The Carrier Pidgin

A newsletter for those interested in pidgin and creole languages

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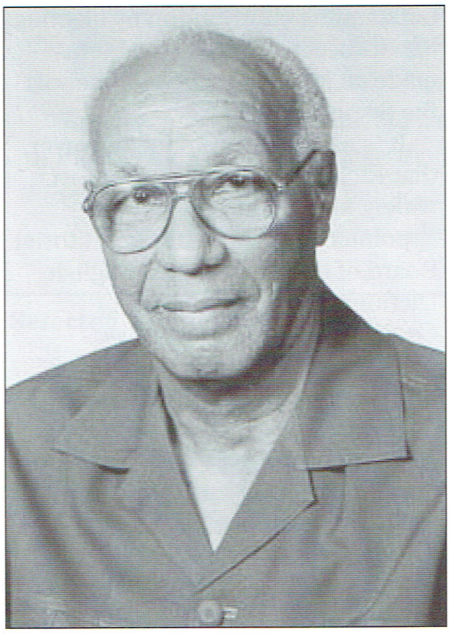
FOCUS ON CREOLIST: RICHARD ALLSOPP



Richard Allsop

by Pauline Christie
University of the West Indies,
Mona, Jamaica

One member of the group of thirteen scholars who came together at the first ever international conference on Creole languages held at Mona, Jamaica in 1959, is mentioned in the report of the conference proceedings (Le Page, ed. 1961:123) as "S. R. R. Allsopp, Esq. (Georgetown, British Guiana)". This simple listing masks two highly significant facts : Allsopp was one of a mere three Caribbean-born participants and the only one of these who still resided in the Caribbean.

Stanley Reginald Richard Allsopp had received the M.A. degree with Distinction from the University of London a year earlier for a dissertation on pronominal forms in the vernacular of Georgetown, British Guiana (now Guyana) and its environs. His dissertation was the first scholarly work devoted to a single English-related Caribbean language variety. Richard later gained the Ph. D from London in 1962, for his study entitled *The Verbal Piece in Guyana Creole.*

Allsopp also has the unique distinction of having served the University of the West Indies continuously throughout the fifty-one years of its existence. The various roles he has performed testify to the wide range of his abilities and interests. He started as French Language Tutor in the Extra-Mural Department in his native Georgetown in 1948, and although officially retired, is currently Honorary Research Fellow and Director/ Coordinator of the Caribbean Lexicography Project, his brain-child, on the Cave Hill (Barbados) campus of the University. In the interval he has been Lecturer, Senior Lecturer, Reader and Senior Research Fellow at Cave Hill, and has also served as Vice-Dean

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RICHARD ALLSOPP

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(Campus Dean) and as Public Orator. In 1994 he was named Cave Hill's Humanities Scholar of the Year.

Richard's general comportment makes it easy to recall that he was once a school-master. Indeed, during the 1950s and early 1960s he served as Head of the prestigious Queen's College in Georgetown. He was awarded the Crane Gold Medal in 1958 for his significant contribution to education, one of only two persons so honored to date. In 1963 he left Guyana to take up the position of Lecturer in English at the newly-established College of Arts and Science in Barbados which was soon to become the Cave Hill campus of the UWI. There he was responsible for, among other things, the introduction of linguistics in the early 1970s. He continued to design and teach linguistics courses in the Department for many years, including a graduate course in Caribbean Lexicography as recently as 1995.

Allsopp's pioneering role in Caribbean linguistics is further evidenced by even a cursory glance at the titles of his conference papers during the 1970s and 1980s. Younger colleagues, among them Donald Winford and Hubert Devonish, have demonstrated the fact that topics which they have developed in their work, had initially been highlighted by him. These include recognition of the significance of tone and of the semantic expression of passivity in Caribbean language, as well as emphasis on the historical evidence of the Afrogenesis of Atlantic Creoles. Indeed, the first recorded use of the term Afrogenesis was in a paper he presented at the 1976 Conference of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics in Guyana. He was also one of the first to argue strongly for recognition of Caribbean standards in English, particularly with regard to the lexicon. In 1974, the Society for Caribbean Linguistics, of which he had been a founding member, publicly acknowledged his outstanding contribution by electing him its second president. He was made an Honorary Life Member of the Society in 1994.

It is as a lexicographer, however, that Richard Allsopp is now most widely known. In 1984, he was appointed a member of the Editorial Board of the New Oxford English Dictionary. His *Dictionary of Caribbean Regional English*, published in 1996, has been his crowning glory, a fitting climax to a long and distinguished career. Among other things, it earned him the Guyana Prize for Literature (a Special Award) in 1998. The Dictionary, which marked the culmination of twenty-five years of painstaking research, is likely to remain one of the most significant landmarks in Caribbean Linguistics and to be an invaluable resource for many generations to come.

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FROM THE EDITOR

We are pleased to announce that our ***Carrier Pidgin*** is up and flying again with this triple-issue volume packed with feature articles and lots of book reviews. Pauline Christie writes about Richard Allsopp, this volume's Creolist in Focus, who is a native creole speaker, a pioneer in creole studies and one of thirteen creolists who came together at the formation of the first international conference on creole languages held at the University of the West Indies, Mona, in 1959. Recognition give to this great scholar as a pioneer in creole studies is long overdue.

Jacques Arends fills an important gap in creole studies with his extensive and lengthy bibliography of Lingua Franca. As the oldest known pidgin with a Euorpean-based lexicon, Arends feels that it deserves to be examined in its own right.

The *Spotlight On Our Creolist* features Ian Hancock, who was one of the guest speakers at the symposium on *The Black Seminoles* and the first to provide us with a glimpse of Afro-Seminole Speech and its linguistic connection to Gullah.

Lise Winer is highlighted in the Society for Caribbean Linguistics because of her contribution of an SCL Banner, based on drapo, ritual flages of Haitian Voudou.

In our obituary, Loreto Todd remembers her friendship with Aiko Tokimasa Reinecke, wife of renown creolist, John Reinecke.

Elena Cabatu takes us on a linguistic journey to find her native Hawai'i as she shares with us how she came to appreciate her native Hawaiian Creole English and her aspirations to become a creative writer, using HCE as the medium of expression. And Gene Wilkes taks us on a linguistic journey in the speech of Trinidad and Tobago as he shares with us two poems written in what he labels *doggerel.*

We owe very special thanks to Deans Arthur Harriott and Ivelaw Griffith of Florida International University. Their continued support of *The Carrier Pidgin* makes possible the publication of this newsletter.

We are sure you will enjoy reading this volume of *The Carrier Pidgin.*

—Tometro Hopkins

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A Bibliography

by Jacques Arends
Universiteit van Amsterdam

Since Schuchardt's classic article (1909), surprisingly little attention has been devoted to the Lingua Franca (LF) by creolists. Apart from a brief upsurge of interest in the 1970s (Coates 1971; De Granda 1976a, 1976b, 1977; Hadel 1969; Hancock 1977; Naro 1978; Whinnom 1977a, 1977b; Wood 1971), caused by the suggestion that LF might be the source of many of the world's pidgins and creoles (Whinnom 1956, 1965; Thompson 1961), creolists have largely neglected it. Scholars from other subfields, such as Romance linguistics or Italian dialectology, however, have devoted considerable attention to it. Perhaps due to the fact that their work was published in languages other than English (Italian, Spanish, French, German), most of it seems to have gone unnoticed by creolists. This is unfortunate because LF, regardless of the role it may have played in creole genesis, deserves to be studied in its own right, if only because it is the oldest known pidgin with a European-based lexicon.

The provisional bibliography presented here consists of two parts. Part I contains primary sources (textual material in LF), listed in chronological order. In most cases, only small fragments of LF are contained in these sources. Since in many cases the original sources are difficult to access, I have also provided references to works which contain LF specimens from these sources. Wherever this was possible, I have added references to the exact pages where these specimens can be found. Within square brackets the locality is given whose variety of Lingua Franca the text is assumed to represent (based largely on Foltys 1984 and Cifoletti 1989) as well as the type of text, i.e. **L** (literary, e.g. plays by Molière or Goldoni) or **D** (documentary, e.g. travel accounts). Part two lists secondary sources (publications dealing with LF). These are listed in alphabetical order; wherever this seemed useful I have added references to the exact pages where LF is discussed.

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Anon. (ca 1300). *Contrasto della Zerbitana.*
Poem in LF, in: G. Grion (1890), Farmacopea e Lingua Franca del Dugento. *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* 12:181-86 (pp. 183-84). Also in: G. Contini, ed. (1960), *Poeti del Duecento* (pp. 919-21), and in: Cifoletti (1989:215). [Djerba;[2] **L**]

Oswald von Wolkenstein (ca 1410). *Das Lied von der Kreuzfahrt.*
Poem containing some allegedly LF words, in: Röll (1967:310-12). Also in: K. Klein et al., eds (1962), *Die Lieder Oswalds von Wolkenstein* (song no. 17). [Eastern Mediterranean; **L**]

Schambek (1484?). [One LF sentence].
In: C. Hassler, ed. (1843-1849), *Fratris* Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, *Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem* (vol. 3, p. 155). Also in: *Cortelazzo* (1965:110), and in: *Cifoletti* (1989:155). [Eastern Mediterranean; **D**]

Juan del Encina (1520). *Villancico contrahaciendo a los mocaros que siempre van importunando a los peregrinos con demandas.*
Poem in LF, in: Harvey, Jones & Whinnom (1967:576-77). Also in: R. Jones & C. Lee, eds. (1975), *Poesia lirica y cancionero musical* (pp. 253-55). [Western Mediterranean; **L**]

Paolo Giovio (1528). [One LF sentence in a letter to Pope Clemens VII].
In: Ferrero, ed. (1956), *Lettere di Paolo Giovio* (vol. 1:121-23). Also in: *Cortelazzo* (1965:110). [Djerba; **D**]

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Orlando di Lasso (1581). *Matona mia cara.*
Poem in LF, in: Collier (1977:292-93). [Eastern Mediterranean; **L**]

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Marinus Dersa (16th c.). [One LF sentence].
In: M. Bartoli (1906), *Das Dalmatische* (vol 2, p. 284). Also in: Kahane & Kahane (1976:36) [Dalmatia; **L**]

Giovambattista Andreini (ca 1600?). *La sultana.*
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# of LINGUA FRANCA

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LF samples in: Cifoletti (1989:223-25). [Eastern Mediterranean; **L**]

Anon. (1670). [Wordlist of Algerian Lingua Franca.]
In: Antonio de la Asuncion (1899), *Dicionario des escritores trinitarios de España y Portugal, vol. IX.* Rome. [Algiers; **D**]

[Fr.] Bartolomé Serrano (ca 1670). *Libro en que se da razon del viaje que hicimos a la ciudad de Argel el año de 1670.*
LF word list plus LF greeting formulas in: [Fr.] Antonino de la Asuncion (1899), *Diccionario de escritores trinitarios de España y Portugal* (vol. 2:376-88). [Algiers; **D**]

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SPOTLIGHT ON OUR CREOLISTS: IAN HANCOCK

Ian Hancock and Dub Warrior *photo: Tometro Hopkins*

by Tometro Hopkins
Florida International University

Ian Hancock was a guest speaker at a symposium on *The Black Seminoles: Gullah Pioneer Freedom Fighters* , which was held at the Penn Heritage Center on St. Helena Island, South Carolina on November 12-18, 1998. The symposium was a major event in the annual Penn Center Heritage Days Celebration. The Penn Heritage Center, formerly the Penn School, is an important historical institution for the Gullahs in the Sea Islands. The Penn School was established for newly freed African slaves following the Civil War, and it remained, until the late 1950s, the only school in which the Gullahs in the Sea Islands were educated.

Joseph Opala, who was on the Penn Heritage Center staff at the time, organized the symposium. While at the center, Opala oriented the local Gullahs to their Black Seminole heritage. The Black Seminoles were enslaved Africans who escaped from South Carolina and Georgia plantations in the late 1600s, to northern Florida where they settled. The Gullahs then joined forces with various groups of renegade Indians, together forming a new group called the *Seminoles*, a word meaning 'wild' or 'free'.

The Black Seminoles and their comrades were engaged in bitter conflicts with American military forces but were never defeated. However, as part of a compromise to end this bitter conflict, the Seminoles were forced out of northern Florida to the west in the 1830s, relocating in what is now central Oklahoma, western Texas, and northern Mexico. The Black Seminoles and their dependents continue to preserve the Gullah language, which reflects their Gullah roots in South Carolina and Georgia.

Hancock is noted as the first to locate the Texas Scouts in the 1970s, who were still speaking Gullah 150 years after their ancestors escaped from slavery in South Carolina and Georgia, connecting the Black Seminoles in Texas to their Gullah heritage. Prior to Hancock's work, no other study had revealed the linguistic and historical connection between these two groups. Hancock estimates that there are approximately 300 Black Seminoles still living in Brackettville, Texas.

In his symposium address, Hancock stated that when he first came into contact with the Texas Black Seminoles, they were speaking Gullah, unaware of their historical and linguistic connection with the Sea Island Gullahs. The Black Seminoles had not even heard of the word *Gullah* or knew that such a group called *Gullahs* existed.

In spite of their historical and linguistic connection, Hancock pointed out that the one thing which distinguished the Texas Black Seminoles from the Sea Island Gullahs was their manifestation of Indian culture, which was absorbed by their ancestors when they settled with the native Americans in these communities.

Joseph Opala, who was also a panelist at the symposium, shared his research on the Oklahoma Seminole Freedmen. He noted that it was Hancock's research which had paved the way for his study allowing him to establish a similar link with the Gullah descendants in Oklahoma.

The symposium also brought for the first time two Black Seminoles in contact with their Gullah relatives: Dub Warrior from Brackettville, Texas and Lena Shaw from Oklahoma, who were also among the panelists. Dub Warrior is the foremost spokesperson for the 'Seminole Scouts', as the Texas Black Seminoles are called, and the 'Seminole Negro Indian Scouts', a U.S. Calvary unit (also called 'Black Buffaloes') made up of Black Seminoles that distinguished themselves in battles with Apaches and Comanches after the Civil War. Lena Shaw is also a spokesperson for the 'Seminole Freedmen' as the Oklahoma Black Seminoles are called, and is one of four black members of the Tribal Council of the Seminole Nation of Oklahoma.

Other panelists included Melina Micco, a Seminole Indian and professor at Mills College in California, and Bruce Twyman, a professor at Prairie View A&M University in Texas, who has just completed a book on Black Seminole history.

