



The Carrier Pidgin

A newsletter for those interested in pidgin and creole languages

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Obituary

Charlene Junko Sato (1951-1996)

by Suzanne Romaine
Merton College
Oxford University

Charlene Sato, known to her friends and colleagues as 'Charlie,' died peacefully

on January 28, 1996, after a ten-month struggle with ovarian cancer. Charlie was born June 25, 1951, in Lahaina, Maui, and grew up in Wahiawa, on O'ahu. She was a graduate of Leilehua High School, the University of California—Berkeley (B.A. in Linguistics, 1973), the University of Hawai'i at Manoa (M.A. in English as a Second Language, 1977; M.A. in Linguistics, 1978), and UCLA (Ph.D. in Applied

Linguistics, 1985). She taught courses in second language acquisition, sociolinguistics, and pidgin and creole studies at UH-Manoa for the past 14 years, and was Chair of the Ph.D. Program in Second Language Acquisition

Many readers of the Carrier Pidgin knew her in her capacity as editor from 1989-1993. Yet the study of pidgin and creole languages, especially Hawai'i Creole English (HCE), was only one of her professional interests. Others know her for her work on second language acquisition, particularly interlanguage development, the topic of a book published in 1990 (*The*

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Charlene Sato (left) demonstrating in 1991 at the Davies Pacific Center, Honolulu (Photo Credit: Mike Long).

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EDITORIAL BOARD

Established in 1973, *The Carrier Pidgin* is published three times a year at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. For subscription information, see page 7. For advertising rates, write to the Editor at: Dept. of Linguistics, Univ. of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 1890 East-West Rd., Honolulu, Hawai'i 96822 USA. Phone (808)956-8602. FAX (808) 956-9166. E-Mail forman@hawaii.edu

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(Continued from page 1)

Syntax of Conversation in Interlanguage Development. Tübingen: Gunter Narr).

She was also interested in narrative, literacy, and language education in multilingual settings.

Charlie was one of a handful of scholars who devoted their academic careers to the study of English in Hawai'i. All of them are unfortunately now dead: Elizabeth Carr [whose obituary also appears in this issue--ed.], John Reinecke, and Stanley Tsuzaki. Like Reinecke, a school teacher and union organizer, whom she greatly admired, Charlie was a political activist. She co-authored with Aiko Reinecke a tribute to John Reinecke's life and work which appeared in the memorial volume dedicated to him (Sato 1987). In it one can see many similarities in the issues and causes that shaped her life.

A tireless fighter for social justice and the rights of working people, Charlie 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 (the Wobblies). It therefore seemed most appropriate to include the above photograph of Charlie (provided by her husband, Mike Long), which shows her at a demonstration in 1991.

Charlie's special contribution to the study of HCE lay in her emphasis on the role it played in local identity and culture in the face of opposing views which continue to label it 'broken English.' She offered testimony to the Board of Education when it formulated its controversial policy to make standard English the only language allowed in the classroom, in effect banning the use of 'pidgin.' Charlie wrote of the 1987 events: "Never before in Hawai'i's history has such a diversity of voices been raised, in a formal institutional setting, in the defense of Hawai'i Creole English." (Sato 1991a:139)

Her own voice was among the loudest and clearest. The Board recanted and, after a long delay, adopted a statement

which merely "encouraged" the modeling of standard English by teachers and staff members in the Department of Education. The issue is by no means dead, however.

During the same week that the policy was being debated, HCE went on trial in the form of a federal lawsuit filed by three National Weather Service employees in Honolulu against the US National Weather Service on grounds of discrimination on the basis of race and national origin. The men, who were of Japanese-American and part-Hawaiian-American background, claimed their applications had been rejected due to bias against their local accents. The NWS said they had hired Caucasians with mainland accents because they "sounded better," despite the fact that these men were less experienced and had far less training than the plaintiffs. After analyzing the men's speech, Charlie gave testimony to show that they in fact spoke standard Hawai'i English (see Sato 1991b for discussion).

As far as her more academic contribution to the study of HCE is concerned, one of Charlie's key articles addressed the topic of decreolization. Indeed, this was the subject of a National Science Foundation grant she directed from 1987 to 1990 entitled, "A longitudinal study of individual decreolization." Charlie was also planning a book on the topic (to be called *Language Variation and Change in Hawai'i*) which unfortunately was still in the early stages of planning when she died.

In the four or five years before her death she was also actively engaged in the study of discourse in HCE. At the time of her death Charlie was involved in drafting a document about language policy in Hawai'i, inspired by developments in Australia. This followed on from the highly successful conference she helped organize in October 1994 on Language Rights in Hawai'i. She also was in the process of writing a state of the art review of developments in second language acquisition which was to appear in the *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* XV.

FROM THE EDITOR

To date, no knight in shining armor has ridden to the rescue of our newsletter. Maybe newsletters don't have the appeal of young maidens. And this Pidgin is no spring chicken—it's been flapping around for nearly a quarter of a century.

I hate to say it, but barring some nail-biting, cliffhanging finale, this really could be THE END. In which case, all you good folk who have trusted us by paying up front will be reimbursed. The Pidgin is not insolvent, far from it. No pauper, it. Slain not by rising costs but by the demise of volunteerism. The thousand points of light just went out, looks like. And with JPCL now definitely denied a second graduate assistant (and also on the rocks if it can't raise another \$7,200 per year), the future for creolists looks dim indeed.

Maybe we'll do it all on the Web, or the Net, or whatever. But it won't be quite the same, will it? I'll miss the old bird—(better stop this, before I get too sentimental)....

-DB

Our field is richer for not only her academic research and publications, but also for her political engagement on behalf of speakers of pidgin and creole languages. Some of us are very fortunate to know her as both colleague and friend. At the same time as she has inspired us, she has also influenced and encouraged a generation of younger scholars in her role as teacher/mentor, particularly through her establishment of a course on pidgins and creoles at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa. She was nominated for the university's Excellence in Teaching Award in 1985, 1986, 1987, and 1989. Charlie also played an active role in promoting the use and further development of pidgins and creoles in the public domain in the widest sense. She encouraged and contributed much to the local literary movement in Hawai'i, particularly through her promotion of writers who used Hawai'i Creole English in their work. Through her publications, workshops, and related professional activities, she influenced many people who never had the chance to meet her. One teacher wrote to me: "Although I never met her I feel as if I do know and love her through her writings. She has been an inspiration to me, opening my mind and eyes to new possibilities in the field of education, and closer to home, in my own classroom."

During her illness, Charlie received hundreds of messages of support around the world. Her memorial service on February 10, 1996 was attended by hundreds. Various projects are already underway or are currently being planned to help commemorate Charlie and to continue her work, including a volume of papers edited by John Rickford and Suzanne Romaine: *Creole Genesis, Sociohistory, and Aesthetics: A Celebration of Charlene J. Sato* (publisher to be announced). Two funds have been set up with her approval and for purposes specified by her. The first will help support students doing work on any aspect—linguistic, social, educational, artistic or political—of Hawai'i Creole English. The second will help women members' participation in the IWW. Those wishing to do so may donate to either or both. For the former, checks should be made payable to "UH Foundation" (mentioning the Charlene Sato Memorial Fund), and sent to the University of Hawai'i Foundation, P.O. Box 11270, Honolulu, HI, 96828, USA. For the latter, checks should be made payable to "IWW" (mentioning the Charlie Sato Memorial Fund), and sent to Industrial Workers of the World, 103 West Michigan Avenue, Ypsilante, Michigan, 48197-5438, USA.

In the following short bibliography I have listed only those of Charlie's publications which concerned pidgin and creole languages. A more complete listing of her works and professional activities will appear in the edited collection by Rickford and Romaine.

Key Publications on Pidgins & Creoles

- 1985. Linguistic inequality in Hawaii: the post-Creole dilemma. In Nessa Wolfson & Joan Manes, eds. *Language of Inequality* (Berlin: Mouton Publishers), 255-72.
- 1987 [jointly with Aiko Reinecke]. John E. Reinecke: His life and work. In Glenn G. Gilbert, ed. *Pidgin and Creole Languages: Essays in Memory of John Reinecke* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press), 255-72.
- 1989a. Language attitudes and sociolinguistic variation in Hawaii. *University of Hawaii Working Papers in ESL* 8(1), 191-216.
- 1989b. A nonstandard approach to standard English. *TESOL Quarterly* 22, 259-82.
- 1991a. Language change in a creole continuum: Decreolization? *University of Hawaii Working Papers in ESL* 10(1), 127-47.
- 1991b. Sociolinguistic variation and language attitudes in Hawaii. In Jenny Cheshire, ed. *English Around the World: Sociolinguistic Perspectives* (Cambridge: CUP), 647-63.
- 1993. Language change in a creole continuum: Decreolization? In Kenneth Hyttenstam & Åke Viberg, eds. *Progression and Regression in Language: Sociocultural, Neuropsychological, and Linguistic Dimensions* (Cambridge: CUP),

NOTE: I am grateful to Mike Long for providing me with some of the background information and the photograph for this obituary.



Obituary

Elizabeth Carr Holmes (1901-1995)

by Julian M. Roberts
University of Hawaii

Elizabeth Carr Holmes died on December 17, 1995 at the age of 94. Holmes is well-known for her work on the varieties of English spoken in Hawai'i, particularly Hawai'i Creole English. Born in Oklahoma, she arrived in Hawaii in 1935 and soon thereafter worked as a speech

teacher at the Territorial Department of Public Instruction. In 1943 she joined the University of Hawaii Department of English, and four years later accepted a position in the Department of Speech. She received her Ph.D. in speech from Louisiana State University in 1953 and later became a charter member of the University of Hawai'i Foundation.

Unlike many of her peers, Holmes recognized HCE as a language worthy of description and analysis. In the 1960s she produced phonetic transcriptions of pidgin and creole speech and compiled a short lexicon of "typical island expressions." Her fieldwork spanned over 35 years. She argued that HCE had evolved into a unique dialect of English, well beyond the "pidgin" stage of the pidgin/creole life cycle. She highlighted its transition from less structured types of English to more structured ones and contextualized these changes within pre- and post-creole continua. She believed that decreolization progressed rather "explosively" since Hawai'i was granted statehood in 1959. Her ideas and analyses were published in Carr (1972).

She wrote: "The author has most particularly attempted to point out that there are reasonable explanations for the structure of the nonstandard types of Hawai'i's English and that divergences can by no means be ascribed to 'carelessness.'" (Carr 1972:169)

Holmes also assisted script writers for the film adaptation of James Michener's "Hawaii" in composing the appropriate pidgin and creole dialogue.

