

FOCUS ON CREOLISTS:

MERVYN ALLEYNE - A Caribbean Tribute

by Hubert Devonish

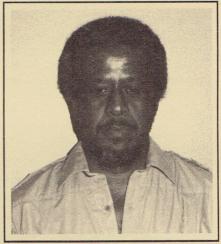
Caribbean peoples, and those involved in the study of Caribbean language everywhere, owe a great debt to the work and ideas of Mervyn Alleyne. He, along with a group of senior linguists in the Caribbean such as Richard Allsopp, Pauline Christie, Lawrence Carrington and Dennis Craig, opted to remain in the Caribbean and to live among the people whose language they studied. The continued presence of these linguists in Creole-speaking communities has had an important effect: it has served

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to ensure that, at least to some degree, the advances being made in the study of Creole languages have had some impact on the language attitudes and language policies of these societies.

Mervyn, however, deserves credit for much more than that. He managed to include questions of language and linguistics in the whole post-colonial rethinking which swept Commonwealth Caribbean intellectual circles in the 1960s and 1970s. Plantation Society theory, underdevelopment theory, Black Power, Pan-Africanism and Marxism were being developed and explored during this period. Scholars like George Beckford, Walter Rodney, Clive Thomas and others were involved in the rethinking in disciplines such as economics and history. The goal of this activity was both to develop an understanding of Caribbean society and to provide a model by which to build a new, just and prosperous Caribbean. Alleyne's earliest contribution to these issues was his work in the early 1960s on communication between the elites and masses in the Caribbean (1963). He looked at the election just prior to the granting of independence to Jamaica in 1962 and noted that when the English-speaking political



Mervyn Alleyne

leadership used such terms as 'independence,' 'freedom' and 'democracy,' the interpretations placed on these terms by the Creole-speaking mass of the population were drastically different from the meanings intended by the leaders. This issue and the problems associated with it are as relevant today as they were nearly thirty years ago.

Alleyne's well-known (1971) paper was originally presented in 1968, a momentous year for the Commonwealth Caribbean. In this year, a Guyanese historian teaching African history at the University of the West Indies in Jamaica was banned by the Jamaican government from reentering the country. This was the beginning of an era of political radicalisation in the Commonwealth Caribbean which came to an end fifteen years later with the U.S. invasion of

The Carrier Pidgin

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FROM THE EDITOR

The *CP* is in transition. Beginning with the next issue (17.2) Charlene Sato will become editor, and the *CP*'s headquarters will be transferred to Hawaii. All correspondence should be sent to the University of Hawaii at Manoa, Department of English as a Second Language, 1890 East-West Road, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822 USA. While the boxes were being packed and the back issues assembled, John Rickford's "Sociolinguistics and Pidgins and Creoles" class offered to bridge the gap. Let this issue stand as a testimony to the enthusiasm John can inspire in his students: it even bubbles over into bibliographical and bureaucratic detail!

Because of the assistance of the graduate and undergraduate students in that class (especially Matt, Blocker, John McWhorter, Linda Ugyechi, and Deborah Santine), our publications section is particularly rich and, we hope, useful, since it culls articles from some journals which come less frequently to the attention of creolists. We are also pleased to include four book reviews which represent the range of investigations which take place under the rubric 'creole studies.' Bob Bayley reviews Appel and Muysken's introductory textbook on language contact and bilingualism, while Mark Baker examines Francis Byrne's application of GB to Saramaccan; and Vincent Cooper reminds us of work already being done in the Caribbean in the eighteenth century by Christian Oldendorp. Finally, we are deeply grateful to Hubert Devonish for preparing a tribute to Mervyn Alleyne.

Newletters, like scholarship, are better seen as collaborative mosaics than the product of any single individual. This one has benefitted from the advice of Thom Huebner and John Rickford, the contributions of John Holm, and the assistance of Gina Wein. Special thanks are due to Matt Blocker, amaneuensis extraordinaire, for assistance with library work, typing and translation when the IBM insisted that all text had disappeared into Error 46.

Grenada. Alleyne's paper emphasizes (i) that many of the Caribbean Creole language varieties should simply be regarded as languages in their own right, with any links to European languages being purely a matter of historical interest, (ii) that the African input in the formation of Caribbean Creole varieties was as important if not more important than that of the European languages, (iii) that language variation had existed in these Creole-speaking societies right from the very beginning of Afro-European contact, with house slaves, through greater contact with the European master, adopting more aspects of European behavior and language than would the field slaves. Anyone familiar with the ideas abroad in the Caribbean of the late 1960s would hear echoes of the Malcolm X statements about the consciousness of the house slaves as compared with that of the field slaves, and of the term 'Afro-Saxon' used to pillory the new elites who had inherited political power in the post-independence Commonwealth Caribbean.

Alleyne brings together the various strands of his thought in *Comparative Afro-American* (1980b) which systematically explores comparative phonology, syntax and lexicosemantics. The very title of his work makes a clear statement of where he

stands. Although the terms 'Afro-American' and 'American' are often used narrowly, to refer to that which pertains to the U.S.A., Allevne uses them more broadly, referring to the continent, both North and South, and to the islands of its coast. His work makes reference to Afro-American languages spoken in the Caribbean, on the American mainland of Surinam and Guyana, North America and to related Afro-European Creole languages in West Africa. He shows great interest in and control of language data as diverse as Saramaccan, Diuka, and Sranan in Surinam, to St. Lucian and Haitian French-lexicon Creoles, and to Sierra Leone Krio. He is clearly determined not to be restricted by arbitrary colonially imposed political boundaries or by distance in his quest for the truth.

Alleyne (1986) is a resolute defense of the substratist hypothesis, in general theoretical terms (as opposed to universalist hypotheses, for instance), and in relation to African influences on Creole languages in particular. Among othr things, Alleyne explores in this paper the history of the Twi-Asante in Jamaica, especially among the Maroons. Alleyne (1987) is an edited collection of seven studies of Saramaccan language structure (two authored or coauthored by Alleyne himself), resulting

from a graduate Workshop held in Winter 1984-85 at the University of Amsterdam.

Alleyne's wide range of interests in African culture in the Americas has driven him, in recent times, to become actively involved in folklore research. He is presently head of the Folklore Studies Project at the University of the West Indies, Mona, and his most recently published book (1988) is an indepth study of Afro-American folk culture and traditions in Jamaica.

Mervyn's overall orientation is probably best summed up by the three posters which cover the wall of his office in the Language Lab. These posters are of Che Guevara, Marcus Garvey and Walter Rodney. Someone sardonically remarked that to make it onto Mervyn's wall, one either had to die in exile and of neglect, like Garvey, or be martyred like the other two. Whatever Mervyn's ideals may be, it is probably useful in a tribute like this to note that he is human, with all that that implies. He is very relaxed and extremely cool, both excellent attributes except perhaps when one needs him to do something in a hurry. He is an excellent cook and a very gracious host, as anyone who has enjoyed the hospitality of himself and family at their home, "Kai Nou" (French-lexicon Creole for "Our Home"), can testify.

In over thirty years of research, teaching and other involvement in the study of Caribbean language, Mervyn Coleridge

Alleyne has made a sterling contribution. It is perhaps worthy of note that, in some recent studies which purport to provide a survey of major work in Creole Linguistics, his work has not yet received the attention that it deserves. From a Caribbean and African perspective, however, our appreciation and recognition of his major contribution cannot and must not be postponed.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY of Mervyn Alleyne's Work

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CP REVIEWS

René APPEL and Pieter MUYS-KEN. Language Contact and Bilingualism. (London: Edward Arnold, 1987).

Appel and Muysken cover a wide range of issues in this introductory survey. In fifteen chapters, they examine language contact and bilingualism from societal, psychological, and sociolinguistic perspectives. In the final chapter, they place pidgin and creole languages within a larger framework of language contact, as outcomes of European colonial expansion.

The chapter on pidgins and creoles consists of three sections: a survey of the most important pidgin and creole languages; a brief account of the development of creole studies and summaries of the most important theories of creole origins;

and a brief discussion of the social position of creoles. In their survey of pidgins and creoles, Appel and Muysken list three pidgins, as well as fifteen creoles. The creoles include languages with vocabularies derived from the major European colonial languages. Regrettably, only two of the pidgins and five of the creoles are illustrated with single sentence examples. No examples from such major English-based creoles as Jamaican or Guyanese are included.