Following the symposium, the panelists participated in a ceremony at the grave of Osceola, the Seminole leader who is buried at Fort Moultrie on Sullivan's Island, SouthCarolina.

Society for Caribbean Linguistics features LISE WINER

At the Society for Caribbean Linguistics conference in St. Maarten, the executive committee decided that the society should be symbolically represented by an appropriate banner, to be displayed at future meetings. This charge was accepted by committee member Lise Winer. She eventually decided to make the new society banner based on the drapo of Haiti, designing and executing this piece in time for official presentation at the SCL Conference in St. Lucia , August 1998.

The drapo, ritual flags of Haitian Vodou, probably developed in the mid- to late- 19th century, though few flags earlier than the 1930s have survived even in descriptions. These flags are usually made of satin, velvet or rayon, and are adorned with sequins, beads and applique. Each one is normally dedicated to a specific lwa, incorporating the sacred colors and symbols of that deity. Many also include images of Catholic saints who are identified with Vodou deities. Many of the drapo have geometric backgrounds and border patterns based on squares and triangles.

Artistic influences on drapo include Kongo and Dahomean symbols, West African secret society flags, French military flags, Masonic aprons, Catholic processional banners, military uniforms, painted patterns on West African drums, and of course the availability, constraints and possibilities of the raw materials themselves. Drapo design is, however, a distinct, recognizable and new art form. Thus, it is quintessentially Caribbean and creole.

Lise Winer *Photo: Tometro Hopkins*

The design of this particular banner is secular, with no religious symbols or designs characteristic of any deity. The geometric patterns of the inner and outer borders are based on those of several drapo, especially "Dambala" by Yves Telemac (Pl.7, in Girourard 1994)). The colours are also not particularly symbolic, so feel free to make your own associations! The style of scattered sequins in the center portion is characteristic of older flags, and was done both for historical continuity and to make the letters "SCL" – done with sequins and small pearls – stand out.

The making of this drapo was done over a period of about a year. Overlapping rows of sequins fill in each section. Each sequin is fastened by stiching through it and a bead with transparent nylon thread, then back through the sequin. This drapo is 36" x 36"; it required 15,000 sequins and 15,000 beads. It is inter-lined and backed; the edges are bound, and trimmed with gold rayon fringe and braid. A gold drapery cord holds a stick put through a sleeve at the top. (Haitian drapo usually have the sleeve or ties on one side; to be held upright on a pole.)

Winer agrees that this was truly "a labour of love"; it was a pleasure for her to work on this to pay respect to the many people who have contributed to the Society for Caribbean Linguistics, and to the vibrant artistic as well as linguistic life of the region.

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OBITUARY

The Carrier Pidgin Mourns the Loss of a Prominent Creole Scholar:

AIKO TOKIMASA REINECKE

(1907 - 1998)

by Loreto Todd
University of Ulster

Aiko Reinecke died on May 6, 1998, and all of us who knew her feel: 'That there hath passed away a glory from the earth'.

Aiko is hard to describe without making her sound too good to be true. She was a creolist, who spoke and studied Hawaii Plantation Creole fifty years before it was regarded as a scholarly or appropriate area of study; she was an activist who fought—and suffered—for justice; she was an enthusiast for art and music and literataure; she was one of the most generous and self-effacing people I have ever had the privilege of knowing; and she was utterly devoted to her husband, the eminent creolist, John Reinecke.

In spite of the pain in her own life—being ethnically Japanese in Hawaii during World War II was far from easy—Aiko was without bitterness, without rancour of any kind. Even in old age, she continued to have the enthusiasm of a young person. She loved to hear about what people did, where they were from and what they were working on. I remember how she encouraged me to eat poi because it was good for me. (She was only a little woman but she had David DeCamp and me both eating poi!) And I remember how quickly she walked—and expected every-one else to match her speed.

The memories are all happy ones and that's the legacy that Aiko has left. All of us who knew her were touched by her limitless generosity, and influenced by the character that never condemned any person but never condoned any wrong.

Creative Writing Corner

MY LANGUAGE JOURNEY TO FIND MY HAWAII

Elena Marie Hatsumi Cabatu
Georgetown University

As a 21 year-old senior at Georgetown University, I have come to discover in the past four years something I call my language journey. My language journey started by being born and raised in Hilo, Hawaii where I attended public school until the nineth grade. In these early years of development, Hawaii Creole English (HCE)which originated from the sugar plantation in the early 1900's, was used at home by my family and at school and sports practices by my friends. Although English was taught in school, it was inevitable that HCE became my first language. In the tenth grade, the first major shift in my language journey occurred when I transferred to Hawaii Preparatory Academy, an international private boarding school on the Big Island. I learned how to speak "proper" English there because the linguistic domain was dominated by Standard English. My attitude toward HCE

continued on next page

also changed and I became disillusioned by the idea of Standard English being the only means of getting me places in the world. Soon after I stopped speaking HCE and couldn't stand to hear my friends and family speak it and see them act local. Only until going away to school at Georgetown three years later did I realize the importance of HCE and my culture through linguistics and cultural studies courses. When I took a Pidgins and Creoles course from Suzanne Romaine in Hawaii, I was completely convinced that telling stories about Hawaii through HCE was the only way to go and a major shift in the other direction took place. Now every time I write a poem or short story, I appreciate my culture and language more. More importantly, I appreciate the "good-fun" times with friends and family.

My language journey continues with the publication of my work, with my career decision to be a writer and teach other people how to write their stories through their language. For me, the best part of writing is that I get to revisit the "good-fun" times every time I read my work because I insist on reading my work due to the oral nature of HCE. I can only imagine how much more colorful the literary world would be if more pidgin and creole speakers wrote in their language; and perhaps one day, children won't feel bad about speaking their language and not think of it as "broken" English.

I WANNED FO' TRY *BIORE*

Right afta I wen go back school on da mainland 'n '97
One pimple remova ting came out on TV called *Biore*.
Da TV said da pad supposta pull all da pimples outta yoa' nose.
Wen look real fun. I wanned fo' try 'em,
But I was kinda shame, 'specially being on da mainland.
I neva like do 'em in fronna my roommates.

Took me one whole yea' fo' try 'em.
One aftanoon da following summa,
Me and my sistah was boa'd, only watching MTV, had *Say What!*
Karaoke.
But dose haoles had call karaoke someting diff'rent.
Dey tell, "CARRY-O-KEY."
Dey jus' doddo no know how fo' say 'em.

Anyways, my sistah wen fine da Biore in oua' step-maddah's make-up draw.
Da firs' ting we wen do was peel off da pad from da plastic cova and put 'em on oua' nose.
Da ting no was staying,
But you know how anybody can get excited ova dea' pimples, 'specially da ones on da nose
So we was jus' hol'ing 'em so da ting would stick.
Afta five minutes oua' aa'm was getting sowa so we wen finally read da box.
Da box said, godda wet oua' nose befo' putting 'em on.
No wanda da ting neva stick!
As soon as we wen wet 'em, da ting wen stick real fas'.
Shoulda read da box firs', den we no would get sowa aa'm.

We wen waid longtime 'cause we wanned 'em fo' work good, eh?
Laddah on, my sistah wen say, "We go take 'em off."
We wen go to da mirrah.
My sistah was firs'.
We wen read, peel from da edges.
When she wen peel 'em,
Ho, her eyes was all waddaring an' she was kinda screaming.
Den she wen peel 'em off at da tip a da nose jus' like we wen read 'em on da box
An' guess what?
Na-ting as my Filipino gramma would say.
Neva get one ting on da pad, only da hea' from on toppa da nose.
Ho, she was bummed,
But my turn was next.
She tol' me, "No fo'get, from da tips, eh?"
Peel. Waddah. Scream lillo bi'.
Na-ting!
Ah shit!
Waste time!

Elena Cabatu, 8/8/98

STAND STILL

Da sun not even up yet and grandma Nancy call us at six o'clock every morning since coming back from college. My twin sistah and me let da phone ring five times then da answering machine come on and we hea' da same, "You still sleeping? Call me back when you get up. Dis is Gram."

Five minutes later, ring, ring, ring. I know is' her so I make like I sleeping an' I know my sistah stay doing da same ting. Dis could go on fo'eva. Afta half an hour lata on da fourt ring, Alana rip off her blanket an' make a big pig grunt an' stomp her feet all da way to my maddah's room. "Hello!" she say double piss off 'cause she knew I was fake sleeping. "You guys going lift weights?" Gramma all innocent like she neva know she wen wake us up, "somebody godda pick you guys up, eh?"

"Ho, gramma! No, today is Tuesday. I tol' you, we lift Monday, Wednesday, Friday."

"Oh, so what you guys going do today?"

"I dunno…SLEEP! Why you call so early in da morning?"

"Well, you know, some times Grandpa George take me fo' coffee at McDonald's. I'm not always at home an' you guys don't have a car." "Umm. Why, what you doing today?"

"Noting yet, why you get someting to do?"

"Yeah, I have to go to JCC credit union and Walmart."

"What you godda buy?"

"Hair dye."

"Who going color deir hair? You?"

"No, Elena."

"Elena! Again!"

"Yep."

"An' den, whea' you like go afta?"

"I dunno…HOME!"

"You guys like eat Chinese? I take you guys Leungs fo' lunch. You neva eat dea' since you came home, eh?"

"Gramma, we had it last Friday. You no rememba? You ate wid us."

"Oh yeah. Well, you know I'm sixty-five, but really, I feel like I'm seventy-five."

"Yeah. Yeah. Yeah."

"Well, I come get you guys pretty soon."

"Ho, we not even up yet."

Den I come walking outta da room an' I hea' my sistah tell Gram. "Jus' come den. You ate breakfast yet?"

"Yeah, I had a glass of milk and a piece of cake from last night's party."

"Gram, da's not breakfast. Jus' come over. I cook fo' you."

"Ok, bye" an' Gram hol' 'em long time like she saying I love you. "What she said?" I ask my sistah. "You know. She tought we lift today." Den my sistah grab da remote, turn on da TV and pa'k her ass on da couch. Me, I jump on da computer fo' check my e-mail. I read only one e-mail from my friend an' we hea' da low vibrations of Gram's maroon Toyota Celica. "She came already?" my sistah tell. "Yep. Da's her. She musta had everyting ready to go," as I hea' her caa'doa' slam and da dogs going nuts. "Hello, you guys up?" Gram open da doa' . "I was trying to call to see if you wanted to eat some pork ribs, but I tink somebody was on da internet. Hea' I brought 'em," sticking her aa'm out with da ribs in a KTA bag. "I had 'em in my freezer."

"Ho Gram," my sistah letcharing, "you no need bring someting every time you come."

"I know, but I know you guys like."

"Gram, I'm on a diet," I godda remind her. "I'm trying to lose weight."

"Eh, but you godda eat meat some time."

"I know, I do. I put it in my soup."

"Oh well," she shrug her shoulders and pause. "Eh, you guys like go pick *pipinola* an' bitter melon at Great-grandpa's?"

"No," we both say cause we know get choke mosquitoes. "Ho, come on, I like go," she plead with us. "I used to spend hours back dea'. Good fun you know."

"OK," we both huff at da same time. So Alana cook breakfast. I get ready, but I dunno why 'cause I no mo' noting fo' do. I guess I jus' go along fo' da ride, holoholo. Den I get my bowl of soup, sit next to Gram while my sistah get ready.

"Your sister too good," as she put one portagee sausage in her mout wid little bit rice unda'neat. "You can cook like her?"

"Yeah. I know how to cook. Gram, I live in one house in Washington."

"Oh really?" with another scoop of food. "You ready?" my sistah come outta da batroom all groovied up. Finally, da tree of us out of da house. "Who like drive?" Gram offers da keys. "ME!" an' Alana grab 'em befo' I even tink if I like. "Eh you!" Alana scolding me, "no let Gram go in da back."

"Nevamind," Gram says already sitting in da back seat. We're off. Alana drive fas' like she still in Colorado. We go to da bank. We go to Walmart. We avoid Gram's offer fo' Vietnamese food and we're on our way to Grandpa T's. This is the first time my sistah and me go to his house afta he wen die in January. We neva even visit his grave yet.

We stay zooming down Kilauea ave., pas' Tikes Laundromat and A Personal Touch Dry-Cleaning and fas' approaching oua' right turn afta the 7-Eleven on da corna of Kilauea and Kohola street. Down Kohola, newly paved, it's a smooth ride to Grandpa T.'s. Halfway down da street, Alana make one right and we pull onto da gravel driveway. Dea' stands da ol' plantation house still. Dea' on da clothesline unda'neat da house hang Grandpa's las' t-shirt, gray sweat pants an' wash cloth. Dea' at da bottom of da stai's going up to da back doa' rest his good-wear shoes and kamaboko slippers. Dea' on da side a da house grow his eggplant, yellow and purple. Lan and Gram go off to pick pipinola and bitter melon while I stand still looking over da half doa' to Grandpa's workshop whea' he once fixed people's watches.

Elena Cabatu, 6/27/99

GENE WILKES

Gene Wilkes lives in Cocoyea Village, city of San Fernando and is a self-employed Screen Printer. He attended Presentation College, San Fernando (1952-58) and Naparima Teachers College (1968-70). His family consist of his wife, Margaret, and three of four children (one daughter deceased, one in Norway, and two sons in Toronto, Canada). As he says, "Empty nest, hence the reason I have time to pursue my hobby—dabbling in linguistics and writing doggerel which I often submit to the local newspapers. Quite a lot of my "poems" and letters to the editor have been published—and I'm proud to say I get a lot of responses. I have my fans and my share of detractors, of course. As we say in T&T (Trinidad and Tobago) "You cyar play mas' and fraid powder."

THE BUFFER ZONE

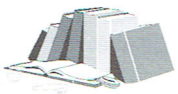
Ever since the last election
The race talk just keep getting worse,
So ah giving this solution
And excuse the amateur verse.
Calling Mongrels of Trinbago
Them others like they want to fight,
Is time to form a buffer zone,
So we mix-breed have to unite.
We, mix up callaloo people
Who have no particular race,
But have so mucha ancestors
From all kind of ah different place.
We, who is neither fish nor fowl,
But just a little bit of each,
May never know where we come from-
But we know for sure that we reach.
We eh have no Mother Country:
Spain, China, Syria, Lebanon,
France, England, India, Africa-
We TOTALLY TRINBAGONIAN.
Dougla is not a dirty word,
Look around you, can't you see
That in another couple years
We go be in the majority?
Is we have to stop the ruckshun,
Is we responsibility
To try and bring back sanity
To we beloved Tee and Tee.
Even strong roots cannot nourish
Those branches cut off from the tree;
Why should the Weaver unravel
This Multiethnic Tapestry?
All true true Trinis must break free
From fulminating fanatics-
New Dogs of War who reviving
Old Divide and Conquer tactics.
So come on my Mongrel Trinis,
Is time to rally to the cause-
And stop reckless politicians
From instigating senseless wars.

