



The Carrier Pidgin

A newsletter for those interested in pidgin and creole languages

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CP Article

More on the Origin of the Word *Krio*: A Response to Richard Allsopp

by Ian Hancock
Department of Linguistics
University of Texas at Austin

I thank Richard ALLSOPP (RA) for his thought-provoking response in the last issue to my note on the etymology of *Krio* (CP 21(3), 3-5), though I am surprised that he should have accepted so uncritically Nicol's (1949) liberally-interpreted explanation of the origin of the word, and Fyle & Jones' (1980) repetition of it. Theirs is folk etymology, pure and simple.

A Yoruba source for the word *Krio* is unlikely on a number of grounds, grammatically as well as semantically and phonologically (even though Fyle & Jones maintain that "phonologically this derivation is much more plausible than *Krio* < *Creole*"). First of all, the cluster /kr/ is not permissible in Yoruba. The only other Yoruba-derived item in *Krio* containing it that I have found (and I reject Fyle & Jones' suggestion that *kráwó* 'burnt food stuck to the bottom of the pot' is of Yoruba origin), namely *àkríbótó* 'person with

vaginismus,' is from the /r/-less original *ákílbótó*, with intrusive /r/ (cf. the *Krio* forms *krikrít* 'cricket,' *kókrùl* 'cockle(shell),' *kròkròdâyí* 'crocodile,' &c.). Indeed, lexical adoptions into Yoruba from words containing this cluster insert a vowel, thus *Kirisiti* 'Christ'; cf. also Abraham, who in his Yoruba dictionary (p. 374) has *Kiriyó* (as *ômô Kiriyó*, lit. 'child of *Kiriyó*') as a pejorative term for 'Christian,' and says "many of the early Christians in Nigeria came from Sierra Leone [and] were called Creoles."

Secondly, while Yoruba *kírí* does mean 'stroll, wander,' (*wirón* in *Krio*), *yó* does not mean 'be satisfied, content,' which is *tẹ̀lẹ̀n*. It means 'replete, sated (with food),' which in *Krio* is *bèlful* (earlier *bèrèful*). Freetown churches do not regularly feed their congregations on Sundays.

Thirdly, the grammatical multifunctionality of items which characterize creole languages is not possible in Yoruba; you cannot use a verb (in this case two verbs serially) as a noun. If there were a Yoruba word meaning 'one who wanders around and is replete (with food),' it would be *àkiriyó* (with nominalizing prefix and adjustment for tone), as Nicol in fact noted. The Yoruba (including the Freetown

Yoruba) disparagingly refer to the *Krios* as *ájírẹ̀sì* 'rice eaters' (< *Krio rẹ̀s* 'rice').

There are a couple of other points of contention in RA's argument to which I'd like to bring attention. He mentions 1807 as the date that the liberated Africans began to be set down in Freetown, and gives Fyle & Jones, p. xviii as his source (in his quote, incidentally, RA rewrote "established" as "[well] established," which is not what F&J said; nor do they mention any dates on that page). Actually 1807 was the date of the abolition of slavery; liberated Africans began arriving in 1808. Yoruba-

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EDITORIAL BOARD

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speaking recaptives, however, did not begin to come into the colony until 1820.

The "established African habit of naming the language the same as the people" is *not* particularly African (the Waswahili speak Kiswahili for example), although it *is* European (the Dutch speak Dutch, les français parlent français, &c.). RA's opinion that Jamaican Creoles are "most unlikely to have called their *language* 'Creole'" is not borne out by the fact that in a number of American creoles, Belizean (which has its roots in Jamaican) and Sranan among them, use the same word for both people and language. Even in RA's own Guyana, the "Creo's" speak *Creolese*. There is also a certain bias, perhaps, in RA's assumption that the Jamaican Maroons (*especially* the Jamaican Maroons!) were "likely to have been proud of their 'Engreesh' ... or 'lengrisi'" — neither of which forms is attested for Jamaica (the latter is Sranan).

Incidentally, the occurrence of the word "*Cræoles*" in Jamaica was recorded earlier than RA's 1774 — in my previous note on this subject I referred to the fact that John Atkins used it in 1721 in his *Voyage to Guinea, Brasil and the West-Indies*, where on page 244 he writes of "[t]he *Cræoles* (those born here) which are properly the Natives of the Island."

Lastly, I am not sure what purpose RA's listing of early written attestations of the word *Creole* serves, except to make his point that they suggest an early pronunciation of the word with "stress on the first syllable (as significantly also in *Krio*). However *Krio* bears its high tone on the final syllable, and not the first: *Kriyó*. Nor am I sure how the "interference of spelling-pronunciation" is relevant here to his case. RA argues that it caused the stress to shift "to the second syllable as we pronounce it today," but this is only the Creole stress-pattern (*including* that of *Krio*); English speakers elsewhere in the world pronounce the word "*cre-ole*," with initial stress.

The additional information on the Trinidadian term *lime*, Dominican *drivé*, St. Lucian *dwivé*, and British Virgin Islands *paseal* was interesting, but none of these has produced a related form to refer to an ethnic population. In sum, I have yet to be convinced that the word *Krio* is of Yoruba origin, and at best am prepared to believe only that the already-existing term might have provided the Liberated Africans who encountered it following their arrival in Freetown after 1820 with a basis for the Yoruba interpretation first suggested by Nicol.



Suriname Alert

Janina RUBINOWITZ of 118 Truesdale Drive, Croton-on-Hudson, New York 10520 has written us concerning the sale of timber rights for a 'major portion' of the Suriname rainforest to a group of multinational (Indonesian and Malaysian-based) companies. This sale, made under the pretext of economic stringency, not merely destroys tropical rainforest vital to the world as a whole, but will have disastrous effects on the heartland of the Saramaka and other Maroon communities, and may eventually destroy those communities by depriving them of vital resources such as timber for canoes and wildlife for subsistence. This sale was negotiated without any consultation either with the Saramaka or the Amerindian communities also involved. Ms. Rubinowitz suggests that as many people as possible immediately fax the Minister of National Resources at Mr. Dr. J.C. de Mirandastr. No. 13-15 (yes, that really is his street address!), Paramaribo, Suriname, Fax No. 597-472911, (faxes are preferable to letters since mail takes a month or more) protesting this outrageous decision. The Editors feel that the least creolists can do is stand up for the people who provide us with our livelihood, and we have accordingly faxed the following message:

FROM THE EDITOR

As time goes by, and as technological progress brings us ever-increasing intervals between writing something and seeing it in print, a new role for the Carrier Pidgin begins to seem desirable: that of alerting its readership to new and interesting developments in the field, whether descriptive or theoretical. We shall continue, as before, to update publications, announce forthcoming conferences, and perform all our other traditional functions. However, in addition, we would like to present abstracts and brief articles summarizing original research in the field (absolute maximum 1,000 words). Space, of course, is limited and submission will not mean automatic publication. Preference will be given to work that uses historical sources to document the early stages of creoles (and/or their antecedent pidgins, where available) but work of any kind will be considered, provided that it represents a substantive contribution to the field. Since we publish thrice yearly, the time from submission to publication cannot be more than four months (at least until/unless we start getting a backlog!), which certainly beats the two

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Dear Sir,

We wish to express in the strongest possible terms our reaction to the sale to Indonesian and Malaysian timber companies of rights to cut down rainforests which are the homelands of both Maroon and indigenous communities. We understand that the sale of these rights was carried out without any consultation with or input from the communities which inhabit them. Such action will have a disastrous effect on those communities—communities which constitute some of your country's most precious resources. It will also have an adverse effect on the future of Suriname, which requires international goodwill just as much as a positive cashflow if it is to achieve economic and political stability. We as editors of the journal *Carrier Pidgin* are alerting our readers to this situation and encouraging them to inform the academic and professional community in the U.S. of your policies, which constitute a serious violation of basic human rights as well as an ecological disaster.

(sgd) Derek Bickerton

Michael Forman

We urge readers of this newsletter to send similar messages and spread word of what the Suriname government is doing to all concerned individuals and organizations.

SPCL News

SPCL Minutes of the Business Meeting in New Orleans, January 7, 1995

Submitted by Armin Schwegler
Secretary-Treasurer, SPCL

CALL TO ORDER

President John Holm called the meeting to order at 5:00 p.m. Approximately 30 members of the SPCL were present.

MINUTES

Those present at the meeting were asked to read the Minutes of the last Annual Business Meeting, held in Boston in January of 1994. It was moved and seconded that they be approved, which they were by unanimous vote.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT AND UPCOMING MEETINGS

Holm opened the meeting by reporting the very successful joint meeting the SPCL held with the Society for Caribbean Linguistics (SCL) at the University of Guyana this last August. The next joint SPCL/SCL meeting is planned for January 1998 (to be held in conjunction with the annual LSA meeting).

Singler and Holm reminded the SPCL membership that the Society's next annual meeting will be held in San Diego in January 1996 (joint meeting with LSA). Holm noted that several SPCL participants in the New Orleans meeting had not yet registered officially, and that they ought to do so at once. He underlined that good relations with the LSA could only be maintained if SPCL members paid their registration dues as required by the conference rules.

At the Boston meeting, venues for future meetings were discussed. Anand Syea of the University of Westminster stated that his University was prepared to host an SPCL meeting. The membership agreed that the offer should be accepted. It was further agreed that, on the Amsterdam model, a June meeting was the best time for a European SPCL meeting. No decision was made as to whether the London meeting should be held in 1996 or 1997.

SECRETARY-TREASURER'S REPORT

Armin Schwegler, Secretary-Treasurer presented the 1994 Annual Financial Report. He noted that the financial situation of the Society remains stable, and that the current account balance is approximately \$2200.00 (which does not include about \$1000.00 in 1994 membership fees Benjamins is about to forward to the Society).

Schwegler suggested that student membership fees be increased somewhat because the current \$4.00 barely covers processing fees. It was moved and seconded that it be increased to \$8.00. Those present voted unanimously in favor of the proposal.

SUBSCRIPTIONS TO JPCL

Benjamins' representative Yola de Lusenet reports that Institutional Subscriptions to *JPCL* are not numerous enough to cover the cost of producing the journal. According to her, about 50 additional institutional subscriptions are needed. Holm urges SPCL members to make sure that their own universities subscribe to the journal. Holm thanks de Lusenet for the support Benjamins has given the Society over the past years.

PROCEEDINGS OF PAST SPCL MEETINGS

John Holm reports that the page proofs for the Proceedings of the 1992 (Philadelphia) and 1993 (Amsterdam) SPCL meetings are about to be sent to the contributors of the forthcoming *Pidgins and Creoles: Structure and Status*. Edited by Arthur Spears and Don Winford, the volume will feature a total of 15

papers. The expected publication date is 1995.

Michel DeGraff and Julie Maher will edit a selection of papers from the 1994 (Boston and Guyana) and 1995 (New Orleans) meetings. Bill Samarin urged the editors to add an Index to the volume they are currently preparing.

AMENDMENT TO THE SPCL CONSTITUTION

In past SPCL meetings the point was made that, in order to facilitate organizational continuity, the immediate past President of the Society should automatically become a member of the Executive Council (the SPCL constitution did not require such an arrangement). Having already collected the ten signatures required to introduce a proposal for such an amendment, John Singler proposed the following change to the constitution, which was approved by an absolute majority:

"The membership of the Executive Council shall include the immediate past President of the Society."

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Towards the end of the business meeting, John Holm handed over the presidency to John Singler, previously Vice President of the SPCL. Singler thanked Holm for his outstanding leadership and contributions to the Society.

Two candidates — John Rickford and Charlene Sato — were nominated for the position of Vice President. Rickford was elected with a majority vote.

Salikoko Mufwene, Charlene Sato, and Pieter Muysken were nominated to become the new member at large. Mufwene's nomination was accepted by a majority vote.