Appel and Muysken's account of the development of creole studies and the genesis of creole languages is objective, but highly abbreviated. They mention Schuchardt's and Hesseling's pioneering work, but omit the contributions of early missionaries in describing creole languages. Figures such as Hymes and Reinecke are mentioned in the suggestions for further reading, but not in the main text. The

authors summarize the work of major theorists such as Bickerton, G. Sankoff, and Valdman in a paragraph or two, and comment on the limitations of the various theories of creole genesis.

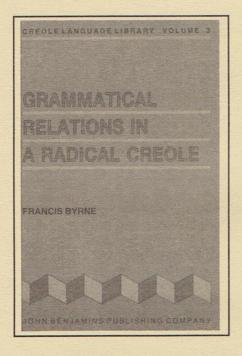
Appel and Muysken conclude the chapter on creoles with brief comments on the relationship of creoles to standard varieties in the Caribbean, the role of creoles in education, and the position of pidgins and creoles in the industrial West. Both the role of speakers of a creole as a first language in the West and Schumann's pidginization hypothesis on second language acquisition are touched upon in this final section.

Despite omissions and abbreviations, the authors manage to provide a substantial amount of information in a very few pages. Although their treatment of creole studies is not as full as many creolists might have wished, they have provided a useful intro-

duction for undergraduates and nonspecialist readers. More importantly, by examining pidgins and creoles within a study of language contact and bilingualism that integrates psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives, they have demonstrated the possible contributions of creole studies to other areas of language studies.

Reviewed by Robert Bailey Stanford University.

Francis BYRNE, Grammatical Relations in a Radical Creole. (John Benjamins, 1987).



This work presents a detailed analysis of the syntax of Saramaccan, with the goal of showing that the structure of the language is determined more by innate universals than by the influence of the substrate and superstrate languages involved in its creation.

Chapter 1 begins by introducing the issues at stake, and describing the Saramaccan language (S) in general terms. It also surveys briefly the principles of Chomsky's Government-Binding theory (GB) that are used in developing the syntactic analysis.

The historical factors involved in the genesis and development of S are discussed in Chapter 2. B seeks to establish that unique factors in the history of S led to its being less influenced by either substrate or superstrate languages than perhaps any other creole. These factors include the par-

ticularly large number of substrate languages, the short life expectancy of the original African slaves who spoke those languages, the existence of two superstrate languages (English and Portuguese) rather than one, and the isolation of the Saramaka people after their escape from the plantations. B concludes that Saramaccan represents creolization in its purest and most radical form.

In Chapter 3, the syntactic analysis of S begins. B discusses the tense/aspect system of the language, identifying elements that are not true verbs, but rather members of the category Infl (i.e. auxiliaries). He also illustrates the basic properties of three types of dislocation processes: Question Movement, Topicalization, and Verb Copy. All of these processes can take an element out of an embedded subordinate clause, but not out of a coordinate clause. This then provides a diagnostic for distinguishing the two types of clausal joining.

Chapter 4 focuses in more detail on movement processes in Saramaccan. GB theory distinguishes two types of movement: NP- movement and wh-movement. B shows that there are no pleonastic (dummy) positions in S; it then follows that there is no NP- movement, because there are no empty NP positions to move to. Passive-like structures are argued to be derived lexically rather than syntactically. S does have a full range of wh-movement constructions, however, and they show more or less the expected properties. Verb Copy constructions are shown to be base- generated, but to share some of the properties of wh-movement.

Chapters 5-7 present the heart of the work. Here B discusses one after another those elements whose status in creole grammars is the most controversial: complementizer-like fu 'for' and taa 'say' (Ch. 5); casemarking téi 'take' (instrumental) and dà ' give' (benefactive/dative) (Ch. 6); adverbiallike go 'go' and ko 'come', aspectual kaba 'finish', comparative pasá 'pass', and a few others (Ch. 7). In essentially every instance, B concludes that the element is in fact a true verb, and not a complementizer, preposition, or adverb. The basic pattern of the argument is essentially the same for each. First, the element in question can usually have a tense/aspect or negation morpheme immediately preceding it; since these are taken to be Infls (Ch. 3), the element must be a verb--indeed the verb of a tensed S. Second, according to B's theoretical framework, every tensed S must have a

subject; since no subject is seen (except in some instrumental constructions), B posits a null pronoun that is coreferent with the subject of the main verb. Finally, NPs and PPs following the element in question can be questioned and topicalized: it follows that the tensed clause built around the element is a subordinate (not coordinate) clause with a COMP position that the NP or PP can move through in order to escape from the clause. Thus, the structure associated with these constructions is:

S Infl VP S' main V Comp S Infl VP V (NP) (PP) (S') comp-like case-marking

In some instances, further evidence for this structure can also be found.

Chapter 8 concludes by knitting together the pieces of the story. B concludes that S largely lacks (and originally lacked completely) any non-universal elements of grammar. Thus, it (almost) has only the categories Noun and Verb, without complementizers, prepositions, modals, or untensed Infls. To make up for these gaps, it uses verb in serial-like constructions. Furthermore, nothing special is needed for these serial-like constructions; rather, S simply uses its universal rule of complementization (VP -- VS') to the full. B observes that the evidence that serial verb constructions are really sentential complementation in S is generally missing in the superficially similar West African languages. Thus, this structure must come from the bioprogram, rather than from influences of the substrate languages. Finally, some sketchy similarities between S and child language are mentioned. B concludes that the structure of S--the language resulting from the most radical creolization process known--is indeed the structure induced by the universal bioprogram in its purest form.

This work has a number of important strengths. First and foremost, it provides a large amount of information about a language that is interesting, both for its own intrinsic properties, and because of the role it has played in debates about the nature of creoles. The scope of its coverage is reasonably broad, with many of the major

constructions familiar from other languages at least mentioned. Methodologically, B has tested most example sentences with four speakers from different towns and age groups, thereby giving some sense of the range of variation found in the language.

Another virtue of the work is that B applies his whole range of syntactic tests quite systematically to each serial-like structure considered. This makes detailed comparison of the various structures feasible. Indeed, some of his analyses reach a significant level of explanatory depth, and deserve careful consideration. For example, B's claim (in Ch. 5) that complementizer fu is a main verb looks implausible at first, but he shows that this single assumption elegantly accounts for (i) the fact that subjects can be extracted from the immediate right of fu, (ii) the fact that topicalized phrases can land either to the right or to the left of fu, and (iii) the fact that either type of topicalization creates an island, blocking further movements.

One aspect of this work that is likely to be controversial is the way B uses GB theory. While his presentation of the theory is generally sound, the book does contain a few inaccuracies, and more than a few needless technicalities that increase the burden on the reader. (Many of the definitions in Appendix E, for example, are irrelevant to the book.) Moreover, some readers will be taken aback by how much trust B puts in the detailed implications of the theory for a language that the theory has never been applied to before. Thus, B primarily uses highly theoretical reasoning to conclude from the empirical fact that an aspect marker can appear before a given verb that an invisible subject, COMP node, and clause constituent all exist- even in similar sentences that have no such aspect marker.

Granting the theory, there are still certain gaps in the argument that all serial-like structures are actually sentential complementation. First, B has a somewhat biased way of dealing with intermediate cases: he assumes (inspired by Lightfoot 1979) that if a given element has even one of the characteristic properties of a V, then it is still a V, categorial reanalysis not happening until the original category becomes completely opaque. Second, B fails to check the interactions of his various diagnostics as carefully as he checks the diagnostics individually. For example, he shows that putative embedded verb can have an aspect before them and that their complements can be extracted, but he does not show that both are possible in the same sentence.

This leaves open the possibility that some serial-like structures are not sentential, while other, only superficially similar, structures are actually sentential coordination. Third, while B crucially claims that S is different in structure from the African languages that were its substrate, no serious comparison with these languages is undertaken.

A final strength of this book is that it is always provocative. B takes a bold hypothesis and develops it boldly; the reader should learn much by carefully thinking through why s/he agrees or disagrees with him. While the book certainly will not end the universals/substrate debates, it will advance those debates into interesting new territory.

Reviewed by Mark Baker McGill University

Christian Georg Andreas OLDEN-DORP. Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brueder auf den Caribischen Inseln, S. Thomas, S. Croix und S. Jan. Edited by Johann Jakob BAS-SARD (Barby: Christian Friedrich Laur, 1777) and further edited and translated into English by Arnold HIGHFIELD and Vladimir BARAC (Karoma Publishers, 1987).