Gene Wilkes
Cocoyea

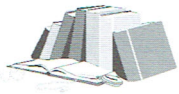
WHEY YOU SAY?

Long time we felt good when we could
Speak the Queen's English properly,
Dese days nobody taking on
Pedants like Undine Giuseppi.
The linguist, Denis Solomon,
Admit that we have we own twang-
With Standard Trini in between
Hazel Redman and Sprangalang.
When Trini cyar pronounce a word,
Doh dig nutten, he have it clean:
Is " Well I eh de godfather,
Besides, ent you know woh ah mean?
If Alistair McIntyre
Coulda say ESSentricity-
As Cypher tell we long ago-
" If de priest could play, who is we?"
Job say most parliamentarians
Doh really talk English for true,
Ent Nanan say paradiggim...
So whey they leave for me and you?
It have a lot ah words we use
That we pronounce in we own way,
Cause Trinbagonians doh care if
Good Friday fall on Ash Wednesday.
No, it eh body parts he mean
When ah Trini say " my-own-ears, "
Is what we does put on "salard"
Yes, Trini dialect is tears.
If I say you miserable,
Or you getting me ignorant,
The Trini and English meanings
From each other are quite different.
So although you REDicule me,
Irregardless to what you say,
Ah go still continue talking
In mih own Trinbagonian way.

Gene Wilkes
Cocoyea



BOOK REVIEWS



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From Contact to Creole and Beyond. Edited by Philip Baker. London: University of Westminster Press, 1995 (Westminster Creolistics Series 1). 268 pp., Pb. (GBP 17.50).

Reviewed by Jeffrey Williams, Cleveland State University

From Contact to Creole and Beyond is the inaugural volume in the Westminster Creolistics series. This collection grew out of a one-day workshop that took place in 1994. About half of the papers in the volume derive from that venue while the other half were solicited. A few of the entries were presented at the second workshop which was held in 1995. The overall theme of the volume could best be described as contact language genesis. As a volume, the socio-historical focus is highly reminiscent of the 1979 publication *Historicity and Variation in Creole Studies*, edited by Arnold Highfield and Albert Valdman and published by Karoma.

The sixteen papers cover the three major ocean regions in terms of geographical areas of language contact genesis. There is a definite French flavor to this edition with eight of the papers dealing with Francophone contact situations.

Baker's contribution, 'Motivation in creole genesis,' takes a "half-full, half-empty" approach to re-evaluating the linguistic outcomes of pidginization and creolization. Instead of characterizing creolization as the ultimate failure in the acquisition of a target language by non-native speakers, he views the process as one of successful development of a language for communication across ethnolinguistic boundaries by a community of speakers.

Jennings provides a detailed account of the social history of Cayenne during the seventeenth century including important information on the dominance of a single African language, Fon, during the first thirty years of societal development. The linguistic consequences of this was the retardation of the creolization of French within this socio-cultural milieu.

Parkvall's article "The role of St. Kitts in a new scenario of French Creole genesis" is a socio-historical account of French Creole genesis on St. Kitts. His contention throughout the article is that St. Kitts was the locus of the initial creolization of French in the Americas. Jennings also discusses the important role of St. Kitts in the development of the American Francophone Creoles in his article "Saint-Christophe: site of the first French Creole." Jenning's contention is that the Norman *engagés* played an important role in the early language contact scene. His arguments parallel those put forth by Williams (1985) and Mufwene (1996) regarding early language contact history in the pre-plantation environments of the Caribbean. Jennings also contrasts the linguistic developments on St. Kitts with Cayenne, showing that the linguistic diversity of the African population on St. Kitts in the early years of settlement gave impetus to creolization, while linguistic homogeneity in the Cayenne colony promoted the adoption of a regionally-influenced French.

Ladhams investigates the socio-historical circumstances surrounding the development of Karipuna French Creole. In a social setting not too unlike that of slavery-era St. Kitts, the linguistic heterogeneity of the population favored the adoption of Guyanais French Creole by the Karipunas.

In "A contact-induced and vernacularized language: how Melanesian is Tayo?," Chris Corne examines the Melanesian (Austronesian) structures of Tayo, a Francophone creole of southern New Caledonia. This article is the most

complete and thorough linguistic analysis that is included in the volume and provides for compelling reading. The homogeneity of the substrate in the case of Tayo, Corne believes, accounts for its somewhat contrary structure vis-à-vis the other Francophone Creoles.

Grant's contribution to the volume discusses article agglutination in the Francophone Creoles and highlights this unique characteristic of these languages which sets them apart from other creoles whereby all or part of the definite article has become agglutinated to the left-most edge of the noun. While the articles themselves are derived from French, the process itself does not have a French origin. In fact, the entire system of definite articles has been lost in the Francophone creoles that Grant examines. The Isle de France varieties are the most robust in terms of this feature.

Syea's "Synthetic genitives in Mauritian Creole" argues against claims made by Corne that synthetic genitives, eg. to *bonfam so pozisyon* "your wife's health", in Mauritian Creole derive from an Indo-Aryan source. Despite surface structural similarities between Bhojpuri and Mauritian forms, Syea shows historical and linguistic facts that weaken the Corne hypothesis. Syea, instead, favors a developmental explanation whereby the synthetic genitives are a linguistic innovation which links periphrastic and synthetic genitives into a single category.

Post documents two aspect markers in the Annobonese Portuguese-derived creole, Fa d'Ambu. A thorough analysis of the structural distribution of these forms in a number of syntactic environments demonstrates that both function to indicate reality. *Xa* indicates non-specific reality while *sa* functions to indicate specific reality. The multifunctionality of these forms in the grammar of Fa d'Ambu is striking.

"Exclusive particles in Guinea Bissau Kriol" by do Couto outlines a class of forms that intensify the base meanings of either verbs or adjectives. Although topically interesting, the article does not present a cogent argument concerning the origin of these forms. Instead, the author seems to believe that the forms are derived from the African substrate, although he is unspecific about the source languages and wavers in regard to taking a stand on the issue.

Shrimpton discusses socio-historical factors, both internal and external, to the standardization of Krio in Sierra Leone. Although the orthography of the language has generally been worked out and accepted in most circles, the grammar and lexicon have a long way to go according to Shrimpton. Gradual lexical expansion that will not alienate speakers of more rural varieties is what is argued for and what is needed within the cultural context of language planning in Sierra Leone.

Aub-Busher's contribution is a short piece on the challenges of creating dictionaries of creole languages. The same challenges face any linguist compiling a dictionary of lesser-known, undocumented, or stigmatized languages or varieties thereof. The article could have easily been omitted from the volume since it provides little substantive comment.

Mühlhäusler 's article "Pidgins, creoles, and linguistic ecologies," is a programmatic plea for a re-assessment of the metalanguage and metaphors of the field of pidgin and creole linguistics. He carefully and ingeniously dissects a number of metaphors in the discussion and classification of contact languages. Mühlhäusler then re-invokes Einer Haugen's metaphor of linguistic ecology in his plea for a global, top-down approach to the discourse of pidgin and creole linguistics. He uses the strict definition of a 'weed' to discuss and explain how pidgin and creole languages have affected the linguistic ecology of the Pacific. While a novel and illuminating metaphor, it strikes this author as unlikely that there was a single, monolithic Pacific linguistic ecology. Instead, we have a number of competing and complementary ecosystems where "weeds" were able to intrude in some cases and become viable and even predominant, while in other cases they were exterminated through the use of linguistic pesticides, such as education, colonialism, and neo-colonialism.

Overall, the volume reads like a compendium of conference papers of varying quality and significance. The topical and geographical coverage is vast. The Westminster Creolistics Series is a welcome addition to the regular publications in the field of contact linguistics.

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French and Creole in Louisiana. Edited by Albert Valdman. 1997. New York: Plenum Press. 372 pp.

Reviewed by Karin Speedy

Albert Valdman's latest offering is a collection of 14 articles all of which have some connection to 'Louisiana French', a label denoting the varieties of French spoken in the state.

It is a handsomely presented hardback tome which promises, and delivers, enlightening insights into the research currently being carried out in Louisiana.

Valdman opens the book with a preface in which he re-hashes the usual terminological difficulties with the word 'Creole' in Louisiana. This is followed by his introductory chapter, a fairly comprehensive, if a little wordy, overview of the issues tackled by the contributors to this volume. He touches on key factors such as language variation, the existence of a linguistic continuum and a language shift to English,

problems facing descriptive language studies, language planning, including a summary of the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana's (CODOFIL) activities, the problem of labeling speech varieties, and the origins of Louisiana French.

The articles are grouped, by and large, according to subject; the first of which is the sociolinguistic situation of Cajun French (CF). Carl Blyth's study sets out to investigate social and linguistic factors pertinent to the language shift situation in the Cajun communities of Louisiana. Defining these speech communities proves problematic in itself due to the linguistic continuum along which speakers move. However Blyth identifies geographic, if not numerical, distribution of these communities before going on to examine the language shift to English and the reasons for this, such as bilingualism, attitudes of the speakers, the reduction of social contexts in which to use Cajun and imperfect language learning. The resulting language attrition does not bode well for the future. Blyth predicts that any reversal of language shift seems unlikely and, although French will not disappear from Louisiana, its role will be reduced to that of a "functional second language" in the state, the exact nature of which he says is 'the sociolinguistic question of the future'.

In Chapter 3, Sylvie Dubois details the methodological processes used to assess the sociolinguistic situation of Cajun in four geographically separate and socioeconomically diverse communities. Her contribution is part of an ongoing research project whose goal is 'to determine what CF is in Louisiana today, who uses it, when, with whom, and to what end'. Data on the speakers' attitudes to Cajun French and Standard French are presented and Dubois indicates the usefulness of the Linguistic Ability and Background (LAB) Index with respect to these attitudes and perceptions.

Cajun French is again the focus in Papen and Rottet's chapter on the phonological and grammatical structure of the language spoken in Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes. After reviewing the literature, a short exercise given the dearth of scholarly work on Cajun French, these authors proceed to tackle, in the first instance, the phonology of this language. They warn that there is a huge amount of variation in the phonemic realization of most of the phonemes due to factors like sex, geographic area, speech register or style, and age. What they present here is detailed and interesting, as is the next section on grammatical categories. Starting with the Noun Phrase, they go on to examine the Adjective Phrase, the Adverb Phrase, the Verb Phrase, the Prepositional Phrase and Conjunctions. They then move on to Syntax including notes on Interrogatives and Relative Clauses. Each category is clearly explained and ample examples are given. My only complaint is that this chapter contains neither a discussion nor a conclusion.

Not until Chapter 5, 'The Structure of Louisiana Creole', by Valdman and Klingler, do we get any in-depth analysis of Creole in Louisiana. By all accounts this is a dying language and to date there are only two major descriptive studies available; Neumann's (1985) study of the grammar of Breaux Bridge speech and Klingler's (1992) description of the lexicon of New Roads Creole. In this chapter, the authors discuss the geographical distribution of Creole speakers and the loss of language due to Creole's lowly status. They then give a sketch of phonology and grammatical structure followed by a note on the African element in Louisiana Creole. Valdman and Klingler point out that Cajun and Creole not only share a close lexical relationship, but are phonologically similar too. Their section on Creole phonology is a user-friendly statement that includes some useful comparative remarks. Like Papen and Rottet's, their grammatical sketch is detailed and full of examples. The brief section on African elements, however, could have been expanded into an article in its own right. While their conclusion, that these features are present in the Creole because of what they call 'convergence' (in fact 'congruence' would seem a better term), sounds reasonable enough, a few more examples to demonstrate this would have been welcomed.

Chapter 6, 'The Lexicon of Louisiana French', by Klingler, Picone and Valdman, serves as publicity for the forthcoming (non-differential) dictionary by Valdman et al. That is not to say that the article itself is not of merit, but one cannot help but feel it is merely whetting the reader's appetite for something more substantial. The writers start off by underlining the fact that it is not known whether Cajun and Creole draw on a common lexical stock, whether they each have their own lexicon or whether they share a lexical stock that varies from region to region. Whatever the case, the literature review is separated according to language. In both cases problems arise due to the amateurish and differential nature of both the early and more recent studies. The article continues by discussing the sources of the Louisiana French lexicon before examining lexicogenetic strategies, possibly the most informative section of the chapter.

The focus of the book shifts in Chapter 7, where Jacques Henry looks at the Louisiana French Movement, the actors and actions in social change. He gives an insightful history of the establishment of CODOFIL as well as outlining the works of individual Cajun activists who have helped shape a Louisiana French identity. While the efforts of CODOFIL to lead Louisiana to bilingualism have not had great success, the organization has stopped a long-time trend of decreasing numbers of French speakers and managed to promote

ethnic pride. This has in turn led to a popular movement of scholars, artists and entrepreneurs who have embraced and expanded upon their culture to produce literary works, music and marketing strategies.

In Becky Brown's chapter, 'The Development of a Louisiana French Norm', we are off again into the domain of linguistic theory. Brown examines the question of the relation of norms, both naturally developing and artificially imposed, to internal variation. She suggests that if artificial norm development is to be successful it must work hand in hand with naturally occurring norm development. In Louisiana the norm had been the French from France until, with the Americanization of the state, English took over. The issue of norm selection was first raised when CODOFIL was formed. The initial selection of French from France gave rise to hot debate as Cajuns began their cultural revival. The Cajun language has now become part of an increasingly strong cultural norm. Brown stresses that there is in fact no 'standard' Louisiana French, but that one should examine norms in the different domains in the community. She espouses the idea that 'standard' is a relative and dynamic notion and that it can just as well be applied to the French from France as to what is heard on Cajun radio stations. Brown then discusses the place of norms in education, literature and the media. Finally, Brown takes the case of the recent nativization and growth of Hebrew and points out that, all things considered, the optimism CODOFIL has for its language programme might not be irrational.