The following bibliography lists her contributions to creolistics:

Key Publications on Pidgins & Creoles

- 1946. Territorial planning for better speech. *Hawaii Educational Review*, 34, 178-81.
- 1960. A recent chapter in the history of the English language in Hawaii. *Social Process in Hawaii*, 24, 54-62.
- 1961a. Bilingual speakers in Hawaii today. *Social Process in Hawaii*, 25, 53-57.
- 1961b. The fiftieth state: New dimensions for studies in speech. *The Speech Teacher*, 10, 283-90.
- 1971. The English language in Hawaii. In Dell Hymes, ed., *Pidginization and creolization of languages; proceedings of a conference held at the University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica, April 1968* (Cambridge: CUP), 411-2.
- 1972. *Da Kine Talk: From Pidgin to Standard English*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.



SPCL News

Minutes of the SPCL Business Meeting
San Diego, January 6, 1996
by Armin Schwegler, Secretary-Treasurer

CALL TO ORDER

President John SINGLER called the meeting to order at 4:30 p.m. Approximately 30 members of the SPCL were present.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT AND UPCOMING MEETINGS

Singler opened the meeting and noted that the minutes of last year's meeting would not be read at this business meeting since they were published in the *Carrier Pidgin*. In 1997 the Society will hold two meetings. The first one (not the annual meeting) is planned for January 3-4, 1997, and will be held in Chicago in conjunction with the annual LSA meeting. Following the Amsterdam model, the annual SPCL meeting will be held at the University of Westminster in London in June 26-28, 1997. The year after the Society will again have a joint annual meeting with the LSA (to be held in New York Jan. 9-10th 1998).

John HOLM mentioned that the 1994 meeting in Georgetown was the first joint meeting of the SPCL and the Society for Caribbean Languages (SCL). It is hoped that the SPCL will be able to host the SCL in some way at the New York meeting.

SECRETARY-TREASURER'S REPORT

Armin SCHWEGLER, Secretary-Treasurer, presented the 1995 Annual Financial Report. He noted that the financial situation of the Society remains stable, and that the current account balance is approximately \$3100.00.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Two candidates - Michel DEGRAFF and George HUTTAR - were nominated for the position of Executive member at large. DeGraff was elected, then Huttar was elected unanimously to complete DeGraff's term on the Nominations Committee. (Huttar will serve for one year).

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)
Jacques Arends (officer at large until 1997)

Salikoko Mufwene (officer at large until 1999)
Michel de Graff (Officer at large until 2000)
Glenn Gilbert (ex officio as JPCL editor)

SUPPORT FOR JPCL

Following up on a suggestion made by the Executive Committee, Singler proposed that a letter be sent to Southern Illinois University in Carbondale to thank them for the continued financial support of the journal (their current support amounts to approximately \$20,000.00 per year; the funds are used mostly to hire two half-time editorial assistants). He also suggested that SPCL make a one-time contribution in the amount of \$500.00 to JPCL to defray publications expenses incurred at the Carbondale office. Both motions were approved unanimously.

John RICKFORD suggested that means be developed by which individuals could make donations to the Society. It was proposed that such donations be invited on the order form of the journal. Donations would be used for the following: (1) journal support, (2) membership for SPCL members residing in countries with currency restrictions, (3) other activities that might strengthen the journal or Society.

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NOTES & QUERIES

Pieter MUYSKEN informs us that creole studies at the U. of Amsterdam are alive and well, with the completion of dissertations by Adrienne BRUYN, Tonjes VEENSTRA, and Vincent DE ROOIJ and ongoing work by Marike POST on Fa d'Ambu and Lilian ADAMSON on arguments and binding in Sranan. A new focus of research at the U. of Amsterdam is creole first language acquisition; Cheraldine OSEPA (Curaçao) and Rocky MEADE (Kingston) are starting longitudinal dissertation research this summer, which will also involve the setting up of extensive databases in CHILDES if they receive appropriate funding. Muysken himself has been busy assisting Cefas van ROSSEM and Hein van der VOORT, editors of the book *Die Creol Tael: 250 Years of Negerhollands Texts*.

Throughout the summer of 1995, Donald WINFORD conducted fieldwork in Belize, collecting 31 hours of tape recordings of natural speech in Bermudian Landing and neighboring villages (a rural area some 30 miles west north west of Belize City) and in a working class area of Belize City itself. This research is supported by an ongoing NSF-funded project on the TMA systems of Sranan and Belize Creole. Most of the transcriptions are now completed for Sranan, and about half for Belize. Winford is currently preparing translations of the Sranan data.

Mikael PARKVALL is busily preparing a site on the World Wide Web for creole texts and bibliographies. Originally proposed at the Westminster Creole Workshop in March, the site is currently under construction and can be accessed at <http://www.ling.su.se/creole>.

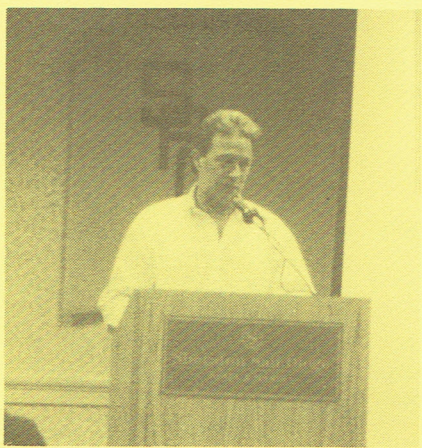
Robin SABINO has informed us of the forthcoming book *Language Variety in the South Revisited*, edited by Cynthia BERNSTEIN and T. NUNNALLY. It will contain 38 articles; the first third of the book will be of interest to creolists working on African-American varieties. It will be published by U. of Alabama Press.

The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada is funding a research project (Sali TAGLIAMONTE and Shana POPLACK, principal investigators) entitled, "From Synchrony to Diachrony in the Evolution of African American Vernacular English." The project, which commenced last year, is funded until 1999.

George LANG reports that his book project, *Entwisted Tongues: Creoles, Creolists, and Literature*, which examines the emergence of creole literature in Cape Verde, Suriname, Curaçao, and the French Caribbean, should be finished relatively soon.

A book on Afro-Hispanic language varieties is in the works, edited by Matthias PERL and Armin SCHWEGLER. Contributors will be: John HOLM, Alan BAXTER, German DE GRANDA, John LIPSKI, William MEGENNEY, Philippe MAURER, Heliana DE MELLO, Gerardo LORENZINO, Enrique OBEDIENTE, Alexandra ALVAREZ, Armin SCHWEGLER and Matthias PERL. The book will consist of several parts: Popular Spanish in the Caribbean, Popular Portuguese in Brazil, Palenquero, Papiamentu, Habla Bozal and a general introduction to Black varieties of Spanish and Portuguese in America. The publisher will be Vervuert (Frankfurt/Main-Madrid). Perl expects the book to be completed by the end of the year.

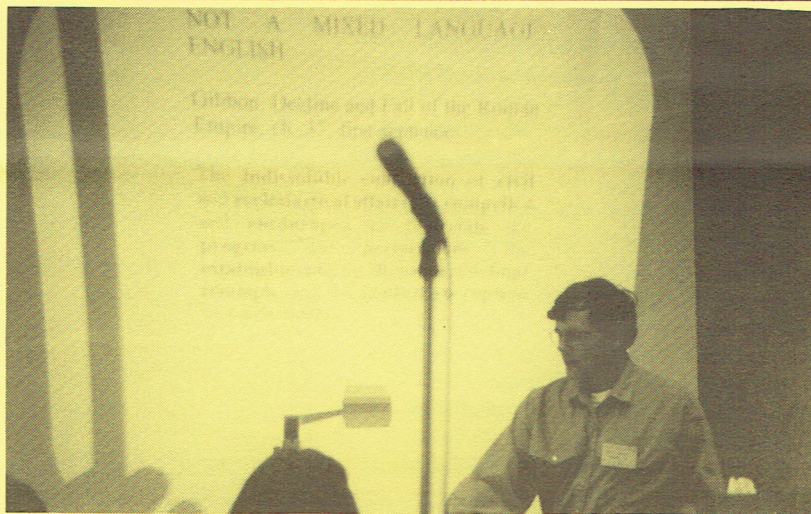
*Society for Pidgin & Creole Linguistics Annual Meeting
San Diego, California
January 5-6, 1996*



George LANG speaking on chaos theory and creoles (Photo Credit: Julian Roberts)



Salikoko MUFWENE, who presented a paper on language ecology and creole genesis. (Photo Credit: Julian Roberts)



Presentation by Peter BAKKER on the differences between pidgins, creoles, code-mixing, intertwined languages, and converged languages. (Photo Credit: Julian Roberts)



An unforgettable buffet lunch was available to conference participants at a modest price. Alicia SPIEGEL and Glenn GILBERT pose during lunch. (Photo Credit: Julian Roberts)

(Continued from page 4)

Donations to assist members from countries with currency restrictions or for other SPCL projects will be deposited into an account maintained by the Society. Money donated to the Journal will go into a special account at Southern Illinois University (Carbondale). The measure was approved unanimously.

NEW POLICY FOR SUBMISSION OF ARTICLES TO JPCL

To help defray the high evaluations and publications costs of articles in JPCL, the Executive Committee proposed that scholars submitting articles to JPCL must be current members of the Society. Scholars resident in countries with currency restrictions would be exempt.

The motion carried.

PROCEEDINGS OF PAST AND FUTURE SPCL MEETINGS

John McWHORTER has agreed to edit the volume that will contain a selection of papers from this and next year's annual meeting. Papers from the 1992 and 1993 meetings will appear in 1996 in *Pidgins and Creoles: Structure and Status* (Amsterdam: Benjamins), edited by Arthur SPEARS and Don WINFORD.

Since neither DeGraff nor Julie MAHER will be able to edit papers from the 1994 (Boston and Guyana) and 1995 (New Orleans) meetings, a potential new editor has been contacted to assume editorial responsibilities for the volume.

ADJOURNMENT

A motion to adjourn was made, seconded and passed shortly at approximately 6:00 p.m.



CONFERENCES, COURSES & LECTURES

The THIRD WESTMINSTER CREOLISTICS WORKSHOP was held on March 29-31, 1996 at the U. of Westminster, London. The following papers were presented:

ADONE, Dany. The acquisition of Créole and Kriol: a comparison.

ARENDS, Jacques. The role of the Sephardic Jews in the formation of the Surinam Creoles.

BAKER, Philip. Using and misusing old Pidgin and Creole texts.

BICKERTON, Derek. Past vs. anterior in the St. Kitts texts.

BRUYN, Adrienne. Early forms of question words, relativizers, and pronouns in Atlantic Anglophone Creoles.

DEVONISH, Hubert. On the Sierra Leone-Caribbean connection: hot on the trail of "tone shifted" items in Anglo-West African.