The Executive Committee of the SPCL is, therefore, currently composed of the following members:

John Singler (President)
John Rickford (Vice President)
John Holm (Immediate Past President)
Armin Schwegler (Secretary-Treasurer)
Donald Winford (Officer at large until 1996)
Jacques Arends (Officer at large until 1997)
Salikoko Mufwene (Officer at large until 1998)
Glenn Gilbert (*ex officio* as JPCL editor)

NEW ASSOCIATE EDITOR FOR JPCL

Salikoko Mufwene announced that he has decided to step down as the Associate Editor of *JPCL*. Citing excessive work load as the reason for his decision, Mufwene thanked authors who have collaborated with him in the past.

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Armin Schwegler has accepted the position vacated by Mufwene. He will assume his new responsibilities at once.

ADJOURNMENT

A motion to adjourn was made, seconded and passed shortly at approximately 6:15 p.m.



CONFERENCES, COURSES & LECTURES

The following papers were presented at the joint 1995 MEETING OF THE SOCIETY FOR PIDGIN AND CREOLE LINGUISTICS with the LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA, held January 5-8, 1995, at the Fairmont Hotel, New Orleans, Louisiana:

NOTES & QUERIES

Peter PATRICK writes that the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) has funded the research project "Ethnocultural and Sociolinguistic Dimensions of Adult-Onset Diabetes in Jamaica: A Model for better Provider-Patient Communication" for 1995-6. The principal investigator is anthropologist and sociolinguist Arvilla PAYNE-JACKSON of Howard U.; co-investigators include creolists Patrick (Georgetown U.) and Mervyn ALLEYNE (U. of West Indies, Mona) and medical/applied anthropologist Linda CAMINO (independent), as well as Dr. Errol MORRISON, vice-dean of the UWI Faculty of Medical Sciences and director of the Diabetes Outreach Project.

The research team envisions a new application of creole studies, which so far have most often been applied to everyday life in the areas of education, literacy, and language policy. This project builds on existing research in the areas of medicine and public health (Morrison), ethnomedicine and ethnobotany of Jamaica and US African Americans (Payne-Jackson, Alleyne, and Camino), descriptive linguistics, sociolinguistics and ethno-semantics of Jamaican Creole (Alleyne, Patrick), and discourse analysis in creoles (Patrick with Payne-Jackson, cf. their New Orleans SPCL paper).

While linguists have studied doctor-patient interaction in North America and Europe, very little research has been done in creole-speaking countries. In fact very little interactional discourse analysis of creoles has been published at all [Patrick requests CP readers to forward such references or articles, especially unpublished ones or those of limited circulation, to him c/o Linguistics Dept., Georgetown University, Washington DC 20057, USA; copying/postage costs will be reimbursed]. Public health studies, however, document large communication gaps between doctors and diabetic clinic patients. Creolists can well imagine the reasons, involving the familiar span of the creole continuum, as well as folk models of disease, polysemy of terms, and sharply contrasting frames of interaction.

The research begins with sampling and pilot work in Spring 1995 followed by intensive fieldwork at clinics in summer 1995 and data review/analysis during the 1995-6 academic year. Methods include participant-observation, controlled and sociolinguistic interviews with patients, clinical and ethnomedical practitioners, elicitation of illness narratives and anatomical models, key consultant work and focus groups. In addition to technical reports and publications, the team hopes to create community information materials and hold workshops bringing together bio- and ethno-medical healers in the summer of 1996. Input from colleagues will be welcomed; a copy of the 25-page proposal is available at the address above (send SASE).

Donald WINFORD (Ohio State U.) reports having completed fieldwork on Sranan in Suriname as part of an NSF-funded research project on creole tense/aspect systems. In two visits (in July 1994 and January 1995) Winford collected approximately 28 hours of recorded speech from each of two areas: Paramaribo and the rural areas of Para and Coronie. He is currently preparing the transcriptions.

ACETO, Michael. Syntactic variation in Panamanian Creole English: Internal or external change?

ADAMSON, Lilian & Norval SMITH. Aspects of the verbal system of Sranan.

ARENDS, Jacques. Social factors in creole genesis: network relations and social stratification in Suriname's plantation society.

BILBY, Kenneth. Epenthetic *-mi* in Aluku (Boni): an apparent transitive marker reexamined.

BOE, David. Word order typology and creole languages.

CHRISTIE, Pauline. Attitudes to Creole: some Jamaican evidence.

CLEMENTS, J. Clancy. Recognizing language obsolescence/death in a creole.

DEBOSE, Charles. Creole features in rural Samana English.

ESQUIRE, Genevieve. Sociolinguistic aspects of Maghrebian-French relations in France.

FIELD, Frederic. When languages combine: morphology and language mixing.

GRAHAM, Ross. Non-concord V-s and the marking of habitual aspect in Bay Islands English.

HOLM, John et al. A reassessment of creole copula patterns.

KLINGLER, Tom. The creole of New Orleans.

LEFEBVRE, Claire. Multifunctionality, variation between related grammars and the opacity of creole languages.

LUMSDEN, John. On the complex nature of grammatical simplification in pidgins and early creole languages.

MCWHORTER, John. The diachrony of predicate negation in Saramaccan.

PATRICK, Peter & Arvilla PAYNE-JACKSON. Functions of Rasta Talk in a Jamaican Creole illness narrative.

POST, Marike. Fa d'Ambu strategies for passivization.

ROBERGE, Paul. The Afrikaans complementizer *lat*: a diachronic puzzle.

ROBERTS, Julian. Hawaiian court records as a source of old pidgin texts: an update on recent research.

SAMARIN, William. The limitations of nativization in language change.

SCHWEGLER, Armin. Caribbean Spanish phonology and its African/pidgin origins.

SINGLER, John. What's not new in AAVE? Evidence from Liberian Settler English.

SPEARS, Arthur. Primordial features of African American language use.

TAGLIAMONTE, Sali, Shana POPLACK, & Ejike EZE. *Bin don kom* when? Past temporal reference in Nigerian

Pidgin English.

THIELE, Petra. The grammaticalization of repetitive and inchoative verbal periphrases in Cape Verdean and Principense.

VEENSTRA, Tonjes. Saramaccan variability in tense marking in serial verb constructions.

A parasession of the 1995 ANNUAL MEETING OF THE LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA entitled "Language South of the Río Bravo," held at Tulane U. on January 9-10, 1995, contained the following papers on creoles:

MUFWENE, Salikoko S. Language shift and language death: perspectives from creoles.

SWEARINGEN, Martha. A linguistic melting pot: the anterior marker in Palenquero.

The 1994 MID-AMERICA LINGUISTICS CONFERENCE was held on October 14-15, 1994, at the U. of Kansas in Lawrence, Kansas. Salikoko S. MUFWENE (U. of Chicago) was an invited plenary speaker on "African-American English, Caribbean English Creoles and North American English: Perspectives on Their Geneses." Papers on pidgin and creole languages include:

BAPTISTA-MOREY, Marlyse. On the nature of 'pa' in Capeverdean Creole.

DEBOSE, Charles E. Creole English in Samaná.

DECKER, Ken. Orthography development for Belize Creole.

DIOULA, Ousseina A. Tasawaq (Niger): Another case of a mixed language.

DRECHSEL, Emanuel. Mobilian Jargon in the language area of Southeastern North America.

HERZFELD, Anita. Conversational involvement: The teasing strategy in Limonese Creole.

KANG, Hyeon-Seok. Discourse constraints on past marking in Trinidadian Creole.

LIPSKI, John M. The evolution of null subjects in Philippine Creole Spanish.

WILLBRAND, Louise & Gayla IWATA-REUYL. Pragmatic code switching in African-American English.

Two papers presented at CUNY's Linguistics Colloquium series concerned creoles. On March 9th Peter PATRICK (Georgetown U.) spoke on "Style in Jamaican Creole: Speaky-spokey and Rasta Talk." On March 23rd John MCWHORTER (Cornell U.) spoke on "A New Interpretation of the Genesis of the Atlantic Creoles."

Peter PATRICK and Arvilla PAYNE-JACKSON (Howard U.) presented a paper entitled "Who Feels It, Knows It: Agency and the Experience of Suffering in Illness Discourse" at the GURT Pre-session on "Discourse & Agency" on March 6, 1995.

Michael ACETO spoke on "La variación en el inglés criollo de Bastimentos" at the Instituto Nacional de Cultura, Dirección Nacional del Patrimonio Histórico, Panama City, Panama, on June 13, 1994. He also presented a paper on "Variation in a secret creole language of Panama" at NWAV 23 (TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON NEW WAYS OF ANALYZING VARIATION), held at Stanford U., California, on 21 October 1994.

Upcoming Conferences

Robert CHAUDENSON has announced the postponement of the Comité International des Études Créoles conference in Cape Verde due to an outbreak of cholera there. The conference will be held next year, but the site has not yet been determined.

The 1995 annual conference of the LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF NEW GUINEA and the SOCIETY OF PIDGINS AND CREOLES IN MELANESIA will be hosted by the Summer Institute of Linguistics on June 28-30 at Ukarumpa, Aiyura Valley near Kainantu. The theme for this year's conference is "Language and Communication in Development." The deadline for

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Photo from the August 1994 SCL/SPCL conference, taken at the end of a day excursion on the creeks of Guyana. Pictured (left to right) are John SINGLER, Peter PATRICK, Adrienne BRUYN, George LANG, Bernadette CERVINKA, and David SUTCLIFFE. (Photo Credit: Peter Patrick)

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abstracts has already expired, but anyone wishing to attend may preregister by 31 May at the following address:

Ms. Ana Kila
Dept. of Language & Communication Studies
PNG University of Technology
Private Mail Bag
Lae, Papua New Guinea

SHORT NOTE

Midweek Mystery: Papiamentu *djárason* "Wednesday"

by Anthony P. Grant
Department of Modern Languages
University of Bradford, UK
apgrant@bradford.ac.uk

In common with most of the rest of the vocabulary, the Papiamentu names of the days of the week derive from Castilian, although with a prefixed *dja-* (from Spanish *día de X* 'day of X'). The exception is the form meaning 'Wednesday,' which is not **djamérkole* or any such form, as one might expect, but *djárason*, a term which seems to have been in regular use for at least the better part of a century, and probably longer.

The etymology of this form is unclear, and languages which might have exerted some cultural influence on Papiamentu give us no clue; Dutch has *Woensdag*, Portuguese has *quarta-feira*, literally 'the fourth feast,' and Hebrew (Curaçao has a significant minority of Sephardic Jews) has a form involving 'fourth': *yóm r'vii*.

Lenz (1928:241) suggests a possible reason why the expected Spanish form has been replaced. He writes:

"...En cuanto a la sustitución del nombre miércoles, no conozco su razón. No sería imposible que el uso de esta palabra como eufemismo en vez de un reniego feo, que es muy corriente, haya causado el cambio." [In regard to the substitution of the name 'Wednesday,' I do not know the reason. It would not be impossible that the use of this word as a euphemism, when one would expect a nasty swearword, which is very much in use, has caused the change.]

What Lenz means, and is trying to say, is that *miércoles* is used in speech where one would normally say *mierda* 'shit.' The resemblance between *miércoles* and the popular Latin imprecation *mehercule* ~ *mehercule* 'By Hercules!' is probably coincidental.

The form of the word for 'Wednesday,' however, is puzzling, and one would be

interested to know why this particular euphemism has come into use. The word *rasón* 'reason' is an unlikely etymon, and in any case the stress is wrong—only in this day-name is the initial *dja-* stressed. Nor is Spanish *oración* 'speech' a likely etymon. The only really salient Wednesday in the calendar of the Catholic Church, to which most Papiamentu-speakers have always belonged, is Ash Wednesday, immediately before the Easter festivals, and this is called *djárason de shinishi* 'Wednesday of Ashes' in Papiamentu—which is not very enlightening.

