du créole mauricien*. Articles of interest to CP readers include:

Annegret Bollée and Robert Chaudenson, "Deux contes populaires seychellois" (Vol. 16).

Ross Clark, "Beach-la-mar" (Vols. 20, 21, 22).

Chris Corne, "Ile de France Creole, Reunionese" (Vols. 12, 16, 17/18, 20, 24, 26).

Chris Corne, "French Guiana Creole" (Vol. 14).

Ian Hancock, "Malacca Creole Portuguese" (Vol. 16).

K. J. Hollyman, "Pidgins européens de la région calédonienne" (Vol. 19).

K. J. Hollyman, "Langue de relation (...): le nord de la Nouvelle-Calédonie avant 1854" (Vol. 21).

Don Laycock, "Papuan and pidgin: aspects of bilingualism in New Guinea" (Vol. 9).

Ingrid Neumann, "Situation actuelle du créole en Louisiane" (Vol. 24).

Raden Roosman, "Javanese immigrants in New Calendon" (Vol. 14).

K. Smithyman, "New Zealand English" (Vols. 6, 9, 10/11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 20).

G. W. Turner, "Written Pidgin English" (Vol. 3).

Jeffrey Waite, "Ile de France Creole" (Vols. 24, 26).

Back copies may be ordered from The Treasurer, Linguistic Society,

c/o University P/B, Auckland, New Zealand. Enclose your remittance and please add \$1 to your order towards postage costs (surface mail).

If your research concerns pidgins/creoles in the Pacific Basin or the general vicinity, Te Reo is always willing to consider publication. Send manuscript, following the Te Reo stylesheet (in Vol. 26 and also available free from the Editor), to Editor, Linguistic Society, University P/B, Auckland, New Zealand.

SQUAWKS AND RUFFLED FEATHERS

Chris CORNE (U. of Auckland) writes:

Philip BAKER and Chris CORNE are now being labeled "substratomaniacs" by both Bickerton (*The Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 7(2)) and Chaudenson (*Etudes Créoles* 6(2)), as well as by Fournier and Wittman in various articles in *Revue de l'Association Québécoise de Linguistique*. While this is manifestly untrue, as anybody who has bothered to read our work with a modicum of care will agree, it is ironic that we are being shot at by both sides, especially as your average substratomaniac is right now oiling his artillery.

Frank BYRNE (Linguistics, U. of Arizona) writes:

In reference to the Bickerton-Bailey debate in the first three 1984 issues of *The Carrier Pidgin*, I wish to clarify some apparent misconceptions and presumptions on the part of Mr. Bailey. First, Bickerton (CP 12(2)) left no doubt that the data and analysis of *fu* in such sentences as *fu a fu naKī di mii* 'he should hit the child' and *a go a wosu bi-fu njan* 'he went home to eat (but didn't)' originated from my dissertation (which will be out in 1985). It is therefore an error to attribute the analysis and data to Bickerton.

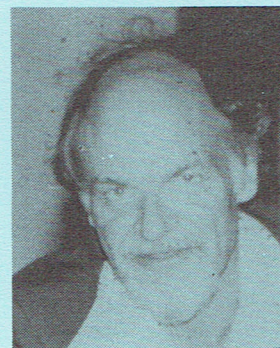
A second point deals with Mr. Bailey's assumptions concerning copulas in Saramaccan and other creoles. Contrary to what he implies, there is a copula in Saramaccan preceding nouns: *i da di taanyi wan* 'you are the strong one'. However, there is no copula in Saramaccan, Ø or otherwise, preceding adjectives in certain contexts. In syntactic circles, the category "adjective" is usually thought of as containing the feature /+V/ since there are normally a number of verbal characteristics associated

with it in a given language. In creoles (in the "deep" varieties at least), they simply go a step further and often do not differentiate adjectives from verbs in those contexts where in non-creole languages we find copulas. That is, adjectives in this environment are for all intents and purposes verbs and as such, may be tensed: *Kofi bi-siki* 'Kofi was sick'. To state that there is a Ø copula in the above sentence is to misconstrue the perceptions of the Saramakan towards these items. In any event, the presence or absence of a copula has absolutely no bearing on the categorical status of any of the properties of *fu*.

PREFACE TO THE JAPANESE EDITION OF ROOTS OF LANGUAGE

by Derek Bickerton

It is now three years since the publication of the original American edition of *Roots of Language*. Three years is perhaps a good period in which to assess the impact of a book and determine to what extent it was on the right track, as well as how it might have been amended. I am happy to be able to make this assessment for Japanese readers, especially since the further development of the ideas set forth in my book has been quite rapid over those three years.



Derek Bickerton

The numerous reviews of the book ranged from the adulatory to the hypercritical. To discuss their comments in detail would require a work somewhat longer than the original. Accordingly, I shall limit my comments here to four main issues:

a) the definition of a creole;

- b) the experience of the first creole generation;
- c) the emphasis on semantics rather than syntax;
- d) the relationship between my ideas and those of Chomsky.

Many reviewers objected to the restrictive definition of a creole given on p. 4. Some naively supposed that I had chosen it so as to avoid inconvenient counterexamples, and seemed quite unaware that in scientific inquiry it is never necessary, and often undesirable, to take at face value the names that have been accorded to things by popular tradition, and the meanings that by popular usage have been associated with those names. One or two more perceptive critics noted that the definition seemed inconsistent with my earlier work on variation and linguistic continua, and to these a word of explanation is due.

The first aim in any study of the human language faculty must be to seek out those areas where linguistic input is most deficient, and where in consequence the workings of any innate capacity must show themselves most clearly. This is what motivates, for example, the recent upsurge of interest among generativists in 'empty categories' -- those 'understood' elements in speech which have no phonological content -- some of which used simply to be ignored. In the study of so-called 'contact languages', this aim dictates that one should concentrate on those creoles where there was minimal input from any dominant language. (One can safely ignore input from substrate languages, since this must in all cases have been both fragmentary and contradictory, given the number of substrates to each creole -- one of the noteworthy points in the reviews was the complete absence of any attempt even to try to answer the book's arguments against the possibility of substratum influence on creoles.) The definition given was the natural consequence of this aim. Of course data from creoles excluded by the definition is incompatible with the description of creoles provided here -- given the differences in origins, that is precisely what the theory demands, rather than something which would refute it.

However, once the principle has been established that some creoles must from the very nature of their origins provide clearer evidence for the innate capacity than others, the way is opened for a more delicate treatment of individual creoles. Rather than lumping them into two discrete blocks -- a useful but rather limiting first approximation -- one can then regard creoles as distributed along a continuum, with those creoles which have had least

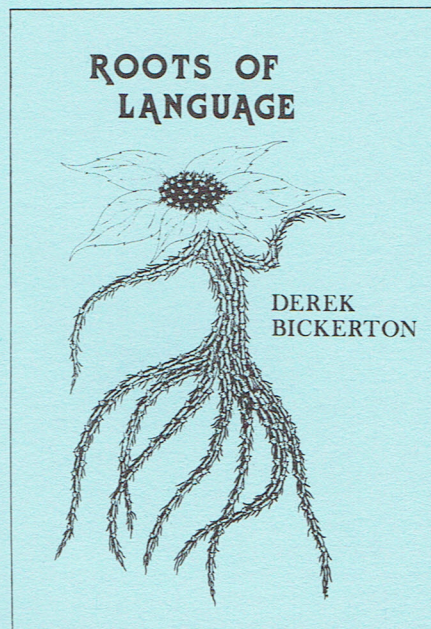
dominant-language input (e.g. Saramaccan, Haitian) at one end and those that have had considerably more of such input (e.g. Papiamentu, Hawaiian Creole English) at the other, nearer to those languages, e.g. Reunion Creole, which were ruled out under condition (2) of the restrictive definition of 'creole.' (Languages excluded by condition (1), like Tok Pisin, are presumably orthogonal to this continuum, a probability confirmed by the unpredictable mixture of creole-like and uncreole-like features which they contain.) For a fuller development of this approach, see Bickerton 1984.

Let us turn now to the peculiar situation of children born in a pidgin-speaking community. My claims about this situation were misunderstood even by the more per-

asking why they drew that inference when there was nothing in the text to support it. Indeed, the co-existence of the pidgin with vernacular languages was explicitly mentioned (p.5) and it was pointed out that these were rejected as models, since any one of them would allow access only to a minority of the child's speech community.

The facts are, of course, exactly as I have always described them: far from being raised in an environment which was linguistically impoverished, children of the first creole generation were raised in one where far more than the normal number of languages were spoken. But they either did not learn any of these languages, or, if they did (as did the children of many Japanese immigrants to Hawaii) the fact that they also knew a pre-existing language had absolutely no effect on their acquisition of creole -- that is to say, the creole of a speaker who is also a native speaker of Japanese (people can, of course, have more than one native language, if they learn them in early childhood) is no more influenced by Japanese than is the creole of a speaker totally ignorant of Japanese. In fact, if I erred at all, it was in giving a sociolinguistic, rather than a purely linguistic, explanation to this phenomenon. It was not that children somehow 'decided' that the pidgin would be more useful to them than the language(s) of their parents -- it is not easy to see how a child, with limited experience, could arrive at such a decision. It was rather that a child turning a pidgin into a creole did not need assistance from any other language model.

This idea is hard to grasp, it seems. It conflicts with the blindly irrational prejudice which any nativistic account of language arouses, probably for reasons mentioned in the final chapter of this book. However, a moment's unbiased thought should show that the fact mentioned above -- that even those first-generation creole speakers who were also fluent in other languages were completely uninfluenced by them -- is in fact one of the strongest pieces of evidence for an innate language capacity. My critics seem to believe that the availability of other language models works against my position. Since such models were available (even if there is no evidence that those models were actually used, and much evidence that they were not used), they assume automatically that the child must somehow have made use of them. But such an assumption would be well-founded only if it were harder to turn a pidgin into a creole than it is to acquire a ready-made language.



ceptive reviewers. For instance, Meisel (1983) observes that "It would be absurd to think that first-generation creole speakers heard less language than other children," and Bruner and Feldman (1982) note that the answer to the question "Do the original creole speakers...live in a world containing only pidgin?" is "Obviously not." Both these statements are quite true, and yet quite misleading. In the first place, nowhere in the book is it stated or even implied that the first creole generation is raised in a linguistic vacuum or anything approaching one -- nor is it suggested anywhere that pidgin constitutes the sole input to the child in situations of this kind. These conclusions are an unwarranted inference drawn from the work by Meisel et al., and it is worth

This may be where the confusion lies. Most people would naturally assume that an act of creation is harder than an act of learning. However, if it is true that children are by nature equipped with the basic syntax and semantics of a language, then it must be easier for them to create a new language using the pidgin lexicon than it would be for them to adapt that innate basic structure so as to conform to the structure of a pre-existing language. The path to the creole is simply the path of least resistance.

Consideration of the innate equipment available to the child brings us to another comment made by a number of reviewers--that the account given here is biased heavily towards semantics. This is indeed the case, although it should be noted that the areas of semantics involved are those which interact directly with syntax. But the emphasis on semantics simply reflects the state of knowledge as of 1981--it should not be interpreted in the way that one or two reviewers interpreted it, i.e. as implying or even claiming that the innate component is predominantly semantic in nature. In fact, the syntactic component of the innate schematism is at least as rigorously specified as the semantic component. This is something that has become apparent only over the last year or two, as research on creole syntax has broadened and deepened.

Particularly crucial in this respect is the study of Saramaccan syntax in Frank Byrne's forthcoming dissertation. Saramaccan had long been an enigma--a creole language whose vocabulary drew roughly equal contributions from two, rather than one, dominant languages (English and Portuguese) and which contained what appeared on the surface to be many features characteristic of (some) West African languages. Saramaccan was often invoked by supporters of various theories of creole origins as a crucial case which supported those theories--even though the theories themselves were mutually contradictory! Thus Voorhoeve (1973) invoked the Portuguese element in the Saramaccan lexicon as evidence for the so-called monogenetic theory (a theory which claimed all creoles as descendents of a single Afro-Portuguese pidgin or creole, cf. references to work by Thompson and Whinnom on p. 43), while Alleyne (1980) hailed the African element in the same lexicon and the supposed African features in other areas as support for the position that substratum influence was the strongest single factor in determining the characteristic structure of creoles.

Yet, curiously enough, and despite the importance which was

attributed to Saramaccan, nobody had bothered to carry out a thorough study of the language prior to 1981, when Byrne began his research. The picture of Saramaccan which is now emerging is a striking one in several ways. First, it is inconsistent with Portuguese or African influence except at a very superficial level. Saramaccan does not look like an African language--rather, it looks like a creole in which all the tendencies manifested in other creoles have been carried to extremes. Second, it strongly supports the generalizations about creole structure made in this volume, even though hardly any of the evidence for those generalizations was drawn from Saramaccan.

Saramaccan follows the exact pattern predicted for 'true' creoles in all twelve of the areas discussed in pages 51-72. Even more striking is the way in which Saramaccan fulfills the predictions made in the discussion of creole syntax (pages 105-131). Here, it is hypothesized that in the 'ideal' creole, all sentences are tensed, there are no true complementizers, and constituents which mimic complementizers or prepositions are in fact verbs. It now turns out that all Saramaccan sentences are tensed (i.e. there are no nonfinite constructions), that Saramaccan has at most one or two complementizers which are very restricted in distribution, and that it has at most only three prepositions, while the roles that in other languages are discharged by prepositions and complementizers are in a large majority of cases discharged by constituents which fulfill all or most of the distributional requirements of verbs. Since none of these facts was known at the time of writing, the Saramaccan evidence constitutes a striking confirmation of the claims advanced in this book, both in a broad general sense and with regard to items as specific as the verbal status of *fi/fu*, strongly disputed by Muysken (1983) and others. That evidence also makes possible an account of creole syntax much deeper and more detailed than that of the present volume--one which is sketched in Bickerton (1984) and Byrne (1984), and which will be greatly amplified and developed in work at present in preparation.

The final, and perhaps most far-reaching, issue that I will deal with here concerns the relationship between two nativist theories--that expressed in the pages which follow, and that which has been developed over a number of years by Noam Chomsky. It is certainly the case that my approach has much in common with Chomsky's (a fact which several reviewers pointed out). Both approaches assume a strong innate

language faculty; differences arise when we consider what the contents of that faculty are and how they are arranged.

The Chomskyan approach assumes that the child somehow has available to him all the possible options within core grammar (neither of us thinks that the idiosyncratic parts of individual grammars are preprogrammed, naturally) and allows for some kind of 'preference system' (in other words, markedness) to apply as between options; the child then chooses the appropriate options on the basis of input. The approach of this volume begins from the fact that if this is all that Chomsky proposes (and his treatment of the innate faculty is sometimes vague or ambiguous), he cannot be entirely correct; in the case of the first creole generation, the input is too inadequate (as far as the pidgin is concerned) and too conflicting (as far as all the other available languages are concerned) to allow the child to set the parameters of universal grammar in any single consistent way, if he is dependent upon input for the choice of an appropriate grammar. Moreover, no input-driven model could predict the phenomena discussed in Chapter 3.