FATTIER, Dominique. Créolisation et changement: à propos des pronoms personnels.

GRANT, Anthony. Diachronic perspectives in some Kittitian morphosyntactic structures.

HUBER, Magnus. Afrogenesis and the Lower Guinea Coast.

KIHM, Alain. Commentary on Matthews' "untitled dialogue."

LADHAMS, John. The Pernambuco connection? An examination of the nature and origin of the Portuguese elements in Surinam Creoles.

LEADER, Jonathan. Speaking as a Kittitian.

McWHORTER, John. A creole under any other name: streamlining terminology in creolistics.

PARKVALL, Mikael. A modest proposal: some suggestions regarding the development of the Internet.

PLAG, Ingo. Africa, Barbados, or St. Kitts: where does the English element of Sranan come from?

SHRIMPTON, Neville. Orthographic conventions in writing English-based contact languages.

SMITH, Norval. Late 18th century St. Kitts phonology.

SMITH, Norval & Liliane ADAMSON. Tonal phenomena in Sranan.

SYEA, Anand. Observations on Kittitian grammar.

TAGLIAMONTE, Sali. Past temporal reference [in the St. Kitts texts].

VEENSTRA, Tonjes. An acquisitional scenario for creolization.

The following papers on pidgins and creoles were presented at the TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BERKELEY LINGUISTICS SOCIETY on February 16-19, 1996:

CAREY, Kathleen & Patricia CUKOR-AVILA. Preposition usage in African-American Vernacular English: What it reveals about semantic extension.

DRECHSEL, Emanuel. The historical significance of indigenous pidgins in North America.

HUANG, Xiaozhao. A syntactic study of African-American Vernacular English in "Middletown": Evidence of convergence.

SINGLER, John. An OT account of

pidgin phonology: Coda consonants in Vernacular Liberian English.

Emanuel DRECHSEL also presented a paper on "Mobilian Jargon in Southeastern Indian linguistics and anthropology" at the SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY CONFERENCE, February 17-20, at Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Donald WINFORD delivered the plenary session address at the October 1995 NWAVE XXIV conference, U. of Pennsylvania, entitled, "Variation theory: a view from creole continua." He was also invited to speak at the linguistics colloquium at Ohio State U. on "The TMA system of Sranan and the creole prototype," on February 23, 1996. He presented a talk at New York U. on May 3, 1996, entitled "On the origins of AAVE: A creolist perspective."

Peter PATRICK also presented at the NWAVE XXIV conference, on "Dimensions of style and register: Evidence from Jamaican Creole."

Sali TAGLIAMONTE was invited to speak at the U. of Chicago Department of Linguistics on January 9, 1996, on "African American Vernacular English: A view of diachrony in synchrony." Another paper, entitled "Nothing in Context: Marking the past in Nigerian Pidgin English," was presented at the June 1995 meeting of the Canadian Linguistics Association (CLA), Montreal, Quebec.

Marlyse BAPTISTA presented a paper entitled "The politics of orthography: The case of Capeverdean Creole" at the CONFERENCE OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES, held in Houston, Texas, on February 13-17, 1996. At the ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON AFRICAN LINGUISTICS (ACAL) 27, held in Gainesville, Florida, on March 28-31, 1996, she presented a paper on "Copular predicates in Capeverdean Creole." She was also a guest speaker at the Northeastern U. Linguistics Club on April 18, 1996, and delivered the talk "The sociolinguistic situation of Capeverdean Creole: A diachronic and synchronic perspective."

Armin SCHWEGLER presented a paper entitled "On the disputed origins of Caribbean Spanish" at the Stanford Linguistics Department Colloquium, April 19, 1996.

Upcoming Conferences

The SOCIETY FOR PIDGIN AND CREOLE LINGUISTICS has announced their next conference to be held on

January 3-4, 1997, at the Sheraton Chicago Hotel and Towers, Chicago, Illinois, in conjunction with the annual meeting of the LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA.

Abstracts on phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, lexicon, social aspects of language, history of the discipline, or any other pertinent issue involving pidgin/creole languages are invited for anonymous review by a five member panel. Please submit them by July 31, 1996 to:

Prof. Armin Schwegler
Dept. of Spanish & Portuguese
U. of California, Irvine
Irvine, CA 92717 U.S.A.

The FIRST INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON PALENQUERO AND CARIBBEAN POPULAR SPANISH, entitled "Palenque, Cartagena y Afro-Caribe: conexiones históricas y lingüísticas," will be held at the U. of Cartagena, Colombia, on August 5-7, 1996. Participants will include Derek BICKERTON, Nicolás DEL CASTILLO, Marianne DIECK, Áquiles ESCALANTE, Nina de FRIEDE-MANN, Germán DE GRANDA, John HOLM, John LIPSKI, William MEGENNEY, Yves MOÑINO, Tom MORTON, Matthias PERL, Armin SCHWEGLER, and Martha SWEARINGEN. The symposium is being organized by Moñino, Schwegler, and

Alfonso MÚNERA. For more information, please contact Dr. Schwegler at the address listed above.

PUBLICATIONS

BAKER, Philip, ed. 1995. *From contact to creole and beyond* (London: University of Westminster Press). Contents include:

AUB-BUSCHER, Gertrud. Compiling dictionaries of creole languages: Theoretical and practical problems, 229-34.

BAKER, Philip. Motivation in creole genesis, 3-15.

CORNE, Chris. A contact-induced and vernacularized language: How Melanesian is Tayo?, 121-48.

do COUTO, Hilda Honório. Exclusive particles (ideophones) in Guinea-Bissau Creole, 207-15.

GRANT, Anthony. Article agglutination in Creole French: A wider perspective, 149-76.

JENNINGS, William. The first generations of a Creole society: Cayenne 1660-1700, 21-40.

JENNINGS, William. Saint-Christophe: Site of the first French Creole, 63-80.

LADHAMS, John. Investigating the background of Kariþúna Creole French, 115-20.

MÜHLHÄUSLER, Peter. Pidgins, creoles, and linguistic ecologies, 235-50.

PARKVALL, Mikael. The role of St. Kitts in a new scenario of French Creole genesis, 41-62.

PLAG, Ingo. Creolization and language change: a comparison, 17-19.

POST, Marike. Aspect marking in Fa d'Ambu, 189-205.

SHRIMPTON, Neville. Standardizing the Krio language, 217-28.

SHRIMPTON, Neville & Philip BAKER. Buddy Quow, St. Kitts and St. Barts, 81-96.

SPEEDY, Karin. Mississippi and Têche Creole: Two separate starting points for Creole in Louisiana, 97-114.

SYEA, Anand. Development of synthetic genitives in Mauritian Creole, 177-88.

WEKKER, Herman, ed. 1996. *Creole languages and language acquisition* (Berlin: Mouton). Contents include:

AITCHISON, Jean. Small steps or large leaps? Undergeneralization and overgeneralization in creole acquisition, 9-31.

ALLEYNE, Mervyn. Does creology really recapitulate ontogeny?, 109-117.

BICKERTON, Derek. Creoles and the bankruptcy of current acquisition theory, 33-43.

CARRINGTON, Lawrence D. Ambient language and learner output in a creole environment, 51-63.

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CP Article

Getting at Real Rules

by William J. Samarin, Emeritus
Department of Anthropology
University of Toronto

Eureka! I found it! A gem! It was not, however, lying exposed on the ground. It required a lot of mining to dig it up. But it was worth it all. Here it is: a complex negated sentence in Sango.

Kàndáà,
wàlà lò è mú ázò ní tí gwè tè
wàlà lò è mú sàà nà álà gi tònènyè
e híngà apè

It is the meaning and structure of this sentence that makes it so valuable. One possible translation is the following: 'We don't know, however, if he [Tèrè, the spider trickster of traditional tales] is taking the people to eat them or just what he is going to do with them.' Now, that's rather sophisticated (at least in English translation) for a pidgin. In a literal translation, it goes something like this, with uncontracted forms provided:

However,
or he/she, be [kè] take people
DETERMINER of go eat
or he be take do [sàrà] PREPOSITION
them only how [tòngàrà nyè]
we know not.

There are, I confess, a few things that challenge my ability at the exegesis of contemporary urban Sango. Perhaps I'm just a pidgin-speaking Rip van Winkle, but I do believe that there are things here that are either performance errors or features I am not familiar with. (The serialization of 'go eat' and 'take do,' for example, is not typical.) The important thing, in any case, is that we have an authentic instance of a rule which permits alternative propositions to occur before a negated verb phrase of knowing. Let me explain.

Although I encountered something like this in the 1950s when talking with people for whom Sango was a second language (a stable and 'mature' pidgin of something close to my own age), I didn't have notes to prove that. Moreover, I used constructions similar to this one. Since it is so unlike anything in English, I must have picked it up somewhere in the country. To prove this, I wanted the genuine thing, therefore: occurrences of similar sentences. You can be sure that I have been

looking for them ever since I began working in 1988 on the changes that have taken and are taking place in the language.

Since such utterances were not coming to me I set about getting them, the method being the old but flavored one of those who work on specific parts of grammar: elicitation. I constructed a questionnaire in French to get information on a number of things that interested me. Some of the sentences had, as in English, a negated clause followed by a complement: e.g., 'I don't know if my wife is arriving tomorrow.' What I found from 284 subjects was that they had difficulty in

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translating the sentence, twisting Sango into all kinds of unexpected constructions, usually, however, starting with *mbi hinga apè* 'I don't know,' not placing the negative at the end, where it was supposed to be.

I concluded from this study that these Central Africans (like the missionaries who had preceded them) were being influenced by another language, in this case French. It is understandable that this might be the case, because all the subjects were educated in French. In 1994 I confirmed this conclusion by having a Gbeya-speaking assistant get translations if a similar sentence in Gbeya translated into Sango. As I suspected, those with the least education gave translations that were more similar to what one would say in Gbeya than in French.

The reason the above-cited sentence is a gem is that it constitutes proof of the existence of an indigenous negated complex sentence structure. There IS a rule for saying something like this without having to say it as one does in French or English. (The speaker, by the way, from whom I got the sentence in an extemporaneous tape-recording, was not Gbeya, but a fifteen-year-old male of Zande ethnicity, who claimed to know no other language but Sango.) That's nice, but what else do we learn?

First, we find here another instance of the co-existence of POSSIBILITY of saying something in a language and the IMPROBABILITY of its being said. Speakers of Sango, and perhaps speakers of Gbeya and other Ubangian languages, obviously can say something like 'I don't know + verb phrase,' but they avoid using the available rule.