Anyone who can suggest a plausible reason for the adoption of this term to mean 'Wednesday' should contact the author at the above address.

REFERENCE

Lenz, Rodolfo. 1928. *El Papiamento, la lengua criolla de Curazao, la gramática más sencilla*. Santiago: Anales de la Universidad de Chile.



DISSERTATIONS

ALBINO, Christina. 1994. Para o estudo do Crioulo falado pela comunidade cabo-verdiana radicada em Portugal: variação e mudança no sistema de artigos. Ph.D. thesis, Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa, Alameda da Universidade, Portugal.

GREENE, Laurie Anne. 1994. A grammar of Belizean Creole: Compilations from two existing United States dialects. Ph.D. thesis, Tulane U.

MASUDA, Hirokuni. 1995. Verse analysis and its theoretical contribution to the study of the genesis of Hawai'i Creole English. Ph.D. thesis, U. of Hawai'i.

REVIEW NOTICES

Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages 9(2), 1994, contains the following review notices:

d'ANDRADE Ernesto & Alain KIHM, ed. 1992. *Actas do Colóquio sobre "Crioulos de Base Lexical Portuguesa"* (Lisbon: Editora Colibri). Reviewed by Heliana R. MELLO, 399-404.

BAGGIONI, Daniel & Didier de ROBILLARD. 1990. *Ile Maurice: Une francophonie paradoxale* (Paris: L'Harmattan). Reviewed by Daniel VÉRONIQUE, 362-6.

BLACKSHIRE-BELAY, Carol A. 1991.

Foreign Workers' German: A concise glossary of verbal phrases (Lanham, MD: U. Press of America). Reviewed by Molefi K. ASANTE, 367-70).

BLACKSHIRE-BELAY, Carol A., ed. 1992. *Language and literature in the African-American imagination* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press). Reviewed by Toya A. WYATT, 345-51.

CHAUDENSON, Robert. 1989. *Atlas linguistique et ethnographique de la Réunion, vol. 2*. (Paris: Editions du CNRS). Reviewed by Alexander HULL, 329-32.

HALL, Joan H., Nick DOANE, & Dick RINGLER, eds. 1992. *Old English and new: Studies in language and linguistics in honor of Frederic G. Cassidy* (New York & London: Garland). Reviewed by John M. LIPSKI, 409-14.

HAUDREY, Jean, ed. 1991. *Questions créoles, questions linguistiques* (Université Lyon III Jean Moulin: Centre d'Études Linguistiques Jacques Goudet). Reviewed by Flore ZÉPHIR, 355-61.

KACHRU, Braj. 1992. *The other tongue: English across cultures, 2nd ed.* (Urbana: U. of Illinois Press). Reviewed by Beverley A. S. HARTFORD, 421-5.

KARRAS, Alan L. & J. R. McNeill. 1992. *Atlantic American societies: From Columbus through abolition 1492-1888* (London: Routledge). Reviewed by Salikoko S. MUFWENE, 384-9.

LEFEBVRE, Claire. 1992. *Travaux de recherche sur le créole haïtien, no. 8. The clausal determiners of Haitian and Fon* (Montréal: UQAM). Reviewed by Michel DEGRAFF, 370-6.

LEFEBVRE, Claire, ed. 1992. *Travaux de recherche sur le créole haïtien, no. 10. Word order and possession in relexification* (Montréal: UQAM). Reviewed by Michel DEGRAFF, 376-84.

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LE PAGE, Robert & A. TABOURET-KELLER. 1985. *Acts of identity: Creole-based approaches to language and ethnicity*. Reviewed by Jean-Michel ELOY in *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 109, 179-81.

FROM THE EDITOR, CONTINUED

years or so that currently obtains with most journals, or the much longer periods often involved in the production of books and book chapters. Since we will be publishing only brief summaries, this will in no way preclude authors from subsequently publishing fuller accounts in other media.

If this policy proves successful, it could lead to an increase in size, which would in turn lead to an increase in price (most newsletters of this kind, in fact, cost anything up to double our present rate, and already this barely covers the cost of postage to overseas subscribers!). We would be glad to receive feedback from readers: would you be willing to pay a dollar or two more for a plumper and more nutritious Pidgin? (We shall, of course, continue to honor pre-payments made before the price rises!).

-DB

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ADONE, Dany. *Ti, fin, and pe in Mauritian child language*, 119-36.

CHAUDENSON, Robert. *Créolisation et appropriation linguistique: de la théorie aux exemples*, 171-90.

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HAZAËL-MASSIEUX, Guy. *Education et société d'habitation aux Antilles*, 35-52.

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CASSIDY, Frederic G. *Gullah and the Caribbean connection*, 16-22.

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JONES-JACKSON, Patricia. Let the church say "amen": The language of religious rituals in coastal South Carolina, 115-132.

MONTGOMERY, Michael. Introduction, 1-15.

MONTGOMERY, Michael. Lorenzo Dow Turner's early work on Gullah, 158-174.

MUFWENE, Salikoko S. Misinterpreting *linguistic continuity* charitably, 38-59.

ROBERTS, Peter A. Flexibility and creativity in Afro-American English, 87-94.

SENGOVA, Joko. Recollections of African language patterns in an American speech variety: An assessment of Mende influences in Lorenzo Dow Turner's Gullah data, 175-200.

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CORDONA, G. R. Espansione e diffusione del Portoghese, 591-6.

PERL, Matthias. Sprachvariation, 585-91.

SCHMITT, Christian. O Portugues em Sri Lanka (Ceylon), 610-8.

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BICKERTON, Derek. Will the real Hawaii Pidgin stand up? [letter], 427-8.

CHILDS, G. Tucker. Expressiveness in contact situations: The fate of African ideophones, 257-82.

CORNE, Chris. Relativization and thematization in Tayo and the implications for creole genesis, 283-304.

MUYSKEN, Pieter. Saramaccan and Haitian: A comparison, 305-14.

RICKFORD, John & Jerome HANDLER. Textual evidence on the nature of early Barbadian speech, 1676-1835, 221-55.

SANKOFF, Gillian. Obituary: Roger M. Keesing, 16 May 1935 - 7 May 1993, 315-327.

Espace créole 8, 1994, contained the following articles on French-lexifier creoles:

BERNABÉ, Jean. Genre grammatical, genre naturel: contrastes, oppositions et interférences en anglais, en créole et en français, 29-59.

CERVINKA, Bernadette. Remarques sur quelques interférences français-créole à l'examen du système préfixationnel en guadeloupéen, 85-143.

DAMOISEAU, Robert. L'emploi des pronoms personnels en français chez des étudiants créolophones — Un exemple d'analyse d'erreurs — Applications pédagogiques, 209-49.

DAMOISEAU, Robert & Luc GUIBRETIÈRE. Regards d'Haïtiens sur la langue

française, 173-87.

FAUQUENOY, Marguerite. Stratégies discursives des créolophones bilingues de Guyane française, 145-63.

LEFEBVRE, Claire & John LUMSDEN. Des différences entre le créole haïtien et le français, 189-207.

POMPILUS, Pradel. L'évolution du statut juridique et social du créole haïtien et ses conséquences pour la langue des bilingues nationaux, 165-72.

RELOUZAT, Raymond. Français et matrice pan-européenne dans la formation du créole, 5-28.

SAINT-LOUIS, Marie-José. Publicité et créolite, 61-71.

WATERMAN, Vashni. Quelques observations sur le syntagme verbal en créole martiniquais, 73-83.

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THE CARRIER PIDGIN

Dept. of Linguistics, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa
1890 East-West Road
Honolulu, HI 96822 USA



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CP Review Article

Barriers and bridges: the journal *Papia*:
Revista de crioulos de base ibérica /
Revista de criollos de base ibérica

Reviewed by Chris Come
 University of Auckland

In 1990, the Linguistics Department of the University of Brasília in association with Thesaurus Editora (also Brasília) launched a new journal, *Papia*, under the editorship of Hildo H. do COUTO assisted by co-editors John HOLM, Alain KIHM and Matthias PERL, and by an international advisory board.

Papia is devoted essentially to lexically-Iberian creole languages and to the people and societies which produced them and speak them. The aim was to provide a journal more in the tradition of *Etudes créoles* than of *JPCL*, a journal accessible both to linguists and to those interested in other aspects of the Ibero-Creolophone world. As the following index of major articles published 1990-1994 shows, the journal is succeeding very well indeed in becoming a forum for studies of the linguistic, historical, sociolinguistic, and social aspects of Ibero-Creole languages and societies. The specific focus, and the new research that is being generated, is a wel-

come addition to the literature on societies which arose as a result of the Portuguese and Spanish sea-borne empires and on the contact-induced languages which emerged as a result.

Most issues of *Papia* contain an editorial note, a number of articles, some reviews, some shorter notes/articles, and a page or two of "Registros" listing papers presented at conferences, recent publications, work in progress, and so forth, all with particular reference to Ibero-Creole. Portuguese is the language used in most items, others are in Spanish. Volume 3, Number 2 (1994) contains papers presented to the Conference on Portuguese- and Spanish-based Creoles, held in September 1994 at the University of Brasília (the nine papers not published in this issue are to appear in *Papia* in due course). It also lacks the "Registros", the role of that section being taken over by an associated *Boletim de Estudos Crioulos*, also produced by the University of Brasília Linguistics Department.

Index of major articles, *Papia* 1.1
 (1990) - 3.2 (1994):

AGUILERA RODRIGUEZ, Julio C.
 1992. The behaviour of Creole features in some works of the Cuban bufo theatre of the 19th century, 2.1:26-36.

ALVAREZ, Alexandra. 1993. Africa

at the tip of the tongue: consequences of slavery in the dialectal varieties of America, 2.2:32-41.

BAGGIONI, Daniel. 1991. Schuchardt between L. Adam and F. A. Coelho: against everything and everybody, 1.2:80-91.

BARROS, Maria Cândida D. M. 1994. The Jesuit interpreter in the constitution of a super-ethnic Tupi in the 16th century, 3.2:18-25.

BARROS, Maria Cândida D. M., Luiz C. Borges & Márcio Meira. 1994. The Lingua Geral as constructed identity, 3.2:62-69.

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BARTELT, Guillermo & Julia Coll.

1992. Spanish-Indian language contact in the U.S. South-East, 2.1:37-49.

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1993. Processes of decreolisation in the verbal system of a rural Brazilian dialect, 2.2:59-71.

BUSCHE, Christian. 1993. The glottopolitical situation in the A[ruba] B[onaire] C[uraçao] islands: a social survey of Papiamentu, 2.2:72-84.

CABRAL, Amílcar. 1990. The question of the language, 1.1:59-61.

CARENO, Mary do Francisca & Margarida Maria Taddonio Petter. 1994. Observations on the use of the negative construction, 3.2:98-109.

CLEMENTS, J. Clancy. 1994. Effects of the processes of adoption of a new language and of linguistic borrowing in the phonology of Korlai Portuguese, 3.1:42-60.

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COUTO, Hildo Honório do. 1992. Anti-Creole [in Brazil], 2.1:71-84.

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DENEUX, J. L. & J. L. Rougé. 1993. The grammar of local [African] languages, the grammar of Creole, 2.2:50-58.

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FAINGOLD, Eduardo D. 1993. The Portuguese element in Ibero-Judeo Romance, 2.2:42-49.

FAINGOLD, Eduardo D. 1992. Phonological systems in contact, 2.1:19-25.

FAINGOLD, Eduardo D. 1994. The linguistic repertory of the Sephardic Jews: a case of phonological fusion in Israel, 3.1:84-89.

FERRAZ, Luiz I. 1990. A linguistic assessment of Angolar, 1.1:38-46.

FIGUEROA ARENCIBIA, Vicente Jesús.