Julianne Maher's chapter, 'French and Creole on St. Barth and St. Thomas', would at first glance appear rather out of place in a volume on Louisiana French. However, the title proves a little deceptive as Maher in fact presents a deftly written comparative study of the socio-demographic histories of Louisiana and these two small islands. Surprisingly, there are a number of similarities, particularly between the Cajuns and the Patois speakers of St. Barth Sous le Vent. They would appear to hail from the same geographic areas of France and probably have similar social origins. They also share a history of disruption and forced evacuations. Once settled, however, the Cajuns and St. Barths tended to become small farmers or fishermen, had large families, were Catholic and conservative, had strong kinship ties and remained in relative isolation from other communities. Maher notes a number of linguistic similarities between Cajun French and St. Barth Patois but cannot link the Creole languages of St. Barth and Louisiana in the same way. Let's hope that more comparative research on this topic will ensue.

In Chapters 10 and 11 we are whisked off to Canada. Karin Flikeid updates us on the structural aspects and current sociolinguistic situation of Acadian French. By gaining a thorough knowledge of maritime Acadian varieties, linguists investigating Louisiana French can have more meaningful insights into the internal and contact induced changes that have taken place since the Acadians' arrival in Louisiana. Here Flikheid gives a picture of the settlement history, current geographic distribution of the Acadian population, and talks about such issues as sociopolitical status and language shift. The article contains a section on the maintenance and transmission of traditional Acadian features which includes some linguistic data, as well as sections on sociolinguistic variation, language-contact phenomena, language attitudes and linguistic insecurity.

Raymond Mougeon then takes us to Ontario where he looks at sociolinguistic heterogeneity amongst the Franco-Ontarians. He focuses on the demographics of the French speakers, their patterns of language learning and their linguistic competence. In section 7 he presents several excerpts of taped interviews with people from different age groups and social backgrounds who also have differing linguistic abilities. I found these transcripts fascinating reading. Given the similarities between the two communities, this chapter should provide a good basis of comparison for those undertaking sociolinguistic research on Louisiana's French speakers.

For something quite different we next turn to Pierre Rézeau's article entitled 'Toward a Lexicography of French in Louisiana—Historical and Geographic Aspects'. In this chapter Rézeau traces the origins of some lexical items in Louisiana French back to their roots in regional France. He has used written resources such as travelogues and dialect glossaries, but his study is of a preliminary nature. It should, however, prompt others into some serious research to exploit all of the references given here. A worthy introduction into this fascinating area of study.

Margaret Marshall's article on the origin and development of Louisiana Creole French would seem a neat summary of the socio-demographic chapters in my 1994 Master's thesis. She writes about the demographics and then analyses some eighteenth and nineteenth century texts. She draws the conclusion that modern Louisiana Creole is a reflection of settlement patterns and of two centuries of language contact and variation, rejecting such linguistic labels as 'decreolization' and 'elaboration' to explain its particular linguistic patterns. A clearly written piece of work but one that, due to its lack of truly new information and/or ideas, ultimately proves a little disappointing.

The final chapter in this volume is dedicated to Louisiana French folklore and folklife. The well-known folklorist, Barry Jean Ancelet, provides an inventory of works on the description of Cajun and Creole cultures. He informs us about past and current developments in the study, teaching and publishing of material on Francophone Louisiana.

The book finishes with a handy Name and Title Index followed by a Subject Index.

Having reached the end of this hefty volume, the question remains to be answered: Does this collection deliver what it promises? In Valdman's preface he promotes French and Creole in Louisiana as a gap-filler, a single publication in which academics and other interested persons may access information on the linguistic situation of Francophone Louisiana, at least until the time when authoritative monographs on Cajuns and Creoles will appear. In this capacity, the book achieves its aim. As with any collection, though, the articles vary in quality and the reader is sometimes left feeling a bit short-changed. There is a definite Cajun bias which is good for scholars interested in this area. From a creolist's point of view, however, this is a bit disappointing and, for this reason, one would have to question the prominence of the word 'Creole' in the title. While it is obvious that interest in this area has picked up considerably in the past few years, so many avenues have yet to be explored. All that aside, French and Creole in Louisiana is a worthwhile investment for anyone wanting to find out about ongoing research into French speaking communities in the state.

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***Defining Jamaican Fiction: Marronage and the Discourse of Survival.*.** By Barbara Lalla, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1996. 225 pp.

Reviewed by Lise Winer
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This book is broadly divided into two sections: Part One, "Outside In: External Views of Alienation in Jamaica" and Part Two, "Inside Out: Jamaican Perspectives on Exile and Resistance." Of most interest to this review is the attention Lalla pays to the linguistic aspects of literary discourse.

It is an excellent idea to alleviate the all-too-common mutual suspicion of linguists and literary experts. Linguists shake their heads at the obfuscatory jargon of deconstructionist literary criticism, and at the claims about the psychological symbolism of linguistic structures. Literary folks look down on linguists, who seem to mine aesthetic works solely for lexicographic, syntactic and orthographic bits of data. For both, historians are consulted only on a need-to-know basis; in return, historians ignore the linguistic and literary gems they come across.

Meanwhile, over the last decade, the rise in popularity of and academic interest in literature from the Caribbean has been striking, from Derek Walcott's Nobel Prize for poetry, to the re-publication of long out-of-print novels, and the burgeoning body of new work from writers of Caribbean background. The need for accessible, multi-disciplinary, and provocative analysis of these works is greater than ever. What, if anything, makes them intrinsically "Caribbean"? How does language reflect historical experience? Thus it is fortunate that Barbara Lalla, author of Defining Jamaican Fiction: Marronage and the Discourse of Survival , is a multi-lingual speaker, not only of English and Creole, but of the disciplinary dialects of linguistics, literature, and history.

The book focuses on the maroons, the escaped slaves who set up their own towns and societies in remote areas of Jamaica and successfully resisted recapture and assimilation. The experience of marronage is focused on as the crucial concept in Jamaican literature: "not on the Maroon as a sociohistorical phenomenon but on the developing persona of the maroon as a character type in creative literature" (p. 3). The concepts of "civilization" in a multicultural setting, and, concomitantly, "outcastness," are multidimensional: "Marronage results from fragmentation internal to the Jamaican setting and from a tension between local and imperial cultures" (p. 104).

Portraits of alienation and exile, of dispossession and dislocation in space and time, are not only reflected but operationalized through dimensions of language and discourse. Perhaps most familiar to language specialists will be the discussions and analyses of "code shifting," involving "interactions between characters…[and] between thought and speech within particular characters" (p. 101), a phenomenon that has received attention from both linguists (e.g. Bernhardt 1983) and literary critics (e.g. Wyke 1991). Lalla starts with basic propositions. First, Jamaican literature is "linguistically distinct from other literature in English to the extent that it includes selected features of this [Jamaican] Creole. Language variation is also essential to the setting of the Jamaican novel, for the nature of this variation indicates the character's language community (pp. 12-13).

Second, speech represented in fiction is "a clue to nonlinguistic information." In creating a character's speech an author thus provides essential information about that character: "the author signals social background and social attitudes, and an accumulation of linguistic stereotypes can produce literary stereotypes. The outcast often distinguishes himself or herself by using a 'lesser' code" (p. 19). A movement from one code to another is thus a crucial strategy for indicating perspectival shift. This shift in perspective moves "from universally shared vision to an indigenous one" (p. 118).

In examining the circumstances of shifting codes, Lalla rejects the still widespread notion that Creole is suitable only for comic or informal purposes, and views Caribbean comedy as very serious indeed:

> It may seem at first glance that [the] traditional comic treatment of Creole language continues in [the film] The Lunatic, perhaps as a screen for taboo material. However, in truth, language usage in this discourse is not a screening device but a tool for unmasking…[It] highlights conflicting perceptions of a society in which the sane have lost all illusions and reorganized their values and ideals[,] and ethical principles have come to be viewed as delusions. This unmasks elements of savagery in civilization and invests the outcast who clings to rejected values with a dignity that is as tragic as it is comic…Absurdity is frequently a function of verbal incongruity, and incongruity in The Lunatic triggers laughter. However, this is often hysterical laughter, born of shock. (144-5)

Lalla further posits not only that shifts in speech reflect the "linguistic agility necessary for survival" but also that they can manifest "the neocolonial schizophrenia that underlies the split vision and doublespeak of [some] creole characters" (p. 102). On a micro-linguistic level, special attention is given to the meaning or significance of time reference markers within longer narrative discourse, that is, the relationship of syntax and morphology on the one hand, to views of time and making of meaning on the other. Lalla notes that some shifts in speech reflect sophisticated interpretations of spatial and temporal relations. For example, "a tendency to brood on the past or reinterpret it proliferates devices for time switching or chronological decomposition as the past lives on in the present" (p. 13). Thus, in a discussion of Senior's "Country of the One-Eye God," Lalla focuses on the phrase "A haffe leave," noting that it is "syntactically ambiguous, for it carries implications of past tense and passive voice as well as nonpast and active meanings" (p. 111). That is, it could mean either "I must leave/go away" expressing necessity of departure, or "I had to be the one who is left" / "It had to be me who is left behind," emphasizing the speaker's abandonment and disjuncture both social and linguistic.

> [A]n important dichotomy in the text is that between stasis and change…To Ma B, stasis is order and calm, whereas change intimates a world…"moving off course"; change is dissolution. But to Jacko, escape lies only through change…His present desperation, articulated in "a haffe leave," is indistinguishable from his initial abandonment and unchangeable status as deserted child…Jacko's resentment at having been left and his desperation to leave fuse in a single output that marks neither tense nor voice. (p. 111)

Not only are syntactic features susceptible to this type of analysis, but lexical ones as well:

> In the multidimensional space of Jamaican society, Jacko has located himself quite differently from Ma Bell. Each of his utterances functions as an act of identity by which he locates himself in this space…These different orientations produce…distinctly different meanings for terms they would seem to have in common. This…semantic drift intensifies the gap between these groups and reflects the alienation of focal characters of the narrative from each other. (p. 105)

The phenomenon of semantic "drift" of Creole vis-a-vis Standard English is "related to historical change in meaning. This means not only that words narrow, broaden, and pejorate in meaning but also that deep epistemic changes in a culture transform the meanings that certain words bring to a text" (p. 18). Lalla presents an excellent discussion of these processes, focusing on words and phrases such as "out of order old negar" and "worthlessness":

> The lexis of [Winkler's] The Painted Canoe is distinctively Jamaican even though most of its words are derived from English. Code shifting between Standard English and Jamaican Creole…must be achieved without losing those readers who are dependent on written Standard English. Indeed it must reinforce for such readers, without loss of comprehension, the distance between the creole consciousness and that of the noncreole. (p. 118)

The use of figurative language and semantic anomaly is also discussed. A particular usage may "[capture] new perspectives through metaphor…in accordance with the relations governing semantic fields that cover other content domains…[Thus], the sea can swallow, eat, or nyam ." (p. 125).

> In addition, culturally defined metaphors convey socially determined meaning, as in the recurrent turned-down reference. The turned-down pot with its implications of emptiness and disuse is made more poignant in Jacko's speech by the fact that the term pot itself is never articulated, leaving the reader open to other implications of the phrase (p. 113).

Here, the writing is clearly designed to be fully appreciated only by a bilingual reader. The shift is not flagged in any noticeable way, unless the reader can recognize it already. Lalla quite rightly states that to "overlook the reinterpretation of the English lexicon in Jamaican language is to miss nuances of meaning in which much of the creativity of Jamaican literature is rooted" (p. 118), though she does perhaps underestimate the difficulties this

can pose for readers unfamiliar (consciously or not) with such nuances (Winer forthcoming). Thus, using the central metaphor of marronage as a device to examine the interplay of language, space and time, Lalla has developed a stimulating and useful analytical framework in which dislocation can be located, and contradiction can be understood. Grounded firmly in both literary and linguistic sensibilities, this book marks a great step forward in the field

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Grammaticalization in creoles: the development of determiners and relative clauses in Sranan. By Adrienne, Bruyn, 1995. Amsterdam: Institute for Functional Research into Language and Language Research. xii + 281 pp. NLG 40 (ca $20, £12).

Reviewed by Magnus Huber, Anglistik-Linguistik, Universität Gesamthochschule Essen, Germany.

The volume under review is the published version of Bruyn's doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Amsterdam.

Sranan, one of the English-lexicon languages spoken in Surinam, is among the creoles from whose earlier stages a comparatively high number of texts has come down to us. It is also considered to be one of the more "radical" creoles in that it is supposed to have come into existence in a very short period of time (1651-70s) and thereafter lost contact with its lexifier, English, Surinam having fallen into Dutch hands in 1667.

Bruyn's project to investigate grammaticalization processes in Sranan is well-chosen: as the lexifier was removed so early in the language's history, structural developments in the post-formation period can be assumed to have proceeded largely independently of influences from English. Sranan may thus afford glimpses into the prototypical grammaticalization pathways that a creole's grammar takes in the course of time. Also, the number of surviving early texts allows a quantitative approach—a rare opportunity among Atlantic English creoles.

The general theoretical framework for the study is the controversy over abrupt (e.g. Bickerton 1981) versus gradual creolization (e.g. Arends 1989), in which Sranan continues to serve as a test-case because of its special history. Grammaticalization processes appear to be more rapid in creoles than in other languages, but the very fact that a creole's grammar evolves over the centuries may be seen as a challenge to Bickerton's Bioprogram Hypothesis, which proclaims a sudden, catastrophic emergence of a creole's core grammar. Bruyn's analysis shows that Sranan's determiner and relative clause systems did indeed change from the 18th to 20th centuries, but she points out that the debate over the relevance of the diachronic developments in Sranan as evidence for or against abrupt creolization "can partly be reduced to differing views of what should be included in the scope of a theory of creolization" (p.236).

Chapter 1 introduces the subject and research questions. It provides a rather short sketch of the history of Sranan (one paragraph in 1.3.1), but contains a useful and highly readable overview of grammaticalization and its significance in creole studies (1.4.2). Section 1.3.2 considers Sranan's relations with other Atlantic creoles. Bruyn follows Hancock (e.g. 1986) and Smith (1987) in assuming that the Surinamese creoles are descended from a proto-pidgin English spoken in 17th-century West Africa. The genetic affiliations of Sranan are not really relevant for Bruyn's analysis because she is concerned with the language's internal developments, so the fact that Smith has in the meantime abandoned the idea of an Afrogenetic origin of the Atlantic English creoles (Smith 1997) generally does not weaken Bruyn's conclusions. Only once or twice is the notion of Afrogenesis used in dating developments in Sranan, as e.g. in a passage on the nominalization of the question words/relativizers san and suma (Chapter 5), where we learn that "because Krio [the assumed West African descendant of the proto-pidgin] does not contain forms parallel to Sranan *soma* and *sani*, while the other Surinamese creoles do, the shift to nominal status can be assumed to have occurred in Proto-Sranan" (p.153). In view of the fact that recent findings (subsequent to the publication of Bruyn's book, it has to be said in her defence) have shown Afrogenesis of English-lexicon creoles to be highly unlikely, such lines of argument will probably prove untenable.