Accordingly, I proposed that universal grammar consists of a single grammatical system--that which is instantiated, to a greater or lesser extent, in creoles and early child language. Anything else in language is the result either of options left quite open in that system, or of cultural evolution, rather than biology.

Such is the position of the present volume with regard to universal grammar, but I would now say that it is a position as much in need of correction as the one attributed here to Chomsky--the former falls short of the target just as much as the latter overshoots it. The interested reader is referred to the 'Commentary' and 'Response to Commentary' sections of Bickerton (1984), where the possibility of a convergence between the two positions is proposed by David Lightfoot, accepted by me in principle, and very briefly sketched out in the concluding pages. I will briefly outline the proposal that originated there and that will be developed in future work. Much of the variation across languages is too systematic to result from chance factors. In addition to the innate grammar that finds varying degrees of expression in creoles, there must be ways in which the child can modify that grammar--ways more highly specified than the general inductive processes by which, we may assume, the child learns the idiosyncratic aspects of individual languages. I would therefore now

claim that the single innate grammar sketched in the pages that follow must be supplemented by the knowledge that certain parameters of that grammar can be altered, if and only if the child encounters evidence which shows that they must be altered. Hopefully, it will prove possible to define this single central (and maximally unmarked) grammar in such a way that it can be altered by unlearning rules, rather than learning them. Thus a grammar one step away, so to speak, from the central core would be attainable simply by dropping one of the restrictions which serve to define that core, in much the same way as, in phonology, a rule generalizes through the dropping of one of the features which originally defined the environment for that rule. Obviously such a model as this will take a great deal of work to elaborate in detail and to formalize so that it becomes rigorously testable. However, the potential gain--a theory that would not only account for the origin of creoles and for language acquisition, but could also describe and explain all variations in core grammar for all languages--is well worth any effort involved.

Thus, even though developments of the past three years have largely supported the major contentions of this book, and have even confirmed some of its specific claims, it should not be regarded as a final and definitive statement on any of the issues that it addresses. Rather it represents one day's march on a long and exciting journey of exploration--the ultimate goal of that journey being to understand the true nature of our species and of its most essential and distinctive attribute.

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- Dennis P. MAKHUDU. *Is Afrikaans a creole language?* M.A. thesis, University of Southern Illinois at Carbondale, 1984.
- This thesis discusses the long-standing controversy over the origins and possible creoleness of Afrikaans--the putative descendant of 15th century Dutch. A review of major theories propounded concludes that "partial creolization" probably occurred to Cape Dutch spoken primarily within the non-white slave communities.
- Through application of Bickerton's semantactic analysis and T. L. Markey's eleven creole features to some 65 sentences of Afrikaans variants, i.e. Standard European Afrikaans of Whites, Coloured Afrikaans of the people of mixed ancestry, and Fly Taal of the Blacks, it is revealed that SAE closely resembles non-creoles like Dutch and English. The lower lects in this continuum, namely CA and FT, compare favourably with Negerhollands, a true creole. Modern Afrikaans is a kind of Ausbau language because standardization efforts in the twenties overtly purged it of lexical and syntactic creolisms and borrowings.
- This interpretation rings true since the South African social conditions of racial separation confined the creolized forms to non-Whites, while the acrolects evolved into their present Germanic character through linguistic reform.
- Finally, to do justice to the field of creolistics vis-a-vis Afrikaans, this language should not be treated as a monolith but rather

be seen as a post-creole continuum of lects employed by different groups with varying competence. (From the abstract submitted by the author.)

(For further information, write: Dennis P. Mukhudu, 131-8 Logan Drive, Carbondale, IL 62901.)

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The following is from the abstract submitted by Zenk:

A community of remarkable sociolinguistic complexity existed at Grand Ronde Reservation, Oregon, during the last half of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth. In the year 1856, the United States government consolidated and segregated most of the remaining Native population of interior western Oregon in this one reservation community. While much reduced in size by then, this population still maintained a substantial measure of its original tribal and linguistic diversity. This study concerns one consequence of that diversity: the widespread adoption at Grand Ronde of the region's historical pidgin language, Chinook Jargon, as a language both of community and family.

By the fact of such adoption, Chinook Jargon was a "creole language" at Grand Ronde, if in a somewhat restricted or special sense--a language of primary use in community and family, yet hardly anyone's only such language. Chinook Jargon is moreover of considerable further interest for characterizing this unique reservation community: both as a reflection of the community's diverse origins; and as an important factor in the sense of identity and solidarity that many Natives of the reservation period came to feel as "Grand Ronde Indians."

In method and general orientation, this study may be considered a "reconstructive ethnography of speaking." The primary objective is to document and clarify the special place that Chinook Jargon assumed in the life of this community during

the indicated period. Since that period is not open to direct observation, the methods adopted are necessarily reconstructive. These have included recourse to the personal recollections and knowledge of recent Grand Ronde elders, as well as to documentary sources.

(For further information, write: Henry Zenk, 9557 S.W. 62nd St., Portland, OR 97219.)

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E. Bates, "Bioprograms and the innateness hypothesis."

L. Bloom, "A bioprogram for language: not whether but how?"

M. Cartmill, "Innate grammars and the evolutionary presumption."

C. Corne, "On the transmission of substratal features in creolization."

R. F. Cromer, "Language acquisi-

tion: genetically encoded instructions or a set of processing mechanisms?"

M. Goodman, "Are creole structures innate?"

M. Gopnik, "From pidgins to pigeons."

N. Hornstein, "Grades of nativism."

L. Jenkins, "Pidgins, creoles, and universal grammar."

F. C. Keil, "Of pidgins and pigeons."

D. W. Lightfoot, "The relative richness of triggers and the bioprogram."

A. Marantz, "Creolization: special evidence for innateness?"

M. Maratsos, "How degenerate is the input to creoles and where do its biases come from?"

J. C. Marshall, "Pidgins are everywhere."

R. P. Meier, "Sign as creole."

S. S. Mufwene, "The language bioprogram hypothesis, creole studies, and linguistic theory."

P. Muysken, "Do creoles give insight into the human language faculty?"

R. Posner, "Creolization or linguistic change?"

P. A. Roberts, "Problems with similarities across creoles and the development of creole."

W. J. Samarin, "Socioprogrammed linguistics."

G. Sampson, "Do creoles prove what 'ordinary' languages don't?"

P. A. M. Seuren, "The bioprogram

hypothesis: facts and fancy."

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Ian F. HANCOCK, ed. *Diversity and Development in English-related Creoles*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Karoma, 1985.

This new book contains the following articles:

S. Modupe Broderick, "Time and structure in narrative: a study of internal relationships in a Krio oral narrative."

Charles Gilman, "Proto-Creole /r/."

David Lawton, "Code-shifting in Jamaican Creole."

Peter Mühlhäusler, "Synonymy and communication across lectal boundaries in Tok Pisin."

Lenore D. Ralston, "A historical account of 'Country Talk' on St. Vincent Island: problems and new directions."

Paul Stoller, "Toward a phenomenological perspective in pidgin and creole studies."

Loreto Todd, "Lexical patterning in Cameroon Pidgin and Tok-Pisin."

Jan Voorhoeve, "A note on epenthetic transitive /m/ in Sranan Tongo."

Lise Winer, "Trini Talk: learning an English creole as a second language."

Ian HANCOCK. *A Preliminary Structural Sketch of Trinidad Creole French*. Manuscript, The University of Texas at Austin, 1985.

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CONFERENCES AND LECTURES

The AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY and the SOCIETY FOR CARIBBEAN LINGUISTICS will hold a joint conference at the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad, August 27-30, 1986. The theme: Approaches to syntactic and semantic description in Caribbean languages, and situations which share something in common with the Caribbean.

Abstracts are due by December 15, 1985. ADS members should submit their abstracts to Ron Butters, 138 Social Sciences Building, Duke University, Durham, NC 27706. SCL members and others should submit abstracts to Donald Winford, Dept. of Language and Linguistics, UWI St. Augustine, Trinidad, WI. Papers should be devoted to topics relevant

to the study of Caribbean languages or situations which pose similar problems of description, for instance, Black English. Notice of acceptance of abstracts will be given by February 29, 1986, and completed papers will be due by May 31, 1986.

The registration fee is US \$30. Information about travel, accommodation, and other matters will be released later.

In our last issue, we listed the papers presented at the AMSTERDAM CREOLE WORKSHOP on "Universals vs. Substrata in Creole Genesis" held April 10-12, 1985. Advisory editor Glenn Gilbert has now provided us with a more detailed account of the proceedings:

Most of the participants, including Derek Bickerton, the strongest defender of the universalist viewpoint, gave papers dealing with substrate influence (or lack of it) in the syntax and morphology of creole languages. The opening paper, by Glenn Gilbert, tried to place Bickerton's language bioprogram hypothesis in historical perspective. Later that morning, Mervyn Alleyne, defended the existence of African cultural and linguistic continuities as important factors in the genesis of (at least) the Caribbean creoles. Hein Eersel's paper reinforced this viewpoint. Alleyne's scepticism of universalist theories was echoed by John Holm, who tried to account for the similarities in Hawaiian and Guyanese on the basis of maritime contacts that existed during the genesis of those creoles.

Bickerton was highly critical of

all substratum explanations. He pointed out differences in binding properties between some West African languages on the one hand and Saramaccan and Haitian on the other. His paper apparently had little effect in bringing sceptics around to the universalist point of view, but received some support in the paper by Ian Hancock, who dealt with the genesis of Krio and with differences among the various English creoles.

Pieter Seuren and Herman Wekker's paper, which proposed a principle of semantic transparency in the genesis of creoles, opposed both Bickerton's language bioprogram hypothesis and Alleyne's heavy dependence on the African substratal view with regard to Caribbean creoles. Seuren and Wekker's attempt to define a workable criterion of semantic transparency could be viewed as a novel dovetailing of the universalist and substratum points of view, but seen in a new light.

The view defended by Bickerton that rules and structures, unlike individual words, cannot be borrowed, was reflected in a large number of papers which dealt with the linguistic analysis of phenomena in creole (and creole-like) languages and their substrate backgrounds. Nevertheless, within this group, the papers of Pieter Muysken, and to some extent Norval Smith, remained critical of Bickerton.

The largest group of substrate lectures addressed the analysis of linguistic phenomena in creole languages and substrate languages without taking a stand on universals. Here, we find the papers by Arends, Mühlhäusler, Dijkhof, Sankoff, Le-

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febvre, den Besten, Smith, and Koopman.

All of the latter papers concluded that substrate influences exist. Indeed, the startling finding of researchers like Lefebvre and Koopman that Haitian creole has a syntax akin to Fon, with thousands of French lexical items draped onto the pre-existing scaffolding of rules and structures provided by West Africa, constitutes the most powerful defence of substratum adduced in modern times (at least in the case of Haitian, if not in creoles more generally).

Another group of papers included the presentations by Mufwene, and Baker & Corne, who argued on the basis of painstakingly assembled linguistic data in favor of an integrated approach leaving room for

both universals and substrate influences.

The workshop ended with a roundtable discussion introduced by Mufwene. His presentation went a long way in achieving a conciliatory and balanced evaluation of the two processes which in creole genesis are surely complimentary rather than mutually exclusive (as most creolists must believe deep down). The most striking thing in the discussion was Bickerton's concession that the bioprogram may eventually have to take into account substrate influences, but only during the time which precedes or follows the genesis of the language, not during the process of genesis itself. Bickerton also revealed that he had once been a substratophile himself, up until about 10 years ago, and that part of the motivation for his conversion to universalism was to correct the excesses to which many substratophiles were prone. He suggested that now was the time to go back, tighten up the methodology for evaluating substratum and the mechanism of linguistic transfer, and determine its true role, vis-à-vis universals in creole genesis.

This conciliatory statement was echoed by John Holm, a principal spokesman for the substratophiles, who retreated to some extent from his hard-line position by admitting the likely existence of general principles, such as, possibly, Seuren and Wekker's semantic transparency, or Slobin's operating principles, or Naro's factorization principle, in the formation of creoles. These principles guide and interact with the specific linguistic inputs unique to each creole.

Most participants agreed that substrate theories suffer from a lack of methodological rigor. In this respect, they had no objection to Bickerton's repeated assertion that the case for specific substratal influences is often pieced together out of the flimsiest of evidence. Still, it is important to note that not even Bickerton was prepared to deny totally the existence of such influences.

The workshop closed with a call for further research: How extensive and pervasive is the effect of specific substrata? How can the methodology of research into substrata be made more rigorous? What methods are most effective in detecting the operation of universal principles as they interact with specific linguistic inputs?

The general feeling was that this was the first conference on creole languages which had dealt head-on with these specific issues. The participants came away with the belief that it was an exciting and successful meeting.

A selection from among the eighteen papers presented will be edited by Muysken and Smith and will

be published as soon as possible.

The 16th annual CONFERENCE ON AFRICAN LINGUISTICS, held at Yale University, March 21-23, 1985, included a creole session chaired by Mike Hall (CUNY), at which the following papers were read:

A. Eligibali and S. Thomason (Pittsburgh), "Before the Lingua Franca: Pidginized Arabic in the Eleventh Century A.D."

M. Goodman (Northwestern), "The Creolist as Historian".

C. Gilman, "African Areal Characteristics in Pidgin and Creole Languages".

J. Holm (Hunter College), "African Substratal Influence on Creole Language".

J. Roy, "The Process of Language Variation and Change in a Barbadian Speech Community".

J. V. Singler (NYU), "The Story of o".

A CONFERENCE ON CLASSROOM RESEARCH AND PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE is being held in St. Lucia, West Indies, April 16-18, 1986. It is being sponsored jointly by the University of Bristol School of Education and the University of the West Indies' Department of Educational Studies (Mona).

Abstracts of papers dealing with classroom research or the professional practice of educators are welcome. Send either to: P. Broadfoot, School of Education, University of Bristol, 35 Berkeley Square, Bristol BS8 1JA, England, or to E. P. Brandon, Dept. of Educational Studies, UWI, Mona, Kingston 7, Jamaica, West Indies.

A preconference workshop on practical aspects of classroom research and a post-conference workshop on curriculum development are planned. A limited amount of comparatively inexpensive accommodation will be available. Write Mr. Broadfoot or Mr. Brandon for further information.

At the 18th CONGRES INTERNATIONAL DE LINGUISTIQUE ET PHILOLOGIE ROMANES, to be held at the University of Trèves/Trier May 19-24, 1986, Prof. Willy BAL will chair a session on "Romania Nuova" which will include papers of interest to creolists. For further details, write: Romanistenkongress, Universität Trier, Postfach 3825, D-5500 Trier, West Germany.