1992. An approach to the study of the "Bozal" speech in Lydia Cabrera's *El Monte*, 2.1:7-18.

FILHO, Wilson Trajano. 1994. Creole society and traditional societies in Guinea-Bissau: a cultural continuum, 3.2:162-170.

GOMES, Christina Abreu. 1994. Contexts of variation and implementation of prepositions in the contact Portuguese of Xingu, 3.2:6-17.

GOMES, Simone Caputo. 1994. The Creole poetics of Sérgio Frusoni, 3.2:43-50.

GRANDA, Germán de. 1990. African retentions in the phonology of the Portuguese Creole of Annobón, 1.1:26-37.

HOLM, John. 1994. The semi-creolisation of the Portuguese vernacular of Brazil: evidence of contact in the idiomatic expressions, 3.2:51-61.

HOLM, John et al. 1994. Relative clauses in Atlantic and Non-Atlantic creoles, 3.2:70-87. (In English.)

ICHINOSE, Atsushi. 1993. The evolution of the equational [copular] construction in Guinea-Bissau Kiriol, 2.2:23-31.

LANG, Jürgen. 1990. The category Number in Cabo Verde Creole, 1.1:15-25.

LANG, Jürgen. 1994. Possible African structures in Cabo Verde Creole (Santiago), 3.2:171-176.

LANG, Jürgen. 1994. The interest of linguistics for Cabo Verde Creole, 3.1:90-105.

LIPSKI, John M. 1991. The origin and evolution of the particle *ta* in the Afro-Hispanic Creoles, 1.2:16-41.

LORENZINO, Gerardo. 1992. A comparative study of the NP in Palenquero and Papiamentu, 2.1:50-70.

LUCCHESE, Dante. 1994. The articles in Cabo Verde and São Tomé Creoles: general principles and specific factors, 3.1:61-83.

MARBECK, Joan. 1994. The experience of a Kristang in Malacca, 3.2:88-97. (In English and Papia Kristang.)

MAURER, Philippe. 1991. Curaçao Papiamentu: a truly American language,

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FROM THE EDITOR

Please note the colored insert in this issue, alerting readers of the *Carrier Pidgin's* financial arrangements. Checks should henceforth be made out directly to **The Carrier Pidgin**.

In the last issue I asked whether readers would be prepared to pay more for a somewhat richer, thicker CP. To date I have had one (1) reply, positive, I'm glad to note. Since this vote, though unanimous, represents less than .0025 of our readership, I hesitate to act on it and would welcome more input, while warning that some sort of decision, democratic or otherwise, will probably have to be taken by year's end. Readers who scorn traditional modes of communication may submit their votes electronically too:

derek@hawaii.edu

Seriously—we value your opinions and will do our best, within our financial limitations, to make CP ... well, whatever you want it to be.

--DB

CP Review Article

Africans in Colonial Louisiana

Gwendolyn Midlo Hall

Louisiana State University Press, 1992

Reviewed by Derek Bickerton

University of Hawaii, Manoa

It is rare indeed to find a historian who cares about language or who understands the role language plays in creole societies. That is one reason why every creolist should read this book, which in addition gives a thoroughly researched and scholarly account of the early history of one of the only two areas in the continental U.S. that gave rise to a creole language (How long, I wonder, before we get its equivalent on the Carolina coast?). So familiar is Hall with the language that every chapter is introduced by an appropriate Louisiana Creole song and/or proverb. But this is only the sauce on the dish. In a brief review it is obviously impossible to touch on every interesting point, so I shall concentrate on just a few.

First, I know of no history of any creole-speaking region that so thoroughly documents the provenance of its population (as well, incidentally, as its overall demographic development). Louisiana is unusual in several respects: over two-thirds of the original slaves came from Senegambia, hardly any slaves arrived during the second decade of exploitation, and within just over two decades, two-thirds of the population was native-born. No slaves (and few if any of the slaveowners) appear to have come from the French Antilles, making any diffusionist scenario highly unlikely. What we now need is a careful comparison between Louisiana Creole and other French Caribbean creoles, detailing the similarities and differences.

Second, Hall's research points to ways in which this comparison can be carried out. Much of her account depends on court records (complete with verbatim quotes in contemporary creole, several of which she provides) dating from only a decade or so after the first arrivals from Africa. Court records, as shown by current research in Hawaii, constitute the greatest single untapped resource in creole studies; I don't know of any of the dozens of other creole communities where linguists, as opposed to historians, have seriously attempted to exploit this source. Certainly the numerous cases adduced by Hall in which evidence was given in creole render absurd the frequently-heard complaint that "We can't know what early stages of creoles were like because there's no historical evidence." Creolists should get off their butts and into the legal archives.

To me, one of the most fascinating of these cases concerns a revolt in 1791 involving probably Ewe or Fon speakers, a number of whom claimed to be unable to fully understand Louisiana Creole. Hall believes they were lying, but her belief goes against the balance of the evidence she herself presents (it was proven during the proceedings that much of the evidence originally brought against the slaves was perjured and that those who claimed the slaves were lying had themselves lied about almost every other aspect of the original interrogations). In light of our findings in Hawaii, it is highly plausible that recent immigrants should not be able to understand a creole, since creoles (and for that matter, pidgins), far from being carried round the world like suitcases, as so many believe, originate right in the places where they are spoken.

Hall's belief seems to stem less from the facts of the case than from her own opinions on the origin and nature of Louisiana Creole (my admiration for her as a language-conscious historian does not extend to those moments, fortunately rare, where she dons the hat of creolist). But this is a trifling defect in an exceedingly well-written volume filled with fascinating and extremely useful information and created under daunting difficulties (anyone who thinks archival research is easy should read her "Notes on Sources"). Specialists in other creole-speaking areas can only long for the day when they have even half as good a historical account of their own chosen regions.



CONFERENCES, COURSES & LECTURES

Several sessions on pidgins, creoles, and language contact in general were held at the SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON OCEANIC LINGUISTICS (SICOL) in Suva, Fiji, July 3-7, 1995. The following papers were presented:

ARMS, David. Tendencies in Fiji Hindi
CORNE, Chris. The typology of the Tayo language of St.-Louis, New Caledonia.

CORNE, Chris, COLEMAN, Deirdre, & Simon CURNOW. 'Verb Chains' in Isle de France Creole.

ESCURE, Geneviève. Are women innovators in language change? A study of tense-aspect categories in a creole situation (Belize).

GUPTA, Anthea Fraser. Singapore colloquial English or deviant standard English?

JENNINGS, William. Saint-Christophe: the origin of French Antillean creoles.

LEE, Ernest W. Unexpected shared features in Melanesian pidgins/creoles: Is Broken a Melanesian pidgin/creole?

MEYERHOFF, Miriam. Comparing old and new information in Bislama: nominal deletion with *olsem*.

MULGER, France. South Indian languages in Fiji: language contact and attrition.

MULGER, France & Jan TENT. A survey and language use and attitudes in Fiji.

SIEGEL, Jeff. Pidgins, creoles, and koines—or just contact varieties?

SMITH, Geoff. Word frequency and regional language varieties in Tok Pisin.

TENT, Jan & France MULGER. Language use and attitudes in Fiji.

Amsterdam Creole Workshop 1995 was held at the U. of Amsterdam on June 25-27, 1995. Its theme was on "creole genesis and language contact." The following topics were discussed:

DIMMENDAAL, Gerrit. Language loss (K. de BOT, commentator).

GRANT, Anthony. Language-intertwining (M. MOUS, commentator).

KOTSINAS, Ulla-Britt. Interlanguage (Pieter MUYSKEN, commentator).

KOUWENBERG, Silvia. Convergence (Jacques ARENDS, commentator).

LEFEBVRE, Claire. Relexification (Norval SMITH, commentator).

MYERS-SCOTTEN, Carol. Code-switching (A. BACUS, commentator).

PRINCE, Ellen. Yiddish (Hans DEN BESTEN, commentator).

SIEGEL, Jeff. Koine formation (F. HINSKENS, commentator).

THOMASON, Sarah. Borrowing (Peter BAKKER, commentator).

WOLL, Bencie. Sign language (J. COERTS, commentator).

On April 28-29, 1995, a conference on CREOLE CULTURES IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN was held at the U. of Delaware, Newark. The following papers were presented at a session on "Creole languages in the Americas":

HOLM, John, BHATTACHARJYA, Dwijen, CHAPUIS, Daniel, SANTORO, Salvatore, SIMON, Ronald, & Miki SUZUKI. Copula patterns in Atlantic and non-Atlantic creoles.

MAHER, Julianne. Travel diaries, missionary accounts, and land surveys: Reconstructing social history in the French Caribbean.

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VAZQUEZ, Obed. Sociological factors in the establishment of dominant languages in the Caribbean: The absence of creole in Puerto Rico.

WINER, Lise. Nineteenth century text resources from Trinidad.

REVIEW NOTICES

MUFWENE, Salikoko, ed. 1993. *Africanisms in Afro-American Language Varieties* (Athens: U. of Georgia Press).

Reviewed by Manfred GÖRLACH in *English World Wide* 15(1), 161-4.

PRICE, Richard & Sally PRICE. 1992. *Two evenings in Saramaka* (Chicago: U. of

Chicago Press). Reviewed by Michael ACETO in *New West Indian Guide* 68(1-2), 161-4.

STAUDACHER-VALLIAMÉE, Gillette. 1992. *Phonologie du créole réunionnais: Unité et diversité* (Paris: Peeters). Reviewed by Tsutomu AKAMATSU in *La Linguistique* 30, 172-4.

WINER, Lise. 1993. *Trinidad and Tobago* (Amsterdam: Benjamins). Reviewed by Michael ACETO in *Language* 70(2), 406-7.

Also reviewed by Marlis HELLINGER in *English World Wide* 15(1), 146-9.

WINFORD, Donald. 1993. *Predication in Caribbean English Creoles* (Amsterdam: Benjamins). Reviewed by Michael ACETO in *Language* 70(4), 1994, 836-40.

NOTES & QUERIES

Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages (JPCL) now has its own homepage on the World Wide Web, accessible at the following site:

<http://www.siu.edu/departments/cola/ling/index.html>

Last updated on August 31, 1995 by Jeffrey PARSELL, the JPCL homepage contains pages on the JPCL editorial staff, an alphabetical index of recent JPCL volumes (including abstracts from major articles), a helpful glossary of pidgin/creole terms (compiled by Maria Rosa Fernández BELL and Glenn GILBERT), submission information for manuscripts and reviews, and subscription information. Still under construction is a page on the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics (SPCL). Future pages will include letters to the editor, audio samples of pidgin/creole languages, contents of forthcoming issues, photos of JPCL staff and contributors, and an alphabetical list of contributors.

Any queries should be directed to Glenn GILBERT (email: creolist@aol.com).

The first issue of the *P.A.C.L.A. Newsletter*, edited by Chris CORNE, has been distributed. It notes that at a special meeting on July 4, 1995, at the SICOL conference in Suva, Fiji, it was decided to form the Pacific Area Contact Linguistics Association (P.A.C.L.A.). "The P.A.C.L.A.," the newsletter states, "is an association which has, at least for now, no President, no Officers, no Constitution, no fees, no publication programme ..., and which took less than one hour to bring itself into existence. Its programme is simply to ensure that people know when, and in what corner of our South Pacific paradise, the next conference is to be held, to invite papers for same, and (possibly) to organise publication of those papers."