Chapter 2 deals with the text corpus on which the investigation of grammaticalization processes is based. For the quantitative analyses 20,000 words each were chosen from text sources dating from the second halves of the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries, but the many example sentences throughout the volume are drawn from a larger corpus including the oldest known Sranan text (the Herlein fragment of 1718). The list of texts used is followed by 6 pages of descriptions and commentaries on the sources, which, apart from their immediate relevance for Bruyn's study, provide a convenient starting point for anyone interested in early

Sranan texts. Section 2.3 points out the difficulties in establishing the reliability of the early sources and the problems in the interpretation arising from their uneven quality – they include translated Bible texts and some authors were not native speakers.

The next two chapters constitute the main part of the book and describe grammaticalization processes in Sranan. Chapter 3 takes a look at developments in the noun phrase. The main findings here are that the article *wan* (< one), rather than being a marker of specificity/ referentiality (Bickerton 1981, Givón 1984) or individuation (Mufwene 1986) as variously proposed for the creole prototype, is and has always been an optional indefinite article in Sranan. While the function and semantic value of *wan* appear to have remained stable throughout the language's history, the definite articles *na* (SG) and *den* (PL) are shown to have developed from erstwhile demonstratives. As *na* and *den* lost much of their demonstrative force in the course of time, so *disi* 'this' and *dati* 'that' came to be increasingly used in this function. Bruyn attributes the typologically unexpected postnominal position of the latter items (Sranan is premodifying) to substrate influence particularly from the Gbe cluster and Akan (Slave and Gold Coasts, respectively) and shows in a quantitative analysis that initial variation gave way to a regular postnominal position of disi, while dati has always occupied the postnominal slot. Section 3.4 takes issue with Bickerton's and Givón's claim that pragmatically non-referential or non-specific nouns are marked by a zero article. The author demonstrates that zero is not in opposition with the indefinite article *wan*, because the latter can occur in contexts where zero would be expected. Conversely, bare nouns are found in pragmatically referential contexts. This, according to Bruyn, suggests that "the zero with bare nouns in Sranan does not express a distinctive value and thus must be regarded as merely nothing" (p.81). However, as Bruyn does not provide figures for the frequency of pragmatically referential bare nouns one wonders if the counterexamples are really numerous enough to invalidate Bickerton's and Givón's theory.

Historical developments in the area of Sranan's relative clauses are the subject of Chapter 4, which starts out with a good summary of relative clause formation and its relation to grammaticalization (4.2). Section 4.3 is an excursus on question words as common cross-linguistic sources of relativizers. Sranan is no exception in this respect, with *san* 'what', suma 'who', and *pe* 'where' serving in this function. The first two forms are interesting in that their development appears to violate the usual direction of grammaticalization. Content words commonly become function words, but the question words *sani* and *soma*, derived from the English pronouns something and someone, acquired a lexical status, denoting 'thing' and 'person'. This oddity is explained by the fact that in two substrate languages, Fon and Ewe, the pronominal and lexical forms are identical, so that the Sranan grammaticalization chain is simply a calque on West African languages.

Sranan's main relative marker is *di(si)*, derived from the proximal rather than from the typologically more common distal demonstrative (cf. e.g. English that). This and the fact that *di(si)* had established itself by the end of the 17th century – too short a time-span to assume regular grammaticalization – again leads Bruyn to conclude that the selection of this relativizer must have been influenced by substrate languages, particularly Kikongo, Ewe, and Fon. In view of the fact that these languages share this marked feature with Sranan this is indeed a possibility, but why the Surinamese creoles are the only English-lexified contact languages to have selected the proximal demonstrative when the same substrate speakers were present in the formation of other English creoles remains a puzzle.

In the concluding discussion (Chapter 5) Bruyn rightly cautions her readers against identifying grammaticalization processes where transfer from substrate languages may be the more appropriate explanation. By way of illustration, she inserts a digression on Sranan prepositional phrases (5.3). Concerning the indefinite article *wan*, grammaticalized from the lowest numeral during the early stages of Sranan, she observes that "since this development must have proceeded rather quickly, it cannot be regarded as an ordinary, gradual process of grammaticalization [...]. That such abrupt grammaticalization can take place may be attributed to the discontinuity in transmission and the communicative pressure [...]" (p.237). At this point readers may ask themselves if Bruyn is not applying a double standard, since in Chapter 4 they were told that the early emergence of the relativizer *di(si)* speaks against its having been grammaticalized. A completely disregarded possibility is that Sranan's indefinite article may have its origins in the superstrate rather than being the result of language-internal grammaticalization: *wan* is among the most widely attested features in restructured Englishes world-wide, in areas as distant as the Caribbean and Melanesia. It may well be that it belonged to an early foreigner talk repertoire of anglophone whites and thus found entrance into emerging contact languages.

All in all, Bruyn's book is a valuable and highly recommendable contribution to the understanding of grammaticalization in creoles. Apart from the minor (!) points of criticism mentioned above the only drawback is perhaps that there is no index, but I found the table of contents quite sufficient in this respect. Bruyn's style and arguments are clear throughout and the book provides fruitful reading for specialists as well as non-specialists in the field of creole studies and grammaticalization.

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Changing meanings, changing functions: Papers relating to grammaticalization in contact languages. Edited by Philip Baker and Anand Syea. Westminster Creolistics Series-2, University of Westminster Press, 1996. Pp. 293. Paper, GBP 17.50.

Reviewed by Marlyse Baptista, University of Georgia

This collection of 17 articles primarily explores linguistic issues around the theme of grammaticalization in the context of language contact and Creole formation. The various contributors took the liberty to interpret the concept of grammaticalization in different ways, which benefits the reader by revealing the multi-faceted nature of this process. As a result, some authors emphasize various aspects of grammaticalization by using different labels such as grammaticization or syntacticization (these concepts will be defined below). Most contributors however, assume that grammaticalization involves change in meaning and function, and that it is often characterized by phonological reduction. In this respect, this volume is an original attempt to represent the various perspectives on grammaticalization, and such attempts have found valuable echoes at recent conferences. (Plag 1998)

This review will be divided into two main sections: First, I will present and contrast the various contributors' views on grammaticalization. This will show how the papers complement each other by using different methodologies and focusing on different areas of investigation. Second, I will discuss the assets of this kind of volume which make it a valuable source of information for readers.

Let us first consider some of the contributors' perspectives on grammaticalization and analyze the way their views may differ while complementing each other.

According to Mufwene, a defining property of Creole languages is not as much their structural features as the sociohistorical conditions in which they are associated with Creole populations. Rather than grammaticalization, Mufwene uses the term grammaticization which is understood as a diachronic and restructuring process in his essay. More precisely, it refers to specific types of restructuring producing grammatical morphemes (out of lexical ones) or assigning new grammatical functions to a given set of morphemes. One of his core assumptions is that grammaticization processes occurred concurrently with creolization. In the last part of his essay, Mufwene focuses on the grammaticization strategies languages use in the formation of Future tense and factive and nonfactive complementation.

Along Mufwene's lines, Poplack and Tagliamonte propose that the changes associated with grammaticization do not come about abruptly, but occur over a long period of time, as the grammaticized form undergoes a succession of transitions from a lexical item to a morphological affix. Furthermore, Poplack and Tagliamonte note (following Pagliuca 1994) that a grammaticized form may appear not only in contexts where it signals a particular meaning, but also in the cases when its meaning is simply compatible with the general meaning of the utterance. Importantly, they observe that due to the extreme sociohistorical circumstances under which Creoles typically develop, normal gradual processes of linguistic restructuring are compressed. In their study, they examine the interactions of linguistic variation, ongoing grammaticization and tense/aspect marking by analyzing past time expression in Nigerian Pidgin English.

Kouwenberg interprets grammaticalization as applying to syntax as well as morphology, whence the term syntacticization. She examines word order relations and the conventionalization of such relations in the history of Berbice Dutch Creole as a case of grammaticalization. Secondly and most importantly, she notes that the languages involved in the genesis of Creole languages show much greater variation in word order than is reflected in their related Creoles. Given the richness and variety of their lexifiers, Kouwenberg focuses on the reasons why one should find such uniformity among Creole languages.

Bruyn argues that grammaticalization may be a diachronic or synchronic process. In a nutshell, she identifies three kinds of grammaticalization: ordinary, instantaneous

and apparent grammaticalization. To be more precise, ordinary grammaticalization is gradual and language-internal, whereas instantaneous grammaticalization, in contrast, is much more rapid and occurs typically in languages with a longer history. Finally, apparent grammaticalization refers to cases where the results of a grammaticalized process that has taken place in one language are transferred to another language.

These broad concerns reflected in the essays by Mufwene, Poplack & Tagliamonte, Kouwenberg and Bruyn are complemented by the papers by Kihm, Veenstra, Smith, Bickerton, Syea and Baker (among others) who examine specific grammatical expressions to make their case. Let us examine a few of these views.

Kihm for instance notes that a number of languages use as a reflexive pronoun a noun phrase which means typically "body", "head", "soul" and a possessive modifier of this noun. What he finds in Creole languages is a pseudo-reflexive, consisting of an incompletely grammaticalized nominal expression which reverts to its literal meaning whenever necessary, which accounts for Kihm's usage of the term *half-hearted grammaticalization*.

Veenstra' s article gives a partial inventory of grammaticalized verbs in Saramaccan, and his discussion is based on synchronic data only. He notes that in most cases, verbs have retained verbal characteristics, which means that verbs can be marked for Aspect or undergo Predicate Cleft. In a few cases, however, these characteristics have been lost and as such, those verbs have been grammaticalized by turning into prepositions, complementizers or adverbs. Smith's article on the Saramaccan focus marker *we*, instantiates a case in which the substrate seems to have played a major role in the grammaticalization process. More precisely, he argues that *we*, is not the result of the grammaticalization of the English discourse particle *well*, but rather the result of the transfer of a substrate element from Fon, a Gbe language.

In contrast to Smith's support of substrate influence on the grammaticalization process, Syea shows the influence of the French superstrate on the referential system of Mauritian Creole. More precisely, Syea examines the absence of the French definite articles in Mauritian Creole and focuses on the process of grammaticalization that Mauritian selected to mark definiteness; he proposes that the French adverbial suffix *là* degrammaticalized into a clitic marking definiteness.

Going against the long-held assumption that *fellow* once functioned as a classifier in Chinese Pidgin English, Baker documents instead the sequence of grammaticalizations which *fellow* underwent in the Pacific, and backing up his arguments with a corpus of more than 1500 texts collected by Mühlhäusler and Baker since 1985.

Nylander's paper is written within a generative framework and focuses on the morpheme *sé* in Krio. He shows that *sé* unlike English *that* is a lexical [-N,+V] item, and this verbal property allows *sé* to be a proper governor, which accounts for interesting extraction patterns in Krio. Nylander shows that in the case of sentential complementation, the Krio pattern differs from what holds in English in that Krio *sé* has lexical properties which enable it to act as a (proper) governor.

The value of this volume lies in the original treatments of the grammaticalization process. These complementary perspectives on grammaticalization have shown that this process may be examined at the phonological, syntactic or morphological levels. In addition, grammaticalization may be treated from a synchronic or diachronic perspective. Furthermore, languages influencing the process are either substrates or superstrates. Methodologies and frameworks used for the various analyses diverged and included the variationist and generative frameworks.

In conclusion, a welcome feature of this book is that it centers on a single process, offering readers the opportunity to explore exhaustively its multiple facets. Indeed, one of the most valuable assets of this volume is its excellent survey of grammaticalized expressions and perspectives on grammaticalization. This turns it into a very useful reference work and source for comparative data. With no doubt, it leads its readers to develop new and broader views on the fascinating phenomenon of grammaticalization; so in this respect, this volume is a significant contribution to the study of this process and its implications.

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Contact languages: A wider perspective. Edited by Sarah G. Thomason. (Creole Language Library, volume 17) Amsterdam: Benjamins. xi, 506. 1997.

Reviewed by Michael Aceto, East Carolina University

Reviewing this book was a pleasure. It challenges several received notions within creole studies and contact linguistics in general (e.g. the number of languages involved in pidginization, the question of deliberate simplification of one language to facilitate communication among groups speaking mutually-unintelligible languages). This volume is also refreshing in that it makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the often neglected area of non-European-language-derived restructured languages (e.g. Kitúba, Sango, Arabic-derived languages, Ma'a; see also Heine 1970 for another important exception). Not all the languages examined fit this

description. For example, Media Lengua (pp. 365-426) contains a largely Spanish-derived lexical component.

Three broad contact language types are identified by the editor: pidgins (e.g. Pidgin Delaware, Ndyuka-Trio Pidgin), creoles (e.g. Kitúba, Sango), and what are called "two-language" (2) or "bilingual mixtures" (4) (e.g. Media Lengua, Mednyj Aleut; cf. the term "language intertwining" in Bakker & Mous 1994). The specific languages covered are Hiri Motu (Tom Dutton, pp. 9-41), Pidgin Delaware (Ives Goddard, pp. 43-98), Ndyuka-Trio Pidgin (George L. Huttar & Frank J. Velantie, pp. 99-124), Arabic-derived pidgins and creoles (Jonathan Owens, pp. 125-72), Kitúba (Salikoko S. Mufwene, pp. 173-208), Sango (Helma Pasch, pp. 209-70), Swahili (Derek Nurse, pp. 271-94), Michif (Peter Bakker & Robert A. Papen, pp. 295-363), Media Lengua (Pieter Muysken, pp. 365-426), Callahuaya (Pieter Muysken, pp. 427-47), Mednyj Aleut (Sarah G. Thomason, pp. 449-68), and Ma'a (Sarah G. Thomason, pp. 469-87). Each chapter presents a sociohistorical discussion of that specific language's emergence within the context of a general presentation of (morpho-)syntax, phonology, and lexicon. Several of the grammatical presentations are fairly exhaustive (e.g. see the chapters on Sango, Michif, and Media Lengua in particular).