Beverly Olson FLANIGAN presented a paper on "American Indian English in Nineteenth Century Fiction: Voices from a Pidgin Past" at the American Dialect Society meeting held in Baltimore, Maryland in Dec 1984 (simultaneously with the LSA annual meeting).

Jean HARKINS presented a paper entitled "How many Aboriginal

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Englishes?" at the annual conference of the Australian Linguistic Society, Alice Springs, Aug. 1984.

The 30th annual meeting of the INTERNATIONAL LINGUISTIC ASSOCIATION was held at New York University on March 10-11, 1985. The following papers were read:

G. Bailey (Texas A & M) and N. Maynor (Mississippi State), "Decreolization?"

J. V. Singler (NYU), "Hypercorrection and the Creole Continuum: -s and -d in Liberian English".

Ian HANCOCK (U Texas, Austin) presented a paper on "Cryptotlectal Speech of the American Roads: Traveler Cant and American Anglo-romani," at the conference on English Linguistics held at Ann Arbor, Michigan, August 18-24, 1985. The discussant was Henry Byer, Monclova, Ohio.

The ninth annual symposium on LANGUAGE AND CULTURE IN SOUTH CAROLINA, was held April 26-27, 1985, at the University of South Carolina, Columbia. It was organized by M. Montgomery around the theme, "South Carolina and the Caribbean: Linguistic and Cultural Perspectives". Papers included:

F. Cassidy (University of Wisconsin), "Gullah and the Jamaican Connection".

C. Joyner (Coastal Carolina College), "Creolization of Culture".

Ian Hancock (University of Texas), "Pre-1800 Creole in Africa: Evidence and Characteristics".

T. Hopkins (Florida International University), "Observations of Decreolization in Sea Island Creole".

E. Greene and P. Baptista Sharpe (Summer Institute of Linguistics), "Structure of the Sea Island Folk-tale".

P. Jones-Jackson (Howard University), "Religious Patterns in the Sea Islands and the Caribbean".

S. Mufwene (University of Georgia), "Misinterpreting 'Linguistic Continuity' Charitably".

P. Nichols (San Jose State University), "Storytelling in Carolina and the Caribbean".

J. Roy, (Brooklyn College), "Evidence for the Origin of English Creole".

M. Twining and K. Baird (State College of New York at Buffalo), "Naming Practices in the Sea Islands".

The 17th annual LIBERIAN STUDIES CONFERENCE, held at Beloit College (Beloit, Wisconsin), March 28-30, 1985, included the following papers:

L. Breitborde (Beloit), "Socio-cultural continuity and Change: Liberian English"

J. V. Singler (NYU), "Liberian English: An Overview"

The 1986 LINGUISTIC INSTITUTE of the Linguistic Society of America will be held at the Graduate School and University Center of City University of New York on June 23 to July 31, 1986. The theme of this institute, "Computational and Contextual Linguistics," will be continued at the 1987 Institute, which will be held at Stanford. D. Terence Langerendoen will direct the 1986 Institute. Susumu Kuno and Gillian Sankoff are Associate Directors.

Courses planned include: "Pidgins and Creoles" (G. Sankoff), "Haitian Creole" (A. Spears), "Language Contact" (S. Poplack), and "African Languages and Caribbean Creoles" (J. Singler). Funds are currently being sought for a three week workshop involving creolists working on historical issues.

For further information on the Institute, write: D. Terence Langerendoen, c/o Linguistics Program, CUNY Graduate Center, 33 W. 42nd St., New York 10036.

The MICHIGAN LINGUISTIC SOCIETY will hold its annual conference at Wayne State University, Detroit Michigan, on October 4, 1985. An invited paper on "The Growing Separation of Black and White Vernaculars in the USA" will be read by William LABOV. For information, write: Walter F. Edwards, English Department, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan 48202.

The thirteenth annual colloquium on NEW WAYS OF ANALYZING VARIATION (N-WAVE XIII) will be held at Georgetown University October 24-26, 1985. Write N-WAVE XIII, Ralph Fasold, Department of Linguistics, Georgetown University, Washington, DC 20057. In addition to presentations of the latest research on language variation and change, it will feature a panel discussion of Labov's recent claim that black and white vernaculars are growing further apart. It will also include workshops on Discourse Variation, Automatic Speech Analysis, ATN Parsing, and Using VARBRL2.

William SAMARIN presented a paper on "Work and women in the emergence of Chinook Jargon" at the Fifth North American Fur Trade Conference in Montreal, May 29, 1985.

The SOUTH ATLANTIC REGIONAL MEETING of the American Dialect Society, held October 31-November 2 in Atlanta, Georgia, included the following papers of interest:

Ann H. Ritts (Auburn U): "Is the Southern Dialect Disappearing?"

Michael E. Miller (Alexandria, Va), "Evidence for a Virginia Plantation Creole?"

Virginia Geraty (College of Charleston), "Implications of West African Languages in Gullah Poetry."

Arthur SPEARS (City College of New York) delivered an address to the New York Academy of Sciences on "Tense, Mood, and Aspect in Haitian Creole" on April 8, 1985. (Arthur also gave a colloquium at the CUNY Grad Center).

The 1986 TESOL SUMMER INSTITUTE (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) will include a course on Hawaiian Creole, taught by Charlene Sato, and a two-day conference on the implications of pidgins and creoles for language acquisition and education. The chair of the conference will be Craig Chaudron, Dept. of ESL, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, HI 96822.

For further information about the Institute, write: Kathi Bailey, 425 Van Buren St, Monterey, CA 93940.

EDITOR'S NOTES

This is our second twelve-page issue in a row, fulfilling the promise made in our last issue that we will carry the same amount of information in our new three-issue-per-year format as we did in our four-issue-per-year format. We trust that readers find the new format as convenient as we do.

Type-setting for this issue was considerably delayed by the fact that we no longer have an editorial assistant (a cost-cutting measure). The typesetting was completed in the end with the help of Nannette Morgan and Sonia Oliva, secretaries in the Linguistics Department, and myself. (Send kudos to them, and complaints to me!) We regret the delay in the production of this issue, but we have started already on the December issue, and hope to get it to you before the Christmas rush.

We regret to announce that subscription prices will go up in 1986, to \$7.50 for individuals, and \$15.00 for institutions. We have tried to avoid such an increase for over a year, but postal rate hikes and a lagging production deficit now make it inevitable. Our order form reflects the changes.

John Sandefur, who has been an active member of the CP advisory board since 1982, is now busier than ever with his bible translation project in Australia, and has therefore asked to be relieved of his CP duties. We are grateful for the voluminous flow of news with which he provided us over the years, and wish him well with his work. In our next issue, we hope to name his replacement for the Australia/Papua New Guinea region.

On a brighter note, we are happy to print in this issue Chris Corne's author index to *Etudes Créoles* from its inception in 1978 to 1984. This

is part of a general effort to provide more faithful coverage of publications dealing with French-based creoles. We have also drawn more heavily than usual on *Gazet Sifon Ble* (the newsletter of the Institut d'Etudes Créoles, Aix-en-Provence) for francophone items, and plan to continue this process in the future. Our thanks to Chris Corne for the index, and to Robert Chaudenson and the *Gazet* editorial staff for some of the other francophone material.

We are also grateful to Izione Silva, a brand new Ph. D. (see dissertations section) for her review in this issue.

Many exciting new things are happening in pidgin-creole studies. One is the launching of a *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Studies*, beginning in 1986, edited by Glenn Gilbert and published by John Benjamins. Another is a number of workshops and conferences on pidgin-creole themes being planned for 1986 and 1987. We plan to provide more information on both of these in the December issue, and are also saving for the December issue an interesting contribution to our "Squawks and Ruffled Feathers" column from David Sutcliffe, written in response to Dennis Craig's recent review of Sutcliffe's book, *British Black English*. Your own news items would fit in well with this material. Please send them!

NOTES AND QUERIES

BALATA is the name of a newspaper published by the Mouvement Kweyol Sent Lisi (MOKWEYOL) and Komite Pou Etud Kweyol (KEK), Dominica, with the assistance of funding from UNESCO. MOKWEYOL was formerly known as the St. Lucia Standing Committee on Creole Studies. This publication, written partly in French Creole and partly in English, promotes the development and use of 'Kweyol' (French Creole). It includes poetry, commentary, reports on relevant linguistic and cultural events, and orthographic notes. Cost is 50c (2F) per issue. Write Raphael Confiant, BALATA, PO Box 1097, Castries, Sainte Lucie, W.I.

Kakkelaka na ha bestel na hundu shi hus. ("Cockroach has no place in chicken house.") Despite the opinion of the late Douglas Taylor that DUTCH CREOLE had died long ago, the language is alive and well at the College of the Virgin Islands, and the world's only remaining native speaker of the Virgin Islands variety is working to help perpetuate it. Alice Stephens, just turned 87, assists linguist Gilbert Sprauve and his students with a class on the language which has

attracted students from various parts of the West Indies and the US.

Miss Alice, as she is called, produces for the class in Dutch Creole (and in a strong, clear voice) unrehearsed translations of proverbs, stories and dialogs recorded by earlier investigators in Dutch Creole, but presented to her in English Creole and English. There are also significant passages of free interaction between Miss Alice and the class.

An Alice Stephens Dutch Creole Foundation has been formed to honor this remarkable double amputee, whose dream it was that one day Dutch Creole would be taught in the schools. Its aims are to preserve the language, pursue research on it, and secure for Mrs. Stephens a fair return for her competence and talents as an informant.

One of the first projects of the Foundation is to make cassette recordings of her sessions with the Dutch Creole class available at US \$15 each. Each cassette will be 15 to 20 minutes long. Mrs. Stephens will receive 65% of the profit from the sale of these cassettes, and the remaining 35% will be used for further research on Dutch Creole.

For further information, write: Gilbert A. Sprauve, Humanities Division, College of the Virgin Islands, St. Thomas, USVI 00802.

Terence E. HAYS (Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601, Australia) send us the following query:

"Does anyone have information on the origins of the Tok Pisin term *brus* and/or the Hiri Motu term *kuku*, both for 'native tobacco' in Papua New Guinea?"

Hays can be reached at the ANU address above until mid-December, and thereafter at: Dept. of Anthropology/Geography, Rhode Island College, Providence, RI 02908.

David M. JEUDA (Dept. of Foreign Languages, State University College of Arts and Science, Geneseo, NY 14454) writes as follows:

'Not widely known among creolists, but of potential interest and usefulness, is the *Comparative Romance Linguistics Newsletter*, currently edited by Stephen Lee Hartman of the Dept. of Foreign Languages, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale. The newsletter publishes two issues per year--a fall "Personalia" listing and a spring "Bibliography." As of 1984, I have begun to prepare a "Romance Creoles Bibliography" for the spring issue (1986) and would appreciate receiving citations of published materials in Romance Creoles that may have escaped the attention of compilers of the standard bibliographical sources (e.g., *MLA Linguistics Bibliography*) from which I am

gleaning the relevant references.'

Roger M. KEESING (Anthropology, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, ACT 2601, Australia) is studying substratum influence on Melanesian Pidgin English, with special reference to the Solomons, and to 19th century historical evidence. See the publications section (below) for two recent papers of his on the subject.

Ernest W. LEE reports that the Pijin Literacy Project in the Solomon Islands has been discontinued for lack of funding. Pijin is, however, gaining in acceptance and prestige, and the Solomon Islands Christian Association (SICA) is expanding its efforts at Bible translation. In May Bosse Hanson will conduct a workshop on the discourse structure of Pijin. Members of the Pijin Bible Translation Project and other interested community members will attend, and it is hoped that something publishable will emerge.

Lee also notes that Pijin Blong Yumi is out of print again, but that the Hanssons are working on a new dictionary (perhaps two different ones) since Pijin Blong Yumi appeals mostly to the expatriate audience. Some diglot (English and Pijin) health booklets are also in preparation, with a doctor and bookseller helping to provide input.

William W. MEGENNEY (U. of California, Riverside, CA 92521) writes to tell us that the Instituto Caro y Cuervo in Bogotá has finally (after 6 long years!) begun work on the publication of his book, *El palenquero: un lenguaje post-criollo de Colombia*. It should be out by 1986. Also, the Museo del Hombre Dominicano, in Santo Domingo, has agreed to publish his book-length manuscript, *Africa en Santo Domingo, su herencia lingüística*.

M.V. SREEDHAR (Central Institute of Indian Languages, Manasagangotri, Mysore-570 006, India) has written to provide information on the four languages covered in his forthcoming book, *Pidgins and Creoles: Languages of Wider Communication* (noted in our last issue). This book is being published by the Central Institute of Indian Languages in Mysore.

"In 1981-2 the Central Institute of Indian Languages in Mysore sent two pilot survey teams to different parts of Central and Eastern India to study the use of contact languages like Sadari and Halbi as Languages of Wider Communication. We have thus a skeleton grammar of both Halbi and Sadari, and information on their variants in different areas and ethnic groups. (We had also wanted to study Deshi, in the Koraput district of Orissa,

but for want of time, it could not be taken up.)

Sadari is spoken in a vast area stretching from the eastern part of Madhya Pradesh to 24 Parganas in West Bengal and Tea Gardens in Assam and West Bengal. It is also known by other names: Gawari, Sadni, Nagpuria, Lariya, Panch Pargania and Nagpuria Hindi. Grierson treats it as a corrupt form of Bhojpuri, but Chatterjee groups it under Magadhi. We consider it a Pidgin-Creole, as it is spoken both as a first language and as a second language. The 1961 census shows 6.9 lakhs speakers of Sadari. Of these 3.9 lakhs are speakers from different tribes.

Halbi is spoken in the Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh. It also has a variant named Bhattari spoken in Orissa and Madhya Pradesh border. According to the 1961 census, it is spoken by 160,433 speakers belonging to 18 tribes as a first language, and by 110,647 speakers belonging to 22 linguistic groups as a second language.

In addition to these two studies, a study of the Sadari spoken in Orissa was also undertaken. The fourth study was of the Bazaar Hindi spoken in the Dharawi slum of Bombay. This is one of the biggest slums in India, with a population of more than half a million people, including people from almost the whole country with the exception of the eastern and north-eastern parts."

TE REO, Journal of the Linguistic Society of New Zealand, can be ordered for \$10 per annum from The Treasurer, Linguistic Society, c/o University P/B, Auckland, New Zealand. Vol 27 (1984) contains papers on Louisiana Creole French and (etymological) article agglutination in Creole French and Portuguese.

A 'UNIQUE AFRICAN OFFER' of two highlife music albums on cassette tape, plus two story books from Sierra Leone is available for \$16 from R & G, PO Box 3065, Berkeley, CA 94703. Books and tapes can be ordered separately. The songs are in Mende, Temne, Creole and English, and the story books feature legends of Mother Africa by Sooliman Rogie.