The next meeting of P.A.C.L.A. will occur at the next Oceanic Linguistics conference, to be held at the University of Waikato (Hamilton, New Zealand) in January 1997. The membership list, kept by Jeff SIEGEL, includes 50 people thus far. Anyone desiring to join this association would contact

Dr. Jeff Siegel
Department of Linguistics
University of New England
Armidale, NSW 351, AUSTRALIA
(email: jsiegel@metz.une.edu.au)

A group of Francophone creole organizations, including Bannzil Kreyol Matnik, CDR Martinique, GEREK, the Folk Research Center of Saint Lucia and Dominica's Ministry of Culture, have announced a competition, to be held annually, for the SONY

(Continued on page 8)

SHORT NOTE

An Anglophone Pidgin in Madagascar

by Ian Hancock

Department of Linguistics

University of Texas at Austin

[<ihancock@utxvms.cc.utexas.edu>](mailto:ihancock@utxvms.cc.utexas.edu)

A not-previously noted Pidgin English is referred to in Edward Ives' *A Voyage from England to India in the Year 1754* (London, 1760), a copy of which is in the rare books collection of the Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin.

Writing of the visit of one Admiral Watson to Madagascar in 1754, we find on page 8 that "most of the natives near this bay speak as much broken English as enables them to exchange their cattle, poultry, [etc.] . . ." and on page 13 some samples of this: "They without scruple tell you, in their broken jargon, 'If you my friend, I your friend. You no my friend, I no your friend. I salamanca you, you salamanca me.'" The word *salamanca* is given to mean 'gift.'

The lead for this reference I found in Rayner Thrower's *The Pirate Picture* (Philmore & Co., London, 1980), on page 98, where he says, "When Admiral Watson visited the island in 1754 he found that English names and customs were common among responsible people with whom he had dealings, and that a patois English was spoken in several coastal settlements," but Ives' account makes no mention of "several coastal settlements," only the one unidentified bay visited by Watson.



PUBLICATIONS

ARENDS, Jacques, Pieter MUYSKEN, & Norval SMITH, eds. 1995. *Pidgins and Creoles: an Introduction* (Amsterdam: Benjamins). Contents include:

MUYSKEN, Pieter & Norval SMITH. The study of pidgin and creole languages, 3-14.

ARENDS, Jacques. The socio-historical background of creoles, 15-24.

BAKKER, Peter. Pidgins, 25-40

BAKKER, Peter & Pieter MUYSKEN. Mixed languages and language intertwining, 41-52.

de ROOIJ, Vincent. Variation, 53-64.

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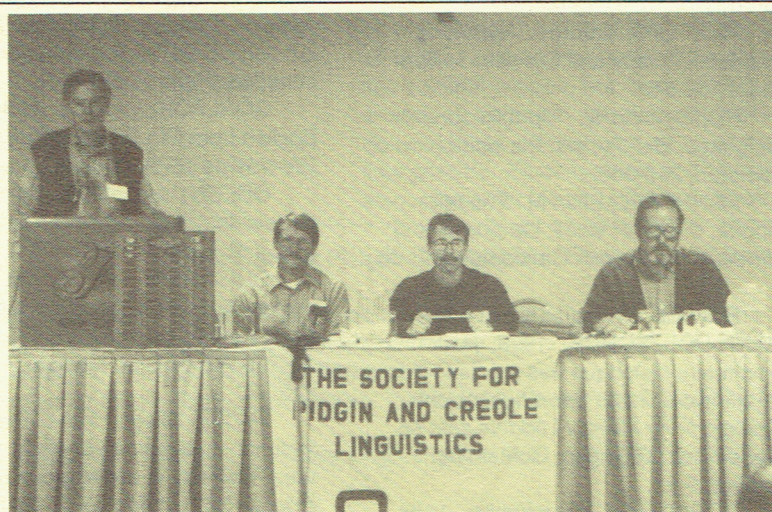
*Society for Pidgin & Creole Linguistics Annual Meeting
New Orleans, Louisiana
January 5-8, 1995*



*Pauline CHRISTIE presenting a paper
(Photo Credit: Julian Roberts)*



Creolists from Amsterdam: pictured (left to right) are Jacques ARENDS, Marike POST, Lilian ADAMSON, and (below) Tonjes VEENSTRA. (Photo Credit: Julian Roberts).



Business meeting of the SPCL; pictured (left to right) are John SINGLER (President), Francis BYRNE, Armin SCHWEGLER (Secretary-Treasurer), and John HOLM (Immediate Past President). (Photo Credit: Julian Roberts)



How many creolists can sit at one table? Answer: At least twenty. Conference participants dining at Zachary's, located west of the Garden District and above St. Charles in New Orleans. (Photo Credit: Julian Roberts)

(Continued from page 4)

- APPEL, Renè & Ludo VERHOEVEN. Decolonization, language planning and education, 65-74.
- ADAMSON, Liliame & Cefas van ROSSEM. Creole literature, 75-86.
- DEN BESTEN, Hans, Pieter MUYSKEN, & Norval SMITH. Theories focusing on the European input, 87-98.
- ARENDS, Jacques, Silvia KOUWENBERG, & Norval SMITH. Theories focusing on the non-European input, 99-110.
- ARENDS, Jacques & Adrienne BRUYN. Gradualist and developmental hypotheses, 111-120.
- MUYSKEN, Pieter & Tonjes VEENSTRA. Universalist approaches, 121-136.
- van der VOORT, Hein. Eskimo pidgin, 137-152.
- MUYSKEN, Pieter & Tonjes VEENSTRA. Haitian, 153-164.
- BAKKER, Peter, Norval SMITH, & Tonjes VEENSTRA. Saramaccan, 165-178.
- de ROOIJ, Vincent. Shaba Swahili, 179-190.
- POST, Marike. Fa d'Ambu, 191-203.
- KOUWENBERG, Silvia & Pieter Muysken. Papiamentu, 205-218.
- ADAMSON, Liliame & Norval SMITH. Sranan, 219-232.
- KOUWENBERG, Silvia. Berbice Dutch, 233-246.
- BAKKER, Peter, Marike POST, & Hein van der VOORT. TMA particles and auxiliaries, 247-258.
- BRUYN, Adrienne. Noun phrases, 259-270.
- MUYSKEN, Pieter & Norval SMITH. Reflexives, 271-288.
- MUYSKEN, Pieter & Tonjes VEENSTRA. Serial verbs, 289-302.
- VEENSTRA, Tonjes & Hans DEN BESTEN. Fronting, 303-318.
- ARENDS, Jacques, Pieter MUYSKEN, & Norval SMITH. Conclusions, 319-330.
- SMITH, Norval. An annotated list of creoles, pidgins, and mixed languages, 331-374.
- Créolistique et grammaire générative*, special issue of *Plurilinguismes* 8, 1994, contains the following papers:
- CALVET, Louis-Jean. Créolistique et grammaire générative: quels niveaux d'analyse?, i-xxii.
- CHAUDENSON, Robert. Comparatisme et méthode générative transformationnelle: le cas des études sur le créole haïtien, 1-20.
- FOURNIER, Robert & Henri WITTMAN. Le créole haïtien, langue kwa relexifiée: vérification d'une hypothèse 'P&P' ou élaboration d'astuces computationnelles?, 115-39.
- KIHM, Alain. Qu'est-ce qu'une théorie rationnelle de la formation des langues créoles?, 21-45.
- LEFEBVRE, Claire & John S. LUMSDEN. Le rôle central de la relexification dans la genèse des langues créoles (including an appendix of works published in the context of *La genèse du créole haïtien* project), 83-93.
- MUFWENE, Salikoko S. Genèse de population et genèse de langue, 95-113.
- Papia 3*(2), 1994, contained articles presented at the *Colóquio sobre Crioulos de Base Portuguesa e Espanhola*, held at the U. of Brasil on 3-6 September 1994. Its contents are listed in Chris CORNE's review article in this issue.
- Ethnic Groups 10*, 1993, contained the following articles on Caribbean creoles and their speakers:
- BLOT, Richard K. Language and social identity in the Caribbean: editor's introduction, 239-41.
- MENTORE, George. Alienating emotion: Literacy and Creolese in Grenada, 269-84.
- PULIS, John W. "Up-full sounds": Language, identity, and the world-view of Rastafari, 285-300.
- SCHNEPEL, Ellen M. The other tongue, the other voice: Language and gender in the French Caribbean, 243-68.
- BOLLÉE, Annegret & Ingrid NEUMANN-HOLZSCHUH. 1993. Pour une grammaire historique des créoles. In *Sprachwandel und Sprachgeschichte: Festschrift für Helmut Lüdtke zum 65 Geburtstag* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag), 9-21.
- BORISHADE, Adetokunbo. 1994. The Niger-Kordofanian linguistic bases of African American Ebonics: a creole language. *The Western Journal of Black Studies* 18, 1-10.
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- GREEN, Lisa. 1995. Study of verb classes in African American English. *Linguistics and Education* 7(1), 65-81.
- GUISAN, Pierre F. G. 1994. O "papiá kristang": traços específicos e problemas de pesquisa. In *Anais do III Congresso ASSEL-Rio* (Niterói: Instituto de Letras), 342-54.
- IRVINE, Alison. 1994. Dialect variation in Jamaican English: a study of the phonology of social group marking. *English World Wide* 15(1), 55-78.
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- LIPSKI, John M. 1993. *On the non-creole basis for Afro-Caribbean Spanish*. Research Paper Series, 24 (Albuquerque, New Mexico: Latin American Institute, U. of New Mexico).
- McWHORTER, John H. 1995. The scarcity of Spanish-based creoles explained. *Language in Society* 24, 213-44.

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1.2:6-15.

MBODJ, Chérif. 1991. A sketch of the Crioulo verb, 1.2:68-79.

MOLLICA, Maria Cecilia. 1994. Reassessing the creole base of Brazilian Portuguese, 3.2:110-115.

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PERL, Matthias. 1990. On the morphosyntax of the "Habla Bozal", 1.1:4-14.

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ROUGÉ, Jean-Louis. 1994. On the formation of the creole languages of Cabo Verde and Guinea, 3.2:137-149. (In

French.)

SCHWEGLER, Armin. 1994. San Basilio Palenque: African survival and problems of (self-) identification of sub-Saharan linguistic elements, 3.1:6-30.

THIELE, Petra. 1991. Caboverdiano: a creole language in conflict with the classic TMA system?, 1.2:49-56.

THIELE, Petra. 1994. On the grammaticalisation of repetitive and inchoative verbal periphrases in the creole languages of Cabo Verde and Príncipe, 3.2:150-161.

(My translations, with apologies for any errors.)

Many of the authors represented here are already well-known to CP readers, but a number are not (yet) household names. The quality of the articles in these first three volumes is generally high and deserving of a wide international audience, *Papia* providing a platform for work which may be seen as too specialised (in some sense) for other journals.

Nobody can accuse the other two specialised journals, *Etudes créoles* and *JPCL*, of not being open to work on any and all creoles (or pidgins), within their respective editorial policies, but there is inevitably a sort of linguistic ghettoisation which, one suspects, will become more acute as time goes by. *Etudes créoles* and its associated newsletter *Gazet sifon blé/Lavwa ka*

bay is addressed to, and read mainly by, Francophones. *JPCL* and *The Carrier Pidgin* to/by Anglophones. *Papia*, one fears, will not reach many whose Portuguese or Spanish is weak. And yet, as the titles given in the index show, there is plenty of useful grist here for a number of theoretical mills. We have yet to see a journal in this field whose major language is German, but given the high quality of some recent publications in German (Suzanne Michaelis' superb 1994 study of complex sentences in Seychelles Creole [Tübingen: Niemeyer] is one such that comes instantly to mind), can one be far away?

Such journals and newsletters are indeed bridges, but only if scholars, especially Anglophone and Francophone scholars, are prepared to make the effort to overcome the relatively minor barriers of language and thus stay at least more or less abreast of what is being published in other languages. Assuming that they are, *Papia* and the *BEC* are well worth subscribing to. Write to Departamento de Linguística, Universidade de Brasília, 70.910-900 Brasília, DF, Brazil, or e-mail the editor, Hildo H. do Couto:

hiho@guarany.cpd.unb.br



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POLLARD, Velma. 1994. *Dread Talk: The language of Rastafari*. Kingston, Jamaica: Canoe Press.