For more than a century a small number of Africanists (including Christaller (1875) and more recently Sprauve, Cooper and Villesvik (1984)) have made references to Christian George Andreas Oldendorp's resourceful work, Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brueder auf den Caribischen Inseln, S. Thomas, S. Croix und S. Jan. Two professors at the University of Virgin Islands, Arnold Highfield and Vladimir Barac have produced an English edition of Oldendorp's work entitled A History of the Mission of the Evangelical Brethern on the Caribbean Islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix and St. John. My comments will deal with both versions of the Oldendorp work--the original and the translation. My focus, however, will be on language.

The original work was based on interviews conducted by Oldendorp, a Moravian missionary and a student of lyric poetry, among approximately thirty Africans from as many African nations represented in the Danish West Indies during the years 1766-1769. The 737-page translation is divided into two parts and subdivided into books

and sections, respectively. A translators' introduction and foreword are included as well as the author's notes for each section. The First Part consists of four books. The First Book reports on the islands' geography, natural history and political history. The Second Book offers kaleidoscopic insights on their climate, fauna, flora, insects, minerals, food, agriculture and marine life. The Third Book discusses race, ethnicity, trade, customs, crime and the background of the Africans and Europeans in the Danish West Indies during the eighteenth century, while the Fourth Book continues this ethnohistorical survey and extends it into other sociologically related areas such as education and religion. The Second Part contains five books which treat the history of the three Missions on St. Thomas, St. Croix and St. John. Oldendorp's comments on language use--especially on Dutch Creole and West African languages--are particularly useful to students of language history and language contact situations.

The African languages identified by Oldendorp--Fula, Mandinga, Jalunkan, Kanga, Mangree, Gien, Amina, Akkim, Akkripon, Okwa, Akkran, Tambi, Tembu, Kassenti, Sokko, Papaa, Watje, Atja, Wawu, Karabari, Ibo, Mokko, Loango, Camba, Mandago, and Congo-covered the area extending from the northwestern coast of Africa to the central region. These languages may be associated with the following seven ethnic groups or nations: 1. The Akan, including Amina and Fanti, Akyem, Asante, Adanme, Ga, Oguaa, and Guan; 2. the Papaa, Watje, Yatje, and Kwawu; 3. the Yoruba peoples of Kanga, Manigri and Guien; 4. the Igbo and the Ijaw; 5. the Mande peoples of Mandinga, Jalunkan and Sokko; 6. the Bantu peoples of Congo, Loango, Bakamba and Mandongo; and 7. the three separate subgroups (Fula, Ndembu and Mokko). For someone not formally trained in linguistics, Oldendorp's insights on language were outstanding, and perhaps way ahead of his time. As Sprauve, et al. (1984) have noted: "African linguistic work of the 17th and 18th centuries...was compromised by the medieval Latin approach. Oldendorp, however, appears to have steered clear of this pitfall." Though he reflected many of the conventional Eurocentric stereotypes about African culture, Oldendorp's views were moderate when compared with the two extreme views held by many of his contemporaries: either they believed that Africans in the Danish West Indies lacked a cohesive culture and therefore readily accommodated themselves to the institution of slavery, or they believed that Africans had a well-defined, often complex sense of cultural identity and therefore sought every opportunity to undermine the institution of slavery. The theme of accommodation is often associated with the process of creolization, as reflected in the adoption of Negerhollands (Dutch Creole) as a lingua franca among the "seasoned" Africans on the plantations. The theme of resistance is usually associated with the native Africans, or bussals, who reportedly stubbornly and defiantly retained their African languages. Oldendorp's research indicates that the language contact situation was more complex, for a number of the Africans he interviewed were multilingual in a number of African languages and Negerhollands long after Africans at the post-bussal stage would normally have been expected to have forgotten their African languages. Highfield (1988) has referred to the case of the condemned Mandingo slave, Lancaster, who regularly spoke his native language to other Africans in the Danish West Indies in 1811. The ability of bussals and creolized Africans in St. John to stage and sustain a six-month rebellion against the combined might of the Danish militia and their allies in 1733 implies the presence of a vital, highly organized interethnic, pan-dialectal communication system at that time. The evidence for African cultural continuities persisting even within the creolization process raises questions not readily answered by, for instance, the Mintz-Price Encounter Model (1976) which takes issue with Herskovitz's notion of African retentions in the New World.

The Highfield-Barac translation of Oldendorp presents to the researcher operating in English a valuable document. Considering that Oldendorp, writing in 1777, produced the first documented study of West African languages in the New World, one is led to ask why his work was not given more serious attention by Hair in his introduction to Polyglotta Africana, and why it was overlooked by Greenberg's landmark study. The Languages of Africa. Social scientists and linguists alike will now have greater access to the insights offered by Oldendorp on such topics as culture and language contact. But the greatest value for a linquist is its contribution to the debate on African substrate language theory and the role of language universals in human language development in the New world.

Reviewed by Vincent Cooper College of the Virgin Islands

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Towards an Analysis of Virgin Islands' Historical African Linguistic Data". Paper presented at the 1984 Society for Caribbean Linguistics Conference, University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica.



CONFERENCES, COURSES AND LECTURES

A WORKSHOP ON CREOLE MORPHOL-OGY was held at the University of Amsterdam March 30-31. The program included: Alain KIHN, "Kriyol causative construc-

Salikoko S. MUFWENE, "Affixes in Gullah, Kituba, and Urban Lingala."

John Victor SINGLER, "Inflectional morphology meets the creole continuum: Plural marking in Liberian Interior English." lan ROBERTSON, "The morphology

of Berbice and Skepi Dutch."

tions."

Silvia KOUWENBERG, "Some aspects of Berbice Dutch derivational morphology."

Norval SMITH and Tonjes VEENSTRA, "MA-suffixation in Saramaccan--substrate influence?."

Philip BAKER, "Morphological features of Indian Ocean creoles and their sources."

Anand SYEA, "Variation in verbal forms and the morphology of verbs in Mauritian Creole."

Peter BAKKER, "Borrowing of morphology in creole languages."

John HOLM, "Do creoles have inflectional morphology?."

Pieter MUYSKEN, "Analyticity and morphological regularization in expansion languages."

Thomas STOLZ, "Genesis of morphology and creole languages."

John D. ROY of Brooklyn College gave a talk entitled "The Origin of English Creole" on May 1, 1989, at The New York Academy of Sciences.

The 14th Annual Boston University CON-FERENCE ON LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT is scheduled for October 13-15, 1989. Sessions will focus on American Sign Language, literacy in theory and practice, and first and second language acquisition. For information, please contact Conference Committee, Conference on Language Development, Boston University, 605 Commonwealth Ave., Boston MA, 02215; phone (617) 353-3085.

George LANG delivered a paper entitled "L'Espace entortillé des littératures créoles" at the 12th Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association in Mu*nich in August 1988.

Chris CORNE gave a seminar on Tayo, a lexically-French creole language of New Caledonia at the University of Auckland, March 16, 1989. A paper entitled "Observatoire du Francais dans le Pacifique: Etudes et documents" is currently in press (OFPED, 6: Didier-Erudition, Paris). Anyone interested in the topic can obtain a copy from him at The University of Auckland, New Zealand. Phone: 737-999.

Mrs. Sabine EHRHART is currently undertaking research on Tayo in New Caledonia for a Ph.D. dissertation (W. Germany).

The SECOND INTERNATIONAL CON-FERENCE ON PIDGINS AND CREOLES was held at the University of Papua New Guinea June 28-30, 1989, in conjunction with the ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE LINGUISIC SOCIETY OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA and the CONFERENCE OF THE TEACHERS OF ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE AS-SOCIATION OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA.

Papers of interest to creolists presented at the NINETEENTH CONFERENCE ON AFRICAN LINGUISTICS included:

Alexandra STEINBERGS. "Loanwords in Dhuloa."

Nicolas FARACLAS. "Preliminaries to the linguistic study of Nigerian Pidgin."

C. DE BOSE and N. FARACLAS.

"African Roots of the Ebonic (BE)
tense/aspect and copula systems."

John S. LUMSDEN. "The structure of clefts in Haitian Creole."

Alexander CASKEY. "On the status of resumptive pronouns in Creole languages."

Frederick JONES. "The grammatical items bin, fo and mos in Sierra Leone Krio."

John HOLM. "Features in the NP com-

mon to the Atlantic Creoles."

Alain KIHM. "The lexical category of

Alain KIHM. "The lexical category of Kriol INFL."