Albert VALDMAN (Indiana U, Bloomington, IN 47405) writes that he and his colleagues are in the process of completing a new text on Haitian Creole, entitled Ann pale kreyol, to supersede the Basic Course in Haitian Creole. A companion publication will be entitled Introduction to Haitian Creole.

Fay VAUGHN-COOKE and Ida STOCKMAN have written to let us know that their project on 'The Development of Dynamic and Static Locative Knowledge' has been funded by the

National Science Foundation at a level of \$106,000 for three years. As far as we know, this project is the only systematic large scale study of first language acquisition by speakers of Vernacular Black English. We share their elation that the project has been funded.

DISSERTATIONS AND THESES

Christine JOURDAN is about to submit a Ph.D. thesis at the Australian National University on the sociolinguistics and creolization of Solomons Pijin. It is entitled "Sapos Iumi Mitim Iumi: the social context of creolization in Solomon Islands Pijin", and is being supervised by Roger Keesing.

Stephen M. PECK II, a Ph.D. candidate at UCLA, is travelling to Senegal this fall to study the Portuguese-based Casamance Kriol for his dissertation. He will be concentrating on the syntax of the noun phrase, attempting to test and enrich Bickerton's (1981) hypotheses about characteristics of creole languages. For further information, write Mr. Peck at: 4001 Maden Avenue, W. Palm Beach, FL 33407.

Iziane S. SILVA (3012 Military Road, NW, Washington D.C. 20015) defended her Ph.D. dissertation on "Variation and Change in the Verbal System of Capeverdean Crioulo" at Georgetown University on April 22, 1985 (with distinction). It was supervised by Ralph Rasold, Cléa Rameh, and Susumu Kuno. An abstract follows.

"Previous attempts to explain variation and change in the Portuguese-based creole language of the Cape Verde Islands have attributed differences between its two major regional dialects to varying degrees of input from Portuguese and African languages in its initial stages. Some scholars have asserted that Capeverdean Crioulo is highly decreolized, but others have denied that decreolization is occurring. None of these views has been supported by empirical evidence.

In this dissertation, it is hypothesized that decreolization is occurring, and that differences between the two regional variants (Barlavento and change in "real time," through comparison with folktales collected in 1916-1917. Various texts from the Sotavento region and my native speaker's intuition served as supplementary sources.

Capeverdean Crioulo's tense/aspect system is described in terms of Bickerton's paradigm. Variation and change in past time of the verbs tem

and tene ("to have") are then analyzed using the implicational model. Tape-recorded data reveal nine different forms used in six functions.

Most of the analytic results are consistent with decreolization. Differences observed between the Barlavento and Sotavento dialects are shown to reflect varying stages of the decreolization process. Decreolization, or change toward Portuguese, is also observed among the three age groups in Brava, and over time in data from Fogo."

Here is an abstract of John V. SINGLER's Ph.D. dissertation (UCLA, 1985) on "Variation in Tense-Aspect-Modality in Liberian English" which was previously announced in the June 1984 CP. John is currently Assistant Professor, Linguistics, at New York University, New York, NY 10003.

"More than fifty hours of recorded speech are used to examine the tense-aspect-modality (TAM) system of Liberian English. The bulk of the corpus comprises data from non-native speakers and ranges from pidgin to Standard Liberian English

The Liberian English TAM system, particularly as it obtains in the basilect (i.e. the variety least like Standard English), is analyzed with special reference to the prototypical creole TAM system proposed by Bickerton (1975). Additionally, the nature and impact of substratal input is considered, especially that from KRU languages. Further, the (post-)creole continuum model developed by DeCamp (1971) is used in this thesis to relate the Liberian basilect TAM system to the Liberian acrolect (Standard Liberian English) TAM system. Once the basilectal TAM system has been established, the differences between it and the acrolectal system are expressed as a sequence of semantic and morphosyntactic changes. While the Liberian data provide support for the continuum model, they also demonstrate the need for adjustments to it.

Chapter 1 examines the history of Liberian English and then argues for the appropriateness of applying the prototypical creole system and the creole continuum model to a speech variety that is an extended pidgin rather than a creole.

Chapter 2 examines past states and events. In the treatment of past non-punctual verbs, a case is made for two geographically distinct basilects, one largely conforming to the creole prototype and the other quite different from it.

Chapter 3 considers completives, intensives, and perfects. The basilectal use of completive auxiliaries--particularly feni--to mark the preservation of temporal order is discussed as well as the

role in the TAM system of the sentence-final particle *o*.

Finally, Chapter 4 examines futures and conditionals. Liberian English, like the creole prototype, treats the two as a single category, *irrealis*. The chapter also presents the ways in which the *irrealis* system changes along the continuum."

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Review of R. D. ABRAHAMS and J. F. SZWED, *After Africa*. By Beth Brown in *Language in Society*, 14, 1, March 1985, 130-133.

Review of R. ANDERSEN, ed. *Pidginization and creolization as language acquisition*. By Steve Jones and Teresa Pica in *Language and Society*, 14, 1, March 1985, 90-98.

Review of J. BAUGH, *Black Street Speech: Its History, Structure and Survival*. By Arthur K. Spears in *Language in Society*, 14, 1, March 1985, 101-108.

Review of Antônio CARREIRA, 1983 (cover date 1984). *O Crioulo de Cabo Verde, Surto E Expansão*. Lisbon: Gráfica Europam. Reviewed by Izone S. Silva (Georgetown U) for *The Carrier Pidgin*:

In the four chapters of this monograph, Carreira provides the field of pidgins and creoles with an historical account of contacts between Portuguese and Africans in the West African coast and Cape Verde Islands since the fifteenth century.

He begins by outlining alternative hypotheses regarding the development of Crioulo (Capeverdean and Guinean):

1. Crioulo developed in mainland Africa and was subsequently taken to the Cape Verde Islands.

2. Both languages developed during the same period but independently of one another.

3. Crioulo developed in the Cape Verde Islands and then was taken to the West African Coast.

At the outset, he rejects the second hypothesis, stating only that *Nunca seria possível dar-se, face aos condicionaismos específicos de que reveste o fenómeno da formação de linguas de comunicação verbal* (p. 16).

("It would never be possible, in light of the specific factors associated with the developmental phenomenon of languages of oral communication.")

Carreira then explores the plausibility of the first and third hypotheses in Chapters II and III.

In Chapter II, he states that the main argument in favor of the deve-

lopment of Crioulo along the "rivers of Guinea" derives from the observation that the Portuguese discovered Guinea (an ill-defined area ranging from present-day Senegal to Sierra Leone) in 1446, fourteen years before the Cape Verde Islands. He points out, however, that all attempts to establish permanent settlements on the coast failed. More than a century after discovery, Portuguese contacts with Africans were still limited to trading from aboard their ships. Trading centers on land were not established until the second half of the seventeenth century. These centers were subordinate to the ruling African kings, to whom the Portuguese paid rent, and traders were subject to these leaders' whims. Sometimes communication with the outside world would be cut, the Europeans' thatched dwellings burned, and water sources obstructed. Thus, Carreira concludes, conditions in the West African coast were never sufficiently stable to allow for the development of a "language of oral communication."

In Chapter III, the history of the Cape Verde Islands is contrasted with that of the West African coast. Since the islands were uninhabited when discovered, the Portuguese were able to define their economic and social orientation. From the end of the fifteenth to the middle of the sixteenth centuries, Santiago (the largest and first island settled) served as an *entrepôt* for the slave trade. In the beginning, all slaves brought to Santiago were entrusted to the clergy, who educated and Christianized them. Carreira points out that the slaves' education was considered complete only

... quando eles se fizessem compreender através de um *Pidgin* baseado na lingua portuguesa da época, ou tivessem aprendido um ofício (carpinteiro, pedreiro, ferreiro . . . ou outro) que permitisse a sua venda por cotações superiores, por vezes duplas, às pagas pelos *excravos* locais (p. 50, emphasis in original).

(. . . when they could make themselves understood through a *Pidgin* based on the Portuguese of the time, or had learned a trade (carpenter, mason, blacksmith. . . or other) which would permit their sale for a higher price, at times twice that of bush slaves.")

Although he states that the first available document mentioning "Crioulo" as being spoken by slaves is from 1558 (p. 55), the quotation presented only refers to "Portugues"; designations of *Crioulo*, *Pidgin*, and *Proto-Crioulo* seem to be Carreira's own terms.

In Santiago, less than a century after discovery, there were Wolof slaves who communicated with the Europeans and served as interpreters on the African continent. People

called *linguas* accompanied slave ships from the islands to mainland Africa and served as interpreters, and the profession of *lingua* was officially recognized. Again, whether these interpreters spoke "Crioulo" or Portuguese is not clear, especially in light of historical evidence that Africans were taken to Portugal to learn Portuguese as early as the fifteenth century (Naro 1978). Carreira also states that there are many documents from the seventeenth century which prove that the "*lingua de comunicação verbal*" ("language of oral communication") was used among clergy and children who helped in the practice of the liturgy in each parish. But these documents are not cited, leaving us only with Carreira's assertion, (p57) that they could not have spoken a standard Portuguese.

As demand for slaves increased, it became unprofitable to keep them in Santiago for any length of time, and efforts to educate them ceased. An attempt by the King of Portugal at the end of the seventeenth century to reinstate the earlier practice was rejected by the islanders, who saw obstacles in having the slaves learn "Crioulo."

The role of the clergy in the educational and social life of the Cape Verde Islands is discussed, and the spread of Capeverdean Crioulo to Guinea via *mestizos* is explored. Carreira also states that pejorative descriptions of Crioulo emerged in the eighteenth century, culminating with an official decree in 1921 that prohibited its use in public buildings, including schools. He refers to studies affirming Crioulo's present vitality as a "*lingua de comunicação oral*" in the socio-cultural life of the islands. He ends the third chapter with suggestions for studies that might be undertaken to ease the anticipated transition of Crioulo from orality to literacy, briefly citing parallels with Haitian Creole and Papiamentu.

In Chapter IV, Carreira discusses factors influencing the development of "languages of oral communication." He argues that the low ratio of whites to slaves led to the development of creole languages in Cape Verde and the Caribbean, whereas creole languages did not develop in Angola and Mozambique. He concludes by listing three phases in the development of a creole language, which, in the view of the specialists, are *pidgin*, *proto-crioulo*, and *crioulo* (p. 88).

Carreira is an historian. His professional orientation to history accounts for major strengths but also weaknesses in his monograph. He consulted primary sources in the archives of Lisbon and offers much historical detail heretofore not easily accessible. But creolists would do well to directly consult

some of the sources, in order to clarify certain ambiguities of Carreira's interpretations.

I agree with the conclusion that Crioulo developed in the Cape Verde Islands and subsequently spread to the West African coast (Silva 1985), but Carreira does not support it well. He fails to fully integrate socio-historic aspects specific to the Capeverdean and Guinean situations with what is already known about the development of creole languages. While those familiar with the extensive literature on pidgins and creoles will find the historical accounts invaluable, others could be misled about the nature of language in general and of creole languages in particular.

Carreira acknowledges that he is not a linguist and recognizes that some issues would be best left to linguists. Nonetheless, some of his omissions and assertions must be criticized. First, he has a restricted view of linguists as philologists, interested in and only capable of working on written languages.

Second, his use of the term "língua de comunicação verbal" throughout, to refer to creole languages, implies primacy of the written over the oral, a view which is inconsistent with the most basic premises of linguistics. Third, his discussion of factors associated with and phases in the development of creole languages is not adequate, reflecting his unfamiliarity with the literature on pidgins and creoles. Fourth, he espouses the position that Capeverdean Crioulo is a combination of fifteenth century Portuguese lexical items superimposed onto African grammatical structure, a popular but overly-simplistic viewpoint.

Consequently, while creolists can profit from the historical detail in this work, it should be supplemented with some of Carreira's earlier works (1972, 1977), as well as Rodney (1970), Duncan (1972), Naro (1978), and Silva (1985). Non-creolists should also be cautioned to consult these sources, as well as background articles on pidgins and creoles (DeCamp 1971, Alleyne 1971, Sankoff 1980).

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- Chris Corne (University of Auckland)
- The first three issues of *Etudes Créoles* are designated as 'Juillet 78-1', 'Mai 79-1', and 'Décembre 79-2'. A retrospective editorial decision changed these to volume I.1-2, II.1, and II.2 respectively. Beginning with volume III.1 (1980), the numbering system is more or less consistent: III.1 and III.2 (1980), IV.1 and IV.2 (1981), V.1-2 (1982), VI.2 (1983, = VI.1-2), and VII.1-2 (1984).
- In any given issue, there are a number of items (editorials, conference reports, new publications, and so on) which are often not ascribed to any author. The following index includes only material of an article-like and/or relatively substantial nature, the author of which is named. Book reviews and editorials are not included, but review articles are.
- Alleyne, Mervyn C. and Paul L. Garvin. *Les langues créoles à la lumière de la théorie des langues standard*. III.1:54-68.
- Baggioni, Daniel. *Schuchardt l'incompris, ou, du bon usage de la mixité des langues*. VI.2:115-128.
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-----, L'Atlas linguistique et ethnographique de Rodrigues: présentation et extraits. IV.2:117-150.

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-----, See also Hazaël-Massieux, Marie-Christine.

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Désir, Roger. Alphabétisation, formation, et création en Haïti. I:153-160.

Desroches, Monique and Jean Benoist. Tambours de l'Inde à la Martinique: structure sonore d'un espace sacré. V:39-58.

Dion, Michèle. Grand-Ilet: un "isolat" blanc dans les hauts de la Réunion. IV.2:11-19.

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Hazaël-Massieux, Marie-Christine and Robert Chaudenson. Créole et éducation: approche bibliographique. VII:201-236.

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Houis, Maurice. Langues africaines et créoles: interférences et économie. III.2:9-26.

Humbrecht, Eliane. Ethnologie d'un écosystème urbain. IV.2:75-87.

Jardel, Jean Pierre. Contes et proverbes créoles des Petites Antilles: témoins d'une culture du passé ou d'une culture dépassée? II.2:13-24.

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McKibbin, Juliette et Chris Corne. La morphologie verbale dans le mauricien du XIXe: implications pour la nature du prédicat? II.2:24-40.

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FOCUS ON CREOLISTS NO. 13: PRADEL POMPILUS

By Albert Valdman (Indiana Univ.)

During the week of October 7, 1985, a "semaine linguistique" was held in Port-au-Prince to honor Pradel Pompilus, who was completing more than fifty years of service in the education of young Haitians and in the study of his native land's two national languages. Dr. Pompilus ranks with Robert A. Hall, Jr. as one of the deans of creolists. Although the political climate of Haiti did not permit him to attend the first international conference on creole studies held at Mona, Jamaica, in 1959, he was one of the contributors to the published proceedings (*Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*, ed. Dell Hymes, CUP 1971), and he joins John Jacob Thomas, Jules Faine, and Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain as one of the distinguished pioneering native creole linguists.