What are "contact languages" exactly? Thomason admits a general category of this name is difficult to define typologically (fn. 1, p. 7). She offers the following, " a contact language is a language that arises as a direct result of language contact and that comprises linguistic material which cannot be traced back primarily to a single source language" (3). However, this definition in general seems a bit circular to me (in fact, a similar problem arises when trying to define "creole"), and it still lacks a principled way to distinguish, on the basis of shared features, contact languages from all other languages which also display the common effects of language contact. Thomason elaborates the historical dimension further, "contact languages do not belong to any language family: by definition, their genesis was not a matter of descent with modification from a single parent" (3). Whether this "non-genetic" criterion is truly a consistent feature of the languages under discussion in this volume is wide-open to interpretation and debate. Furthermore, nativization or "vernacularization" (i.e. the variety's emergence as an everyday language of communication) does not seem a crucial distinction to understanding contact languages either (see Mufwene, same volume [pp. 173; 203-4, fn. 11] who argues against the definition of creole as nativized pidgin). For example, many of the languages described in this volume are spoken as both mother tongues and lingua francas (see below).

There are several areas of creole studies to which this book makes significant contributions. First, creole studies has often considered it axiomatic that three or more languages are required for pidginization to occur. However, this view is clearly mistaken since the chapters on Pidgin Delaware and Ndyuka-Trio pidgin indicate that two languages are wholly adequate to invoke this language contact process. Second, it is often assumed that language contact leads to simplification and that contact languages (however those are ultimately defined) always exhibit similar simplified structural features. However, the word order pattern flexibility of Hiri Motu (not found in Motu itself) and the noun class system of Kitúba appear to contradict this assumption. This same issue of contact leading to grammatical complication, not simplification, was also discussed in reference to Romani in Aceto 1997.

It is also a question of some debate within creole studies whether deliberate simplification has played a role in the emergence of European-language-derived creoles. However, this book illustrates that various geographically-diverse cultural groups deliberately simplified their language to serve communication needs with strangers or outsiders. Hiri Motu is a pidgin originally simplified by the Motu to speak with those who came to visit and trade in the area which would become known during the colonial period as British New Guinea (later Papua New Guinea). Apparently, the Motu did not wish for non-Motu (European and otherwise) to learn their language (p. 18). This variety later became associated with the police force (who also used pidgin English [p. 22]) in the late 19th century. Though Dutton calls Hiri Motu a pidgin (p. 12), he suggests there are undocumented communities of native speakers as well (p. 13). A second case of deliberate simplification is Pidgin Delaware. Amerindian Delaware speakers pidginized their own variety of Unami for use with Europeans (mainly Dutch, Swedish, and English speakers) on the mid-Atlantic coast for approximately two centuries beginning in the 17th century until it was effectively replaced by American Indian Pidgin English (p. 43). Sango is another case. It is believed the Yakoma simplified their language, which was already a lingua franca of the colonial territory of the Congo, to facilitate communication with Europeans, West Africans, and local populations of the area (see below for more details). In these cases at least, it seems indigenous populations controlled the conscious reconstruction of their own language (whose original form was maintained for in-group purposes) for use with various outside groups. Furthermore, Owens suggests that Arab colonizers in the Mediterranean and the Near East encouraged contact varieties of Arabic to emerge as a language learning and communication strategy since native speakers where most often a minority in newly acquired territories (p. 126).

The remainder of the review will proceed through the case studies in a linear manner, discussing individual

points of interest to readers of CP.

Ndyuka-Trio Pidgin is spoken by the Ndyuka, descendants of West African slaves whose ancestors formed one Maroon group in Suriname, and Amerindians (both the Trio and Wayana) for general communication but particularly for trade. Its phonology reflects contrasts found in both Ndyuka (an English-derived creole) and Trio. The lexicon derives from both contributing languages, while its syntax is largely Trio, thus exhibiting the unusual pidgin word order of SOV. The name of the pidgin often reflects the out-group with which it is spoken. For example, the Ndyuka refer to the pidgin as "Alukuyana," the name they use for the Wayana (who often serve as intermediaries in trade between the Ndyuka and the Trio) and their language, while the Wayana call it "Mekolo," their word for black folks (p. 103).

Jonathan Owens explores the demographic factors responsible for the emergence of Arabic-derived pidgins/creoles (he makes little distinction between the two classifications) in southern Sudan, Chad, and East Africa. He views these varieties as all daughters stemming from a mother he calls "Common Sudanic Pidgin/Creole" (p. 155). Contact varieties of Arabic have probably existed since the 7th century (pp. 132, 166), though contemporary Sudanic pidgin/creole Arabic (SPCA) seems to derive from the mid-19th century (p. 135). Owens believes SPCA stabilized within one generation and that native speakers of Arabic constituted no more than 10-25% of the total population involved in this process. These demographic facts parallel the matrices often assumed for emerging creoles in specific Caribbean islands as well (e.g. in Haiti et al.).

Kitúba appears to have developed as part of the Belgian colonial history of the Zaire/Congo area, particularly as imported West Africans (who served as intermediaries between Europeans and local Bantu populations) began to approximate Kimanyánga, an already important trade lingua franca (see the similar scenario described for Sango, p. 213). The language that emerged from these contacts was adopted and vernacularized by locals who expanded it in the process. Kitúba has approximately six million speakers in Zaire today. It has evolved into the primary vernacular of public life for many in this multilingual area, with ethnic languages being reserved for the home, especially among older speakers. Younger populations often speak Kitúba natively.

The approximately three million people of the Central African Republic (CAR) speak Sango most often as a second language. It is the national language of the territory, though it is rarely written (French is reserved for that function). In the capital Bangui, Sango has become a first language for those who are no longer taught ethnic languages, and that variety serves as the unofficial standard. Sango appears to be the result of contact among the Yakoma (who were the most important ethnic group to cooperate with the French and Belgians in the 19th century), local ethnic populations who spoke mutually-unintelligible languages, and Kitúba-speaking West Africans (see above) who were imported as a labor force for use in the former colonial Congo. The French encouraged the use of emerging Sango within the territory, though it was originally limited to the domains of colonial administration and missionary activities. As Sango become more widely spoken and associated with colonial functions and urban centers, it developed higher socioeconomic prestige than the lexifier language Yakoma (which also provided structural features as well). Pasch states unequivocally that there are "no innovations in Sango which are to be explained solely by universal developmental tendencies of creole languages" (219). Why she believes this is left unexplored, while she suggests that there are "universals" for creole languages alone which have no application in other languages.

Today there are more than 50 million people who speak Swahili, but until the late 18th and early 19th centuries it was limited to populations in East Africa. By the end of the 19th century, it had emerged as a trade lingua franca along routes in Tanganyika, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, and Zaire. Swahili later spread more slowly to Kenya where it is a national language today; it is also the official language of Tanzania. First language speakers in traditional communities have been on the East African coast since the 9th century, particularly on Zanzibar and Pemba islands. As one might expect, second and third language varieties of Swahili exhibit restructuring and influence from local languages (p. 273). Pidginized varieties exist as well.

Though the historical question of prior pidginization and creolization in Swahili is incompletely understood, Nurse states that, due to the historical position of trading communities on the East African coast and islands, Swahili exhibits "features often associated both with pidginization and with creolization" (291). Some of the features that lead him to this tentative conclusion are a reduction of 18 genders to a system with 12 (p. 283) and the replacement of palatal phonological segments by alveolars in some Swahili dialects (p. 279). I also find the evidence for prior language restructuring inconclusive since in this case it is difficult to distinguish ordinary language change from alleged pidginization and creolization.

The final section of papers consider what the editor calls "two language" or "bilingual mixtures." Michif is spoken by Métis, communities of Amerindian-European descent in the Canadian prairie provinces as well as in Montana and South Dakota in the United States. It is a language whose demonstratives, question words, and verbs are derived mostly from Cree and nouns phrases largely from archaic dialects of Canadian French. In the 18th and 19th centuries, contact between French fur traders

and Cree women led to the emergence of this new ethnic group with its own language. Michif is a language of the home, and today most Métis speak English as well. Bakker & Papen state that Michif has two separate phonological systems derived from the contributing languages (with some merger) which are applied etymologically to each lexical entry (pp. 312, 349).

Media Lengua (ML) is spoken as a native and second language by Amerindians in Central Ecuador. It is essentially Quechua structure and morphophonology with Spanish lexical items. In the 19th century, mostly male Quechua speakers moved to urban centers which facilitated an increase in Quechua-Spanish bilingualism. Today there are at least three varieties of ML (Salcedo, Saraguro, and Catalangu) which appear to have emerged in the 20th century. Today ML speech communities are located socially and geographically between Spanish-speaking urban centers in valleys and Quechua-speaking communities of the mountain slopes. In these "in-between" communities, ML is the language of daily life. Spanish is reserved for the non-Amerindian world and school, while Quechua is maintained for traditions associated with native life higher up the mountains. Muysken believes that ML emerged because Quechua speakers who had spent some time in Spanish-speaking areas could no longer identify with traditional rural Quechua culture. Thus the emergence of this language is a function of "expressive needs" (p. 376) related to establishing a new social and cultural identity, rather than for purely communicative purposes.

Muysken's second contribution is about Callahuaya, a language of curing rituals spoken in northwest Bolivia. Historically, these male healers traveled as far north as Panama along what were once traditional routes in the 18th and 19th centuries. Present-day Callahuayas form a social group who are each descended from a famous healer in the past. It is largely a mixed Puquina/Quechua secret language, created to keep non-curers from eavesdropping or understanding the secrets of the healing rituals. Both ML and Callahuaya are structurally dominated by influence from Quechua. However, the question of Quechua influence is one of degree since ML mirrors local Quechua grammar and Callahuaya only generally resembles Quechua (p. 442). Lexically, ML is mostly Spanish, while the Callahuaya lexicon is comprised of items from Quechua, Puquina, Aymara, and a number of unidentified Amerindian languages.

The final two chapters are by Thomason. Mednyj Aleut (MA) is a two-language mixture spoken on Bering Island (one of two Commander islands) which emerged in the 19th century. The language is nearly extinct with no more than a dozen speakers left (who are also fluent in Russian, the language apparently replacing MA). The language's structure is mostly Aleut with substantial Russian syntactic elements as well (e.g. finite verb inflection, free word order, conjunctions). The phonology and basic vocabulary appear mostly to be derived from Aleut. The language is the result of unions between Russian men (working for seal-hunting companies) and Aleut women. Their children or "creoles" became part of this emerging community. For a time in the 19th century, this new ethnic group was given special status regarding taxes and work opportunities, while the Aleuts themselves were required to work for the seal hunters and their company for lower wages. Thomason believes (as is similar with the Michif and ML cases above) that the emergence of MA was a result of increased bilingualism on the islands. It seems again that an emerging social and cultural group "demanded" a separate language or linguistic symbol in order to express their new identity.

Ma'a is another two-language mixture spoken in the Usambara Mountains in northeastern Tanzania. Its grammar is largely Bantu and most of the basic vocabulary of Cushitic origins, though other elements of the lexicon derive from several languages of the area. Mous 1994 believes Ma'a not to be a separate language but only a variety of Mbugu. Thomason argues against this view, highlighting grammatical differences between Ma'a and Mbugu. For example, Ma'a differs from Mbugu in the agreement of demonstratives with nouns (in Ma'a, they do not agree; in Mbugu, they do; p. 474). The biggest difference is that about 50% of the Ma'a lexicon derives from Cushitic rather than Bantu sources (p. 475). Crucially, Thomason states that the two languages are not mutually intelligible (p. 476). She also argues that Ma'a was originally a Cushitic language whose grammar began gradually to "Bantuize" under pressure from Bantu-speaking neighbors (p. 478-82).

Many similar topics are covered, albeit much less thoroughly, in Bakker & Mous 1994, with several of the same writers (e.g. Muysken, Bakker) making similar but significantly more substantial contributions in the present volume. Furthermore, both books cover several of the same languages identified by Thomason as "bilingual mixtures": Michif, Media Lengua, Callahuaya, Mednyj Aleut, and Ma'a. Nonetheless, the book under review expands significantly and complements well the work on this topic begun by Bakker & Mous 1994

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The Morphosyntax of Nominal and Verbal Categories in Capeverdean Creole. By Marlyse Baptista, PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1997, 322 pp.

Reviewed by Alain Kihm (CNRS, Paris)

This is probably the best book-length work devoted to Capeverdean Creole (henceforth CV) so far. One reason for this is that the author is both a native speaker of the language and a linguist trained to the highest standards of modern scholarship, a combination rarely achieved previously among students of CV.

MB's dissertation comprises five chapters in addition to the Introduction. The latter includes a sketchy, but useful exposition of the author's theoretical framework, viz. Principles and Parameters theory, with a few admixtures of Minimalism. MB also makes it clear that her study is limited to the Sotavento variety of CV, especially the dialect of Fogo and Brava, which is her native language. The first two chapters are descriptive, whereas the following three propose explanatory accounts of the issues that have been raised. This makes for a fair amount of redundancy, as the relevant data are repeated in different parts. Some trimming will be necessary when this dissertation gets published as a real book, as I hope it will be.

In the first chapter, MB describes the syntactic categories NP and VP. Concerning NPs, she focusses on what she calls the (referential system), i.e. the determiners. CV determiners play a crucial role insofar as (a) they usually ensure number marking, given an economy principle according to which number is only marked once, on the determiner if it is overt (e.g., *uns libru* 'some books', not **uns librus*; *kes kaneta* 'the pens', not **kes kanetas*); (b) there is a complex interplay between overt and (phonologically) null forms of the determiners. MB shows that, whereas singular and plural nouns preceded by *un* 'a' and *uns* 'some' are unambiguously indefinite, and singular and plural nouns preceded by *kel* and *kes* 'the' are unambiguously definite, nouns without an overt determiner are ambiguous when plural (*omis* 'the men/men'), but obligatorily definite when singular (*omi* 'the man'), unless they are part of an idiom. This latter feature is particularly interesting because it had never been properly highlighted before, and it stands in sharp contrast with Bickerton's universal creole determiner system, where bare NPs can only be nonspecific, i.e. indefinite, with number ambiguous or irrelevant. MB's solution is to assume a phonologically null determiner which is ("more often than not") a silent variant of the singular definite article *kel*, while in the plural its content is interpreted according to context, in the sense that "out of the blue" plural bare NPs (i.e. _ NP) are generally understood as indefinite, and already mentioned plural bare NPs as definite. A comparison with Guinea-Bissau Kriyol seems to confirm this analysis. In Kriyol (see Kihm 1994), there is no equivalent of *kel* as a definite article (*kil* being only a remote, deictic or anaphoric, demonstrative); correlatively, and given that *un* 'a, one' is always imbued with quantificational force (*un omi* 'some/a certain man'), singular bare NPs can be interpreted as definite or indefinite, according to context.