Second, and this is the real purpose of my making this report, for certain purposes the use of elicitation in the study of a pidgin or creole, where education is provided in a European language, provides data that must be used with intelligence and circumspection. I suspected as much when European colleagues writing about

Sango provided sentences whose authenticity I doubted very much: they struck me as somewhat literal translations of sentences one might put in French (or possibly German). One would have expected as much, since French is influencing Sango in many ways, but not, to my knowledge yet, of anything so radical syntactically as the French calque would be.

Finally, I want to observe that the tremendous amount of variation in Sango, especially in Bangui, leads me to reflect deeply, as have Robert Le Page and Andrée Tabouret-Keller in their work, on what kind of language Sango is. Does Sango constitute a special case? Vincent de Rooij's chapter on variation in *Pidgin & Creoles* (edited by Arends, Muysken, and Smith, 1994) is not any help at all, because it deals exclusively with creoles whose lexifier languages were European ones. And the whole book on variation--Jack Chambers' *Sociolinguistic theory* (1995)--confines itself exclusively to modern industrial states, as if variation existed only when the vernacular could be compared with a standard. What's to be done with Sango? It has no standard.



Short Notes

African Numerals in an 18th-Century Native North American Language

Source

by Peter Bakker

University of Amsterdam

This note contains nothing original, but it is probably new for all readers of the *Carrier Pidgin*, and it is of some interest for substratophiles.

In 1745 John Pyræus wrote down the numbers 1-10 of the Nanike language, an eastern Algonquian language formerly spoken on the eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay. These were not

FROM THE EDITOR

Is this a *deja vu* moment? Four of my children have gone off to colleges on "The Continent" (as Hawai'i poet Joe Balaz has taught us to think of it), and have come back again with degrees in hand; our one daughter has walked with me, arm in arm, down the aisle in marriage; here I am now in a place, a moment, that seems familiar. I have been here before. In fact, it feels very much like this is the second time I have held the Carrier Pidgin in hand, poised to let it fly away. Nostalgia City!

John Reinecke asked me to take over editorship of CP once, many years ago, when he was about to relinquish his own role in that service. I was intimidated. Earlier, when I was a brand-new, untenured acting assistant professor at UH, people had warned me that I was jeopardizing my future in academe, walking around, openly, in public, with

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published until 1798. In this list, the numerals appear to be unrelated to the languages of the Algonquian family, but they are almost identical to those of the West African language Bambara (and perhaps more closely to other, related languages).

Nanticoke has:

- 1 *killi*
- 2 *filli*
- 3 *sábo*
- 4 *náno*
- 5 *túro*
- 6 *wóro*
- 7 *wóllango*
- 8 *sécki*
- 9 *cóllengo*
- 10 *tà*

Bambara has:

- 1 *kile*
- 2 *fla*
- 3 *saba*
- 4 *nani*
- 5 *dulu*
- 6 *woro*
- 7 *wongla*
- 8 *segui*
- 9 *khononto*
- 10 *tan*

This discovery was related by William Cowan in the not really widely-read *Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics*, vol. 6, 1981, p. 8. Ives Goddard showed later (p. 47-49) that two people before him had already discovered that these numerals were African: an anonymous man who reported it to the Amerindianist Stephen DuPonceau in 1822, and later again the Amerindianist Daniel Brinton in 1887.

I will not say anything about the historical implications. But the fact that this African-ness was discovered three times independently gives some courage as to the possibility of identification of African words in creole languages.



A Pidgin Hawaiian Letter, 1883

by Julian Roberts
University of Hawaii

The debate over whether English or Hawaiian was the primary lexifier of Hawaiian plantation pidgin has taken a new course, with the discovery of remarks by early observers and court record testimony from the speakers themselves (Roberts 1995a, b). All are in agreement that the earliest and foremost form of communication was a variety of Hawaiian, which persisted into the first two decades of this century.

The author has just found a document which confirms these conclusions and

sheds some new light on the status of Pidgin Hawaiian. It is a brief letter written in 1883 by Ah Chin, a Chinese store owner from Kipahulu, Maui, to the manager of Laupahoehoe Sugar Co., Mr. J. M. Lydgate. In the letter, Ah Chin informs Lydgate that a former worker of his named Ah Kim, who had abandoned the plantation illegally under the offense of *hana lele* (quitting work), was there in Kipahulu working at his store and teahouse.

The letter was found in a letter book maintained by Lydgate, sandwiched between correspondence on business and legal matters. The book is part of the Theo H. Davies collection at the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, at the Paki Building's R. J. Baker archives. The letter can be accessed by requesting MS Group 239, 56-1.

The content of the letter is as follows. I have added sentence breaks as the letter lacks punctuation:

Maui Noovember 15th 1883

Mr Le Ki Ke

Laupahoehoe Hawaii

Aloha nui oe

Mai Kai Ma mua Ma Kei hi Ki Janaary

1882 / iaia Akahi Pake Kepa Ma nei / iaia Pake Kei lo Ah Kim / iaia Mahoka hoi Kipahulu Maui / iaia Hana Hale inu Ki me Hale Kuai / iaia nuinui Wai Wai / Mr Lekike nana Keia Leka / oe helemai Kipahulu Maui Hoopaa iaia pake / mai Kai Kina pake

A rough translation would be as follows:

Maui, November 15th, 1883

Mr. Lydgate

Laupahoehoe, Hawaii

Greetings to you:—

It was good before January 1882 when a Chinese visited here. He is a Chinese named Ah Kim. He fled to Kipahulu, Maui. He works at the teahouse and store. He is very wealthy. Mr. Lydgate, once you read this letter please come to Kipahulu, Maui and arrest him, the Chinese. Best wishes,
Ah Chin, Chinese

This text bears many of the salient features distinguishing Pidgin Hawaiian from the variety spoken natively by Hawaiians. *iaia* as a general third person pronoun, *akahi* as an indefinite article, and SVO word order are typical grammatical features. Pidginized lexical items include *nuinui* "very," and *nana* "to see, read" (in the lexifier, *nana* means "to watch"). The spelling of *ma'a ne'i* "here" as *mane'i* is common in other Pidgin Hawaiian texts.

Ah Chin has spelled many other words differently, including *makahiki* "year" as *makeikihi*, *kipa* "to visit" as *kepa*, and *mahuka* "to flee" as *mahoka*. It is not clear whether these reflect phonological differences between the pidgin and the lexifier.

Several sociolinguistic observations can be made. Ah Chin assumed that Lydgate, the manager of a sugar plantation, could understand Pidgin Hawaiian. It is clear that he did understand the lexifier, since the same letter book also contained correspondence with a Mr. Nawahi in Hilo who wrote in vernacular Hawaiian. It is not unlikely then that a form of Hawaiian was used with other Chinese on the plantation.

It is also noteworthy that the letter reflects communication between people who did not natively speak the lexifier. Court record testimony contains many examples of Pidgin Hawaiian spoken in contacts between Anglo-Americans, Chinese, Portuguese, and Japanese without the participation of native Hawaiians. This indicates that Pidgin Hawaiian was indeed a tertiary hybrid.

Finally, this letter establishes that at least some speakers of Pidgin Hawaiian had become literate in it. Spurious letters apparently written by Hawaiians and published in Hawaiian newspapers in the 1870s and 1880s to provoke editorial comment were attributed to Chinese immigrants, but this is the first *bona fide* example which has come to light.

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Notes & Queries

J. Clancy CLEMENTS returned to the Indian village of Korlai in 1995 where he finished collecting data for a study on word order in the speech of Korlai Portuguese-speaking children. Early, incomplete results suggest that although KP speakers have SOV structure in their speech and are fluent in Marathi, an SOV language, word order in their speech still varies substantially from word order in the speech of monolingual Marathi-speaking children. He is still preparing statistics for the study.

During his stay in India, Clements also spent a significant amount of time in the

(Continued from page 2)

town of Daman, a former Portuguese possession. There he was able to complete a comprehensive survey of Daman Creole Portuguese, a language still spoken by around 3,000 people.

His work on the Korlai and Daman creoles has prompted him to begin looking at certain structural properties in these and other Spanish and Portuguese-based creoles. While comparing TMA markers and lexicon provides evidence of different types of commonality, he believes that examining certain structural properties of these creoles may unlock in which way and to what depth they are actually related or not related.

News from Amsterdam: According to Pieter MUYSKEN, the Dutch government has finally planned to support dictionary work on Sranan and Papiamentu. The work is currently in the planning stages and Muysken would welcome input from creole lexicographers.

Cheraldine OSEPA (SEDUKAL/ Curacao) and Rocky MEADE (UWI/ Kingston) have arrived at the U. of Amsterdam to work on their projects on creole acquisition and receive further postgraduate training. Osepa will be focussing on input factors and discourse patterns in the acquisition of Papiamentu and Meade on phonological variation (within optimality theory) and the acquisition of Jamaican Creole. They can be contacted in Amsterdam.

Frank MARTINUS is defending his long awaited magnum opus on Guene (an early slave language of Curacao and Bonaire) as a thesis at the U. of Amsterdam. His title right now (he keeps changing it) is: *The Kiss of the Slave*. Papiamentu's West African Connections. Martinus has been working on the history of Papiamentu for many years (witness his contribution to the Reinecke bibliography), and is energetically defending monogenesis for much of the Caribbean. The date: December 17, 1996.

William SAMARIN is in the second year of his three-year research grant on 'The linguistic consequences of the creolization of Sango.' A hard copy report of his first eighteen months can be obtained by writing to him c/o Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, 100 St. George St., Toronto, Ontario M5S 3G3, Canada. Or order the report by email.

Samarin planned to go to Bangui in May but the troubles there prevented his doing so. He therefore spent five weeks in sixteen libraries in Paris seeking informa-

tion that would help explain the factors that led to the stabilization of Sango and the social factors that led to its acquisition as a lingua franca in the territory. In addition, he worked toward establishing a complete bibliography on publications on Sango.

Being unable to go to Bangui, he was happy to accomplish in Paris something he hoped to undertake: the reading of a tale in Ngbandi, an extemporaneous narration of the same tale in Ngbandi, a sentence-by-sentence translation into Sango, and an extemporaneous narration in Sango.

He is currently engaged in analyzing about 1,600 tokens of the preposition *ti* 'of' in extemporaneous speech obtained from male and female speakers of Ngbandi in Bangui, considering phonological, lexical, and semantic constraints in the use of all of its variables—in addition to nonlinguistic constraints.

Anthony NARO and Maria da Conceição A. de PAIVA of the Projeto de Estudo sobre o Uso da Língua (U/Rio de Janeiro) are currently working on contact studies of Xingu Portuguese. According to Paiva, contact since the 1940s between white Brazilians and the different ethnic groups that live on the Upper Xingu Indigenous Reservation has led to the existence of a type of Portuguese known as Contact Portuguese. Originating from a process of morphosyntactic reduction, this variety of Portuguese is fertile ground for the study of the crystallization and loss of pidgin features since it is, in fact, a continuum along which speakers are distributed according to their fluency in the language. It is also a good data base for the testing of hypotheses on the process of second language acquisition and the acquisition of linguistic variation in a multilingual situation. It is this latter aspect that has attracted most attention from PEUL (Projeto de Estudo sobre o Uso da Língua) researchers.