Claire LEFEBVRE and John LUMSDEN. "The parameters of predicate cleft constructions."

Frank BYRNE. "A unified account of topicalization and Wh- movement in Saramaccan and Atlantic Creoles."

Pieter MUYSKEN and Norval SMITH.
"Grammaticalization or relexification: Question words and reflexives in Creole languages."

Pieter SEUREN. "Verb syncopation in Mauritian Creole and the implications for syntactic theory."

John SINGLER. "Pidgins, creoles and the search for universals."

Salikoko MUFWENE. "Pidgins, Creoles and Universal Grammar."

The SOCIETY FOR PIDGIN AND CREOLE LINGUISTICS will hold its inaugural meeting at the Hyatt Regency, Washington D.C. on December 28-29, 1989 in conjunction with the annual meeting of the Linguistic Society of America. Annual membership dues for the society are \$8.00 (\$4.00 for students), and can be sent to Fran-

cis Byrne, Linguistics, Shawnee State University, Portsmouth, OH 45662, USA.

Papers presented at the EIGHTH NEW ZEALAND LINGUISTICS CONFERENCE May 1989 included:

Chris CORNE. "A French-Lexicon Creole Language of New Caledonia: Tayo or Patwa at Saint Louis."

David S. WALSH. "Languages in Contact: an example from Vanuata."

A workshop for the ATLAS OF LAN-GUAGES OF INTERCULTURAL COM-MUNICATION IN THE PACIFIC AREA was held at the Australian National University in Canberra April 12-14, organized by Peter Mühlhaüsler, Bond University, and Darryl Tryon, Australian National University.

BOND UNIVERSITY will begin to offer a MASTER IN ARTS IN PIDGIN AND CREOLE LINGUISTICS in May 1990, the first Australian university to offer a full degree in this area. Further information can be obtained from Peter Mühlhaüsler, Private Bag 10, Bond University, Gold Coast Mail Centre, Queensland 4217, Australia.



NOTES AND QUERIES

Neville SHRIMPTON, Department of English, Univesity of Umeå, Sweden is organising a workshop/conference along with Professor Eldred JONES, Karl Inge SANDRED and Njie SULAYMAN to be held in Freetown, Sierra Leone on THE STAN-DARDISATION OF THE KRIO LANGUAGE AND THE EXTENDED USE OF KRIO IN VARIOUS EDUCATIONAL, CULTURAL AND **DEVELOPMENTAL CONTEXTS for October** or November of 1989. Anyone interested in receiving more information can contact Neville Shrimpton at the Dept. of English, Univ. of Umeå S-901 87 Umea, Sweden or Karl Inge Sandred at the Dept. of English, Uppsala University.

John Benjamins announces several forthcoming works in their Creole Language Library. Guy BAILEY, Natalie MAYNOR and Patricia CUKOR-AVILA will edit a volume of essays on the significance of the transcripts of the slave recordings housed in the Library of Congess for various disciplines. The proposed title is The Emergence of Black-English: Texts and Commentary. John SINGLER will publish a book on Pidgin and Creole Tense-Mood-Aspect Systems, Genevieve ESCURE will publish her work on acquisition processes in Belize and the People's Republic of China, and Sarah THOMASON is editing a proposed Non-Indo-European Pidgins and Creoles.

Craig VOLKER writes that a price list of several books and tapes in Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin is available from the Baha'i Naional Centre, P. O. Box 1101, Lae, Papua New Guinea.

Grants awarded by the NATIONAL
SCIENCE FOUNDATION in 1988 included:
Roger ANDERSEN (UCLA)
"Papiamento Tense-Modality-Aspect."
Guy BAILEY (Texas A & M). "Urbanization and Language Change."

Daniel L. FINGER and Ellen BROSELOW (SUNY at Stony Brook). "The Influence of Principles of Universal Grammar on Second Language Acquisition."

George L. HUTTAR and Mary L. HUTTAR (University of Texas, Arlington). "A Reference Grammar of Ndjuka."

Robin SABINO (Univ. of Pennsylvania). "Dissertation Research on a Phonological Description of Negerhollands."

Salikoko S. MUFWENE (Univ. of Georgia). "Round Table on Africanisms in Afro-Amerian Language Varieties: to be Held in Athens at the University of Georgia."

Projects funded by the NATIONAL EN-DOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES included:

John V. SINGLER (NYU). "Liberian Settler English: A Case Study of Language Change."

John M. LIPSKI (Univ. of Houston).
"Vestigial Spanish of the Sabine River Area:
The Linguistic Analysis of an Isolated
Dialect."

Salikoko S. MUFWENE (Univ. of Georgia). "Morphosyntax in the American Creole

Language Gullah: The Preparation of a Reference Grammar."

The Oxford University Press will be publishing a new "Language Contact Series". Forthcoming titles include:

Terry CROWLEY. Beach-la-Mar to Bislama: The Emergence of a National Language in Vanuatu.

Penelope GARDNER-CHLOROS. Language Selection and Switching in Strasbourg.

Paul KERSWILL. A Sociolinguistic Study of Rural Immigrants in Bergen, Norway.

Raymond MOUGEON and Edouard BENIAK. Linguistic Consequences of Language Contact and Attrition: The Case of French in Ontario, Canada."

The Suriname Maroon Resettlement Fund, Inc. (a tax-exempt non- profit organization) requests financial support from those interested in easing the plight of Maroons (descendants of Africans who were sold into slavery and brought to Dutch Guinana to work the plantations). Funds will be used to help finance the return of the Maroons to their homeland, supply food, furnish materials for building homes, pay for transportation of people into the Maroon communities and develop cottage industries in these communities. Checks can be sent to the Suriname Maroon Resettlement Fund, Inc. P. O. Box 16154, Baltimore, MD 21218-0301. Phone 301/243-5099.

DISSERTATIONS AND THESES

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"The Learning of English Negatives by
Speakers of St. Lucian French Creole."
Ph.D. Dissertation.
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OBITUARY

Celso CUNHA, a leading Brailian linguist and creolist died in April. (See note in *CP* 15:3, p. 5).

REVIEWS NOTICES

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Velma POLLARD. "The particle en in Jamaican Creole: a discourse related account."

Terry CROWLEY. "Referential and expressive expansion in Bislama."

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Dennis CRAIG, "Cognition and situational context: explanations from Englishlexicon Creole."

Robert LEPAGE, "Some premises concerning the standardization of languages, with special reference to Caribbean Creole English."

Peter MUHLHAUSLER, "Toward an atlas of the pidgins and creoles of the Pacific area."

John R. RICKFORD, "Connections between sociolinguistics and pidgin-creole studies."

Suzanne ROMAINE. "Contributions from pidgin and creole studies to a sociolinguistic theory of language change."

Albert VALDMAN. "Diglossia and language conflict in Haiti."

Jeffrey P. WILLIAMS. "Women and kinship in creole genesis".

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Correction

The last issue of the CP included a notice that subscribers to the Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages would be made members of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics, and that the SPCL would receive a portion of the subscription fee as annual dues. Francis Byrne informs us that such an agreement has been proposed, but not yet finalized.

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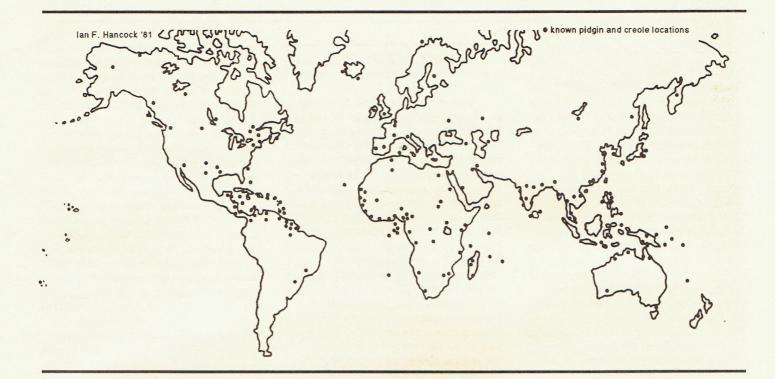
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CARRIER PIDGIN REVIEW

John E. REINECKE. Language and Dialect in Hawaii: A Sociolinguistic History to 1935. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988).