MB then proceeds with a description of the various other elements pertaining to the NP: adjectives, pronominals (including reflexives and interrogatives), and possessives. She brings out an interesting agreement pattern for adjectives, such that attributive and predicative adjectives optionally agree in gender with the head noun if it is animate, or even—judging from the examples she gives—[+human] (e.g., *un mudjer bonitu/bonita* 'a beautiful woman' vs. *un kaza branku/*branka* 'a white house'). MB is not explicit as to whether this pattern should be attributed to decreolization. Given its systematicity, it seems not (gender agreement *is* a product of decreolization in Kriyol, and it is fully erratic). I would rather assume that, at least in the dialect she studies, there is a grammatical gender (masculine vs. feminine) feature that is uniquely associated with semantically [+animate]—or [+human]—nouns, more or less as in English, becoming manifest with optional agreement, in whatever way it is realized. This would make CV the only Creole, to my knowledge, where Gender is active in some measure. The chapter ends with a presentation of the TMA markers of CV, the syntax and semantics of which are more fully laid open in the next chapter.

Chapter 2 is concerned with the structure of simple (matrix) sentences, including basic word order (SVO), double object constructions, and the position of adjuncts, quantifiers and adverbs—an important topic, as it is related to the issue of verb movement that is taken up further in a subsequent chapter. MB also gives us a thorough description of the syntax and semantics of *ta*, *sta*, *-ba*, and *dja*, i.e. the so-called "TMA markers", preposed to the verb, except *-ba* which is suffixed to it or to *sta*. For *ta*, she concludes that it is an auxiliary (for which, see below) that "indicates the irrealis mood in Comrie's sense, which is used not only for future and hypothetical meanings but also for habitual meaning" (p. 108). Given its basic meanings—progressive or future with nonstative verbs, unfolding states with stative verbs—*sta* seems to compare fairly accurately with Kriyol *na* rather than with Kriyol *ta*. The main problem that it poses is its optional association with *ta* (e.g., *El sta (ta) kume* 'S/he is eating') where the presence or absence of the latter

does not seem to make any semantic difference. On the other hand, MB shows that the sequence /sta ta/ may not be analysed as a constituent, since it is possible to insert adverbials such as *sempri* 'always' (e.g., *El sta sempri ta kume* 'S/he is always eating'). MB's assumption is that, *sta* being a fully verbal auxiliary, *ta* is then to be considered an infinitive marker, i.e. a different item from the *ta* one finds in *El ta kume* 'S/he eats'. The CV construction thus appears syntactically similar to the Portuguese construction *estar a Vinf* (see *Está sempre a comer* 'S/he is always eating')—a conclusion MB does not draw, but that seems inescapable. The anterior (with nonstative verbs) or past (with stative verbs) marker *-ba* has the well-known peculiarity—among creole languages—of being a suffix rather than a preverbal element. MB makes crucial use of this fact in later parts of her dissertation, as we shall see. Finally, *dja* 'already'—the position of which is rather idiosyncratic, since it appears sentence-initially when the subject is a pronominal and may also be repeated after the verb (e.g. *Dja el bay* (*dja*) 'S/he has already left')—is analysed as a perfect marker, perfect being defined as past with present relevance. MB concludes her survey by remarking that "Capeverdean does not display all of the features described in Bickerton's [TMA] model" (p. 122), a moderate pronouncement one can only fully agree with. In particular, she convincingly argues that the contrast stative vs. nonstative, that plays such a pervasive role, cannot be taken as aprioristically determined across languages—even limiting oneself to creoles—but requires a careful examination of the uses of individual verbs in each language.

MB then studies a number of constructions that imply modifications in the basic order of constituents. Topicalization is one, and she shows, *contra* Caskey (1990), that it not only does not require, but it excludes the presence of a resumptive pronoun. Topicalization—the result of WH-like movement from an argument (A) to a non-argument (non-A) position—must therefore be distinguished from left-dislocation—a base-generated construction—where the dislocated element does require a resumptive pronoun within the clause. Both structures are not semantically equivalent, as topicalization implies contrast, which left-dislocation does not. And CV uses both. MB also demonstrates that, in clefts that include a resumptive pronoun (e.g., *E kes midida k'es ta protesta kontr'el/es* /be these measure that they TA protest against it/them/ 'It is these measures that they protest against'—where the resumptive is made necessary by CV's ban against stranded prepositions), the resumptive may or may not agree in number with the clefted NP. This is an important observation, because it bears directly on the issue of the real antecedent of the relative clause in cleft constructions. Various authors have argued that this antecedent is not in fact the NP of which the relative seems to be predicated, but the logical variable spelled out as *it* in English, phonologically null in CV. The optional non-agreement of *el/es* 'it/them' confirms that this is indeed the case, and that speakers have a choice of coindexing the pronominal with either the real nonplural or the apparent plural antecedent.

Expletives such as English *it* or *there* or the null morpheme of Italian *Sono arrivati tre uomini* 'There came three men' (see Burzio 1986) are another class of elements that all too often attract little or no attention in creole language descriptions, perhaps because such reputedly "transparent" languages are tacitly assumed not to have them. MB shows that a principled description of CV cannot do without expletive elements. In CV, as opposed to English, these elements have the property of never being overt. Examples are *Ta txobe* '(It) rains', *Ten dos mudjer* '(There) are two women', *Txiga dos omi* '(There) arrived two men', *Parse ki…*'(It) seems that…' Again, a comparison with Kriyol is revealing. In Kriyol only the last example is grammatical (*Parsi kuma…*'(It) seems that…'), while the other three show up as *Cuba ta cubi*, meaning litterally 'The rain rains', *Dus minjer ten*, and *Dus omi ciga*. If an expletive is used—a more or less marginal possibility in "lighter" varieties of the language—it has to be overt and is identical with the nominative 3sg pronoun *i* 's/he/it', hence *I ta cubi*, *I ten dus minjer*, *I ciga dus omi*, *I parsi* (*kuma…*). This means that, whereas CV has covert expletives across the board, closely cognate Kriyol has no expletives at all in its basilectal variety, except with *parsi* 'seem' where it is covert, and only overt expletives in (partly) decreolized varieties. It is significant that the covert expletive preceding *parsi*—the only possibility in the basilect, since raising (as in *NP seems to…*) is not an option—is coindexed with a clause (CP) rather than with an NP. Such fine-grained differences between creole languages certainly deserve better consideration before sweeping generalizations are drawn about what these languages are and are not.

Another subtle difference has to do with the possibility of infinitival clauses. CV allows sentences such as *João fra se pai pa PRO bai* (p. 159), syntactically identical with the English translation 'John told his father to go'. This is excluded in Kriyol, where the only grammatical equivalent is *Jon fala si pape pa i bay*, litterally 'John told his father that he [the father] should go'. This shows that, while *pa* is a complementizer that selects an infinitival clause in CV, analogous to English *to*, Kriyol *pa* selects a subjunctive clause, whose overt pronominal subject must be coreferential with the object of the matrix clause. The empty category PRO does exist in Kriyol, but it can only be coindexed with a subject (as in *Jon misti PRO bay* 'John wants to go'). Such facts are important for a typology of overt and covert pronominals, as well as for uncovering the properties of

argumental chains (see Chomsky 1995; Brody 1995).

In chapter 3, MB makes the clause structure of CV fully explicit. From her assumption that TMA markers are auxiliaries, she concludes to what she calls—somewhat misleadingly—a "biclausal structure", in the sense that VP is dominated by two auxiliary "shells" (as in Larson 1988). The higher shell consists in an auxiliary projection (AuxP) headed by *ta*, dominating a Tense projection (TP) headed by *-ba*, dominating a V projection (VP) headed by *sta*; the lower shell is identical, except that VP is headed by the main verb. I give below an abridged bracketted transcription of MB's tree structure on p. 171:

(1) [AgrP João [AuxP ta [TP ba [VP sta [AuxP ta [TP ba [VP kume]]]]]]]

Given head movement of *sta* to higher *-ba*, and of *kume* to lower *-ba*, plus raising of the subject from Spec VP to Spec AgrP, this structure accounts for the maximal auxiliary-verb sequence *João ta staba ta kumeba* 'John was eating'. It also accounts for the various options in adverb placement. Of course, not all nodes need be spelled out, and further nodes (such as NegP for the negation) can be added.

The main purpose of chapter 4 is to show that "contrary to the predictions of various V-raising analyses, some Creoles like Capeverdean show evidence of verb movement in spite of their minimal verbal morphology and the absence of overt subject-verb agreement" (p. 173). MB begins by reviewing a number of competing accounts of V-movement that have in common that (i) they use the same diagnostics, viz. the position of the main verb with respect to adverbials and negation; (ii) they relate V-movement to the presence of Tense and/or agreement inflection. As for negation—i.e. preverbal *ka* which she assumes to be the head of its own projection NegP—MB concludes that CV exhibits no signs of V-movement, except with the copula *e* 'be' which raises over *ka* (see *João e ka nha pai* 'John is not my father' vs. *João ka ta kume karni* 'John does not eat meat'), i.e. it adjoins to Nego (*ka*), and then the complex [e ka] raises to Agro, the head of the agreement projection to the specifier of which the subject has moved. (The reader should not be misled by what is obviously a typo in the tree structures on pp. 197-198, where AuxP should be AgrP.) Of course, this part of the analysis hinges on the real nature of the morpheme *e*, to which we will return. Data from double negation and negative polarity items such as *nada* '(not) ...anything' or *mas* '(not) ...any more' also give no clue as to V-movement in CV. (Let me remark in passing that the French example on p. 200, *Je n'ai pas jamais vu Henri*, translated as 'I have not ever seen Henri', is actually bad with the intended meaning of "It is not the case that I have never seen Henri", except putting strong focus stress on *jamais*, an indication that there is more structure than meets the eye—and I suppose the same to be true of the English sentence.) In contrast, the position of the main verb relative to adverbials such as *mutu* 'too much' (e.g., *João ta ama mutu Eliza* 'John loves Eliza too much') and floating quantifiers such as *tudu* 'all' (e.g., *Kombidadu txiga tudu na mismu tempu* 'All the guests arrived at the same time') are clear indications—at least in MB's framework—that the main verb (*ama* 'love', *txiga* 'arrive') has moved over the adverbial or the quantifier that dominate it initially, i.e. in D-Structure and/or at LF. And the only node it can have moved to is *To*, the head of the Tense projection. In order to account for this evidence, MB makes the interesting assumption that what differentiates CV from, e.g., Haitian where verbs give no sign of moving (see DeGraff 1997) is the presence of the inflectional tense suffix *-ba*. More precisely, using ideas put forward in, e.g., Thráinsson (1996), she assumes CV to be a split IP language, i.e. a language with two functional projections, here AuxP and TP (see [1]), above VP, which forces the verb to raise to the lower head (*To*) in order to be in a checking configuration with the higher one (*Auxo*). In contrast, Haitian (and English) have only one functional head (*Io*) dominating VP, so the verb stands basically in a checking configuration and is not required to move. The role of *-ba* was thus crucial in bringing about such a "split" in the inflectional projection. As MB puts it, "Capeverdean may have gained short V-movement after acquiring a verbal suffix, an unusual trait among Creole languages" (p. 227). She rightly uses Kriyol as a counter-case to make her point: in Kriyol, verbs obviously don't move from their base position—at least as far as adverbs are concerned, as floating quantifiers might seem to be posing a problem, but one that can be solved without recourse to V-movement (see Kihm 1994)—and *ba* is clearly not an inflectional suffix, but an autonomous morpheme which may be separated from the verb by various elements and which modifies predicative nouns and adjectives. If MB's analysis is right, then CV raises an interesting challenge for the V-movement theory, and in particular for the notion of what counts as "rich" inflection—a pervasive issue, also raised by the so-called "pro-drop" (or "null subject") parameter.

The last remark leads us directly to chapter 5, which is devoted to the syntax of pronominals. MB shows that the basic dichotomy for CV pronouns is between clitics and nonclitics, the latter being further divided into long forms (with an /a-/ prefix) and short forms (without the prefix). She then applies Kayne's (1975) tests for clitichood and Klavans's (1979) theory of clitics to clarify the syntactic properties of clitic (and nonclitic) pronouns in CV. One problem she finds herself at pains to solve is that clitic object pronouns do not attach to verbs suffixed with *-ba*, only nonclitics are grammatical (see **El odjaba-m* vs. *El odjaba mi* 'S/he had seen me'). This is a difficulty if *-ba* is indeed an

inflectional suffix, because one does not see why a clitic could not attach to an inflected base (see Portuguese *Olhava-me* 'S/he looked at me'). MB assumes that "cliticization and affixation are incompatible processes in Capeverdean" (p. 265), so that affixation, which must occur first, precludes further cliticization. Put differently, CV clitics are lexically specified to attach to stems, not to bases including a suffix. On the other hand, MB makes it clear that CV disallows double cliticization, i.e. clitic clusters such as **João da-bu-l* (OK *João da-bu el* 'John gave you it'). This, incidentally, shows that CV clitics cannot incorporate through head-to-head movement, a process that accounts for the possibility of, e.g., Portuguese *O João deu-lho* 'John gave you it' (*lho*' /*lhe* 'to you' + *o* 'it'/). Now a more straightforward solution, perhaps, would be to question the affixal status of *-ba*, and to claim that it is rather a functional clitic, so that CV would share the agglutinative typology of, e.g., Wolof or Turkish. The ill-formedness of **João daba-l* would then follow directly from the ban against clitic clusters, considering further that it is much more natural for a functional clitic than for a pronominal one to be lexically marked as having to attach to a verb stem. MB's analysis of the triggering of V-movement in CV would not be undermined in the least by such a move. Moreover, given her own hypotheses about the origin of *-ba*—probably not related directly to the Portuguese suffix /-va/—and the comparison with Kriyol, the change from a "free" to a functional clitic would appear to be less drastic, hence more plausible. In fact, MB comes across this solution when she states that "*-ba* behaves like a clitic, as it cliticizes to the verb stem. Hence it obeys the double clitic constrainst …" (p. 278). Obviously, a few loose strands have not been tied together in this section.