The research projects currently being carried out, all based on a sample of Xingu Portuguese, attempt to identify the unique features that define this variety. Studying variation on several levels (phonetic/phonological, morphosyntactic, semantic, and discourse), they are trying to determine in what respects Xingu Contact Portuguese diverges from, or converges with, other varieties of Brazilian Portuguese. It turns out that the situation is quite complex, with both quantitative and qualitative factors being relevant. Many of the cases of variation present in Contact Portuguese exhibit environments and conditioning equivalent to those already established for other varieties of Portuguese. This is the case, for example, on the phonological

level for the variable use of final *-r* in the infinitive. It also true for other phenomena, such as the use of different structures to express negation. Other phenomena appear to be unique to Xingu Portuguese, such as certain cases of neutralization on the morphological level (example: convergence of 1st and 3rd persons singular) and the phonological level (example: loss of the voicing contrast).

At the moment the following projects based on the Xingu data are being carried out by PEUL researchers:

Neutralization of the voicing contrast, de PAIVA.

Impersonal constructions, Nelize Pires de OMENA.

Markers, Alzira Tavares de MACEDO.

Lexical diffusion during change and acquisition, Maria Cecília de Magalhães MOLLICA.

Acquisition and loss of prepositions, Cristina Abreu GOMES.

Negation, Cláudia Roncarati de SOUZA.

The use of subjects, Maria Eugênia Lamoglia DUARTE.

The expression of gender, Alzira Tavares de MACEDO.

Clause combining, de PAIVA.

Karl Erland GADELL informs us that he is currently writing his PhD Thesis which is devoted to a grammatical analysis of Lesser Antillean French Creole, in particular Guadeloupean. The main finding is that Guadeloupean does not have any kind of head movement (verb raising, noun incorporation, cliticization, etc.), which sets it apart from French as well as from the majority of African languages, where head movement is common. Thus, immobility of heads is argued to be a result of activation of the bioprogram.

Kendra Chanti SEYMOUR, a Bahamian language teacher and native speaker of Bahamian English, has completed her master's thesis at Georgetown U., entitled "The Decreolization of Bahamian English: A Sociolinguistic Study." She worked under the direction of Peter PATRICK. Her thesis considers the history of the settlement of the Bahamas, compares phonological and morphosyntactic features of modern BahE with those of 19th-century BahE (as recorded in collections of folk tales, songs, proverbs, and riddles), and analyses existing creole features of BahE. She concludes, among other things, that the decreolization process which accelerated in the 1960s due to social factors appears to have slowed down, and shows that BahE as it is spoken today deserves to

be acknowledged as a creole language. She plans to pursue a Ph.D. in linguistics, and to continue her teaching and research back home.

Peter PATRICK was profiled along with other Georgetown U. sociolinguists in a cover article for *The Washington Post Magazine* of February 4, 1996. The illustrated article discussed Patrick's personal experience acquiring Patwa in Jamaica, variation and hypercorrection in the *speaky-spoky* register, Rasta Talk arising in unconscious shifts in speaking styles, and how values and social roles are attached to language.

Chris CORNE has just completed a first draft of a tour of New Caledonian French, Tayo, Reunion Creole, Reunion French, Louisiana Creole (via Laurentian and Acadian French and the Louisiana Cajun offshoot of the latter), a fly-over of the Caribbean and French Guiana and assorted offshoots (including St Barts/St Thomas French), Mauritian Creole, Mauritian French, the street French of Abidjan and the Ivory Coast, and Michif. Anybody wanting more info can e-mail him at c.corne@auckland.ac.nz.

Luis A. ORTIZ LÓPEZ submitted in May at the U. of New Mexico, Albuquerque, the abstract of a dissertation entitled *El contacto lingüístico afrohispánico en la génesis y evolución del español de Cuba*. It concerns itself with the hypothesis of full or partial creolization of non-standard Cuban Spanish.

John HOLM informs us that the CUNY Program has benefited from the presence of a number of visiting creolists: Dr. Alzira MACEDO (U. of Rio de Janeiro) came during 1995-96 to work on the restructured Portuguese spoken on the Xingu River; Dr. Rozevel JEAN-BAPTISTE (Sorbonne) works on Haitian Creole in the media; Dr. Mary do CARENO (U. of São Paulo) works on the partially restructured Portuguese spoken by the descendants of Brazilian maroons; Dr. Angela BARTENS (U. of Göttingen and Leipzig) will work on ideophones in Iberian-based creoles with Holm during 1996-97 under a grant from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.

Mark SEBBA has announced The Corpus of Written British Creole (<http://www.ling.lancs.ac.uk/staff/mark/corpus.htm>). This is a collection of writing

compiled with a view to including as many texts (or relevant parts of texts) as possible which meet the following conditions:

1. that the texts have been written and/or published in Britain
2. that all or part of the text is a written representation of English-lexicon Caribbean Creole (Patois / Patwa / Nation Language)

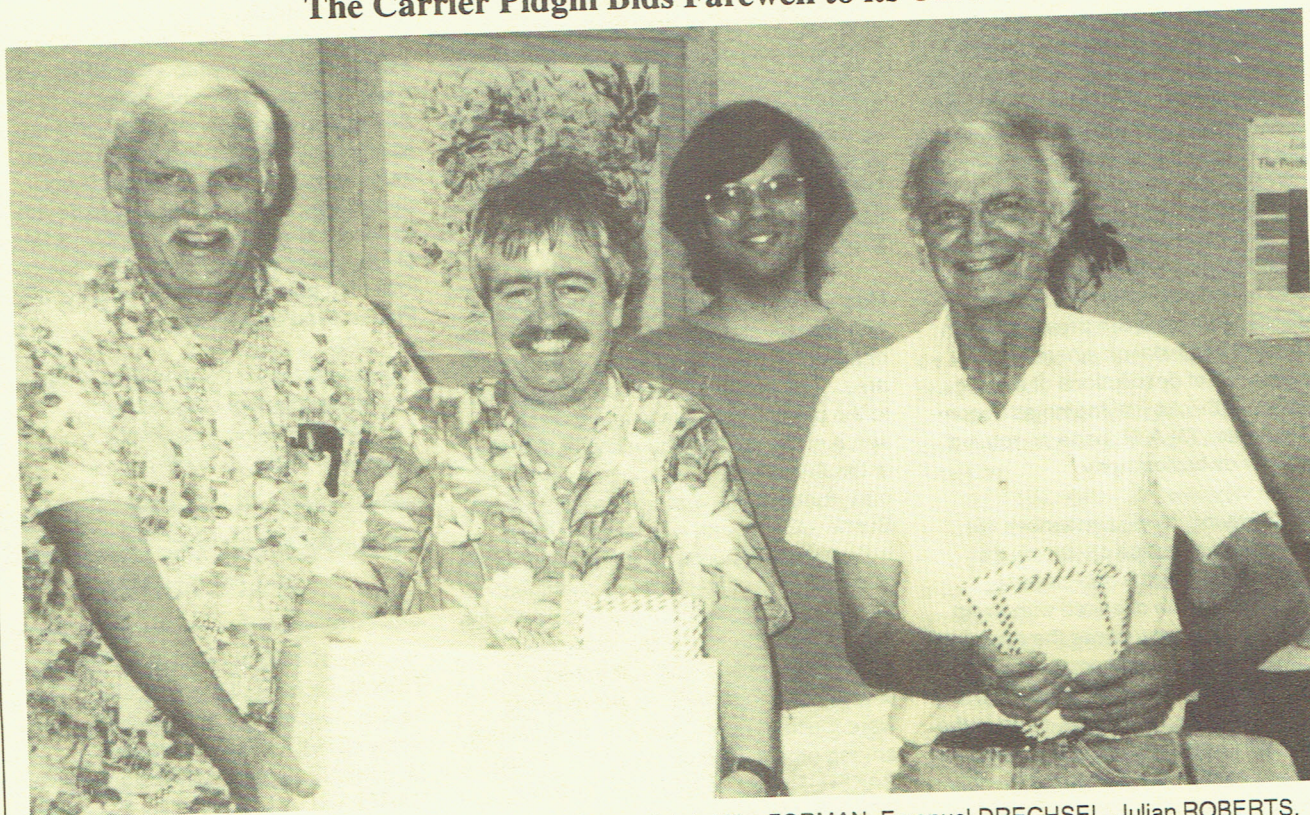
He has concentrated on including writers who either are known to be British-born or to have spent most of their formative years in Britain, but biographical information about every writer was not available to the compilers. The Corpus of Written British Creole has been compiled at Lancaster University by Sally Kedge and Mark Sebba with financial support from the British Academy (Small Personal Research Grant no. 05-012-4670). The material may be used for private research if it does not infringe on the author's/publisher's copyright and any citation is fully acknowledged.

The Corpus contains poems, extracts from novels and other fiction, plays, advertisements, and graffiti.

A copy of the corpus may be obtained by contacting:

(Continued on page 6)

The Carrier Pidgin Bids Farewell to its UH Staff!



The UH Linguistics CP staff, mailing out the last issue (left to right), Mike FORMAN, Emanuel DRECHSEL, Julian ROBERTS, and Derek BICKERTON. (Photo Credit: Julian Roberts)

(Continued from page 5)

Dr. Mark Sebba
Department of Linguistics and Modern
English Language
Lancaster University,
Lancaster, U.K. LA1 4YT.

Shana POPLACK tells us that the U. of Ottawa sociolinguistics laboratory houses several corpora relevant to pidgin and creole linguistics, such as a unique compendium of materials on 'early' Black English. Machine readable transcripts and concordances include a corpus of the English of Samaná (an enclave in the Dominican Republic settled by former American slaves in 1824), the Library of Congress Ex-slave recordings, a 1.5 million word corpus on African Nova-Scotian English (as spoken in two enclaves settled by former American slaves between 1783 and 1815), a small set of recordings of a control group of 14 older white Nova-Scotian English speakers local to African Nova-Scotian English enclave areas, and a corpus of vernacular Nigerian Pidgin English (as spoken by members of the Nigerian community in Ottawa).

Hans DEN BESTEN wishes to inform our readers that *Die Creol Taal. 250 years of Negerhollands texts* (edited by Cefas van ROSSEM and Hein van der VOORT) has finally been published. The 325-page book contains three main sections: (1) An introduction to Negerhollands by Pieter MUYSKEN, den Besten, van Rossem, Peter STEIN, and van der Voort. (2) Negerhollands texts, beginning with the earliest of the eighteenth-century slave letters and ending with the material provided by the last speaker Ms. Alice STEVENS. The texts are presented with glosses and a translation wherever necessary. Brief descriptions of the material and philological footnotes accompany the texts. (3) A 35-page annotated Negerhollands bibliography.