Hawai'i Pidgin English and Hawai'i Creole English developed in Hawai'i as a consequence of the polyglot situation in Hawai'i during the heyday of its sugar industry. Among the languages in the Islands during that time were the indigenous Hawaiian language, the economically dominant English, and several immigrant languages, among them Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, Korean, and Ilocano. John Reinecke combined a social and historical perspective of the language situation in Hawaii in his 1935 M.A. thesis, "Language and Dialect in Hawaii," first published in 1969 under the editorship of Stanley M. Tsuzaki and reissued in paperback form in 1988 by the Social Science Research Institute at the University of Hawai'i.

The goal of Reinecke's thesis was to

distinguish between the two forms of language he observed in Hawai'i,

"makeshift language" (pidgin 1) and "regional dialect" (creole), by reviewing the evolution of the pidgin and creole in its social and historical setting. To that end he forms a backdrop for the rest of the book by beginning with the relevant history of Hawaii from 1778, the time of the white man's contact with the Islands, to the 1930s. In the ensuing chapters he describes the social and historical factors surrounding the creating of the pidgin, the reasons why the immigrants' native languages were not replaced by the pidgin, and the rise and functions of the creole.

Reinecke's book is valuable because he places language in its social and historical setting: In it he contextualizes the rapid linguistic evolution that occurred during the reign of "King Sugar" in Hawai'i and provides a model for associating social and historical factors with language change. Reinecke's book also provides a snapshot of Hawai'i in the 1930s. He captures observations which might be

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FROM THE EDITOR

After a long flight from California, the Carrier Pidgin is back in Hawai'i. A heartfelt "tænks æh!" goes out to Thom Huebner, John Rickford and Jim Fox for several years of diligent editorial work. I now take my turn as Editor with a strong sense of obligation to the field and, in more personal terms, to the late John E. Reinecke, who nurtured the CP (and several of its readers!) for many years.

The CP's renesting is almost complete, thanks to the support of Donald Topping, Director of the University of Hawai'i's Social Science Research Institute (where the CP roosted from 1976 to 1982), and the help of the Department of English as a Second Language, chaired by Richard Schmidt. I have been fortunate in having as editorial assistants Satomi Takahashi (for Fall 1989) and Mary Ann Robinson (for Spring 1990). Joining me also are two new Associate Editors, Karen Watson-Gegeo (Dept. of English as a Second Language) and Emanuel Drechsel (Dept. of Linguistics).

Readers will notice some changes in format with this issue. We're experimenting with desktop publishing and hope to produce award-winning copy one of these days. Please bear with us until then

The preparation of this issue owes much to John Holm (Hunter College, CUNY), who has been flooding the US postal system with an average of three CP items per week for the last six months. We encourage all other readers, particularly those outside the US, to do the same. Not only do we want to receive notice of publications and activities focusing on pidgin and creole studies, we welcome articles and commentary on issues of concern to the readership.

DO YOU HAVE NEWS
OF INTEREST TO CP
READERS? WE'D LIKE
TO HEAR FROM YOU!

missed by today's researcher. For example, he speculates on the existence of hapa haole, a pidgin Hawaiian-English, which, if it existed, has significant consequences for current theory. Unfortunately, as a product of the 1930s, Reinecke's work also appears to reflect the Anglocentric viewpoint of that era. Underlying his writing is the assumption that the linguistic goal in Hawaii was convergence of all speakers to a monolingual English speaking community. This bias is reflected throughout the book. He adopts the notion of "language mastery continuum" where the language to be mastered is English. The pidgin and creole are viewed as problematic in references such as "The Problem of Makeshift Language and Dialect in Hawaii" (the title of Chapter 1) and "forms of speech aberrant from Standard English" (p. 4).

Though Reinecke's work at times strongly reflects those Anglocentric shortcomings, it is balanced by his straightforward and insightful analysis of the sociological factors relevant to the language situation. He noted that the creole was held in low estimation not only by the community but also by the speakers themselves. It was perceived as a stumbling block to both economic and social advancement, yet it was a significant bond between the speaker, and his or her family and community. Reinecke recognized the dilemma which that created for the creole speaker who faced the choice of either striving for proficiency in American English and advancing in the American culture at the risk of alienation from the creole-speaking community, or using creole and risking economic and social stagnation. Furthermore, Reinecke pointed out the racial overtones embedded in the language situation. Portentously, he wrote, "Because of the economic succession of the immigrant peoples and the superior advantages enjoyed from the start by the Haoles,2 the racial cleavage follows the economic cleavage too closely for the comfort of foresighted people. At present the dialectal cleavage is being added to the other two" (p. 184).

Many significant events have occurred in Hawai'i during the fifty-plus years since Reinecke wrote his

Master's thesis: World War II, statehood, English Standard schools, and the passing of the plantation era. In the preface. Reinecke claimed to lack the appropriate linguistic background for his work to be viewed as authoritative and expressed the hope that others more qualified might continue research in the area of linguistic development in Hawai'i. Indeed, given the passage of time, the change in attitudes, and the development of pidgin and creole studies, it is time to heed Reinecke's challenge and update and reanalyze Hawaii's linguistic situation with a touch of Reinecke-ian holism for which Language and Dialect in Hawaii can serve as an apt quide.

Reviewed by Linda UYECHI, Stanford University.

¹It should be recalled that Reinecke produced the original manuscript over fifty years ago, and the following terminological adjustments are necessary: (i) Reinecke's references to "makeshift language" or "creole dialect" should be interpreted as "pidgin"; (ii) references to "regional" or "colonial dialect" should be interpreted as "creole."

²The word <u>haole</u> is the Hawaiian word for "foreigner." In this context it means "white person."

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CONFERENCES, COURSES AND LECTURES

Papers presented at the COMPAR-ATIVE AUSTRONESIAN PROJECT SYMPOSIUM ON CONTACT-INDUCED LANGUAGE CHANGE, Aug. 26-Sept. 1, 1989 at the Australian National University:

Marck DURIE (Melbourne University). "Language Contact and Aceh/Chamic."

Bill THURSTON (McMaster University). "Renovation and Innovation in the Languages of Northwestern New Britain."

Bob BUGENHAGEN (A.N.U.).
"Language Contact on Umboi Island."

Tom DUTTON (A.N.U.). "Motu -Koiarian Contact, Papua New Guinea."

Darrell TRYON (A. N. U.). "Language Contact in the Eastern Outer Islands, Solomon Islands."

Karl RENSCH (A. N. U.). "Early European Influence in the Languages of Polynesia."

Papers given in the CREOLISTICS
SESSION of the ANGLISTENTAG, the
Annual Conference of the German
Association of University Professors of
English, which took place in Wurzburg
from Sept. 24-27, 1989:

John HOLM (City University of New York). "Creolistics and Lexicography." Edgar W. SCHNEIDER (Free

University, Berlin). "Creolistics and Historical Linguistics."

Henning WODE (Kiel). "Creolistics and Language Acquisition."

The SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PIDGINS AND CREOLES IN MELANESIA was held jointly with the ANNUAL MEETING OF THE LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA from June 28 to 30 at UPNG.

The keynote address, "The Atlantic and Pacific Pidgins and Creoles: A Tale of (at Least) Two Substrates," was given by John HOLM of City University of New York.

Other papers were given on Tok
Pisin by N. AHAI, A. BADIB, L.
JARVINEN and J. CLIFTON, B.
COPELAND, C. KEPIOU; on PNG English
by R. PEMBERTON and S. YARUPAWA;
on other PNG pidgins by D. THOMAS, B.
CONRAD and A. MINCH, J.P. WILLIAMS;
and on other Melanesian pidgins by J.
SIEGEL.

A complete listing of the papers presented can be obtained from the LSPNG secretary at P.O. Box 418, Ukarumpa via Lae, Papua New Guinea.

A DEBATE entitled "The Historical Evidence for Catalysis Versus Graduality in the Formation of Hawaiian Creole English" was held between Derek BICKERTON (University of Hawaii) and William A. STEWART (Graduate School, City University of New York) on Friday, October 20, 1989 at the Graduate Center, CUNY.

Talks given in the CUNY GRADUATE CENTER'S LINGUISTICS COLLOQUIUM SERIES during Fall 1989 included:

Oct. 12 Arthur SPEARS (City College, CUNY Graduate Center).
"Disapproval Marking in Black English and Creoles."

Nov. 9 John SINGLER (New York University). "Black English Over Yonder: The Study of Liberian Settler English."

The INAUGURAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY FOR PIDGIN AND CREOLE LINGUISTICS was held on December 28 and 29 in Washington, D.C., in conjunction with the 1989 ANNUAL MEETING OF THE LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA. Thirty-six papers were scheduled for presentation and a business meeting was planned to discuss the SPCL's organization and constitution. To join the SPCL, send \$8 to Francis Byrne, Dept. of English, Shawnee State University, 940 Second St., Portsmouth, Ohio 45662 USA.

The next issue of the CP will report fully on the SPCL meeting, so stay tuned

NOTES AND QUERIES

TSUZAKI-REINECKE COLLECTION CATALOGUING COMPLETE: Thanks to a \$64,000 grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to Hamilton Library (University of Hawai'i at Mānoa) and the work of librarian Donna CHOW and her colleagues, the bulk of the Tsuzaki-Reinecke Pidgin Creole Collection had been catalogued as of December 1989. The unique collection, donated several years ago by Stanley Tsuzaki (U of Hawai'i at Mānoa) and the late John E. Reinecke, contains a large number of unpublished manuscripts, rare pamphlets, and historical materials on a wide range of

pidgins and creoles. All of the catalogued materials are available for on-site use on the fifth floor of Hamilton Library, and special arrangements may be made for photocopying and circulation of selected items. In the near future, a computergenerated bibliographic finding aid will also be available in printed, fiche, or disk format.

CP readers are warmly invited to visit the collection and to make donations to it. For more information, please write to Ms. Eleanor AU, Head of Special Collections, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 2550 the Mall, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822 USA.

Prof. David A. REIBEL is soliciting information (data and analyses) about relative pronoun elision in pidgins and creoles when pairs of relative clauses are conjoined. In English, for the past five to seven hundred years, a subject relative pronoun in the second of a pair of conjoined relative clauses may be elided, whether the relative pronoun in the first clause is a subject or an object (elided or not), or even whose, while an object relative pronoun in the second clause can only be elided if the relative pronoun in the first clause is an object (elided or not) but not if it is a subject. Thus, for example, (1), with all its variants, is grammatical in English, but (2) is not (whatever GPSG theory may

- people who(m)/that/0 I know, but GAP don't know me
- (2) *people who don't know me, but GAP I know

(See Fowler Modern English Usage 1926 passim under THAT-Relative and the other WH-Relatives for further examples and analyses.) Anyone with relevant material should write to Prof. Reibel at:

Englisches Seminar, Wilhelmster. 50, D-7400 Tübingen 1, West Germany.

Peter PATRICK is searching for any records remaining from the original data base used by Beryl Loftman BAILEY for her <u>Jamaican Creole Syntax</u> (1966). Tape recordings were apparently made in 1956 and again in 1960-62. On the first trip a phonetician from Edinburgh, Miss Louise McLOSKEY, accompanied Bailey. Any information on McLoskey is welcome, as is information on the disposal of

Bailey's materials after her death in the late 1970's. A questionnaire was also administered in 1956, but whether it was tape recorded or phonetically transcribed is unknown. Locating the tapes is the primary objective. Creolists can write Patrick at: U of Pennsylvania Linguistics Dept., Philadelphia, PA 19104, USA.

Veve A. CLARK is seeking information on articles, bibliographies and books on Francophone Caribbean literature published in 1989. If you know of or have primary sources at your disposal, please write to him at: Box 206, Boston, MA 02123 USA.

Speak Norfolk Today by Alice BUFFET and Don LAYCOCK. "Is Norfolk a pidgin? a creole? a jargon? Whatever categorization applies, this is a charming, entertaining lesson book and grammar of the intriguing Norfolk Island language." It has been prepared by Alice Buffett, a Norfolk islander, and the late Don Laycock, who had the satisfaction of seeing Speak Norfolk Today, his last book, in print. The book of 80 pages has much appeal, not only for the visitor to the lovely island, but also to pidginists and creolists worldwide. Not the least feature of interest to linguists is the specially designed orthography. This book is available from Lois CARRINGTON, Dept. of Linguistics RSPacS, Australian National University, GPO Box 4 Canberra ACT 2601, Australia, at the modest price of \$12 Australian, including surface postage.

On December 1, 1989, a reception was held to honor Prof. Frederic G. CASSIDY on the occasion of his fiftieth anniversary as a University of Wisconsin-Madison faculty member. Prof. Cassidy is co-author of the Dictionary of Jamaican English (Cambridge University Press, 1967, 1980).

STUDENTS SOUGHT FOR PROJECT ON HAITIAN CREOLE. The Department of Linguistics of U Québec-Montréal is looking for graduate students (MA or PhD) in all areas of theoretical linguistics to participate in a research project titled: "Genesis of Haitian Creole: A Particular Investigation of the Format of Universal Grammar."

Students must be enrolled in the department and have a working knowledge of French. Some knowledge of one of the languages under investigation or of historical linguistics is desirable. Some financial support is available. For further information, contact: Claire Lefebre or John Lumsden, Research Group on Haitian Creole, Dept Ling, U Québec-Montréal, CP 8888, Succursale "A", Montréal, PQ, Canada H3C 3P8.

SAMANA ENGLISH PAPERS AVAILABLE. Tapes, transcriptions and other materials relating to the English brought by American Blacks to the Samana Peninsula of the Dominican Republic in the early nineteenth century are now available at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, 515 Malcolm X Boulevard, New York. NY, 10037-1801; telephone (212) 862-4000. This material was collected by Jose VIGO for a Yale University dissertation, "Language Maintenance and Ethnicity: A Sociolinguistic Study of Samana, Dominican Republic." Mr. Vigo died last year before he could complete this study. His papers are being catalogued by Prof. Arthur SPEARS of City College, CUNY, who is a scholar-in-residence at the Schomburg Center during his sabbatical this year. Samana English has recently been at the center of a controversy regarding the creole or non-creole nature of early Black English. Scholars who would like access to the Vigo Papers for research purposes should contact the Schomburg Center's Rare Books, Manuscripts and Archives Division.

THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I PRESS is considering reprinting A Bibliography of Pidgin and Creole Languages (John E. Reinecke et al., editors, 1975), which has not been available for a number of years. Some indication of demand would help them reach a favorable decision to reprint and possibly even update the bibliography. If you, your colleagues, students, or library need but have been unable to obtain the bibliography, please send a note to this effect on letter-head stationery to: Prof. George W. GRACE, Editor, Oceanic Linguistics Series, Department of Linguistics, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 1890 East-West Road, Honolulu, Hawai'i 96822, USA.

US NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION GRANTS have gone to the following:

Julianne MAHER, Loyola University, New Orleans. "RUI: Varieties of French in the Sous Le Vent Section of St. Barthelémy, French West Indies."

John RICKFORD, Stanford University. "Copula Contraction and Absence in Vernacular Black English, Mesolectal Creole English and Other Varieties."

A NEW SOCIETY FOR PIDGIN AND CREOLE LINGUISTICS IN THE PACIFIC (SPCLP) was formed at the June 1989 meeting of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea (LSPNG) and the Second International conference on Pidgins and Creoles in Melanesia. At the joint conference at the University of Papua New Guinea in Port Moresby, it was decided to have meetings of the new SPCLP in association with the LSPNG, much as the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics is meeting in association with the Linguistic Society of America. This brings to a total of four the number of linguistic societies with a major focus on pidgin and creole languages, including the Society for Caribbean Linguistics and the Comité Internationale des Études Créoles. The new SPCLP will meet for the first time next year at the University of Technology in Lae, PNG. Further information about membership can be obtained from Nicholas FARACLAS. Dept. of Language and Literature, University of Papua New Guinea, P.O. Box 320, University Post Office, Papua New Guinea.

A letter from Hildo Honório do COUTO (U de Brasília) on a new journal for Iberian-based creoles:

Após uma troca de idéias com vários reomanistas da alemanha (Ocidental e Oriental), da Holanda e de Portugal, pensou se em criar uma revista dedicada aos crioulos de base portuguesa e espanhola. O signatário desta missiva, que está estudando o crioulo português de Guiné-Bissau, decidiu coordenar esforços com vistas á criação da revista. Em princípio ela seria publicada por uma editora particular do Brasil. Para isso já estamos entrando em contato com diversas empresas particula res. Algumas delas já se mostraram

interessadas no projecto. Só estamos aguardando uma resposta dos colegas a esta primeira sondagem a fim de iniciarmos as gestões junto áquelas empresas. Aguardamos sugestóes! O nome sugerido para a revista foi Papia. Revista de Crioulos de Base Ibérica. As línguas oficiais para publicação de matérias seriam o português e o espanhol. A periodicidade prevista inicialmente seria de uma por ano. Os crioulos de base inglesa, francesa e holandesa já estão relativamente bem estudados. Os de base portuguesa e espanhola, no entanto, continuam praticamente inexplorados. Assim sendo, cremos que Papia seria uma forma de fomentar of seu estudo cientifico.