MB also tackles the thorny issue of CV *e*, and we must be thankful to her for discussing it thoroughly, perhaps for the first time in the literature. The question is whether the morpheme that appears in *E ka kume katxupa* 'S/he did not eat cachupa'—clearly a 3sg clitic pronoun—and the morpheme that shows up in *João e ka intelijenti* 'John is not intelligent'—apparently a copula—are the same or homophonous morphemes. Should the answer be "the same", then *e* has to be a pronoun in all cases, since that is the identity that cannot be doubted. MB proposes a number of arguments *pro* and *contra* the possibility that *e* also is a copula homophonous with pronominal *e*. I find only two of her arguments in favour of this possibility really convincing. One is given by sentences such as *Ami mi e temozu* 'Me, I am stubborn', where *e* would be redundant if it were a pronoun. (Kriyol, where *i* is unambiguously a pronoun, has *Ami i temus*, literally 'Me it (is) stubborn' in this case.) Yet, her account of why the clitic pronoun *N* cannot be used—namely that *e* is "too light" to support a clitic—strikes me as a bit weak. After all, /Ne/ or /me/ wouldn't be such a bad phonological word. The other argument comes from cleft structures such as *E intelijenti ki João e*, literally 'It's intelligent that John is'. The Kriyol equivalent is *I jiru ku Jon sedu*, with the overt copula *sedu* 'be' filling up the extraction site. MB's additional arguments are not so good. In *Mininu k'e obidienti*. 'The child who is obedient' (p. 287), *k'e* could well be a complementizer incorporating a pronominal, like French *qui* under a rather widely accepted analysis, while *obidienti* is an adjectival predicate. Likewise, in *Kenhe ki bu pensa e intelijenti?* 'Who do you think is intelligent?' (p. 287) *e*, rather than corresponding to English *is*, might be a resumptive pronoun as in the colloquial French equivalent *Qui tu crois qu'il est intelligent?*. But let us grant the dual nature of *e* as a 3sg clitic pronoun and a copula having 3sg as a default person value. This shows that both objects share crucial features, hence the strong possibility, retained by MB, that they may have the same, pronominal origin, so that Kriyol represents an older stage of CV. I would be cautious, however, in comparing with the Semitic so-called "pronominal copula" (or Pron), because the constraints on the referentiality of the arguments on both sides of this element are quite peculiar and different from what seems to obtain in Kriyol (see Shlonsky 1997).

Finally, MB examines the hypothesis that CV clitic subject pronouns, like their equivalents in the Northern Italian dialects, do not stand in the argumental position of subject NPs, but spell out the head of the agreement projection (AgrP) and identify a null pro subject in the specifier of this projection, thus making CV a pro-drop language. This typological property is indeed corroborated by the already mentioned occurrence of null (expletive) subjects in weather expressions (e.g., *Sta faze kalor* 'It is hot', lit. '(It) makes heat'), existential predicates (e.g., *Ten des gatu* '(There) are ten cats'), and "raising" constructions (e.g., *Parsi ki…*'(It) seems that…').

MB's dissertation will certainly remain as a milestone in the study of CV, at least until the book that will hopefully come from it gets published. Beyond that, it is an excellent representative of a kind of work that is increasingly frequent in creole studies—at least this is my impression, and I am glad if it proves true—namely honest, painstaking studies of complex facts that allow us to compare Creoles to other languages, be they creole languages or not, in detail. The fruitfulness of such an enterprise has been amply demonstrated in the past decades, for instance in the field of Romance, Germanic, or Afroasiatic languages, and it is certainly a good thing if creolists finally join in.

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Lafami Bonplezi. Florida. By Maude Hertelou. Educa Vision. 1994. 274 pages. ISBN 1-881839-15-X.
Sezisman! Pou Lafanmi Bonplezi. By Maude Hertelou. Educa Vision. 1996. 206 pages. ISBN 1-881839-51-6

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Maude Hertelou's Lafami Bonplezi captures the essence of the social reality of Haitians living abroad, and more specifically in the United-States. The Bonplezis (Bonplaisir), on whom the story focuses, is a family of eight children and their parents, who all left Haiti in search of a better life in the USA, France and Canada. Through this family, Heurtelou provides us with a cross-section of the Haitian population, not only in terms of class and social experience but also with reference to the choice of language used by the protagonists. Although fictional, characters are realistic and convincing. Tijan (the oldest) and his wife Tika are poor but generous, simple and understanding; Pól (one of the brothers) is a successful doctor but is unhappy and confused; his wife Sandra, the daughter of a Syrian trader, is a pure snob. Nikól (one of the sisters) also behaves snobbishly but does not have the financial means to be as zealous as Sandra or her sister Antwanèt. Antwanèt lives in the world of Hollywood stars and has very little contact with the rest of the family; in her view they simply do not belong to the same world. Solange (a third sister) is successful but single and lives isolated from the others in Canada. Gaston is the Haitian nationalist married to a white American woman who is more Haitian than some of the Haitians in the story. Jera, the latest arrival, has reached America illegally and lost three children in the process; Iv (the youngest brother) has a Hispanic girlfriend and would rather associate with the Hispanic community than his own people. And, finally, Dieudonné, a child outside the family (their father had an affair with another woman); is different from the others not only genetically, but also from a geographical point of view: he lives in France and is married to a French woman. The story focuses mainly on those living in the US. Although it is a sequel to Lafami Bonplezi, Sezisman! pou Lafanmi Bonplezi can be read entirely independently as a single story.

Hertelou informs us at the beginning that such a family does not exist; however her depiction of the characters and the situation in which they live is so close to reality that one cannot help feeling some affinity with the family. The reader, the Creole reader in particular, can recognise the verisimilitude between the characters of the book and people encountered in real life, whether in Haiti, the Caribbean or other parts of the Creole world. The stories take us through the vicissitudes of the Bonplaisir family, leading us through their tribulations, hopes, courage and religious beliefs. We plunge straight away into their lives and are gripped by their story. Hertelou makes us laugh and cry, and is largely responsible for making it impossible to put the book down.

The emphasis of the two novels is different in terms of focus, spatiality, choice of language and tone. While the first novel focuses on the social reality of the main protagonists, the second one is concerned with the social reality of Haiti. Hertelou denounces social abuses—police brutality, self-centred business people and unequal distribution of wealth. Most topics of conversation revolve around the political situation in Haiti and the language spoken is mostly Creole.

The novels also touch on other realities—of illegal immigration, illiteracy among the Haitian population in the States, the lack of understanding and awareness of Haitian culture in American schools, the generation gap and lack of understanding between the Haitian children born in the States and their parents and grand-parents. The second novel raises issues such as drug-related problems in Haiti, its political instability, corruption and poverty. Both novels however use the same narrative technique, such as one finds in the oral tradition. The

voice of the narrator/story teller is always present either to summarise the situation or to make a direct connection with the reader. The story teller's voice is Hertelou's and she indirectly either expresses her point of view on the situation or passes comment on the reaction of the characters to the reader.

Genyen moun ki vin pou yo wè figi Edit ak Jera, pou yo wè kisa k make sou figi yo, kisa Ayiti fè yo...Kisa esperyans kanntè a fè yo...genyen tou ki vin pou pran zen an pibyen, ou konnen, se lafanmi Bonplezi!... Mwenmemm, m te la pou m te ka pran istwa a fenebyen epi pou mwen te vin rakonte w li...

Some came to look at the lines on Gerard's and Edith's faces, to see what Haiti had done to them...to see how their escape by fishing boat had affected them...others came to find out how they were, this was after all the Bonplairsirs ...As for myself, I was there to get the story first hand so I could come and tell it to you.

The limitation of the space occupied, in addition to the narrative technique used, leads us to believe that the two works were written as performance novels, Hertelou wrote the stories in a style suitable for radio performance. The characters are always in enclosed spaces. In the first novel most of the action takes place at Ti Jan and Tika's house; other places are the hospital, Solange's house and Paul's house. In the second novel, the story starts from Tika and Tijan's house, with a visit to Gaston's. We are then taken to Haiti where most of the action takes place in Mr. and Mrs. Bonplaisir' s compound. Although there is a mention of a walk in a park, most conversations occur within an enclosed space. This allows for an easier adaptation of the story into a play.

There is no doubt about Hertelou's targeted audience. She clearly writes for Haitian speakers in particular, and Creole speakers in general. In a country where 90% of the population speak only Creole and the majority is illiterate, it seems obvious that the story should be written in Creole and be performed through a popular medium in order to reach the multitude.

By writing in Creole, Hertelou automatically limits the size of her potential audience. Nevertheless the novels are also of great interest to linguists: not only are they gripping, but in addition the language is dynamic and the diction provides a wide field for a socio-linguistic analysis of the language situation as spoken by Haitians living in and outside the island. Lafami Bonplezi provides the perfect example of geographical and linguistic displacement. Their favourite topic of conversation is Haiti, the main characters have kept a great deal of their Haitian culture and language but they all have chosen to live outside of Haiti in order to enjoy a better life. They are categorised as Haitian-American but the irony of this, as Heurtelou shows us, is rather than feeling both American and Haitian they do not feel they belong to either Haiti or their adopted country. This is further emphasised in the choice of language chosen by the various protagonists. Those who are furthest from Haiti tend to use the adopted country's language more often.

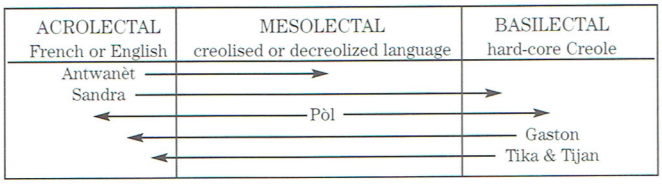
Although both Lafami Bonplezi and Sezisman pou Lafanmi Bonplezi are written mostly in Creole, Maude Heurtelou is not an expert writer of that language and she is the first to admit it. There are some inconsistencies in her spelling which, however, do not prevent understanding the words. The most obvious inconsistency is 'lafami' and 'lafanmi', both words found in the titles of the books. The former is closer to French pronunciation of 'la famille' whilst the latter is closer to Creole pronunciation used in Haiti even though one can denote the French origin of the words. The inconsistency in the spelling, which is primarily based on the pronunciation of the words, could be Hertelou's deliberate attempt to reflect the extent of the Creole continuum spoken by Haitians in and outside of Haiti.

This hypothesis can be supported by the fact that in the first novel, before she actually begins to tell the story, the author uses repetitively the word 'lafami'. She therefore puts herself in the same category as those people who have spent an important amount of time outside their country or who have limited contact with the basilectal Creole and have a tendency to decreolize the language. In other words, the Creole language used is highly affected by external linguistic forces such as French or English.

Once the story starts, Hertelou assumes the role of the storyteller and therefore uses a Creole closer to basilectal, 'lafami' thus becomes 'lafanmi'. Story telling, in Haiti and the Caribbean is one of the oldest forms of oral literature, the language used has always been the language of the masses (those who were not proficient in standard French or English but at home with the basilectal Creole), that is, Creole. There are, in the first novel, large sections written in French and English, which tend to be used in three instances: when it is an official message, in exchanges with non Haitian speakers or to emphasise the social background of the protagonists. There is also a short exchange in Spanish. These languages also clearly reflect the various languages spoken to a greater or lesser degree in Haiti itself. Hertelou is able to show how indeed the choice of language is linked with one's social status. The matrix below will provide a better understanding of the language situation as presented in Hertelou's novels, with particular reference to the first novel.

continued on next page

CREOLE CONTINUUM IN HERTELOU'S NOVELS



The characters are placed in terms of their choice of language. They are placed in a linguistic category which reflects the frequency of use of that form of language, and how they might position themselves on the continuum. Most characters are able to communicate across the continuum , although they may have a preference for one language over another. The arrows highlights the variety of language used by the protagonists. Pòl, for example, is at home in the mesolectal category but is equally at ease in the basilectal and acrolectal categories. Antwanèt is the most limited in her choice of language. She is incapable of having a full conversation in Creole. She uses code-switching in abundance, which instead of reflecting her knowledge of the three languages she uses (French, English and Creole), highlights her inadequacies in mastering any of the languages. Hertelou makes further mockery of this character by giving her a tendency to hyper-correction.

> *Listen, darrlinn, I rreally have to go. Si gen nenpòt ki kotizasyon k ap fèt nan fanmi an, wa fè m konnen...J'ai ma vie à vivre, m pa ka ap prran prroblèm lòt moun pou m mete sou mwen...Quand on est un arrtiste et un modèle, tu vois, on a les mains pleines!*

> *Listen, darrlinn, I rreally have to go. If anyone in the family is collecting money to help out, do let me know...I have my life to live, I am not going to burden myself with other people's problems...when one is an artist and a model, as you can see, one always has one's hand full!*

Not only is the French and English exaggerated with an over emphasis on the *r*, but *r*'s are also added to her Creole. This hyper correction shows Antwanèt's insecurity when speaking French or English. She thus emphasises the phoneme '*r*' which has a tendency to disappear in Creole so as not to reveal her Haitian background. The result is speech which is neither "correct" English, French nor Creole.

The choice of language in Hertelou's second novel is somewhat different from the first. Language is shown as being profoundly linked with roots and identity. By denigrating the language, one loses part of one's identity. Antwanèt at the end is forced to come out of her linguistic coma in order to be recognised. Although there are examples of basilectal Creole in the novels, Hertelou does not use "hard core" Creole. Her only specific example of this is given by Gaston in an attempt to show his wife that, even though the latter speaks perfect Creole, there are examples of Creole she, as a non Haitian, would not be able to understand. By limiting the use of "hard core" Creole, the two novels are more accessible to Creole readers and adds to it a universal dimension.

There is a strong moral at the end of the story, which is the importance of valuing the Haitian heritage; everybody has a role to play as a Haitian citizen no matter his social situation.

Both novels provide excellent reading an not just in terms of the story line. Hertelou gives a very realistic depiction of a Haitian family through which the reader witnesses the tribulations of the Haitian population in America and in Haiti.

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LINGUA FRANCA

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spedizione della marina sarda a Tripoli nel 1825. [Tripoli; **D**]

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1. Although this text is not widely acknowledged to represent "true" Lingua France (Kahane & Kahane 1976), it is listed here for the relevance it may nevertheless have for Lingua Franca studies.
2. Djerba is an island off the Tunisian coast.
3. "Barbary" refers to the coastal area between Oran and Tunis.
4. The occurrence of LF material in this work was brough to my attention by Bill Jennings.
5. "Grain Coast" refers to the coastal area of modern Liberia and Sierra Leone.

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