Pradel Pompilus was born in 1914 in the small town of Arcahaie, located on the bay of Port-au-Prince, halfway between the capital and Saint-Marc, the gateway to the Artibonite Valley. Arcahaie holds an important place in the history of Haiti. It is there that the French tricolor gave place to the blue and red banner (symbolizing the black slaves and mulatto freedmen, respectively) that was to become the flag of the newly independent state. And it was there that Pétion, the leader of the mulatto party with strong cultural affinities with France, paid obedience to Dessalines, the former slave. In a certain sense, Pradel Pompilus' intellectual itinerary followed Pétion's: a fran-

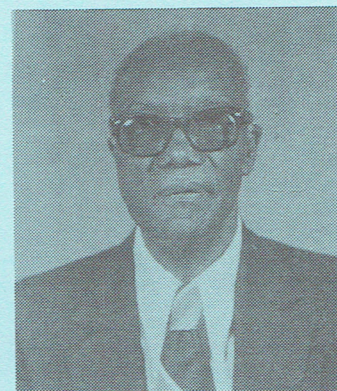
cophile with consummate skills in the French language, he broke with the majority of the cultivated elite to become a staunch champion of his country's creole vernacular.

The son of a local judge, Pompilus began his schooling in Arcahaie's primary school for boys. The intellectual promise he showed led his parents to send him to complete his education in the capital city, where he eventually obtained the baccalauréat at the prestigious Petit Séminaire Collège Saint-Martial. Like many of his cultivated compatriots, Pradel Pompilus studied law, earning a license (B.A.) in 1936. But at the same time, he was asked to teach Latin and French at Saint-Martial; he later taught lettres modernes, that is, French language and literature, at the two main public secondary schools of Port-au-Prince, the Lycée Pétion and the Lycée Louverture.

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Pradel Pompilus

Between 1945-47, Pompilus studied at the Faculty of Letters and Social Sciences of the Sorbonne (University of Paris), obtaining the license ès lettres classiques, which certified him to teach Latin and Greek. Upon his return to his homeland, he resumed teaching upper levels in secondary schools while, at the same time, he joined several colleagues in establishing a private school, the Centre d'Etudes Secondaires. There followed a brief stint as Under-Secretary of Education in the Magliore cabinet (1950-51) and an eight-year tenure as Director of the Ecole Normale Supérieure where Haiti's secondary school teachers are trained. In the 1960's, he was named professor at the State University of Haiti with teaching responsibilities in Linguistics, Latin, and Haitian Literature.

Pradel Pompilus' first publications were a direct outgrowth of his pedagogical concerns. As a teacher of French literature in Haiti, he soon came to perceive the incongruity of limiting his young charges' literary horizons to the

masterpieces of the common franco-phone heritage: Corneille, Racine, Molière, Voltaire, Victor Hugo. In his classes, he introduced Haitian authors so that the artful use of Haiti's dominant language could be placed within the context of local culture and against the backdrop of national history.

In 1956 he brought out a sample of texts in a small compendium, Pages de littérature haïtienne. This collection was later amplified and developed into the standard anthology for Haitian literature, containing a small set of Creole texts. The three-volume Histoire de la littérature Haïtienne illustrée par les textes was compiled in collaboration with Raphaël Berrou (Port-au-Prince: Editions Caribéennes, 1975-79).

Pompilus' early childhood at Archaie was spent in a nearly totally creolophone environment. Even today it is the rare Haitian child who, outside of what Haitians term "the Republic of Port-au-Prince", has the opportunity to participate in genuine social communication expressed through the medium of French. So, as a learner and as a teacher of what he was to later label "le français normal," the dean of Caribbean native linguists was keenly aware of the verbal traps into which the Creole-dominant user of French was likely to stumble. Thus, when he decided to resume university studies, he decided to direct his attention to the local variety of French. In 1957, he returned to the Sorbonne to prepare a doctorate.

In Paris he studied with some of the eminent specialists of French linguistics of the time, Charles Bruneau, R.-L. Wagner, and Georges Gougenheim, all of whom innovated in the description and analysis of French and all of whom were prepared to include a broad range of varieties within the purview of the language of Racine and Voltaire. However, it was the founder of French structuralism, André Martinet, who was to have the most profound effect on the young Haitian pedagogue. Martinet had not only pioneered the empirical study of French (his first major book, La prononciation du français contemporain, 1943, analyzed the results of a written questionnaire administered to captive officers in a German prison camp) but he had deep sympathies for devalORIZED speech forms such as Haitian Creole (HC). He singled out Pompilus for special attention, and when the latter made an appointment to discuss his dissertation, he received him, not in his Sorbonne office, or in a Latin Quarter café, as Sorbonne professors are wont to do, but in his suburban home. As Pompilus left Paris, Martinet extracted from him the promise that he would strive to introduce modern linguistics to

Haiti, a promise that was well kept.

The results of Pompilus' sojourn in the French capital were signal contributions to French and Creole studies: La langue française en Haïti (Paris: Institut des Hautes Études de l'Amérique Latine, 1961), and an unpublished complementary thesis, Lexique du créole d'Haïti. In its accuracy and wealth of well-documented descriptive detail, and in the perspicacity of its observations on the linguistic situation of Haiti, La langue française en Haïti stands as one of the best extensive descriptions of a regional form of the language. Pompilus innovated by conducting the first empirical linguistic study in Haiti: he administered Martinet's written phonological questionnaire to 160 subjects and noted the actual pronunciation of a short sentence sample produced by 200 late adolescent speakers. In the foreword of the book he was the first observer of HC to describe the linguistic setting of the incipient stage of the language in more sophisticated terms than the binary interactions between white master and African slave posited by his predecessors. He perspicaciously perceived the dual function served by the emerging speech:

Le créole fut pendant la période coloniale la langue commune qui a rendu possible les rapports entre les noirs originaires de différentes tribus africaines d'une part et les noirs et les blancs de l'autre.

His 4,000-word glossary of HC represents the first extensive lexicographic study of the language and antedates subsequent works by nine years.

Pradel Pompilus' major contribution to creole linguistics is a series of two pedagogically-oriented books: Contribution à l'étude comparée du français et du créole: Part I, phonologie et lexique; Part II, morphosyntaxe (Port-au-Prince: Editions Caribéennes, 1973, 1976) and Manuel d'initiation à l'étude du créole (Port-au-Prince: Impressions magiques, 1983). The first work's ultimate objective was the improvement of the teaching of French and stemmed from the author's realization that French is an alien language for all but a tiny majority of his compatriots:

Le français est pour les Haïtiens une langue étrangère ... Le français n'est pas notre langue maternelle; la langue de notre vie affective, la langue de notre vie profonde, la langue de notre vie pratique, pour la plupart d'entre nous du moins, c'est le créole, idiome à la fois très proche et très reculé du français.

Since French is a foreign language, Pompilus argued, it must be taught by the appropriate methodologies, in the case at hand, by the application of contrastive analysis which iden-

tifies points of interference and difficulty. Indirectly, the enterprise produced a wealth of observations on the structure of the vernacular, particularly at the level of syntax. The Manuel d'Initiation ..., Pompilus' first full-fledged descriptive study of HC, was prompted by the educational reform program. In 1979, the Ministry of Education launched a massive restructuring of primary education involving, among other changes, the imparting of literary skills in HC and the use of the vernacular as the medium of instruction for the first four years of schooling. It became urgent to provide teachers formal training in the use of HC and to equip them with a readily accessible description of the language. Pradel Pompilus quickly stepped into the breach.

Pradel Pompilus ranks as the most versatile and productive of Haitian native linguists. A profoundly modest man, he has constantly shied away from the limelight. Instead, working under difficult economic and political circumstances, he has devoted himself to pedagogy, a high level of pedagogy to be sure. Rather than theorize about the origin and genesis of HC he has preferred to lead the bilingual minority of his country—including the educational establishment and classroom primary and secondary teachers—to understand the structure and social functions of the vernacular. For him, HC is more than a medium of communication; it is the means by which the bilingual elite may join in the project for national development. As he puts it himself eloquently in Le problème linguistique haïtien (Port-au-Prince: Edition Fardin, 1985), in which he traces his progression from a defender and illustrator of French to a champion and analyst of HC:

[le créole] représente à mes yeux plus qu'un simple procédé pédagogique, mais un moyen d'opérer la réconciliation avec nous-mêmes, susciter le respect de nous-mêmes, gage du respect des autres... Ce que je défends dans ce livre, c'est, au-delà un vrai bilinguisme, l'unité et la solidarité nationale sans quoi il n'y a pas de vrai développement.

EDITOR'S NOTES

With this, the third twelve-page CP issue in a row, we end 1985. The transition from a quarterly to a tri-annual publication has been very successful from our perspective, and we hope yours as well. On the one hand we are carrying as much infor-

mation per year we did before, and on the other, we are coping with the busywork of producing each issue much better. This is, for instance, the first issue in a while to be mailed in the month of issue (i.e. on time!). Special thanks go to Sonia Oliva for her long overtime hours. Thanks also to those who contributed news items during 1985, and to those who will do so in 1986 and send in their subs early too.

Welcome to John Harris, who replaces John Sandefur as CP advisory editor. His contributions are already proving helpful.

We are grateful to Albert Valdman for the Focus article on Pradel Pompilus which appears in this issue. Dr. Pompilus is one of many native creolists whose contributions to both descriptive-theoretical and applied issues are legion, but deserve to be better-known and honored. It is a pleasure to contribute to the process.

We are also grateful to Charles Ferguson and Lilith Haynes for the original reviews contributed in this issue, to Morris Goodman for the condensation of his IJAL review of Roots, and to David Rood, IJAL editor, for permission to use it. We expect/look forward to vigorous responses in future issues. We are also grateful to David Sutcliffe ("Squawks") and John Verhaar ("Notes") for their contributions.

Congrats to Frederic Cassidy for the well-deserved kudos he is receiving for vol 1 of DARE (see "Reviews") and to Glenn Gilbert and the others involved in our new creole journal (see "Notes").

Because of the lengthy "Reviews" and "Squawks" sections, we have had to hold back material in the "Dissertations," "Conferences" and "Publications" sections for our April 1986 issue, which will, however, be correspondingly richer. We wish everyone a Happy New Year!

CONFERENCES AND LECTURES

The Fifth COLLOQUE INTERNATIONAL DES ETUDES CREOLES will be held April 7-14, 1986 in Réunion. Theme: "La créolisation: dynamique des cultures, language et sociétés créoles." Information: Institut d'études créoles, Université de Provence, 29 avenue Robert Schuman, 13621 Aix-en-Provence, France.

While we are awaiting word about the proceedings of the second COLLOQUIUM ON CREOLE LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE CONTACT, held at the University of Essen in Germany Nov 29-30, 1985 (see CP 13.1, p.3 for a report on the first, held in January

1985), we have received word that a third will be held in November 1986. For information, write: Thomas Stolz, Castrop Str. 273, D-4630 Bochum 1, Federal Republic of Germany.

The seventeenth CONFERENCE ON AFRICAN LINGUISTICS will be held April 3-5, 1986 at Indiana University. Write: Roxana Ma Newman, Dept. of Linguistics, Indiana U., Bloomington, IN 47405.

The XIVth INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF LINGUISTS will be held in Berlin Aug 10-15, 1987. Theme: "Unity and differentiation in contemporary linguistics. Disciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches and achievements." Plenary sessions (6) include "Sociolinguistics," "Typology," and "Historical linguistics." Sessions of sections (19) include "Language planning and language policies," and "Language contact." A number of round-table talks are also scheduled. Congress fees: \$70 US before May 31, 1986, \$95 between June 1, 1986 and May 31, 1987, \$130 US thereafter. Abstracts (10-15 lines on special form) for section papers (15 mins long) must be submitted by October 31, 1986. For further information, write: DDR-1086 Berlin, Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Otto-Nuschke-Str. 22/23, Postfach Linguistenkongress.

A conference on LANGUAGE AND ADULT LITERACY: LINKING THEORY AND PRACTICE will be held as part of the LSA summer institute at the Graduate Center, City University of New York, July 18-19, 1986. The conference will explore Social and Cultural Aspects, Policy and Practice in Literacy Programs, Theories and Approaches to Literacy Instruction, Psychological, Cognitive and Neurological Aspects, Second Language Acquisition and Literacy. Abstract deadline: January 6, 1986. Information: Charles E. Cairns, Dept. of Linguistics, Queens College of CUNY, Flushing, NY 11367. Phone: 718-520-7161.

Sir Edmund LEACH (King's College, Cambridge) will deliver a lecture on "Masquerade, or the presentation of self in 'holi-day' life" at the Johns Hopkins University on April 16, 1986. The lecture, which is part of a lecture series celebrating the tenth anniversary of the Department of Anthropology at JHU, will begin at 8.00 p.m. in the Garrett Room of the Milton S. Eisenhower Library.

A SOCIOLINGUISTICS SYMPOSIUM will be held April 16-18, 1986 at the University of Newcastle, England. Topics include: sociolinguistics (quantitative, interactional, theoretical); dialectology; social psychology and language; discourse

analysis; applications of sociolinguistics; language and ethnicity. Write Dr. Lesley Milroy, Dept. of Speech, St. Thomas' Street, The University, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England NE1 7RU.

The 1986 TESOL SUMMER INSTITUTE will be held July 7-August 15, 1986 at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. Theme: A Rainbow of Perspectives in ESL. Sponsored by the Department of English as a Second Language at UH, the Institute will offer both six-week and three-week courses, including: "Second Language Acquisition" (Roger Andersen), "Interlanguage Studies" (Michael Long and Charlene Sato), "Sociolinguistics and ESL" (Suzanne Romaine), "Pidgin and Creole English in Hawaii" (Charlene Sato), "Language Transfer" (Susan Gass), "ESL Grammar" (Diane Larsen-Freeman), and "Bilingual Education" (James Cummins). In addition, there will be ten Forum Lectures, special Friday Sessions featuring half-day presentations of various topics, and a two day colloquium (Aug 1-2) on Pidgins and Creoles: Issues in Language Acquisition and Education. Participants in the colloquium will include Lawrence Carrington, Jurgen Meisel, J. Schumann and K. Au in addition to several of the faculty members mentioned above.

Tuition costs are \$72 per credit hour (\$36 for Hawaiian residents) plus a one-time Institute Fee of \$100 (\$65 for three weeks). Scholars with a Ph. D. may audit all courses and events with payment of a Visiting Scholar Fee of \$300 (\$400 after April 1). Dormitory housing (double occupancy) for the full six week session, is \$336, meals \$200.

For applications and/or further information, write: Pamela Pine, Assistant Director, 1986 TESOL Summer Institute, Department of ESL, University of Hawaii, 1890 East-West Road, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822, USA.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Roger ANDERSEN (UCLA) would like to get in contact with anyone doing primary linguistic research on a Spanish- or Portuguese-based creole language. Write: Roger W. Andersen, Applied Linguistics/TESL, 3300 Rolfe Hall, University of California, Los Angeles, CA 90024.