For more information, write to: Hildo Honório do Couto, Dpto. de Lingüística, Universidade de Brasília, 70.910-Brasília, DF, Brasil. P.S.: A resposta pode ser dada em inglês, francês, alemão, espanhol ou italiano.

Forthcoming in the CREOLE LANGUAGE LIBRARY SERIES (John Benjamins):

Johannes FABIAN (University of Amsterdam), (ed.): History from Below: The "Vocabulary" of Elisabethville by Andre Yav: Texts, Translation and Interpretive Essay. Edited, translated and commentary by Johannes Fabian, with assistance from Kalundi MANGO (Administrator, National Museum of Zaire), and with linguistic notes by Walter SCHICHO (University of Vienna).

John M. LIPSKI (University of Houston): The Speech of the Negros Congos in Panama.

K. David JACKSON (University of Texas at Austin): Sing Without Shame: Oral Traditions in Indo-Portuguese Creole Verse.

PIDGINS & CREOLES IN THE NEWS

Public controversy over the role of Hawai'i Creole English (HCE) has erupted for the third time in as many years. In the Fall of 1987 community

support for HCE was strongly voiced in the face of a proposed "standard" English-only policy in the state public school system and in reaction to a federal discrimination lawsuit brought against the US National Weather Service by two HCE-accented meteorological technicians. More recently, however, strong feeling against the use of HCE has been voiced among churchgoers in Hawai'i. Specifically, at the June 1989 meeting of the Hawai'i Conference of the United Church of Christ, a resolution was passed "protesting the publishing of the Hawaiian Pidgin [i.e., Creole] Bible translation" by Wycliffe Bible Translators. There appears to be deep disagreement among church members over the issue, with supporters of the resolution condemning HCE as a "corrupt use of both the English as Hawaiian languages" and opponents recognizing HCE's legitimate status in the community.

HAVE YOU RENEWED YOUR CP SUBSCRIPTION? SEE PAGE 11!











SQUAWKS AND RUFFLED FEATHERS

From Derek BICKERTON (University of Hawai'i at Manoa):

Mufwene's review of Roger Keesing's fine volume on Melanesian Pidgin (CP 16:3) is typical of the kind of mindless and hopelessly misinformed LBH-bashing that is still de rigeur in some PC circles. Noone should mind being attacked for views that they hold, but to be attacked for views that one doesn't hold, when the true facts are readily accessible, is not to be tolerated

M. says, among other things, that

"the case of MP, like those of Kituba and Chinook Jargon . . . shows indirectly that the context-free unmarked grammar predicted by the LBH is not so plausible." There are at least two things wrong with this sentence. In the first place, since the LBH deals solely with grammars elaborated by children, the cases of MP, Kituba and Chinook Jargon are completely irrelevant to it, and therefore can say nothing at all about it, even "indirectly." In the second, as all my publications for at least the last three years have emphasized, the LBH does not predict a "context-free unmarked grammar," whatever that is, so while it's unsurprising that M. found markedness unhelpful in his research, this has nothing whatsoever to do with the LBH. M. should read, since he obviously hasn't, my column in JPCL 1:2, which says in the simplest of plain language just what the LBH does claim and why it explicitly dissociated itself from any concepts of "markedness" or "parameter setting".

It follows that the claims M. makes about what the LBH says are simply false. It does not "suggest that all parametric settings which are different from those predicted by it are marked", since it doesn't propose any parameters outside of the lexicon and doesn't regard those inside of it as either marked or unmarked. It isn't circular because it doesn't invoke markedness to account for creole settings. It does explain why non-creole languages differ from creoles, but NOT in terms of markedness, rather in terms of the interaction between an invariant syntax and a constantly expanding and complexifying list of grammatical items and their properties. Finally, what M. says about "universals of second language learning . . . making more sense" than the LBH is nonsense, since creoles are first and not second languages: they are invented by children.

Is it too much to ask of creolists that they should have the courtesy to read and understand other people's views before they attack them? I say this because members of other disciplines (Keesing himself, for example, is an anthropologist) seem to behave quite differently. Although mindless LBH-bashers will doubtless try to use his book as a licence for the

wilder forms of substratomania, he himself is extremely modest and reasonable in his claims (much to M. 's chagrin, be it noted). He recognises clearly, as M. and the substratists do not, that the circumstances that gave rise to MP were far different from those that gave rise to creoles generally. Thus, unless you are going to suppose that languages develop in a vacuum from which every extralinguistic factor has been banished, you have to expect that MP and the plantation creoles would be formed in very different ways.

Response from Salikoko MUFWENE (University of Georgia):

For the record, let us get some facts straight:

Bickerton accuses me of misrepresenting his LBH and ignoring its latest version per his column in JPCL 1.225-32 (1986). Unfortunately, he overlooks the fact that the comment in my review is about his "original LBH (which made virtually no allowance for substrate influence at the formative stage)" (p. 4, col. 3). This is what Keesing discusses in his book, and it is only fair to evaluate K's position in relation to it. This LBH version is least fanatically presented in B's The Behavioral and Brain Sciences article (vol. 7, 1984, pp. 173-88); based on the following excerpts, cited from this source, I find the accusation of misrepresentation groundless.

B places his bioprogram in the context of Chomsky's UG "defined in terms of set of parameters . . . each parameter having a finite (and small) number of possible settings On this view, what is referred here as the bioprogram grammar would simply constitute the list of preferred settings that the child, in the absence of contrary evidence, would assume to be appropriate" (p. 178). If you think my interpretation of "preferred" as unmarked is unfair, please consider the following excerpt from B's article in Frederick Newmever's (1988) Linguistics: The Cambridge Survey Vol. 2 (a source also cited in my column in JPCL 4.241-54): "The fact that, across creoles, similar lexical items with similar properties are recruited suggests that there must be markedness in the inventory of (possible) lexical properties and that creoles select unmarked options" (p. 279). Three pages down, B speaks, in the context of markedness, of "forms that no language can possibly do without and forms that it is highly convenient to have, but which are not, strictly speaking, essential to a language" (p. 281), without ever referring to factors such as typological [and/or genetic] kinship of the languages in contact, which constrain the selections made by creoles (my review, p. 4, col. 1). is the context I criticize B for not taking into consideration.

I see nothing in my review suggesting that I have "found markedness unhelpful in [my] research;" I only say that it "is a convenient shorthand for a variety of more explanatory factors . . . which are context-relative" (p. 4, col. 3; see also my column in JPCL 4.117-28, which B must not have read). One can see in B's remark and the wording of all the unjustified epithets in his comments his natural penchant for sweeping generalizations. However, let's continue with more substantive matters

A problem with the word "bioprogram" (an etymological misnomer, by the way) is that it is a weasel term, as evidenced above by all B's own ambivalent characterizations. In the BBS article (1984), he also proposes the following alternative to that discussed above: "a single core grammar . . . serving as a base from which more complex grammars are constructed" (pp. 185; see also pp.178 and 188). Even though B says that his position between the two characterizations is "neutral" (p. 179), it is apparently the latter which he meant to adopt in his column (1986) and in the 1988 article. I may of course be accused of misrepresentation in relation to this. However, as the above quotation from the 1988 article corroborates, B has not "dissociated [himself] from any concepts of 'markedness' or 'parameter setting'." Knowing his liking for GB Theory, I charitably chose the interpretation that is consistent not only with what Keesing discusses in his book but also with the conception of UG in this framework. From there I proceeded to criticize the circularity that arises from B's

invocation of markedness in his work. I doubt that he has been criticized for "views that [he] doesn't hold." He might, however, find this rebuttal helpful in trying to resolve his ambivalence.

As for B's putatively new position on LBH, it leaks pitifully. Aside from the fact that I am still waiting for data that back up all his conjectures, I am amazed that anybody so interested in child language could actually claim that there is a syntax (invariant or otherwise) without a lexicon and not bother to explain that the alleged "syntax" must be interpreted differently from "syntax" as used in phrases like "English syntax." As for the novelty of the thesis that "superficial syntax is determined by the interaction of lexical-morphological properties and a universal syntax" (B 1986:228 -- I had read the column), anybody that is familiar with the generative semantics and case grammar literature of the late 1960s and early 1970s ought to know that the wheel is being reinvented. To cite a transparent title from the work of a less partisan linquist well respected for all levels of research adequacy, Dwight Bolinger published in 1972 a lexicography paper titled "Getting the Words In," in which, reflecting the influence of the above position, he argues that the lexicon justifies grammar.