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YOUNG-DAVY, Belinda. 1994. Polyfunctional prepositions in Rama Cay Creole. *English World Wide* 15(1), 79-100.

YOUSSEF, Valerie. 1994. Copula in Trinidad Creole. *First Language* 14, 263-82.

NOTES & QUERIES, CONTINUED

RUPAIRE literary prizes to be awarded in works in prose written in any of the French-based creole languages. Prizes in odd-numbered years will be awarded for plays in creole; in even-numbered years for other types of prose work (fictional or nonfictional, but excluding short stories, for which, in the

future, it is hoped to arrange a separate competition). The first prize consists of a sum of not less than 10,000 francs (about 2,000 dollars at current rates of exchange). Publication of 300 copies of the work, plus (in the case of plays) a stage production of the winning piece. The runner-up will receive 300 copies of his or her work. Full details of the rules for this competition may be obtained from

Centre Dramatique Regional
Rue Carlos Finlay,
ex hospital civil—Ermitage,
97 200 Fort de France,
MARTINIQUE

to whom entries should be sent not later than October 30th for the 1995 competition. It is hoped that the institution of this prize (named after a popular Guadelupean poet and playwright) will encourage the development of a vigorous theatre and literature in creole-speaking areas; it is believed to be the world's first literary prize devoted exclusively to writing in creole.

Eh, wi laik no wat
yu ste wrking
awn laidæt,
so wai no rait tu as!

THE CARRIER PIDGIN

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CP Article

Early Saramaccan Texts in the Moravian Archives in Paramaribo, Herrnhut, and Utrecht

by Jacques Arends
University of Amsterdam

During a recent visit¹ (September 18-October 2, 1995) to the Archives of the *Evangelische Broedergemeente Suriname* (EBGS) in Paramaribo (Surinam), I 'discovered' a number of early Saramaccan texts dating from between 1778 and

1810.² I place the word discover between quotes since all these texts were mentioned more than thirty years ago by Voorhoeve and Doncie in their excellent bibliography of the Surinam creoles (Voorhoeve & Doncie 1963:3-4, 102, 106-9) as being located in 'Paramaribo' (without any further specification as to the exact location). In the early eighties a large part of the Moravian archival documents, which up to then had been dispersed over a number of different locations in Paramaribo, was transferred to the *Stadszending* ('Town Mission') building, where a room was equipped to

meet the criteria of a professional archive regarding temperature, humidity, fire risk, etc.; here the documents were stored in archival boxes. Quite surprisingly, nobody up to now, despite Voorhoeve and Doncie's work, capitalized on the availability of this large amount of early Saramaccan sources.

Unfortunately, the documents in the EBGS Archives cannot be easily accessed, since the information provided by their *Inventarislijsten* ('Inventory lists'), listing these documents with their original archival numbers and the numbers of the archival

(Continued on page 2)

Dr. Charlene J. Sato, 1951-1996

As many of you have already heard, Dr. Charlene Sato, creolist and former editor of this newsletter, died calmly and peacefully on January 28, 1996, after a ten-month struggle with ovarian cancer.

She was born June 25, 1951 in Lahaina, Maui, and grew up in Wahiawa, O'ahu. Educated at UC-Berkeley, the University of Hawai'i, and UCLA, she taught sociolinguistics and pidgin/creole studies at UH-Manoa for the past 14 years, and was Chair of the Ph.D. Program in Second Language Acquisition. A tireless fighter for social justice and the rights of working people, she was a supporter of LACASA, the People's Fund, and other Projects In Europe, Australia, and Japan, and an active member of the O'ahu General Membership Branch of the Industrial Workers of the World.

A longer obituary will appear in the next issue of the *Carrier Pidgin*.

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boxes where they are now stored, in a number of cases is incomplete and/or incorrect. This is all the more serious since these lists form the **only** access to the Archives' contents: there exists no other system, e.g. in the form of index cards or a computer file, relating the archival material to the boxes in which it is stored. In fact, only two out of the eleven documents listed below could be located using this list. The others were found by simply opening all relevant boxes and inspecting their contents. (This concerned some 250 boxes measuring some 25 meters of archival material in total; nine boxes were not available for inspection during my visit.) This way all Saramaccan documents mentioned by Voorhoeve and Donicie as being located in Paramaribo were found; with one exception³ all of these were photocopied. A complete list providing information regarding author, contents, and year of writing appears below. In addition, I encountered a large number of interesting early documents in Sranan, such as letters, *diaria*,⁴ and manuscript dictionaries and grammars, most of which are mentioned by Voorhoeve and Donicie. Due to the limited amount of time available, only some of these could be inspected.

As early as 1856, Moravian missionary H. R. Wullschlägel presented a survey of 'Moravian' texts in Sranan and Saramaccan (Wullschlägel 1856). As to the Saramaccan manuscripts, all those mentioned by Wullschlägel occur in the list below, but not vice versa. Not mentioned by Wullschlägel are items 3, 4, 10, 13, 14, and 15, while in the case of some other items (1 and 12, 2 and 16) it is not entirely clear to which version he refers; in the case of item 7, Wullschlägel only mentions the Epistles, not the Apocalypse. As is well known, Hugo Schuchardt (1914) published C. L. Schumann's (1778) manuscript dictionary of Saramaccan as well as I. L. Wietz's (1793) Saramaccan translation of part of the Acts of the Apostles (1-14:32). In 1961, Jan Voorhoeve

envisioned the publication of a number of volumes relating to early Sranan and Saramaccan. Among these were 'two historical lexicological studies ... based upon the old dictionaries of Schumann' (Voorhoeve 1961:106). While such a study was indeed devoted to Schumann's Sranan dictionary (Kramp 1983), his Saramaccan lexicographical work has remained largely unstudied.

For his edition of both Schumann's and Wietz's texts, Schuchardt worked from copies which were made for him especially for this purpose (Schuchardt 1914:44). As noted by Schuchardt (*ib.*), his edition of the Saramaccan dictionary is not completely identical to the copy made available to him: the German was corrected, redundant word definitions were cut down, and homonyms were distinguished as separate entries. In other cases, additions, e.g. regarding etymology, were inserted between square brackets. The original from which the copy used by Schuchardt was made is located in the EBGs archives in Paramaribo (item 1). Apart from this, at least one other copy (item 12), is known to exist. As noted by Stein and Perl (1995:52), this copy, which is located in the *Unitäts-Archiv* in Herrnhut (Germany), is different from the one used by Schuchardt. It would be interesting to compare these two versions of Schumann's Saramaccan dictionary with Schuchardt's edition (and, if still available, with the copy made for Schuchardt). Riemer's Saramaccan dictionary—recently published by Matthias Perl (1995)—, overlapping to a large extent with Schumann's but containing interesting differences and additions as well, should also be included in this comparison. Such a comparative approach would enable a thorough assessment of Schumann's extremely valuable lexicographical work on Saramaccan, as envisioned by Voorhoeve more than thirty years ago.

As to Schuchardt's diplomatic edition of Acts, the original from which his copy was made is now located in the Moravian Archives in Utrecht (item 17). However, as

FROM THE EDITOR

That a former student should predecease her teacher seems almost as counternatural an event as that a child should predecease her parent. The death of Charlene Sato, announced on our front page, is thus doubly distressing to me, and will be received with deep sadness by readers of this newsletter, which she edited so ably for several years. Our sincerest sympathies go out to her husband, Mike Long, to her parents and other relatives, and to her many friends and colleagues world-wide.

By a macabre coincidence, the newsletter itself may be in mortal straits. Mike Forman's chairmanship of the Linguistics Department and my forthcoming retirement from the University mean that the present editors will no longer be able to continue. Since no-one else in this university is available, the *Pidgin* must seek a new coop, but the search for a prospective host has so far proved unsuccessful. As the new, downsizing, cost-cutting disease sweeps like a plague through academia

(Continued on page 8)

noted earlier by Voorhoeve & Donicie (1963:108), the Paramaribo Archives contain an additional fragment (item 6) which is probably part of the same translation. This fragment contains Chapter 13:34-52 (rather than 34-35, as indicated by Voorhoeve and Donicie) and Chapter 14:1-28. According to Schuchardt (1914:1), the translation of Acts did not proceed beyond Chapter 14. As noted by Voorhoeve and Donicie (*ib.*), 'la publication de ce fragment qui manquait est très désirable.'

As regards all the Saramaccan texts located in Paramaribo, the first priority (apart from proper conservation), of course, is for them to be transcribed and stored on disk. Due to the size of the material—some 2000 manuscript pages—and the fact that transcriptions will have to be collated with the original manuscripts, this will take some time. The transcribed material, together with Saramaccan texts from Herrnhut and Utrecht that recently have been or are now in the process of being transcribed (see the list below), will serve to build up a corpus of early Saramaccan texts counting well over 500,000 words. Needless to say, such a corpus offers exciting possibilities for linguistic research from a number of different perspectives. One of these would be the comparative-diachronic investigation of Sranan and Saramaccan—two historically related 'deep' creole languages, one a classic plantation creole, the other a classic Maroon creole. To the extent that both Sranan and Saramaccan—whether this is justified or not—have been accorded the status of 'radical' creoles and as such play a crucial role in debates concerning creole genesis, these research possibilities seem to be of primary importance. In fact, two ongoing projects at the University of Amsterdam (one by Adrienne Bruyn, the other by the author) will include this material in their data bases. Apart from their linguistic value, these sources may also contain interesting material for scholars from other disciplines, such as historians and anthropologists.

What follows is a complete listing of all known early⁶ Saramaccan documents located in one of the three Moravian archives mentioned above. In each sub-list, the items are ordered chronologically according to year of writing. Data between square brackets refer to information that was inferred (either by Voorhoeve and Donicie or by the author) rather than provided in the manuscripts themselves. All items are manuscripts. Numbers of pages do not include front or back matter, such as indexes and tables of contents.

The physical state of the material and the legibility of the texts is generally good unless indicated otherwise. The number given under 'V&D' is the one mentioned in Voorhoeve & Donicie (1963); this work does not include the Herrnhut material listed here. As far as can be established now, all items, with the exception of item 15, were written/translated by Moravian missionaries, i.e. by non-native speakers of Saramaccan.

A List of Early Saramaccan Texts located in the Moravian Archives in Paramaribo, Herrnhut, and Utrecht⁶

Paramaribo:

1. *Saramaccanisch Deutsches Wörter-Buch* (Saramaccan-German dictionary); C. L. Schumann; 1778; 108 pp.; V&D 468.
2. *Oto va oure fri, Gado bi meki ko dem sombre* (Extract from the Old Testament); [C. L. Schumann]; [1778]; 120 pp.; V&D 492; physical state and legibility: very poor.
3. Letters and *diaria* from St. Croix, St. Thomas, Antigua, Barbados, and St. Kitts; Anon.; 1789-1792; 141 pp.; V&D IV, no. 17
4. Letters and *diaria* from Antigua, Labrador, and Greenland; Anon. 1791-1806; 39 pp.; V&D V, nos. 2-3.
5. *Die Geschichte unseres Herrn und Heilandes Jesu Christi aus den Vier Evangelien zusammengezogen* (Gospel Harmony)⁶; [I. L. Wietz]; [1792]; 261 pp.; V&D 494.
6. Acts of the Apostles 13:34-52; 14:1-28; [I. L. Wietz]; [1793]; 5 pp.; V&D I, no. 2a.
7. Epistles and Apocalypse; [I. L. Wietz?]; [c1795]; 351 pp.; V&D 495.
8. *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, part I (Christian doctrine); I. L. Wietz; [before 1797]; 299 pp.; V&D 498.
9. *Idea Fidei Fratrum*, part II (Christian doctrine); [I. L. Wietz]; [before 1797]; 302 pp.; V&D 499.
10. *Gesang Buch der frei Neger Gemeinde, in Neubambey d. 6te Apr. 1803* (Religious songs); Joh. Jacob Diffliff [originally by I. L. Wietz?]; 1803; 202 pp.; V&D 502; physical state and legibility: fair.
11. *Liturgien Buch zum gebrauch der Frey-Neger-Gemeine. Neu Bambey* (Liturgical texts); Anon.; [1810]; 140 pp.; V&D 503; physical state and legibility: fair.