Richard W. BAILEY, (Department of English, the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109) is compiling a booklist of humorous treatments of local and national English dialects. Most of these works are produced for

the consumption of tourists, and they are commonly illustrated with cartoons showing stereotypic locals engaged in allegedly typical activities. Some are produced by scholars (e.g., Peter Wright's volumes on "Lanky twang" and "Cumbrian chat"), but most are prepared by journalists and entrepreneurs (e.g., Ken Maxwell's How to Speak Jamaican or Jim Everhart's Illustrated Texas Dictionary). Bailey would like to know of any titles in this genre with which CP readers are familiar.

Lawrence Carrington has written to tell us that the address for BALATA given in CP 13.2, p.4 is correct, but Raphael Confiant is not at that address.

CP advisory editor Lawrence CARRINGTON (UWI, Trinidad), and Jean CASIMIR (Economic Commission for Latin American and the Caribbean) are conducting a preparatory study for a project on Creole discourse and social development.

The project aims at the instrumentalization of Creole vernaculars in those public sector areas that will most readily contribute to social development in the Creole-speaking Caribbean. In the first instance, the focus will be on French-lexicon creoles.

The preparatory study will:

a. Survey institutions studying Caribbean French-lexicon Creole languages. This survey will ascertain the types of studies already undertaken and in progress within the institutions and determine how these studies can contribute to the project's goals.

b. Survey the public agencies currently using the languages in their day-to-day activities, with a view to assessing their practices, methods and techniques in the use of the vernacular.

c. Survey official policies and common practices of Caribbean governments for dealing with the linguistic cleavages of their countries. In particular, attention will be paid to the concerns of ministries responsible for education, health, labor, agriculture and development planning.

d. Prepare a bibliography of published documents in and on Caribbean French-lexicon Creoles. The materials collected will be assessed to determine the areas in which a minimum of new resources can permit the development of: i) handbooks of terminology; ii) inter-island glossaries; iii) annotated collections of folktales, drama and novels, and so on.

Work on the preparatory study began on 1st September 1985 and should be complete within one year.

The Carrier Pidgin wishes Carrington and Casimir good luck with the study and success in future funding.

Mike CHU, a Taiwanese who lived in Japan, mentioned to John Holm recently that Japanese had been the official language of Taiwan when it was a Japanese colony (1895-1945), and that today a strange kind of Japanese is still spoken by older people, particularly the aboriginal Taiwanese who speak several Malayo-Polynesian languages unrelated to Chinese. This variety of Japanese, which may be a pidgin, is used for communication between speakers of different aboriginal languages. As John notes, this language sounds like an excellent topic for a thesis. The language is apparently dying out and should be studied soon. Does anyone have more information?

Sometime ago, someone wrote us for help in tracking down a 1978 newspaper article on CRIOULE OU LINGUA CABOVERDIANA (by Manuel M. da Veiga) which was noted in CP 10.1, p.12. Our indefatigable linguistics bibliographer, John Rawlings, has finally located a copy of this article, but we can't find the original correspondence nor remember who requested it. If it's you, write the CP Editor, at the address on our masthead.

In reference to the DIKSYONER KREOL-ANGLE mentioned in our last CP (13.2, p. 9), Chris Corne writes that while he is not completely sure of his facts, he suspects that Diksyoner is an unauthorized printing of--or at least an unauthorized adaptation of--an early version of Philip Baker's Mauritian-English Dictionary (forthcoming).

ERIC/CLL and the Center for Applied Linguistics have moved. Their new address is 1118 22nd Street, NW, Washington DC 20037. Their new phone number is (202) 429-9292.

Beverly FLANIGAN (Ohio University) is completing fieldwork on Lakota English, and is also doing historical research at the Newberry Library in Chicago on the pidgin backgrounds of American Indian English (the subject of her 1981 Indiana dissertation). She hopes to begin revising her dissertation this coming year for publication.

The paper by Charles GILMAN entitled "Pidgin Languages: Form Selection or Simplification?" is being distributed by the Indiana University Linguistics Club, 310 Lindley Hall, Bloomington, IN 47405.

After a long lapse, the Institut fur Linguistik at the Technical University of Berlin has found a replacement for Dr. Peter Muhlhauser. Dr. Freddie JONES, a native-speaker of Krio from Sierra Leone, took up the position at the beginning of April. The Institute is very pleased to have such an

expert on its teaching staff, according to Ch.-J. Bailey. Jones earned his doctorate at Leeds University with Loreto Todd and now teaches a whole gamut of creole languages, according to Institute tradition.

Good news for creolists (and 'pidginists')! We will once again have our own journal! The JOURNAL OF PIDGIN AND CREOLE LANGUAGES (JPCL) is designed to be part of an international effort to bring together scholarly treatments of all aspects of pidginization and creolization. Special emphasis will be laid on theoretical analyses and data-oriented studies of pidgin and creole languages, and on applications of this knowledge to improved understanding and practical amelioration of the problems facing the societies in which these languages form an important part of everyday life.

The JPCL will consist of two issues per year, totalling approximately 225 pages. The subscription price for 1986 is US\$25.00 inclusive postage for private subscriptions, and US\$35.00 + postage for institutions. Subscription orders should be sent to the publisher, John Benjamins B.V., P.O. Box 52519, Amsteldijk 44, 1007 HA Amsterdam, Netherlands. Prospective contributors should contact the editor, Glenn Gilbert (Dept. of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901, USA; tel. (618) 536-3385) for a copy of the journal's "Instructions to Authors" and style sheet.

Books for review and manuscripts of book reviews should be sent to the book review editor, Mervyn Alleyne, Dept. of Linguistics and Use of English, University of the West Indies, Mona, Kingston 7, Jamaica; tel. (809) 927-0743.

The editorial board includes twenty-eight distinguished creolists and language acquisition specialists from all over the world. Derek Bickerton will be writing a regular column, "Beyond Roots." There will also be a "Short Notes" and a "Replies" section. The editors welcome contributions and comments.

Associated with the journal is a new monograph series, the Creole Language Library. Information is available from the series editor, Pieter Muysken, Dept. of General Linguistics, University of Amsterdam, Spuistraat 210, P.O. Box 19188, 1010 VT Amsterdam, Netherlands; tel. (020) 5253852 or 5253864.

Dudley NYLANDER has been awarded a postdoctoral fellowship by the University of Melbourne to do research on pidgin and creole linguistics. His address for the 1985-1986 academic year is: Department of English Language & Literature, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Victoria 3052, Australia.

John RAWLINGS (Green Library, Stanford) has forty-six weekly issues of Wantok for 1984 to give away. Write him at Green Library, Stanford U., Stanford, CA 94305.

Ian ROBERTSON, Sulakshmi DEWPRASHAD, Veronica JONES, Gem JONAS, and Pamela WILSON have prepared a 69-page description of French Creole as spoken by St. Lucians resident in the interior of Guyana. Entitled 'Guynawalla', the work is based on fieldwork in the Creole Language Studies Course taught by Robertson at the University of Guyana in 1981-82. For copies, write: Ian Robertson, School of Education, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, TRINIDAD.

The SIU COURIER (Southern Illinois University, Carbondale) of November 22, 1985 carried a feature story about the new Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages to be edited at SIU Carbondale. It included introductory information on pidgins and creoles based on an interview with the editor, Glenn Gilbert.

As co-director with Viv Edwards, David SUTCLIFFE recently completed a research project (funded by the ESRC, 1 Temple Avenue, London EC4) entitled: "Patterns of Language use in a British Black Community." The community in question was in the West Midlands of England, and the study looked at selection of (varieties of) Creole and English between situations of varying formality and ethnic make-up, and also within situations.

Both investigators concluded that there were two basic systems in use: Creole and English. Edwards found that Jamaican-derived Creole (known as "Patois") was spoken in a fluent, highly-developed way by nearly one third of the sample of 44 (males and females). The remainder showed a diminishing range of fluency while agreeing with the others in shifting from a "White" to a "Black" style of speech in less formal and all Black situations. Within situations, Sutcliffe found that switching to Creole referenced a "T" rather than "V" relationship with hearer (the familiar or solidary tu of French, Spanish, Welsh, etc.). However, the actual structuring of discourse had a profound effect on the discourse distribution of switches or shifts.

The report on the project is now with the ESRC. Books based on the project are forthcoming (Multilingual Matters Ltd.)--Edward's in 1986, Sutcliffe's in 1986 or early 1987.

Another publication, due out late 1985/early 1986, is Language and the Black Experience in Britain (editors D. Sutcliffe and A. Wong). This is a book of readings, with contri-

butions from James Berry, Jah Bones, Petronella Breinberg, Morgan Dalphinis, John Richmond, Mark Sebba, David Sutcliffe and Carol Tomlin, Ansel Wong, and with a foreword by John Figueroa.

Sutcliffe is presently seeking funding to explore native-speaker perceptions (in UK) of the discreteness and continuumism of varieties within the English-Creole complex of language.

John W. M. VERHAAR, SJ (Divine Word Institute, P.O. Box 483, Madang, Papua New Guinea) has sent us the following response to C. J. Bailey's query in CP 11.3, p.4 about possessives as personal pronouns, *casus rectus & obliquus*:

"One of the (three?) The Hague dialects (of Dutch) has zijn 'his' in Subject and Object (including prepositional Object) position: Zijn is ziek (his is sick) 'He is sick'; Dat is voor zijn (That is for his) 'That is for him'; Ik heb zijn gezien (I have his seen) 'I have seen him'. The Argument zijn is never atonic; hence the atonic /zən/ for possessive zijn is never used Argument-wise.

The sing. pers. pronouns (skipping the neuter) in Dutch are: ik/mij (or mē, atonic) 'I/me' (the slash separates *rectus* and *oblique*); ji (or atonic jē) / jou (or atonic jə) 'you'; hij/hem 'he'; zij (or atonic zē) / haar 'she'. The corresponding possessives are: mijn (atonic /mən/ or /mē/, the latter substandard) 'my'; jouw (homophonous with *oblique* pers. jou) or (atonic) jə 'your'; zijn (atonic /zən/) 'his'; haar 'her'. Haar, therefore, is homophonous for pers. and poss., but poss. zijn is sufficiently heterophonous from pers. hij/hem to discount the possibility of a pers.

"analogy" of (Argument) zijn.

However, the "analogy" possibility may be hard to discard, since some of it occurs in the pronominal system in this language; e.g. while pers. pl. zij 'they' (*oblique* hen or hun) is sufficiently different in phonological size and quality from pers. pl. jullie 'y'all' for analogy to be unobvious, nevertheless there is (substandard) hullie 'they', clearly on the analogy of jullie.

The Argument zijn example I remember from my childhood days, about fifty years ago. It may or may not be there now; local linguists can tell. But there must be more to possessives as Arguments than Creoles can tell us.

Here is an example of a nonpronominal possessive (*genitive*) from a dialect in the Southern Province of Brabant (West-Brabant?). The *genitive* *moeders* 'mother's' may take Argument position: is moeders thuis? (Is mother's at home?) 'Is Mom at home?'; heb je moeders gezien? (have you mother's seen?) 'Have you seen Mom?'.

I forgot about Argument zijn: the "possessive" mijn (but not, for obvious reason, jou(w), which is homophonous as between personal and possessive), may function (in that one The Hague dialect) in the same way as zijn, Argument-wise. Haar is like English her in that it is homophonous as between possessive and (*oblique*) personal."

JOBS

The Linguistics Program at UC DAVIS is seeking applications for a full-time position at the Asst. Prof. level. The position is 50% tenure-track; the remaining 50% is guaranteed for at least two years. Applicants must have a Ph.D. in linguistics and a primary specialization in phonetics and phonology. Applicants should send letter, curriculum vitae, names of three references (who should send letters under separate cover) and samples of their research to Prof. Lenora Timm, Linguistics Search Committee, Linguistics Program, University of California, Davis, CA 95616. Deadline: January 15, 1986.

The UCLA Department of Linguistics invites applications for a tenure-track or tenured position in psycholinguistics, preferably with a specialization in first-language acquisition. Rank and salary open. Applicants should provide a curriculum vitae, names of references (no letters) with addresses and office phone numbers if possible, and sample publications. Send applications to Paul Schachter, Dept. of Linguistics, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA 90024. Deadline: January 15, 1986.

The UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA seeks to fill five positions in linguistics. Three are tenure-accruing, with lines in academic departments, two are for academic year contracts in the ESL program of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. All require an earned Ph.D. and an interest in Applied Linguistics.

In the English department the successful candidate will be expected to teach technical writing and participate in the interdepartmental Program in Linguistics at the graduate and/or undergraduate levels. In the Department of Romance Languages two applied linguists, one specializing in French and one in Spanish, will be appointed. For the English Language Institute the two visiting assistant professors to be appointed will teach two ESL courses, do research, and perform the usual academic

services. One appointment will begin in January, the other in August 1986. Please write to the appropriate search committee in either the English Department, 4008 GPA; the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures, 170 ASB; of the Program in Linguistics, 162 GRI, University of Florida, Gainesville 32611.

The Division of English as a Second Language, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN has an opening for a tenure-track Asst. Professor. Duties include research and teaching. Ph.D. in Linguistics or related field with ESL specialization is required. Applicant should have well-demonstrated research excellence and specialization in one or more of the following areas: the use of computers for basic and applied research in second language acquisition and learning, sociolinguistics, English in the world. Please send application, publications and curriculum vitae, and have three or more letters of recommendation sent directly to Prof. Braj B. Kachru, Chairperson, Search Committee, Division of English as a Second Language, University of Illinois, 3070 Foreign Languages Bldg., 707 Mathews Avenue, Urbana, IL 61801. (217) 333-1507. Deadline: January 31, 1986.

The UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN's English Composition Board, a college-wide inter-disciplinary writing program, hopes to make several one year appointments at the lecturer level. Individuals with teaching experience and expertise in the following areas are of particular interest: assessment of writing skills, program evaluation, discourse analysis, particularly of academic disciplines, writing problems of special populations, computer-assisted writing instruction, curriculum development with emphasis on writing needs of remedial students. Applications should be directed to Professor Deborah Keller-Cohen, Director, English Composition Board, 1025 Angell Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109, by January 1, 1986.

The UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA has vacancies for:

1) Distinguished Professor of English and Linguistics. Established scholar with international reputation. Broad background in linguistic theory and expertise in one or more of the following fields: TEFL, literacy in society, language planning, literacy theory, discourse analysis.

2) Distinguished Professor of English and Comparative Literature. Established scholar with international reputation. Expertise in critical theory.

Send application and vita by January 15, 1986 to Dr. George L. Geckle, Chairman, Department of English, The University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina 29208.

The Department of English, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MILWAUKEE (UWM) is seeking a senior specialist in English Language. Qualifications: Ph.D. in Linguistics; specialization in an applied field of English linguistics, such as syntax, stylistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, or language variation; significant experience teaching and supervising graduate students; substantial scholarly achievement.