Ernst Håkon JAHR announces the publication of *Language contact in the Arctic: Northern pidgins and contact languages*, which he coedited with Ingrid BROCH. This volume draws the attention of linguists to the special conditions and features of Arctic and northern pidgins and contact languages. Up to now, most of the theoretical insights in pidgin and creole studies are based on pidgins and creoles of regions close to the equator. By widening the geographical area to include pidgins and contact languages of the far

north it is possible to gain seminal new insights into the mechanisms involved in pidgin origin and development. The present volume covers the whole Circumpolar area. The authors discuss theoretical questions and give empirical descriptions of important pidgins and contact languages of the northern regions.

The 1994 MALC Papers are available for \$22.00 plus a domestic postage and handling fee of \$3.50 from: MALC Publications, Linguistics Department, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045-2140, USA. Kansas residents, please add a sales tax of 6.9%. For orders from abroad, please inquire about postage via email: <Linguistics@ukan.edu>. Makes checks payable only in U.S. currency and to: University of Kansas Linguistics Department.

Philip BAKER tells us that three more volumes in the Westminster Creolistics Series are in preparation and are expected to appear by early 1997.

First there is a completely revised and substantially expanded edition of Peter Mühlhäusler's *Pidgin and Creole Linguistics* (first edition was published in 1986).

Then there is a collection of papers on St Kitts (from the Third Westminster Creolistics Workshop, March 1996) as the potential "cradle" of both English and French lexicon Caribbean Creoles, edited by Baker, Adrienne BRUYN, and Neville SHRIMPSON, with individual contributions by the three editors and many others including Derek BICKERTON, Anthony GRANT, Alain KIHM, Ingo PLAG, Norval SMITH, Anand SYEA, Sali TAGLIA-MONTE, and Lise WINER.

The third volume is being edited by Magnus HUBER and Mikael PARKVALL, with the working title *Papers relating to the diffusion of creole languages in the Atlantic area*. The scope of this book is restricted to the papers from this year's workshop which addressed the question of diffusion in the Atlantic creoles, encompassing two main themes: Afrogenesis and the Brazil/Surinam/Caribbean connection. Apart from the papers given at the Workshop the book will also contain invited contributions as well as a transcript of the Creole-origins debate from the end of the Workshop, in which many points vital to the theory of diffusion/monogenesis vs. polygenesis were touched upon. Contributions include among others Jacques ARENDS, Philip BAKER, Hubert DEVONISH, Hildo do COUTO, Magnus HUBER, John McWHORTER, John LADHAMS and Mikael PARKVALL. Please contact Mikael

Parkvall (parkvall@ling.su.se) or Magnus Huber (uzseb4@ibm.rhrz.uni-bonn.de) if you have a paper which would be a significant addition to this collection.

Chris CORNE informs us that the French equivalent of the Carrier Pidgin, *Gazet sifon ble/Lavwa ka bay*, is now contactable on e-mail at etudcreo@aixup.univ-aix.fr.

SPCL NEWS

John SINGLER, President of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics, has informed the *Carrier Pidgin* that Southern Illinois University, struck by budget cuts, has been forced to reduce its financial support to the *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*. In the past, SIU has supported JPCL generously, funding two graduate assistants annually to help Glenn Gilbert, editor of JPCL, in the journal's production. Now the university will not be able to fund a second graduate assistant for the coming year. Glenn estimates the loss of support to amount to \$7,200 (\$800 per month for nine months). Glenn has turned to the Executive Board of SPCL for assistance in finding alternate sources of funding.

On behalf of SPCL's board, Singler is asking individual members of SPCL and all other creolists to do what they can to help. Any kind of donation would be greatly appreciated. Each contribution will be individually acknowledged and is tax-deductible. The simplest way to do this is to send a check made out to "Department of Linguistics, SIU." On the "for" line on the lower left part of the check, specify "JPCL." Please send checks to:

JPCL
c/o Professor Paul Angelis, Chair
Department of Linguistics
Southern Illinois University
Carbondale, IL 62901

CONFERENCES, COURSES & LECTURES

The 1996 COLLOQUE INTERNATIONAL DES ETUDES CREOLES was held in Guadeloupe on May 5-10, 1996. Robert CHAUDENSON, Salikoko MUFWENE, Gabriel MANESSY, ANGELA BARTENS, J. L. BONNIOL, B. CHÉRU-BINI, Mikael PARKVALL, Albert VALDMAN, Daniel BAGGIONI, M. VEIGA, Daniel VÉRONIQUE, and Mervyn AL-



Professors (left to right) Matthias PERL, John LIPSKI, Armin SCHWEGLER, and Derek BICKERTON at the symposium "Palenque, Cartagena y Afro-Caribe: conexiones históricas y lingüísticas." (Photo Credit: Tometro Hopkins)

LEYNE presented papers in three sessions on recent theories on the creole genesis; Marlyse BAPTISTA, J. R. CADELY, Leila CAID, K. E. GADELI, R. DAMOISEAU, K. HOWE, R. LUDWIG, S. PFLANDER, A. SPEARS, and S. PARGMAN delivered papers in two sessions on points of grammar in the description of creoles; F. AFFERGAN, M. L. NICOLEAU, E. M. SCHNEPEL, and N. CHEVRY spoke on cultural identity; C. BARAT, F. CALLENDRE, M. T. ERNEST-DIAS, M. DESROCHES, L. F. HOFFMANN, C. GUIRAUD, J. P. JARDEL, J. L. JOACHIM, E. M. C. NUISSIER, U. FLEISHMANN, J. ANDOCHE, J. POIRIER, A. L. TESSONNEAU, E. VILAYLECK delivered papers on cultural mixing and representations; M. BANIAMINO, Marie-Christine MAZAËL-MASSIEUX, W. MICAUX, D. de SAINT-JORRE, M. ROMANOS; Geneviève ESCURE, B. FILLIATRE and R. ROOCCA, R. FOURNIER, Tom KLINGLER, M. Pintharanda NUNES, and H. SAINT-FORT presented papers at a session on approaches to variation in the description of creoles; A. M. COPPOLA, M. DEGRASS, and C. MARIMOUTOU spoke on linguistic approaches to creole literature; H. DEGLAS, P. Durizot JNO-BAPTISTE, R. B. RELOUZAT, J. P. ROMANI, M. T. VASSEUR, R. SAVAIN, Jocelyn GERSEN,

Léon RADEGONDE, and M. J. HUBERT-DELISLE presented papers on issues dealing with the arrangement and rules of creoles; M. BARBOTIN, L. F. PRUDENT, and J. C. MABIALA delivered papers on creole lexicons and dictionaries; A. M. D'ANS, Jacques ARENDS, M. AUCOIN, and D. FATTIER spoke on old creole texts; P. BRASSEUR, A. BRÉTEGNIER, L. J. CALVET, and Bernadette CERVINKA presented papers on contact between creoles and European languages.

On August 5-7, 1996, the first international symposium "Palenque, Cartagena y Afro-Caribe: conexiones históricas y lingüísticas" was held at the U. of Cartagena, Colombia. Organized by Yves Moñino (CNRS, Paris), Alfonso MÚNERA, Carolina ORTIZ (both from the U. of Cartagena), and Armin SCHWEGLER (UC Irvine), the meeting brought together virtually all of the scholars who have contributed to Palenquero research since Aquiles ESCALANTE published his pioneering *El Palenque de San Basilio* in 1954. The meeting included an excursion to Palenque, where participants enjoyed typical Caribbean hospitality and "African" rhythms. The following papers were presented at the conference:

BARTENS ADAWONU, Angela.

Palenquero *lengua* comparado con otras denominaciones de lenguas criollas por sus propios hablantes: actitudes y visiones del mundo.

BICKERTON, Derek. ¿Algo nuevo, o algo prestado? Relaciones entre Palenquero y las demás lenguas criollas ibéricas.

DEL CASTILLO, Nicolás. Macuquina: ¿una palabra africana?

DIECK, Marianne. La negación en Palenquero.

ESCALANTE, Aquiles. Mis vivencias en el Palenque de San Basilio y aportes posteriores.

de FRIEDMANN, Nina. Palenque de San Basilio: hito histórico-cultural en Afro-América.

GREEN, Kate. El marcador de pasado a: Palenquero en Santo Domingo.

HOLM, John. La lingüística afro-inglesa, 1956-1996: conexiones históricas y culturales.

LIPSKI, John. Génesis y evolución de la copula en los criollos afro-ibéricos.

MAURER, Philippe. La pluralización nominal en los idiomas criollos atlánticos con base léxica ibérica.

MEGENNEY, William. El cambio lingüístico y el palenquero colombiano.

MOÑINO, Yves. Herencias africanas

(Continued on page 8)

en la *lengua* de Palenque: la semántica gramatical de la determinación nominal y del sistema verbal modo-aspectual.

MORTON, Thomas. El kateyano que se habla en el Palenque de San Basilio.

NIEVES OVIEDO, Rocio. Influencias negro-colombianas en el español costeño.

O'FLYNN, Carol. El criollo afro-inglés de San Andrés comparado con el palenquero.

ORTIZ RICAURTE, Carolina. Africanismos en el habla cartagenera.

PATÍÑO, Carlos. Sobre origen y composición del criollo palenquero.

PERL, Matthias. Estudio comparativo: el pronombre de sujeto en palenquero, en el criollo de Santo Tomé, en el español popular caribeño y en el portugués popular de Angola.

SCHWEGLER, Armin. Sobre los disputados orígenes del español popular caribeño.

SWEARINGEN-DAVIS, Marta. La partícula verbal BA en palenquero.

Jacques ARENDS presented a paper entitled "The development of clause linkage in two Surinam creoles (Sranan and Saramaccan)" at a workshop on language change and grammaticalization at the U. of Leiden in December 1995.

George LANG gave a paper entitled "La Transgression *kabuverdianu* du crioulo: *Oju d'agu*, de Manuel Veiga" at the ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION POUR L'ÉTUDE DES LITTÉRATURES AFRICAINES (APELA) at the Universidade Internacional, Lisbon, Portugal, September 24, 1995.

Marika POST spoke on "Negation in Fa d'Ambu" at the BREMER AFRO-ROMANIA KOLLOQUIUM, held in Bremen, Germany, in June 1996.

Mark SEBBA delivered a paper "Towards an ideological approach to orthography" at the SOCIOLINGUISTICS SYMPOSIUM 11, Cardiff, Wales, on September 5-7, 1996.