CP Book Review

Early Suriname Creole Texts: A Collection of 18th Century Sranan and Saramaccan Documents

Jacques Arends and Matthias Perl
Vervuert Verlag (Frankfurt), 1995.

Reviewed by Derek Bickerton
University of Hawaii, Manoa

In a recent issue of the CP (23:1), I commented on the need for more historical studies of early creole societies. Equally important, if we are to expand this dimension of our field, is the availability of early creole texts, and the present volume makes a substantial and very welcome addition to what has hitherto been a sadly limited stock.

The collection contains texts of both Sranan and Saramaccan. The Sranan texts consist of Herlein (1718) (available elsewhere), Nepveu's corrections of Herlein (in a much fuller version than that of Voorhoeve & Lichtveld's *Creole Drum*), and Van Dyk's 1765 phrase-book, including a dramatic text ('The life and business of a Surinam plantation manager with the slaves on a coffee plantation,' pp. 165-239) which, with its rapid cinematic cuts, its floggings, rapes and murders, and its vivid dialogue, deserves a zingier title and is in itself well worth the price of admission. The Saramaccan texts consist of a dictionary by Johannes Andreas Riemer (roughly contemporary with Schumann's better-known one, and drawing heavily from it, but containing additional example sentences and grammatical material) as well as five pages of letters from Christianized Saramaka to their spiritual advisors.

In a brief review one cannot do more than pick on a few highlights of this rich and varied collection. In light of Arends' claim (in a recent review in JPCL) that 'more than half of the plantation owners [in 1737 Surinam] were of non-Dutch origin,' some of Van Dyk's dialogues (pp. 128-164), written less than three decades later, take on a new significance; sentences like 'What were people talking about when you left France?'

'Let my servant go with you, if you wish'

'Won't you have dinner with us?' were obviously for use between masters, not between masters and slaves. Given that Sranan was widely used as a lingua franca among the slave-owners themselves, then surely there should exist letters, contracts, court evidence, etc. in

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18th-century Sranan which have yet to be uncovered.

As for Riemer's dictionary, although Riemer lacked Schumann's sophistication and scholarship, a grammatical appendix to his work includes an analysis of the Saramaccan TMA system that brilliantly grasps the core facts:

'To indicate the present or present tense one places *tann* before the verb, *mi tann go*, 'I am going now,' *mi tann worko*, 'I work, I am working,'To express the simple past no word is placed before the verb, *mi go*, 'I went,' *mi worko* 'I worked,'The perfect tense is identical, but sometimes it is indicated by *bi*....But actually *bi* indicates the pluperfect, *mi bi go*, 'I had gone,' *mi bi worko*, 'I had worked,'The subjunctive mood is expressed by *bi* and *bi sa*....' (p. 374). That was over two hundred years ago, so how come creole studies got things so wrong for so long?

The Saramaccan letters are perhaps the earliest natively-written creole outside the Dutch Antilles. Arends points out that the letters show a high degree of contamination from Sranan, and notes with some surprise that the borrowings are often function words—something rare in languages generally, but less surprising when one considers the striking similarities between Sranan and Saramaccan grammars, even more marked then, perhaps, than today.

The book includes a general, and generally competent, introduction to the Sranan texts by Arends, which gave me only two disappointments. First, Arends fails to respond, negatively or positively, to my 1991 suggestion that the Herlein material was derived at least in part from non-native speakers. Second, he is perfectly willing to assume that the absence of predicate clefting from Weygand (1798) and early 19th-century texts is an 'artefact' (p. 49), but assumes without argument that its absence from Van Dyk (1765) means it didn't exist then! Why couldn't that be an 'artefact' too?

Perl's introduction to Riemer's dictionary is less fortunate; it manages to avoid giving the dictionary's date of publication, flatly contradicts itself within a space of seven lines ('It was presumably around 1652 that the first Negro slaves came to Surinam....In 1651 there were already some slaves who had fled to the hinterland,' pp. 243-44), and makes the preposterous claim that '57 percent of today's basic [Saramaccan] vocabulary originates from Portuguese.' (p. 244) At first I thought this was a typo, for back in 1972, George

Huttar found that the 200-word Swadesh list contained THIRTY-seven percent from Portuguese. But no, Perl really means it, using the 57 percent figure as a base for the claim that Saramaccan is a Romance language (uncoincidentally, he is a professor of Romanistik!).

Worse, he claims that his own studies 'which are based on dictionary entries show an even higher percentage of Portuguese vocabulary.' (ibid.) He doesn't say which dictionary he was using, but it sure wasn't the one he's introducing here. In an admittedly rough count of Riemer, I found 1,160 entries, of which about 226, by fairly generous criteria, derive from Portuguese—less than 20 percent!

However the reader should not be deterred by such lapses. As a whole, this book represents a worthwhile endeavor, and should be on the shopping list of everyone who takes a serious interest in the evolution of creole languages.



CONFERENCES, COURSES & LECTURES

The following papers were presented at the joint 1996 MEETING OF THE SOCIETY FOR PIDGIN AND CREOLE LINGUISTICS with the LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA, held January 5-6, 1996, at the Sheraton Harbor Island, San Diego, California.

ACETO, Michael. A new future tense marker emerges in the Panamanian West Indies.

BAO, Zhiming. Gaps in Singapore English and the substrate influence.

BAKKER, Peter. Mixed languages and their implications for pidgin and creole genesis.

BARTENS, Angela. Notes on compositional diffusion in the genesis of the Kabuverdianu cluster.

BRUYN, Adrienne. The origins of the relative clause marker *di*(*si*) in Sranan.

FIELD, Fred. Salience and semantic transparency in language mixing.

GILBERT, Glenn & Alicia SPIEGEL. The non-appearance of postvocalic *r* in the English-based New World creoles: a case of favored syncretism.

HOLM, John, et al. The creole verb: a comparative study of stativity and tense reference.

HOPKINS, Tometro. A look at the forms, functions, and meanings of the verb *do* in contemporary Gullah.

HUTTAR, George. Basic vocabulary: light from creoles.

LIPSKI, John. Chinese-Cuban Pidgin Spanish implications for the Afro-creole debate.

LUMSDEN, John. On the origin of functional category labels.

LACHARITÉ, Darlene & Jean WELLINGTON. The passive in Jamaican Creole: phonetically empty but syntactically active.

LANG, George. Chaos and creoles: towards a nonlinear creole dynamics de MACEDO, Alzira Tavares. Variation in the spoken Portuguese of the Xingu Park.

MANN, Charles. The tempo-aspectual system of Anglo-Nigerian pidgin.

MASUDA, Hirokuni. Verse analysis and its historical contribution to the study of creole discourse.

MCWHORTER, John. Tracing the birthplace of Atlantic English-based creoles: inductions from Suriname.

MUFWENE, Salikoko. Language ecology and creole genesis.

PASCH, Helma. How to define classical and non-classical pidgins and creoles.

RICKFORD, John. Copula absence and the question of prior creolization in AAVE.

RIVERA-CASTILLO, Yolanda. On the correlation between tone and stress.

ROBERTS, Julian. Formation of Hawaii Pidgin English and diffusion

SAMARIN, William. Semantic, tactic, and pragmatic changes in Sango's plural prefix.

SCHWEGLER, Armin. Evidence for the pidgin/creole origin of Caribbean Spanish: (Afro-)Portuguese pronouns in (Black) American Spanish dialects.

TAGLIAMONTE, Sali, Shana POPLACK, Ejike EZE. Nigerian Pidgin English *don*: PERFECT or what?

WILLIAMS, Jeffery. Aspects of the grammatical structure of Yimas-Alamblak Pidgin.

WINFORD, Donald. TMA in a radical creole: The case of Sranan.

Kate GREEN presented a paper entitled "Non-Standard Dominican Spanish: Evidence of Partial Restructuring" at the CUNY Fall Linguistics Program Conference, October 20, 1995. On October 26, Arthur SPEARS spoke on African American Vernacular English at the CUNY Colloquium. His paper was entitled "Grammar and Ideology: Uncensored Speech."

Upcoming Conferences

Philip BAKER informs us that the THIRD WESTMINSTER CREOLISTICS WORKSHOP will be held on March 29-31, 1996 at the U. of Westminster, London. A

special feature of this workshop will be papers devoted to the analysis of a collection of hitherto unknown English-lexicon Creole texts from St. Kitts in the 1780s, and to the assessment of their significance for the genesis and evolution of other Atlantic Creoles (including those of differing lexical bases). These texts, together with a selection of the papers presented at the workshop will be edited by Baker and Nevile SHRIMPSON, and will be published as volume 4 in the Westminster Creolistics series towards the end of 1996. While the St. Kitts texts are to be the main focus of the coming workshop, it is hoped that it will include a number of papers on a range of other topics.

Those expected to attend include Dany ADONE, Jacques ARENDS, Derek BICKERTON, Adrienne BRUYN, Hans DEN BESTEN, Anthony GRANT, Ian HANCOCK, Magnus HUBER, Alain KIHIM, John LADHAMS, Robert LE PAGE, John McWHORTER, Peter MÜHLHÄUSLER, Dudley NYLANDER, Mikael PARKVALL, Ingo PLAG, Neville SHRIMPSON, Norval SMITH, Peter STEIN, Anand SYEA, Sali TAGLIAMONTE, and Tonjes VEENSTRA.

For further information, please contact Baker at the U. of Westminster, School of Languages, 9-18 Euston Centre, London, NW1 3ET.

The FIRST CONFERENCE ON LANGUAGE CONTACT WITH REFERENCE TO SPANISH, PORTUGUESE, AND CATALAN will be held on April 19-21, 1996, at San Jose State University. At a general session papers relating to language contact between Spanish, Portuguese, and Catalan and other languages will be presented. A special session follows which will emphasize four areas of research: (1) The influence of English on Spanish and Portuguese in the United States and the role played by the media; (2) Dialect interrelationship, contact, and convergence among speakers of either Spanish or Portuguese in the United States; (3) The linguistic effect of Spanish on English and on the indigenous languages in the United States; (4) The maintenance and promotion of Spanish, Portuguese, and Catalan in the United States.

Please contact Juan Sempere, Dept. of Foreign Languages, Sweeney Hall, San Jose State University, San Jose, CA 95192-0091, for further information.

If yu wen muv o yu
wen cheinj yaw æjres,
go let as no, æh.

SHORT NOTES

Dominican Spanish: A Creole Past?

by John Holm
City University of New York

Recent fieldwork in the Dominican Republic has revealed a previously unrecorded creole-like past-tense construction in the vernacular Spanish spoken outside the capital, Santo Domingo. Kate GREEN, a doctoral student at the City University of New York on a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation, found that two brothers in San Cristóbal use *a* as a TMA marker before a reduced infinitive (without *-r*), e.g. *Sí, a pendé un fóforo*, 'Yes, I took a match.'

While this is quite unlike the standard Spanish past (e.g. *Sí, prendí un fóforo*), it is very similar to constructions in Palenquero Creole Spanish (e.g. *Yo a desf-le ...* 'I told him...') and Papiamentu CS (e.g. *Mi a kumpra un kas* 'I bought a house').

In the Dominican construction, the reduced infinitive varies with a reduced past participle, e.g. *Yo a mirao un joyo* 'I saw a hole' (cf. *S ha mirado* '[s/he] has looked at'). Green is focusing on this and other areas of morphosyntax in her dissertation, 'Evidence of restructuring in nonstandard Dominican Spanish.'