Write: James A. Sappenfield, Chair, Dept. of English, The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, P.O. Box 413, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201.

SQUAWKS AND RUFFLED FEATHERS

David SUTCLIFFE (c/Sancho Davila 3, 5c, Madrid, Spain) has sent an open letter to Dennis Craig in response to Craig's review of Sutcliffe's *British Black English* (Blackwell, 1982) in the Dec 1983 issue of *Language in Society*. An edited version of this letter, forwarded to us by Sutcliffe, follows:

"Although we don't apparently agree on quite a number of points I'd like to thank you for writing at such length.

I'd like to take up one or two points in your review. I do in fact know the difference between Jamaican Creole (basilect/ mesolect), Eastern Caribbean English Lexicon creoles, and Afro-American dialect. I'm sorry that this wasn't clear, although it may be that my example of *aint* /ē/ is the culprit (a point you take up on pg. 544).

First of all, my own approach to Caribbean creoles and creoles generally is to say that that which behaves syntactically like a creole is a creole. Forgive the apparent question-begging here! So that /ē ju iz ə hag/ and the Gullah passage in which it occurs is basically creole, despite changes of the morphology in the direction of English. Admittedly this process, in general, changes paradigms; for instance, *shi* is added to the JC paradigm(s) described by Bailey (1966).

As for the British Black scene, and changes in the parental creole over generations, Mark Sebba and I maintain that there is a Jamaican-derived creole in very widespread

use. Caribbean people with whom we have discussed this over many years agree. The creole has the phonology described by Bailey and others for Jamaican Creole in Jamaica. It follows JC syntactic structure and employs JC intonation patterns. Although there are some lexical incorporations from the Eastern Caribbean, that is the only sense in which it is a blend. Actually, in London Jamaican and Dudley Jamaican (West Midlands), there is rather little Eastern Caribbean influence. "Aint" /ē/ as verb negator is, for instance, rare in London and as far as I know does not occur in Dudley.

You take up the point of the development of the creole(s) and other varieties of Black language over generations in the UK. Here is a rough over-view of the situation as I see it:

The parental Jamaican Creole, a conservative rural form, is understood. Many British-born Black speakers can reproduce it, for instance, in talking about what parents have said:

Sis knight mek a tel yu, John an Barry, yu no nuo we fi fain dem. Tap a batam! (Yu momi se:) Michael ongli kom-iin wen... Mike di huol nait kom kom-iin wen di dopi-dem waak pan ruod, dem-de taim.

Young Male, Dudley 1983.

Their own Creole shows a shift away from conservative forms to a more English-derived morphology, more English in phonological shape, for instance, the shift from *im* to *shi* (involving more than *im* and *shi*, of course). This shift may have begun in Jamaica. Actually, young people still use these forms, variably, and Rastas focus on them. Example of variable conservative use (non-Rasta):

A shi tel mi fos, an mi no nuo we im go uopn i mout faa, kaaz im nuo se mi kyaan kiip mi mout shot bout dem tingz. ('It was she who told me first, and I don't know why she had to open her mouth, because she knows I can't keep my mouth shut about such things.') Young Female, Dudley 1983.

Shi adds gender to the paradigm, but *har* does not add case. Contrary to what you suggest (pg. 544), invariance for case is not a sine qua non of basilectal creoles.

Saramaccan has pronominal case distinctions, as do Kwa languages. In JC, *a* (weak first person singular subject pronoun) is arguably not Proto-Creole, but occurs in *mek + a + verb* and other constructions where an oblique pronoun would be needed in any variety of English. But there is also *am* (weak third person singular oblique pronoun).

Eastern Caribbean influence shows in two ways. Jamaican-derived Creole incorporates features such as the *aint* negator (though rarely!) or uses more *shi* oblique case (said

to be uncommon in Jamaica). Additionally, in a number of places, notably Reading, Eastern Caribbean varieties survive in their own right in the repertoires of younger speakers. Mixes may occur, but on linguistic levels other than phonology these mixes are of the oil-and-water type.

As for new forms that have arisen in the younger generation's creole, and in British Black talk more generally: lexically there is a great innovative energy, paralleled by that in Jamaica, which may be Rasta-inspired, and may also be an urban non-Rasta phenomenon, depending on the examples we take. The former is allied to developments in Kingston and elsewhere (but see Bones, forthcoming). The latter is part of a constant search for new forms to baffle the outsider (see Wong, forthcoming).

Structurally, one has to look carefully to find change. The occasional occurrence of "blended continuatives" such as yu a taakin (you're talking') may be new. There's also ennit as a universal tag, not typical of JC.

As for local varieties of British English, virtually all British-born Black people speak them, to greatly varying degrees. They make subtle alterations to these varieties, at different linguistic levels. On the phonological level, voice quality as much as segmental features, marks the difference. Morphologically, there is the use of seh as a complementizer. Syntactically, there are incipient differences (when you finish wash your hair). On the lexical level, there are many urban slang terms, Rasta vocabulary, and items like extra ('bossy'), and red ('light skinned').

The density of occurrence of these features increases as speakers shift into a "Blacker" form of acrolect which is still clearly English rather than "Patois"--something we could term "maximal Black English."

Much of this, the Black style, transmits to young urban White speakers, intensely attracted by the dynamic quality of this new urban speech.

Another stylistic option open to Black youth is rapid switching between English and Patois. Yet another is what could be called the mesolect of this range, represented by passage 3 of Patricia's "continuum" in chapter 5 of British Black English. It is a "fudged" variety (Trudgill's term), as unpredictable and unstable as the "broken English" of Placentia (Escure 1984).

To return to your commentary on "BBE". My description of Jamaican-derived Creole, in chapter 4, does indeed consist of a selection of grammatical features following the example set by B. Bailey, because it starts from Bailey's premise that despite variation or switching, there is a stable system to be

described with a predictable range of features. These features, morphology in particular, show a range of conservativeness or non-conservativeness. In addition to the variation between im and shi, we have ben + verb varying with dida + verb or woz + verb, thence to woz + verb+in. And of course there are other features of morphology likewise "decreolising" in this particular sense, which represents a lexical change much more than a loss of creole system.

These forms are, in Bailey (1966), the "newer" ones on pages 139-140. Bailey does not recognize the existence of an intervening mesolectal system. I believe she was right in this omission or denial. All the same implicational relationships certainly do exist, in a very fluid sense, between these morphological features (plus or minus conservative forms). There is nothing like the strict co-occurrence constraints described by Bickerton for Guyana. And there is a rampant degree of variation in most speech data in Britain in which Jamaican-derived Creole occurs. This makes it enormously difficult to demonstrate any kind of implicational relations. In such data, where switching often occurs between clauses, everything seems to be co-occurring with everything else, UNLESS one begins to look at system at a more abstract level.

And invariant system(s) as opposed to usage is what you are implying when you criticise (perhaps rightly) my statement on page 6 that Jamaican Creole "fluctuates" much more than Standard English. You say:

This statement certainly is not true of the JC described by Bailey which Sutcliffe otherwise takes as his model.

And a more invariant reading of the Creole system, in use in England, and elsewhere, is what we would like to establish now. The systematic equivalence, or otherwise, of "newer" iz/woz with conservative a/(b)en is exactly a case of the analytical, conceptual problems provoked by the im/shi shift. What we can say is that woz behaves very much like en/ben in speech that I would characterize as creole, possessing creole syntax and phonology and intonation. (Admittedly, woz substitutes en/ben in (b) ena + active verb or (b) en + adjectival verb, rather than (b) en + active verb--a point you'll no doubt take up if you reply.) The form iz similarly substitutes a focus and equative particles without perturbations to the system. But, as you point out, it does not substitute the a continuative marker. This latter feature, as you observe, becomes -in, a post verbal particle. Perhaps this argues for the very "early" presence of -in in the creole system, not quite the Proto

Creole form but a very early "borrowing" either in temporal or social terms (the diachronic/synchronic reflection).

The use of written source data was deliberate, since there was no lack of recorded speech. If writers feel they are writing in "Patois" (JC), this is significant and interesting. Much written Patois is intended for oral delivery anyway, to an audience which will typically be discerning and Black. I have shown in British Black English that Jennifer Johnson's use of the copula is actually more consistent than what we should find typically in speech, which is where we agree. To me, however, it is extremely significant that Jennifer's performance is thus an abstraction from speech, with its own internal consistency.

There are a number of other points in your review on which we differ. It is sufficient to say that the wealth of points raised by you is indicative of the complex of controversial or unresolved problems raised by Afro-American language. It is extremely stimulating to be involved with such problems. Nothing can be taken for granted--certainly not the "Continuum". Recent research opinion suggests a swing away from the Bickerton-DeCamp continuum theory. My own thinking is that the "continuum" or the English-Creole language complex of Jamaica or England (surprisingly similar in some ways in spite of a stronger feeling of bilingualism in the latter) shows, as Haugen (1972) said of dialect variation generally, both wave and particle characteristics--discreteness and continuumism. Like Light. It is perhaps not coincidence that this comment strikes an answering chord to the comment made by Le Page in the introduction to Bailey (1966), to the effect that we need a new quantum theory linguistics. Perhaps that is fanciful but I'm sure Le Page is right.

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BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Review of Roger ANDERSEN, ed., *Pidginization and Creolization as Language Acquisition* (Newbury House, 1983). By Robert A. Hall, Jr. in *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 9.1. (1985): 37-40.

Review of Philip BAKER and Chris CORNE, *Isle de France Creole* (Karoma, 1982).

By Ingrid Neumann in *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 95 (1985): 201-207.

By Peter Mühlhäusler in *Kratylos*. 29 (1984[1985]):217-9. Concludes: "...This book is a major contribution to our knowledge of French-based creoles and the development of creoles in general. ..."

Review of Anna BARBAG-STOLL, *Social and Linguistic History of Nigerian Pidgin English as Spoken by the Yoruba with Special Reference to the English-derived Lexicon* (Staufenberg, 1983). By David Lawton in *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 9.1. (1985): 40-42.

Review of Derek BICKERTON, *Roots of Language* (Karoma, 1981). Rewritten for the CP by Morris Goodman (Northwestern University):

This is a very condensed summary of my review of *Roots in The International Journal of American Linguistics*, (Jan. 1985), which contains much of the argumentation, elaboration, and documentation that I have been forced to omit here.

B.'s thesis (which I will not attempt to recapitulate) rests upon a variety of inaccurate claims and invalid arguments. First, his attempt to characterize the pidgin stage of a creole cannot be given serious credence. It is based on the speech of older immigrants in Hawaii, who arrived between 1907 and 1930, and who were primarily Japanese or Filipino. The earliest large-scale immigration into Hawaii

(1876-88) consisted of Chinese and Portuguese, who, interacting with the native Hawaiians and the small but influential English speaking population, evolved an English-based pidgin (with substantial Hawaiian lexical influence), which had arisen out of an even older Pacific-wide nautical pidgin English, with which many Hawaiians had become familiar by the mid 19th century. This account is amply supported by existing studies and contemporary documents. B.'s claim that between 1876 and 1900 the predominant *lingua franca* of the islands was a pidginized form of Hawaiian is completely untenable. Thus, the language of Japanese and Filipino

immigrants arriving after 1900 cannot possibly be representative of the pidgin stage of Hawaiian creole English. However, by assuming otherwise, B. attempts to draw very far-reaching inferences concerning the general nature of pidgins and their transition into creoles, with crucial importance attributed to the role of children acquiring them as first languages.

There are, in fact, a number of reasons for extreme skepticism about such a supposition. One of the most compelling is the demographic composition of most early slave societies in which creoles originated. As a consequence of the low ratio of women to men, as well as low fertility and high infant mortality, locally-born slaves generally formed a very small proportion of the total slave population, in some cases not exceeding 10% within the first fifty years. Yet all available evidence seems to suggest that creole languages evolved within two or three decades. The small number of locally-born slaves during this period, however, generally had access to the white's language, and learned it natively, whereas those born in Africa rarely did. Evidently, it was the latter who played the decisive role in developing the creoles, suggesting that nativization was not a significant factor in the evolution of their structure.

A similar conclusion is suggested by the near identity of Juba Arabic (until recently a pidgin) in Sudan, where the language originated, and Kinubi (a creole) in Uganda, where it was brought about a century ago. The absence of older native speakers in its place of origin (there are now some younger ones) strongly implies that there were none when the language was taken to Uganda. Yet despite early nativization there and much more recent nativization in Sudan, the language has evidently changed very little.

There must be explanations other than nativization both for the similarities among creoles and for the greater diversity among pidgins. One explanation may be the greater uniformity in the target languages of the former. Except for Kinubi, all creoles by B.'s criteria (pp. 307-8, n.9) derive from five related Western European languages, two of them Germanic (Dutch, English) and three Romance (French, Portuguese, Spanish). Furthermore, Sudanese Colloquial Arabic (the source of Juba Arabic and thus of Kinubi) is very similar to them syntactically in some respects; unlike the literary language, its basic word order is SVO, and it makes greater use of preposed auxiliaries and invariant particles to indicate tense and aspect. Pidgins, by contrast, derive from a wide variety of languages--African, Amerindian, Austronesian, as well as European.

However, even where pidgins and creoles derive from the same language, factors other than nativization may have served to differentiate them. One of these may be duration and intensity of exposure to the target. For example, New Guinea pidgin English arose among contract laborers whose term was normally three years; recruitment from the region lasted only seven years. By contrast, Sranan, which probably had the briefest exposure of any creole to its target language, was in contact with English for over twenty years, and the ratio of whites to non-whites was much higher during this period than it ever was in New Guinea or anywhere else in the South Pacific (except, of course, Australia and New Zealand). The absence of the definite article 'the' in New Guinea and its presence in Sranan, for example, may reflect this difference. B. (p. 122) admits that the amount of exposure to the target language can differentiate one creole from another in structure. Why not recognize, then, that the same factor might have differentiated pidgins from creoles?

On the other hand, Chinese pidgin English had a very prolonged exposure to its target (over 200 years), yet did not develop a definite article or any of the other morphological elaboration common to creoles. Apart from substratal influence, which cannot be dismissed (Chinese has very few morphologically marked grammatical categories), functional factors may have played a major role. How often did its speakers make use of it (as a percentage of their total linguistic output), and for what purposes and in what situations? Was it ever, for example, the vehicle of an extensive oral literature (as were all Caribbean creoles), including elaborate narratives?

The structural similarities among creoles can probably be attributed to the tendency of contact languages to select certain types of constructions from both the target language and the substrata and to reject others. For example, the analytic verb constructions consisting of auxiliaries or particles preposed to "main" verbs (as they normally are in SVO languages, including the targets of all creoles) were much more readily adopted by second language learners than were inflectional affixes, leading to the evolution of fairly uniform systems of tense/aspect markings. However, these similarities have been exaggerated by B., who overlooks, for example, the significant semantic differences between the unmarked verb in Antillean and Mauritian creole French (completive vs. habitual or "timeless") to say nothing of the differences among various creoles outside the verbal system, as, for example, in the

placement of adjectives with respect to nouns or the ordering of the possessive construction.