The worst part is B's desperate attempt to invalidate substrate influence with the above assumption. From the above quotation he proceeds as follows: "If grammatical morphemes almost in their entirety and around 90 percent of the total lexicon are drawn from the superstrate, then there can't be substratal influence, period." B overlooks the fact that these grammatical morphemes and lexical items are not used in creoles the same way they are/were used in their lexifiers. In any case this lexicalist approach does not help his case a bit: if most of creole "superficial syntax is determined by the interaction of lexical-morphological properties with a universal syntax" (which any normal speaker must be equipped with), we may finally do without any Bickertonian version of the LBH. The same lexicalist assumption ought to apply even at the pidgin stage.

It is ludicrous that B should claim that he has been speaking only of

creoles formed by children. All the generalizations he has made to date have not included this restriction. Nor has he ever shown that his other favorite creole, Saramaccan, was formed in the same way as Hawaiian

Creole, putatively restructured by children. In fact there is a contradiction in B's latest position when, finally agreeing with the substratist Mervyn Alleyne on something, he concedes in his 1988 article that Atlantic creoles may not have had an antecedent pidgin (p. 272). That is, they may have been formed by adult second-language acquirers. This concession reduces the set of creoles putatively created by children and is consistent with my preference for "universals of second language acquisition" over B's LBH.

B's position that creoles such as Tok Pisin are not true creoles (1984:187) is at best a prioristic, based on the Hawaiian case only and disregarding what has been going on elsewhere. The Hawaiian case alone is certainly not enough empirical observation for stipulating what is or is not a "true creole." As for the reason why Kituba should allegedly not invalidate B's magistral position, neither himself nor anybody else I know has shown that children may not have played a role in the creolization of Kituba, assuming of course that there are some cases validating the questionable association of creolization with nativization.

Were the circumstances that gave rise to Melanesian Pidgin "different from those that gave rise to creoles generally?" Part of the problem is the use of "generally." How can B continue to speak of creoles in general when he scorns any data that question his original hypotheses, which are based on very limited data?

Am I a "substratomaniac?" -- Yes, if that means anybody that does not espouse B's radical LBH position; no, if the term is used as an idiosyncratic synonym of "substratist." My current position on creole genesis is that there is room for both substrate and superstrate influence, the only two parties involved in the competition of features, and there is a body of principles constraining the selection of features into the new language just to make sure that the putative UG, details

of which are slowly being understood, is not violated. The recipe for the formation of different creoles must have varied a lot from setting to setting, but certainly not in terms of whether or not children were involved as a primary factor. We still have plenty of research to do before identifying most of the relevant primary factors.

For the "mindless and hopelessly misinformed . . . substratomaniac," Salikoko S. MUFWENE.

OBITUARIES

JAMES M. CRAWFORD (1925-1989)

On 5 May, James M. CRAWFORD, Professor of Anthropology and Linguistics at the University of Georgia at Athens, died from an unexpected heart attack while on a visit to Virginia Commonwealth University in Richmond.

Jim has been better known among students of American Indian languages than creolists. He dedicated much of his professional career to research on Cocopa, a Yuman language of the Colorado River delta area, and on Yuchi, a language isolate of southeastern North America linked to Siouan and such Gulf isolates as Atakapa and Tunica. While he would hardly have considered himself a student of pidgin and creole languages, he made a major contribution to their study with his research on Mobilian Jargon or the Chickasaw-Choctaw trade language, a Native American pidgin of once greater Louisiana.

Linguists and anthropologists had long forgotten Mobilian Jargon, and presumed it extinct when Jim began his research. In August 1969, Claude Medford, a Native American artist famous for his split-cane baskets and also deceased now, alerted Mary Haas and Jim that Mobilian Jargon had survived in the memories of a few Indians of Louisiana and eastern Texas. On two occasions in 1970 and 1971. Jim visited and recorded several surviving Indian and non-Indian speakers of this pidgin among the Coushatta in southwestern Louisiana and the Alabama-Coushatta in eastern Texas. Based on data provided by Jim,

8

Haas made the first modern assessment of Mobilian Jargon, and characterized it as a "mixture of Choctaw and Alabama," two Muskogean languages, and as morphologically simplified (Haas 1975). Eventually, Jim wrote a book on Mobilian Jargon (Crawford 1978), which won the second James Mooney Award of the Southern Anthropological Society in 1977.

This study offers a vocabulary of almost 160 entries including comparative lexical data, and describes Mobilian Jargon as a lexically mixed language consisting primarily of Muskogean elements (especially Choctaw, Coushatta or Koasati, and Alabama) plus a few European "loan words." A major concern of Jim's was the issue of Algonquian words in Mobilian Jargon, which 19th century scholars (including the anthropologist James Mooney) had suggested. Jim Crawford found little supporting linguistic evidence for such northern. presumably prehistoric influences. Hence, his research increasingly developed into an ethnohistorical study of the pidgin whose development and spread he traced to French colonialism in Louisiana. Jim thus rejected earlier claims to Mobilian Jargon's aboriginal existence, but later seemed to waver on this issue in light of new historical evidence and the pidgin's distinctly Native American semantactic structure.

While Jim did not return to the study of Mobilian Jargon, he had set the stage for the subsequent study of Mobilian Jargon in both the field and archives. Had he not followed Medford's suggestion to interview surviving speakers, we might never have learned what we know today about this major Native American pidgin, comparable to better-known Chinook Jargon of northwestern North America.

Yet beyond his contributions as a scholar, Jim also deserves to be remembered as a special person -- soft-spoken, most generous, and a true Southern gentleman.

By Emanuel J. DRECHSEL, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

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DAVID L. LAWTON

David LAWTON died on July 6, 1989. He and his wife Jean were returning from a camping trip to the northern peninsula of Michigan to their home in Mt. Pleasant, where David recently retired from teaching at Central Michigan University. They had been planning to move to Orlando, Florida in August. Jean can now be reached there at 207 River Chase Drive, Orlando, FL 32807, USA.

David wrote one of the first dissertations on a creole language by a native speaker: "Suprasegmental Phenomena in Jamaican Creole" (Michigan State University, 1963). His other work includes the following:

See the Reinecke et al. 1975 bibliography, sections 34.8-10 and 67.103-106 for early work.

1976. "Code Shifting in Jamaican Creole." Paper presented to the Society for Caribbean Linguistics (SCL), Guyana.

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1984. "Tone Structure and Function in Jamaican Creole." Paper presented to the SCL, Jamaica.

1985. Code-shifting in Jamaican Creole. In I.F. Hancock (ed.), <u>Diversity</u> and <u>Development in English-Related</u> <u>Creoles</u>. Ann Arbor, MI: Karoma, pp. 68-88.

1986. "The Intelligibility Criterion in Written Jamaican Creole." Paper presented to the SCL, Trinidad.

David donated his personal library to Central Michigan University's Park Library. Through this donation, he hoped to support the cultural education of CMU students.

> By John HOLM, Hunter College, CUNY











REVIEW NOTICES

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Christine JOURDAN. Nativization and Anglicization in Solomon Islands Piiin.

Terry CROWLEY. English in Vanuatu. Jeff SIEGEL. English in Fiji. Robert UNDERWOOD. English and Chamorro on Guam.

NEW COLUMN ON PIDGINS AND CREOLES IN FDUCATION

The editorial staff of the CP would like to launch a new column in the CP which would focus on pidgins and creoles in education. The scope of the column would be quite broad, ranging from discussion of current events, e.g., literacy projects and language legislation, to articles on language in education in pidgin/creole settings. To be more specific about the latter, we would like to commission individuals to write brief (up to 800 word) profiles of communities in which the role of pidgins and creoles in schooling is being discussed. The sketches would include the following information: (a) population demographics, (b) sociolinguistic background, (c) linguistic varieties used, officially and unofficially, in schooling, and (d) issues/problems in schooling as they pertain to language. The purpose of publishing such profiles would be to encourage networking among the CP readership, some of whom have extensive experience in bilingual education, second language acquisition and pedagogy, and related areas.

If you are interested in contributing to the new CP column or know of someone else who might be invited to do so, please write to the editor immediately.











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