Further Evidence of Madagascar Pidgin English

by J. L. Dillard
Shawnee State University
Portsmouth, Ohio

In support of Ian HANCOCK's observation of the use of Pidgin English in Madagascar (CP 23(2), 4), the following could be cited from W. F. W. Owen's *Narrative of Voyages to Explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia, and Madagascar...*, published in 1833 by J. and J. Harper (pp. 55-6):

'Wat ship dat; me speakee you cappen for king Bahbah, greatee king, all de sam king Zhorje (George); Franshee ship, Englise ship—you friendee me, me friendee you; you trentee me (trade with), me trentee you; you presentee me (make a present), me presentee you; me no little boy, grandee man, souljer (soldier) for king Bahbah....'

'Me, Tom Brahvah, you sabbee Tom Brahvah; Tom Brahvah speake you cappen; Tom Brahvah no little boy, no

fisherman, governor (a chief) for king Bahbah...Speakee! Tom Brahvah come, he come!'

A Lieutenant Boteler of the same expedition kept a parallel log which has been published. There is much Pidgin English in Boteler's version, which often differs somewhat from that of Owen. Unfortunately, Boteler's book is not now available to me.



Midweek Mystery Solved

by Anthony P. Grant
Department of Modern Languages
University of Bradford, UK
apgrant@bradford.ac.uk

In response to the question posed in the January-April edition of the Carrier Pidgin about the etymology of Papiamentu *djarasón*, *djárason* 'Wednesday,' I would like to thank Philippe MAURER and Gerardo LORENZINO for providing the answer.

The term is from Dutch *rantsoen* 'ration' or more probably Spanish *día de ración* 'ration day,' Wednesday being the day on which rations were given out during the era of slavery in the Netherlands Antilles. Portuguese *ração* 'ration' would also give **rasón*.

Dr. Maurer pointed out that this etymology is to be found in *Ensayo pa yega na un ortografa mas uniforme pa nos Papiamentu* [Essay towards a more uniform orthography for our Papiamentu] by the eminent scholar of Papiamentu, Antonio Maduro. This work was published in 1953 by Drukkerij Scherpenhevel.

Thank you to everyone who responded to the query.



CP Article, CONTINUED

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Herrnhut:

12. [Untitled]⁹ (Saramaccan dictionary); C. L. Schumann; [no date]¹⁰; 80 pp.
13. *Verse in der Saramacka-Neger-Sprache* (Religious songs and liturgical texts); C. L. Schumann; 1779; 49 pp.
14. *Wörter-Buch zur Erlernung der Saramacka-Neger-Sprache* (Saramaccan dictionary); Joh. And. Riemer; [no date]; 76 pp.

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15. *Briefe von Eingeborenen* (Letters from natives)¹¹; Christian Grego and Johannes Alabi; 1790-1818; 15 pp.

Utrecht:

16. *Oto va oure fri Gado bi meki ko sombre* (Extract from the Old Testament); Andreas Christoph Randt; 1791; 112 pp.; V&D 493.
17. *Die Apostel Geschichte in Die Saramakka Neger-Sprache Uebersetzt durch Br. Wietz. Revedirt und Abgeschrieven 1805* (Acts of the Apostles); I. L. Wietz; [1793]; 60 pp.; V&D 496.

Notes

1 The research reported in this paper is financed by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO), whose support is hereby gratefully acknowledged. I am grateful to the archivist of the Moravian Archives in Paramaribo, Ms. H. Doelwijt, and her assistants, Brother C. Hasselnookh and Ms. L. Bruinendaal, as well as to the secretary of the *Stadszending*, Sister Laetitia, for their assistance.

2 In contrast to what is the case of Sranan, the flow of Saramaccan sources comes to a half in the first half of the 19th century, when the Moravians switched from Saramaccan to Sranan in their communication with Saramaccans (Wulfschlägel 1856:287).

3 The exception is item 2 in the list below. This is the text which, out of the five manuscripts mentioned by Wulfschlägel (1986) which were never seen by Schuchardt, especially aroused his interest (Schuchardt 1914:1). The reason for not photocopying this item is its extremely fragile physical state, which demands its proper conservation before any scientific use can be made of it. Fortunately, a text with the same title, probably a corrected copy of the 1778 version, made by Andreas Christoph Randt (Voorhoeve & Donicie 1963:107), is located in the Moravian Archives in Utrecht (item 16 in the list above).

4 *Diaria* are reports on daily events in Moravian missionary areas.

5 Two early Saramaccan items which were mentioned by Dekker & Leeuwenberg (1978, Appendix III) as being located in the Moravian Archives in Paramaribo (before the transfer to the Stadszending building) have not been found. One is a diary, partly written in Saramaccan. The other is a translation of Genesis from 1776, which may be identical to item 2. This supposition is based on the fact that the archival

number accompanying 'Genesis 1776' in Inventarislijst V (number H III A 11(10)) belongs to item 2. Also the words 'Aus Genesis 1776' are written on the cover containing item 2, which item (as far as can be assessed) does indeed contain extracts from the book of Genesis. The possibility remains, of course, that a translation of Genesis was indeed made in 1776, which has subsequently disappeared.

6 The Moravian Archives in Bethlehem (Pennsylvania) are not included in this survey, since they do not seem to contain any material related to the Surinam creoles (Hinskens 1995:88-89).

7 According to Voorhoeve & Donicie (1963:4), this item contains 154 instead of 141 pages. As it was found by the author, the title page of this manuscript is missing; also, it does not contain letters and/or *diaria* sent from North America, as suggested by the title given by Voorhoeve and Donicie.

8 A 'Gospel Harmony' is a compilation from the four Gospels.

9 As noted above, this copy is not the one edited by Schuchardt, which is entitled *Saramaccanisch Deutsches Wörter-Buch* (item 1). Wulfschlägel (1856:287) refers to a (1778) copy of Schumann's Saramaccan dictionary as *Wörterbuch der Saramacca-Negersprache*; this might very well be the copy which is now located in Hermhut.

10 As mentioned in the preceding note, Wulfschlägel refers to what is probably this item as having been written in 1778.

11 This item also contains letters written by Amerindians (as well as some by Sranan speakers), either in the original or in their Dutch or German translations or both.

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- DILLARD, J. L. 1992. *A history of American English* (London: Longman). Reviewed by Michael ACETO, 203-8.
- HALL, Neville. 1992. *Slave society in the Danish West Indies: St. Thomas, St. John, & St. Croix* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U. Press). Reviewed by Robin SABINO, 197-201.
- MACEDO, Donaldo & Dale KOIKE. 1992. *Romance linguistics: The Portuguese context* (Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey). Reviewed by J. Clancy CLEMENTS, 189-96.



REVIEW NOTICES

Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages 10 (1), 1994, contains the following review notices:

SUTCLIFFE, David & John FIGUEROA. 1992. *System in Black language* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters). Reviewed by Salikoko MUFWENE, 208-12.

TAYLOR, Hanni. 1989/1991. *Standard English, Black English, and bidialectalism: a controversy* (New York: Peter Lang). Reviewed by Geneva SMITHERMAN & Elaine RICHARDSON, 213-8.

TOURNEUX, Henry & Maurice BARBOTIN (with the collaboration of Marie-Huberte TANCONS). 1990. *Dictionnaire pratique du créole de Guadeloupe (Marie-Galante), suivi d'un index français-créole* (Paris: Karthala, Agences de Coopération Culturelle et Technique). Reviewed by Morris GOODMAN, 187-9.

PUBLICATIONS

Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages 10(1), 1995, contains the following articles and letters:

BONNIOL, Jean-Luc. Review article of *Culture(s) empirique(s) et identité(s) à la Réunion* (Daniel BAGGIONI & Martine MATHIEU, eds., 1985, Saint Denis de la Réunion: Publication de l'Université de la Réunion), *Cuisines/identités* (Daniel BAGGIONI & Jean-Claude Capranin MARIMOUTOU, eds., 1988, Saint Denis de la Réunion: Publication de l'Université

de la Réunion), *Formes-sens/identités* (Jean-Claude Capranin MARIMOUTOU & Daniel BAGGIONI, eds., 1989, Saint Denis de la Réunion: Publication de l'Université de la Réunion), 177-85.

CORNE, Chris. *Nana k nana, nana k napa*: the paratactic and hypotactic relative clauses of Reunion Creole, 57-76.

DILLARD, J. L. [letter], 219-220.

LANGNER-BURNS, Heidi. [letter], 220-1.

ROBERTS, Julian. Pidgin Hawaiian: a sociohistorical study, 1-56.

ROBERTS, Julian. Misuse of documentary sources [letter], 221-3.

SABINO, Robin. [letter], 223.

SINGH, Rajendra & Pieter MUYSKEN. Wanted: A debate in pidgin/creole phonology, 157-69.

WILLIAMS, Jeffrey. A note on the pronominal system of Arafundi-Enga Pidgin, 171-5.

WINER, Lise. *Penny Cuts*: Differentiation of creole varieties in Trinidad, 1904-1906, 127-55.

WYLIE, Jonathan. The origins of Lesser Antillean French Creole: some literary and lexical evidence, 77-126.

Amsterdam Creole Studies 12, 1995, contained the following articles:

ACETO, Michael. Epenthesis in Saramaccan: a non-linear approach with implications for the Atlantic creoles, 19-32.

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NOTES & QUERIES

Anthony GRANT (U. of Bradford) and Ian HANCOCK (U. of Texas-San Austin) have been appointed editors of the projected Intercontinental Dictionary Series volume on Creole languages.

Under the General Editorship of Professor Mary Ritchie KEY, the IDS is a multi-volume work which seeks to document a significant segment of the vocabulary of a large number of non-European languages. The work centers on a wordlist of about 1300 items, together with salient structural and sociolinguistic information (about 20 double-spaced pages). A standard alphabet is used throughout the work. The benefits of this work for cross-creole comparisons, studies of parallels in calquing across creoles with different

lexifiers, and the examination of the composition of the creole lexicon of creoles with a mixed lexicon, are easily understood.

Naturally this work is only as good as the sum of its parts. This is a kind of work about which people interested in cross-creole work have long been dreaming. We are interested in contributions (completed wordlists and language sketches) not only for creoles with any lexifier, whether they are alive or dead, but also for stable and expanded pidgins, and stable mixed languages. Examples of the types of languages which we (and presumably you!) would like to see covered are: Guyanese Creole English, Saramaccan, Guadeloupean, Angolar, Ambonese Malay, Lingala, Hiri Motu, Michif, etc. There is an upper limit of 80 languages. We hope that some of the material in this dictionary will represent the first extensive published lexical coverage of some of the languages.

Interested contributors have until 1999 to file their contributions. In the first instance they should contact:

Professor Mary Ritchie Key
Department of Linguistics
University of California—Irvine
Irvine, CA 92717

who will furnish blank wordlists and other details. Please notify Professor Hancock via his e-mail address (xulaj@mail.utexas.edu) in order to let the editors know of your interest and willingness to contribute to their volume.

Virginia Mixson GERATY has been awarded the honorary degree Doctor of Humane Letters by the Board of Trustees of the College of Charleston, Charleston, South Carolina.

This degree is in recognition of her efforts to preserve the Gullah language, including a Gullah/English dictionary soon to be published and *Porgy—A Gullah Version*, which has been videotaped for broadcast by South Carolina Educational Television.



FROM THE EDITOR, CONTINUED

(guess we caught it from the business world—shows the foolishness of consorting with those *!@%\$#s), I hear even JPCL is in trouble, so the chances anyone has personnel resources for the *Pidgin* seem low. If you have a vacant coop, or even a temporary perch, please contact me a.s.a.p., my email address is derek@hawaii.edu. PLEASE SAVE THE PIDGIN!

—DB

**Yu ste sabskraib o wat?
Chrai rid peij 7!**

THE CARRIER PIDGIN

Dept. of Linguistics, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa
1890 East-West Road
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