Substratal features adopted by creoles, likewise, were those most readily adopted into a contact language by virtue of consisting of syntactic arrangements of basic lexical items, namely serial verbs, the use of the same connective as both conjunction ('and') and preposition ('with') and so on, all found in various relevant West African languages and most New World creoles. For the same reason, a substratal source (Chinese and/or Japanese) accounts for the presence of serial verbs in both Hawaiian creole English and Chinese pidgin English (where nativization is not a possible explanation). B.'s categorical rejection of the possibility of substratal influence in creole syntax is surely the most misguided (one might even say preposterous) aspect of his entire position.

Nevertheless, B.'s arguments have forced creolists to examine the question with greater rigor than heretofore and, hopefully, to abandon their overstated and simplistic reliance upon this explanation of creole similarities.

Some of these recurrent similarities, however, may not be instances of selection from the target language of the substrata, but, rather, common innovations due to general evolutionary tendencies in language. Yet even these need not be attributed to specific innate psycholinguistic structures, as B. claims. For example, the use of the past (or anterior) plus the future marker to indicate the conditional is widespread in creoles, but in many other languages as well (e.g. English would, historically the past tense of will.) The reason for this development is that one is more likely to speak of an event anticipated (i.e. future) in the past, if, for some reason it did not take place. The construction would thus acquire a contingent or even counterfactual meaning. The circumstances of use rather than any innate structure of the mind can account for this linguistic tendency.

Apart from pidgins and creoles, B. deals with two other topics, native language acquisition and language origins. In discussing the first he seeks to show parallels between its early stages and creole universals. Thus, according to his analysis, creoles distinguish stative from nonstative verbs in that the former do not occur with non-punctual markers (pp. 88,160). In fact, it has been pointed out that in some creoles they do, but with an inceptive meaning, in which case the distinction between statives and nonstatives evaporates.

Nevertheless, B. sees a parallel between this putative universal creole feature and the fact that

children learning English apparently never create progressive forms of stative verbs such as know or want. Obviously the fact that they have never heard them is not a full explanation, since they do produce such analogic past tenses as bought, etc., which presumably they have not heard either. There is a clear difference between these two phenomena, however. Those English verbs without a progressive form have a conceptual unity, whereas those with irregular past tenses obviously do not. The errorless acquisition of the former distinction does throw light on young children's ability to conceptualize, but does not necessarily imply the innateness of the concepts. It would be instructive to study children's acquisition of conceptual distinctions which are not found in creoles, for example, that between near and far demonstratives (i.e., 'this' vs. 'that'), lacking in most varieties of creole French. Only in this way could one determine whether creole grammatical distinctions are in any way unique.

More generally, parallels between creoles and early stages of first-language acquisition may be common to early stages of second-language acquisition as well, in which case they could more plausibly be attributed to a general language-learning ability rather than to any specific innate psycholinguistic structures. The detailed comparison of first and second language acquisition, a field still in its infancy, would surely help to clarify the issue.

B.'s discussion of the origin of language is highly speculative and consequently not readily confirmed or contradicted. However, specific claims about man's original language, based on widespread or even universal creole features, must be viewed with considerable skepticism; for example, the assertion (p. 292) that "the original language was SV0 with (verb) serialization" is evidently based on the universality of the first feature among creoles and the widespreadness of the second. As already argued, however, the former is almost certainly explained by the fact that every known creole is derived from a target language with that word order, and the latter is almost certainly attributable to substratal influence. Thus, little if anything, most likely, can be salvaged from B.'s theory.

For all its faults, this work will surely stimulate a great deal of new interest in the issues which it raises. For that reason alone it serves a useful purpose.

Review of Ingvald BROCH and Ernst Hakon JAHR, *Russenorsk--et pidginspråk i Norge*, 2nd edition (Novus Forlag, Oslo, 1984). By Bernard Comrie in *Norsk Lingvistisk Tidsskrift* 1 (1985): 44-8.

Comrie concludes: "... this is an

excellent account of Russenorsk which deserves to be more widely known among those interested in pidgins and creoles. It will remain the definitive descriptive study of Russenorsk, and its interpretations, while at times, inevitably, providing food for reinterpretation, are always interesting and challenging to our basic assumptions about the nature and origin of pidgin languages." (Comrie reminds us in a footnote that a shorter English version of the book's findings appeared in P. Ureland and I. Clarkson, *Scandinavian Language Contacts*, Cambridge 1984.)

Review of F. CASSIDY, ed., *Dictionary of American Regional English*, vol. 1, A-C (The Belknap Press, Harvard, 1985). By William Safire in the *New York Times Magazine*, September 8, 1985, p. 19.

Safire writes: "...For the first time, we have a picture of the way Americans speak English to one another at home, relaxed, when nobody's airish. No word in this dictionary is standard; when the work is completed, we will have five volumes of entries, with DARE treading in that terra incognita beyond the domain of most other dictionaries.

... Cassidy is on my list of Ten Greatest Living Americans. Born in Jamaica, he's prepared himself for his life's great work by first writing the *Dictionary of Jamaican English*; for 21 years, he has been pushing along his dream of a non-standard dictionary that would help Americans discover one another through an understanding of their ways of talking. ..."

Review of Morgan DALPHINIS, *Caribbean and African Languages* (Karia Press, 1985). By Imruh Bakari Caesar, in *West Africa*, August 5, 1985, p. 1600. Caesar writes: "... Overall, this makes a very readable book even though it is packed with data and analysis which would only be fully appreciated by the specialist. ..."

Review of Luis Iyens FERRAZ, *The Creole of São Tomé* (Witwatersrand University Press, 1979). By Joseph M. McCarthy in *Anthropos* 80 (1985): 314.

McCarthy writes: "... During the present century, there have been fewer than a dozen studies dealing substantially with São Tomense, ... The present volume now becomes the entry point into the study of São Tomense, one that, as a model of a particular type of descriptive study, will be useful for students of almost any Creole language."

Review of Bernd HEINE, *The Nubi Language of Kibera--an Arabic Creole*. By Robin Thelwall and James Dickins in *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics*, 7.1 (1985): 92-97.

Review of Marlis HELLINGER, *Englisch-orientierte Pidgin- und Kreolsprachen: Entstehung, Geschichte und sprachlicher Wandel* (Erträge der Forschung, Band 221). Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985. XII + 229pp. DM 58,- (DM 38,50 for members). Order Number 8816-6.

Reviewed for the CP by Lilith M. Haynes (Fachbereich 3, Universität Essen Gesamthochschule, 4300 Essen 1, Bundesrepublik Deutschland).

Inasmuch as English studies, let alone English linguistics studies, are unpopular academic choices in Germany, the publication of Hellinger's volume by a book club which offers DM 5,- memberships to schoolchildren and students (DM 12,- to adults) is a brave effort to enlighten the layperson, and it is therefore more "tuned to the lowest Common Multiple than the Highest Uncommon Factor" (Blond 1985:124).

The choice of "-oriented" (as opposed to -based, -related or -zero) for the title is a deliberate attempt to "recognize conventional terminology... and to at least relativize the importance of European components" (4,5). Not unrelatedly, Hellinger's interests in feminist linguistics are reflected in a sensitivity toward labels. She is, for example, usually careful to use gender-equalizing hyphenations for language-users, such as "Der/Die Lernende" (100) or "bei den Deutsch ausländischen Arbeiter/innen" (107). This awareness serves Hellinger well in the first six of her twelve chapters, which map the established fundamentals of her subject area.

Chapter 1 outlines the postwar development of "creolistics" as an independent discipline (1-17), while Chapter 2 sketches its importance to topics in general linguistics such as language change, comparative language contact, language acquisition and linguistic universals (18-26).

The next two chapters are a eulogy to Schuchardt, documenting his varied research (27-38) and his influence upon the work of Hesseling, Jespersen and, to a lesser extent, Bloomfield (39-46).

Chapter 5 takes up the question of lingua franca (47-59), and this is followed by the presentation of various hypotheses about the origins of pidgin- and creole languages--language relatedness, monogenesis and polygenesis, the importance of a West-African Portuguese-oriented pidgin or of a "reconnaissance language"--and historical accounts of the development of Sranan, Saramaccan and Caribbean English-oriented pidgin- and creole languages (60-91). These topics--pet peeves on comprehensive exams--are pursued in a clear, balanced manner which would redress the disadvantages faced by German-speaking students who have difficulty acquiring or reading

texts in English. When Hellinger moves into disputed territory, however, her treatment becomes decidedly unsure.

In the Foreword, Hellinger cites two reasons for limiting her text to English-oriented pidgin and creole languages: a) her need to select from an abundance of available material, and b) her knowledge of Belize Creole, constituting the basis for her involvement in creolistics. It is therefore curious that primary data rarely surfaces, Hellinger relying upon a few secondary sources, and particularly upon Bickerton--whose opinions she frequently disputes or negates in the earlier chapters, and whose data have been characterized by native (and other) linguists as "lacking in observational, descriptive, and explanatory adequacy" (Gibson 1984:129). Indeed, apart from vintage data about four Jamaican women (Bailey 1966:5) and a passing glance at twenty-four Guyanese (Rickford 1983), there is not much in Chapters 1, 8, and 10 to prevent us applying to Hellinger the charges she makes against others concerning authenticity and coherence (71-72), as well as racist perspectives (45).

Chapter 7 (92-112) is quite confused, as Hellinger attempts to determine criteria for the definition of pidgin and creole languages by fashioning a compromise somewhere between foreigner talk, interlanguage and the disputed existence of pidgin worker-German (cf. Hinnenkamp 1984).*

Chapter 8 (113-136) exemplifies lexical and syntactic processes of creolization, and seems a more fitting home for sections of Chapter 9 such as copula constructions, serial verbs, and pronominal forms.

Chapter 9 (137-176) is most successful when it deals with the external history of West African contact languages, but its hybrid organizational and unfortunate placement diminish its impact.

Chapter 10 (177-197) is also uneven in that the basic methodology of the implicational scale is clearly presented but the whole case concerning the creole continuum is not, and little sociolinguistic sophistication emerges in Hellinger's treatment of linguistic variation and change.

The final two chapters offer fleeting consideration of language planning in national development, Chapter 11 (198-205) mentioning some formal contexts for the use of creole languages, and Chapter 12 (206-214) touching upon language policy issues in general and those of Belize in particular. Thus, the promises of Hellinger's Foreword and the book's blurb are poorly fulfilled in the latter half of the text.

The Bibliography (217-219) is a useful tool for the interested lay-

person, and this, taken with Chapters 1 to 6 and parts of Chapter 9, would provide the beginning student with a basic introduction to the field. But beginning students, as Boris Becker clearly demonstrates, have ambitions that can only be fulfilled at the professional level after rigorous training, and without showing /bʌn ʌvɪ/ after the opening gambits. If her compatriots, and Becker's linguistic contemporaries, are to play more than a middling, muddled game in the field of creolistics, a revised edition of Hellinger's text is in order.

Footnote

*I am not sure how an uneducated person looks (cf. Ferguson 1975:3), but I surely do not look like most Europeans; nonetheless, in almost five years in the industrial Ruhr, I have been publicly addressed in standard German except upon two occasions: 1) by a Turkish construction-worker using his native language and 2) by a Sri Lankan refugee using English.

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Review of Claire LEFEBVRE, Hélène MAGLOIRE-HOLLY, and Nanie PLOU, *Syntaxe de l'Haïtien* (Karoma, 1982), and of Philip BAKER and Chris CORNE, *Isle de France Creole* (Karoma, 1982). By Hilary Wise in *French Studies* XXXIX, 3 (1985):376-7.

Review of Peter STEIN, *Kreolisch und Französisch* (Niemeyer, 1984). By Ingrid Neuman in *Die Neueren Sprachen* 84 (1985): 569-570.

Review article of K. VERSTEEGH, *Pidginization and Creolization: the Case of Arabic* (John Benjamins, 1984), entitled "On the Importance of Pidgins and Creoles for Linguis-

tics". By Alan S. Kaye (California State University, Fullerton) in *Diachronica* 11:2.2, 1985.

Review of K. VERSTEEGH, *Pidginization and Creolization: The Case of Arabic*. (Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science. Series IV--Current Issues in Linguistics Theory, Vol. 33. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1984. Pp. xiii, f 75,-). Reviewed for the CP by Charles A. Ferguson (Stanford University).

This little book is important for Arabists, creolists, and in a more general way, historical linguistics. The author propounds the thesis that the modern Arabic dialects arose by pidginization/creolization/decreolization, rather than in the ways hypothesized by other scholars, such as normal historical change (Diem 1974), the spread of one set of pre-Islamic dialects (Vollers 1906), the spread of a koine (Ferguson 1959), or substratum influences (Cohen 1970, Garbell 1958). He equates pidginization with a "mass process of second language learning ... without ... formal instruction" (37).

Unfortunately Versteegh is not completely clear on what he means by the pidgin stage. For example, at times he seems to suggest that all inflectional categories were swept away, but elsewhere he seems to claim that the pidgin lost the Classical plural-feminine singular agreement pattern but kept the strict singular-singular and plural-plural patterns. Perhaps his claim is that Arabic was what Bickerton calls an "early creolized creole" without a definite pidgin stage?

In any case, the book succeeds in showing that the creole cycle is a

possible historical explanation of the modern dialects, and Versteegh does the field a service by discussing in some detail characteristics of attested modern pidgin and creole Arabics (e.g. Juba Arabic, Ki-Nubi) as well as varieties of Arabic ("Sprachinsel") that have been untouched by the linguistics/cultural influence of the Classical language (e.g. Maltese, Central Asian Arabic). But he has not succeeded in providing convincing evidence for his main thesis. It still seems likely, to this reviewer, at least, that most of the differences between Old Arabic as represented by the 'Arabiyyah of the grammarians and the New Arabic of the modern dialects are to be explained by normal processes of language transmission rather than the creole cycle. The fact that Arabic pidgins and creoles have appeared under particular circumstances is not in itself proof that the dialects all have a pidgin/creole history.

Versteegh's book does, however, open up a field of argumentation in which the proponents of conflicting views will have to draw on bodies of evidence not much considered previously and will have to argue in terms of general models of language change in a more sophisticated way than Arabists have done up to the present.

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DISSERTATIONS AND THESES

John HARRIS' Ph.D. dissertation on the history of North Australian Kriol is to be published by Pacific Linguistics (Australian National University), under the title, "Northern territory pidgins and the origin of Kriol." It should appear early in 1986.

Dudley NYLANDER writes that he has just completed the first draft of a doctoral dissertation to be presented at McGill University. It is entitled "Topics in Krio Syntax" and is written within a Government-Binding framework.

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