Donald WINFORD presented a paper in the NEW YORK UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS COLLOQUIUM SERIES on May 3, 1996, on "The Origins of African-American Vernacular English: A Creolist Perspective."

Upcoming Conferences

The Linguistics Program at Florida International University has announced its THIRD ANNUAL CREOLE WORKSHOP, to be held March 19-23, 1997. The theme of the meeting with be: *Empowering creoles: Developing pedagogical materials in and on creoles.*

It will provide an opportunity for public school educators and administrators, university faculty and students, creolists, and members of the community to come together and exchange views and address issues and concerns of creole language use in an urban setting, with particular emphasis on the educational system. It will include a keynote address to be delivered by Loretto TODD, lectures by invited speakers, panel discussions and several workshops on a variety of creole languages. One-page abstracts are being accepted until November 10, 1996 for workshop participants. Please send them to:

Tometro Hopkins
Coordinator, Creole Language
Workshops
Linguistics Program
English Department
Florida International University
University Park
Miami, FL 33199



REVIEW NOTICES

The following reviews were published in *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 10(2), 1995:

BYRNE, Francis & Donald WINFORD. 1993. Focus and grammatical relations in creole languages. Amsterdam: Benjamins. Reviewed by John M. LIPSKI, 358-63.

FABRI, Ray. 1993. Kongruenz und die Grammatik des Maltesischen. Tübingen: Niemeyer. Reviewed by Carol BLACKSHIRE-BELAY, 365-8.

GRANBERRY, Julian. 1992. A grammar and dictionary of the Timucua language. Tuscaloosa: U. of Alabama Press. Reviewed by Peter BAKKER, 363-5.

PRESTON, Dennis. 1993. American dialect research. Amsterdam: Benjamins. Reviewed by William KRETZCHMAR, Jr., 374-80.

SCHNEIDER, John T. 1991. Dictionary of African borrowings in Brazilian Portuguese. Hamburg: Buske. Reviewed by Margaret WADE-LEWIS, 368-74.

SCOTT, Ann Martin, ed. 1992. *Cajun Vernacular English: Informal English in French Louisiana* (A special issue of the *Louisiana English Journal*). Lafayette: U. of Southwestern Louisiana. Reviewed by Michael D. PICONE, 349-57.

HAZAËL-MASSIEUX, Marie-Christine. 1993. *Écrire en créole: Oralité et écriture*

aux Antilles. Paris: L'Harmattan. Reviewed by Christian TOURATIER in *Cercle Linguistique d'Aix-en-Provence Travaux* 13: *Langue orale: ses unités descriptives*. Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 215-29.

MUFWENE, Salikoko, ed. 1993. *Africanisms in Afro-American language varieties*. Athens: U. of Georgia Press. Reviewed by Jacques ARENDS in *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 16, 83-91.



PUBLICATIONS

CHRISTIE, Pauline. 1995. *Caribbean language issues: Old & new. Papers in honour of Professor Mervyn Alleyne on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday*. Papers include:

CHRISTIE, Pauline. Jamaican relatives in focus, 48-62.

DEVONISH, Hubert. Vernacular languages and writing technology transfer: The Jamaican case, 101-11.

DYCHE, Caroline. Writing proficiency in English and academic performance: The University of the West Indies, Mona, 143-62.

GIBSON, Kean. Observations on *have* and *had* in Barbadian and Guyanese Mesolectal English, 41-7.

KOUWENBERG, Silvia. The relationship between adjectives and verbs, with special reference to Berbice Dutch Creole, 27-40.

MUFWENE, Salikoko. Creole genesis: A population genetics perspective, 163-96.

POLLARD, Velma. Cultural connections: The verbalization of recall in some creole-speaking communities, 86-100.

ROBERTS, Peter. Samuel Augustus Mathews, 63-85.

ROBERTSON, Ian. Language education policy (1): Towards a rational approach for Caribbean states, 112-19.

SHIELDS-BRODBER, Kathryn. Old skeleton, new skin: The relationship between open syllable structure and consonant structure in Standard Jamaican English, 4-11.

SIMMONS-McDONALD, Hazel. Language education policy (2): The case for creole in formal education in St. Lucia, 120-42.

WINFORD, Donald. Verbs, adjectives and categoricity in Caribbean English Creoles, 12-26.

- FOURNIER, Robert & HENRI WITTMAN, eds. 1995. *Le français des Amériques*. Trois-Rivières, Québec: Presses universitaires de Trois-Rivières. The following articles are of interest to creolists:
- CHAUDENSON, Robert. Les français d'Amérique ou le français des Amériques?, 3-19.
- FORNIER, Robert. L'avalasse créolité et brouillard diglottique: les déchouaillées des éloges, 199-230.
- FOX, Cynthia & Louise CHARBONNEAU. Le français en contact avec l'anglais: analyse des anglicismes dans le français parlé à Cohoes, New York, 37-63.
- HALFORD, Peter. Le français de la frontière au 18^e siècle: quelques relevés du père Pierre Philippe Potier S.J., 231-46.
- LANG, George. Le lexique du français des voyageurs dans le tchinook d'avant 1846, 247-64.
- NADASDI, Terry. Restriction linguistique et cliticisation des pronoms inanimés en frano-ontarien, 165-80.
- VALDMAN, Albert. *Des îles, des hommes, des langues*: lecture d'un essai sur la créolisation linguistique, 269-79.
- WITTMANN, Henri. Grammaire comparée des variétés coloniales du français populaire de Paris du 17^e siècle et origine du français québécois (Comparative syntax of 14 creole and 8 non-creole varieties of Colonial French), 281-334.
- BAKER, Peter & Anand SYEA, eds. 1996. *Changing meanings, changing functions. Papers relating to grammaticalization in contact languages*. London: U. of Westminster Press.
- BAKER, Philip. Australian and Melanesian PE and the *fellows* in between, 243-58.
- BICKERTON, Derek. Why serial verb constructions in Isle de France Creole can have subjects: a reply to Corne, Coleman, & Curnow, 155-69.
- BRUYN, Adrienne. On identifying instances of grammaticalization in Creole languages, 29-46.
- BYNON, Theodora. Convergent change: Some recent rethinking, 47-52.
- CORNE, Chris, Deirdre COLEMAN, & Simon CURNOW. Clause reduction in asyndetic coordination in Isle de France Creole: the "serial verbs" problem, 129-54.
- GRANT, Anthony. The evolution of functional categories in Grand Ronde Chinook Jargon: Ethnolinguistic and grammatical considerations, 225-42.
- HUBER, Magnus. The grammaticalization of aspect markers in Ghanaian Pidgin English, 53-70.
- KIHM, Alain. Reflexivity in Kriyol: A case of half-hearted grammaticalization, 219-23.
- KOUWENBERG, Silvia. Grammaticalization and word order in the history of Berbice Dutch Creole, 207-18.
- MUFWENE, Salikoko. Creolization and grammaticization: What creolistics could contribute to grammaticization in Creole languages, 5-28.
- MÜHLHÄUSLER, Peter. *A fellow's adventures in South Australia*, 259-68.
- NYLANDER, Dudley. Minimality condition effects in Krio, 269-78.
- POPLACK, Shana & Sali TAGLIA-MONTE. Nothing in context: past temporal reference in Nigerian Pidgin English, 71-94.
- van ROSSEM, Cefas. How Dutch is Negerhollands so?, 187-206.
- SMITH, Norval. Focus-marking *we* in Saramaccan: Grammaticalization or substrate?, 113-28.
- SYEA, Anand. The grammaticalization of definiteness in Mauritian Creole, 171-86.
- VEENSTRA, Tonjes. Grammaticalized verbs in Saramaccan, 95-112.
- JAHR, Ernst Håkon & Ingvild BROCH, eds. 1996. *Language contact in the Arctic: Northern pidgins and contact languages*. Contributions include:
- BAKKER, Peter. Language contact and pidginization in Davis Strait, Hudson Strait, and the Gulf of Saint Lawrence (northeast Canada), 261-310.
- BAKKER, Peter. Broken Slavey and Jargon Loucheux: A first exploration, 317-320.
- BROCH, Ingvild. Solombala-English in Archangel, 93-8.
- COMRIE, Bernard. Language contact in northeastern Siberia (Chukotka and Kamchatka), 33-46.
- DORAIS, Louis-Jacques. An Inuit pidgin around Belle-Isle Strait (research note), 311-6.
- GOLOVKO, Evgenij V. A case of nongenetic development in the Arctic area: The contribution of Aleut and Russian to the formation of Copper Island Aleut, 63-78.
- HANCOCK, Ian. The special case of Arctic pidgins, 15-32.
- JAHR, Ernst Håkon. On the pidgin status of Russenorsk, 107-22.
- KOTSINAS, Ulla-Britt. Aspect marking and grammaticalization in Russenorsk compared with Immigrant Swedish, 123-156.
- LUNDEN, Siri Sverdrup. The Vardø merchants' reduced Russian, 99-106.
- de REUSE, Willem J. Chukchi, English, and Eskimo: A survey of jargons in the Chukotka area, 47-62.
- SAMARIN, William. Arctic origin and domestic development of Chinook Jargon, 321-40.
- TRUDGILL, Peter. Dual-source pidgins and reverse creoloids: Northern perspectives on language contact, 5-14.
- van der VOORT, Hein. Eskimo pidgin in West Greenland, 157-260.
- WURM, Stephen A. The Taimyr Peninsula Russian-based pidgin, 79-92.
- INGEMANN, Frances. 1996. 1994 *Mid-America Linguistics Conference papers*. Lawrence, KS: U. of Kansas. Papers in Vol. 2 on pidgins and creoles include:
- BAPTISTA-MOREY, Marlyse. On the nature of *pa* in Capeverdean Creole and its possible historical source, 331-40.
- DeBOSE, Charles E. Creole English in Samaná, 341-50.
- DECKER, Ken. Orthography development for Belize Creole, 351-62.
- DRECHSEL, Emanuel J. Mobilian Jargon in the language area of Southeastern North America, 494-504.
- HERZFELD, Anita. Conversational involvement: The teasing strategy in Limonese Creole, 363-73.
- KANG, Hyeon-Seok. Discourse constraints on past marking in Trinidadian English, 374-86.
- LIPSKI, John M. The evolution of null subjects in Philippine Creole Spanish, 387-401.
- MUFWENE, Salikoko. African-American English, Caribbean English Creoles, and North American English: Perspectives on their geneses, 305-330.
- Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 10(2), 1995, includes the following articles:
- BHATT, Rakesh M. The uprooted, the indentured, and the segregated: South African Indian English. Review of *English in language shift: The history, structure, and sociolinguistics of South African Indian English*, by Rajend MESTHRIE, 1992 (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press).
- KIHM, Alain. Tayo, the strange bird from New Caledonia: Determiners and tense-aspect in Tayo and their implications for creolization theories, 225-52.
- MASUDA, Hirokuni. TSR formation as a discourse substratum in Hawaii Creole English, 253-288.
- McWHORTER, John. Sisters under the skin: A case for genetic relationship between the Atlantic English-based creoles, 289-333.
- MUYSKEN, Pieter. Studying variation in older texts: Negerhollands, 335-47.
- English World-Wide* 16(2), 1995, contained several articles of interest to

(Continued from page 4)

creolists including:

CUKOR-AVILA, Patricia & Guy BAILEY. An approach to sociolinguistic fieldwork: A site study of rural AAVE in a Texas community.

HUBER, Magnus. Ghanaian Pidgin English: An overview, 215-71.

MÜHLHÄUSLER, Peter. Attitudes to literacy in the pidgins and creoles of the Pacific area, 251-71.

YOUSSEF, Valerie. Tense-aspect in Tobagonian English: A dynamic transitional system, 195-213.

BAPTISTA, Marlyse. 1996. Capeverdean (Under)representation in Bilingual Education. *Cimboa. Revista Cabo-verdiana de Letras, Artes and Estudos* 1, 23-5.

CLEMENTS, J. Clancy. 1996. *The genesis of a language: The formation and development of Korlai Creole Portuguese*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

DEN BESTEN, Hans. 1996. Associative DPs. In Crit CREMERS & Marcel DEN DIKKEN, eds. *Linguistics in the Netherlands* (Amsterdam: Benjamins), 13-24.

DRECHSEL, Emanuel. 1996. An integrated vocabulary of Mobilian Jargon, a Native American Pidgin of the Mississippi Valley. *Anthropological Linguistics* 38(2), 248-354.

HAZAËL-MASSIEUX, Marie-Christine. 1995. De quelques avatars de la période en français et en créole: de l'oral à l'écrit. In *Cercle Linguistique d'Aix-en-Provence Travaux 13: Langue orale: ses unités descriptives*. Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 13-42.

LANG, George. 1995. Two Faced Literatures: A Caribbean Creole Dilemma. In *Latin America as its Literature* by M.E. de VALDÈS, M. VALDÈS, R.A. YOUNG, eds. (Whitestone, N.Y.: Council on National Literatures), 188-201.

MANESSY, Gabriel. 1995. *Créoles, pidgins, variétés véhiculaires: Procès et genèse*. Paris: CNRS Éditions.

McWHORTER, John. 1996. The Diachrony of Predicate Negation in Saramaccan Creole: Synchronic and Typological Implications. *Studies in Language* 20, 285-311.

MUFWENE, Salikoko. 1996. The founder principle in creole genesis. *Diachronica* 13(1), 83-135.

OLDENTHORP, Christian Georg Andreas. 1996 [1767/68]. Edited by Peter STEIN, with Hein van der VOORT. *Criolisches Wörterbuch. Erster zu vermehrender und wo nöthig zu bessernder Versuch, herausgegeben,*

einge leitet und mit Anmerkungen versehen von Peter Stein, sowie das anonyme, J.C. Kingo zugeschriebene Vestindisk Glossarium herausgegeben, eingeleitet und mit Anmerkungen versehen von Hein Van der Voort. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

van ROSSEM, Cefas & Hein van der VOORT, eds. 1996. *Die Creol Taal. 250 years of Negerhollands texts*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

SABINO, Robin. 1996. A peak at death: Assessing continuity and change in an underdocumented language. *Language Variation and Change* 8, 41-61.

SIEGEL, Jeff. 1996. The use of Melanesian Pidgin in education. In France MUGLER & John LYNCH, eds., *Pacific Languages in Education*. Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific.

SIEGEL, Jeff. 1996. *Vernacular education in the South Pacific*. Canberra: Australian Agency for International Development (International Development Issues No.45).

VERHAAR, John. 1995. Endonyms and exonyms. *Notes on Linguistics*, 70, 52-5.

FROM THE EDITOR, Continued

John Reinecke. I was not intimidated by that foolishness; I told such "red-baiters" to bug off, "Go weh, no bada mil," that I was proud to be in John Reinecke's company, and that I would continue to try to learn as much from him as I could. No, what I had found intimidating was the task of trying to live up to the reader's expectations set by John Reinecke's precedent. How could I possibly sit at his desk, correspond as he did in so many different languages, with so many scholars around the world? I asked the University if I could have at least one graduate student to support the work, if perhaps two of us together might dare to step into John's shoes. They said, "No." So I said no, reluctantly, too, and The Pidgin flew to another roost.

Years passed. My kids grew. My ears got better at hearing and working on the transcription of "Pidgin" (HCE) tapes made in the community. Even my tongue got better at wrapping itself around "Pidgin" phrases. I had tried to concentrate on, say, just the syntax and lexicon of grammatical details, at first. When to say *no*, when to say *nomoa*, when *nat* and when *neva*. My daughter Maia in particular would never put up with that.

"Oooh, gros, daedi; soa, mai ia. chaim wan mo taim. 'Lau-gaiz no mo maenggoz.'" Her point was, Work on the whole language, including its patterns of use; be accountable to it all. Slowly, slowly, local people stopped asking me what state I came from. Eventually people meeting me came to ask, "yu wen liiv hia aw yaw laif?" The late and lamented Charlene Sato was first a student in one of my classes on children's speech, and then an MA candidate asking me to read her thesis on go as HCE auxiliary, and still later a full-fledged colleague in the neighboring department of English as a Second Language. We spent many hours standing out in the parking lot anguishing together over work we were engaged in out in the community: Charlie on her work with the trial involving the accents of local men denied promotion as weather readers, and I in Manuel Fragante's accent discrimination case against the City and County of Honolulu.

I taught ESL 360, Pidgin and Creole English in Hawai'i, trying to raise the standards, at least, of the debates that cycled and recycled outside first and then inside the university. I tried to get people who were certain that "pidgin is broken English" at least to consider the possibility that for some in Hawai'i, so-called 'proper English' is really defined by "Pidgin." And if people said that maybe it wasn't "broken English," but surely it was "shortcut English," then I tried to get them to examine it empirically with revised questions like this: Can one always get from standard English to HCE by subtraction? That is, write a sentence in SE, then scratch out parts; are you left with "good Pidgin"? Often, not. Then we can find translation equivalents in which the HCE version is actually longer than the SE version? To the students' surprise, Yes! And so on. But in retrospect, I would quickly agree that I never raised the standards of that debate so much myself as they were raised when Charlene Sato took over teaching the course.

Then Charlie and I took up playing "Starsky and Hutch" (a TV show, good cop/bad cop) in community discussions of "the creole continuum"—many of them sponsored by the Hawai'i Committee for the Humanities, funded by NEH. Goo' fan, daet.

So when the Carrier Pidgin came back to UH and Charlene Sato took up the editorship of the CP, it was like the kids coming back from college on "The Continent." I contributed a bit when Charlie asked, and I was happy to join in with the mail-out parties when we gathered to label and stamp the latest issue, always with drinks and 'pu-pu-s' supplied by the editor. How could I say "No" when, in 1993, Charlene twisted my arm to join with Derek Bickerton and assume the editorship of The Carrier Pidgin? I tried, a

little bit, but I gave in. Charlie was very persuasive.

So here we are at another point in history. Charlie is gone, and we miss her very much. Derek has retired from the UH Department of Linguistics. Robert Kurtz, who served as graduate assistant to the Pidgin under Charlie's supervision, and later under mine, has left to live in Indiana in support of his wife's career. Julian Roberts, graduate assistant in Bickerton's research, and Department of Linguistics G.A. for The Carrier Pidgin (we finally got the University to kick in that support) is off to Stanford to work on a PhD. I have become the chair of linguistics, following twenty-seven years of service in that capacity from Byron Bender. It's a big job these days, with budget cuts and retirements, and so on. I feel bad that more has not been accomplished. It bugs me that in our Honolulu newspapers, the understanding of what scholars have learned about language in Hawai'i is so poor that even in the obituary notices written for Elizabeth Carr and for Charlene Sato, a welter of confusion was evidenced. "Pidgin" as the name of a language was not even accorded the courtesy of capitalization in parts of the newspaper reports. There is a lot of work left to be done.

But it's time to let CP fly off and find a new roost. Before I release the proud bird from this hand, though, I want to smooth her feathers one more time and say my Mahalos and uku-plaeni tanks, eh, to all of you who

kept the subscription checks coming, to those of you who served on the advisory board, especially to John Holm who was always very helpful and informative. I want to add my thanks even to those of you I managed to offend in one unintended way or another; you were always reasonably gentle with your squawks, and generally forgiving. To Derek and to Julian, best wishes in your new venues and your ongoing contributions to the field; to Manny Drechsel, many thanks for all the help even though your support has not come from inside the Linguistics Department.

So, Go now, Bird. Fly away. Flai Florida naw, Tometro Hopkins goin tek gud kea yu, ai no fo shua. Go, Bebe, flai shtrawng. Tek gud kea. aen no fawget, kam bek, visit as samtaim, eh? as get plaeni gud maemriz ohea. as goin mis yu. as no going mis da wrk bat!

—MLF

CP Email List

The following is a partial listing of the *Carrier Pidgin* email list:

Mikael Parkvall <parkvall@ling.su.se>
Lilian Adamson <adamson@let.uva.nl>

Jacques Arends <j.arends@let.uva.nl>
Marlyse Baptista
<baptista@husc.harvard.edu>
Adrienne Bruyn <abruyn@let.uva.nl>
Chris Corne <c.corne@auckland.ac.nz>
J. Clancy Clements
<clements@indiana.edu>
Chris Corne <corne@auckland.ac.nz>
Michel DeGraff <degraff@mit.edu>
Hans den Besten
<h.den.besten@let.uva.nl>
Vivianne Deprez
<deprez@rci.rutgers.edu>
Anthony P. Grant
<a.p.grant@bradford.ac.uk>
George Huttar
<george.huttar@dallas.sil.org>
George Lang <George.Lang@ualberta.ca>
John Lipski <jlipski@bootes.unm.edu>
John McWhorter
<johnmcw@violet.berkeley.edu>
Cefas van Rossem <cvrossem@pi.net>
Edgar Schneider
<Edgar.Schneider@sprachlit.uni-regensburg.de>
Armin Schwegler <aschwegl@uci.edu>
Jeff Siegel <jsiegel@metz.une.edu.au>
Alicia Spiegel <aspiegel@siu.edu>
Karen Watson-Gegeo
<kawatsongegeo@ucdavis.edu>
Donald Winford
<dwinford@magnus.acs.ohio-state.edu>

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