The Carrier Pidgin

A newsletter for those interested in pidgin and creole languages

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FOCUS ON CREOLIST: HEIN EERSEL

by Jacques Arends
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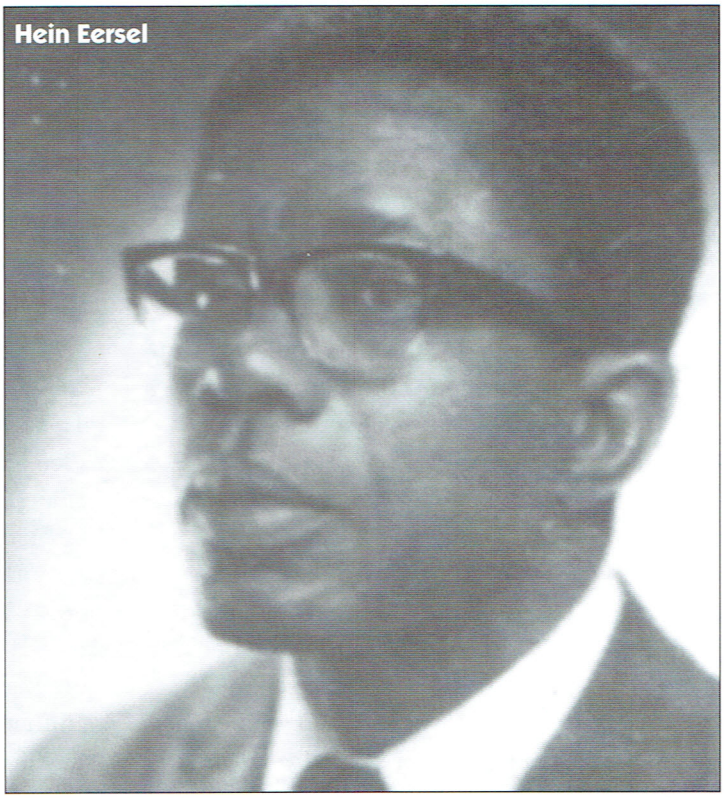
Hein Eersel

In the early sixties, Hein Eersel was one of the Surinamese intellectuals interviewed by V.S. Naipaul, who was making a tour of the Caribbean for his (1962) book *Middle Passage*. Naipaul describes Eersel, who was then director of the Taalbureau [Language Office] as follows: '[…] he was grave and very gentle, with one of those sculptured Negro faces in which every feature appears to have been separately cast, so that one studies the face feature by feature' (Naipaul 1962: 188]. The photograph reproduced here, dating, I assume, from approximately the same period, shows the aptness of Mr. Naipaul's description . Although I cannot lay claim to Mr. Naipaul's gift for style and observation, I will endeavor to sketch my own little portrait of Hein Eersel, focusing on his work as a creolist.

Hein (Christiaan) Eersel's name is known among creolists from a small number of publications, the best known of which is

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probably his 'Prestige in choice of language and linguistic form', which appeared in Hymes (1971). The relative lack of familiarity with his other work among creolists is at least partly due to the fact that most of it is written in Dutch. Some examples are his (1969) paper on the language situation in Suriname, two articles in *Oso* (a biannual journal on Surinamese languages, literature, culture and history)—one on Surinamese language policy since emancipation, the other on Bible translations into Sranan—, an article, co-authored with Herman Wekker, on the state of the art in the study of the Surinamese creoles, and an introduction to Sranan, co-authored with Max Sordam. Eersel's unpublished work includes a paper on characteristic features of the Sranan in Stedman's late-18th-century Narrative of a five years' expedition against the revolted negroes of Surinam, which was presented at the 1984 conference of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics in Jamaica, as well as, I am sure, many manuscript notes which—unfortunately—never found there way into print.

Born into an Afro-Surinamese family in Paramaribo (Suriname) in 1922, Eersel was initially trained as a primary and secondary school teacher. Having worked as a teacher in Suriname for several years, he continued his education in the Netherlands, where he took a degree in Dutch linguistics and literature at the University of Amsterdam. One of his teachers there was Wytze Hellinga, a professor of Dutch linguistics, who took an interest in the Suriname creoles and who made a field trip to Suriname in 1950 with a small group including Jan Voorhoeve. This formed the beginning of an increased interest in the Suriname creoles among Dutch linguists, which led, among other things, to Voorhoeve's (1953) dissertation. In Amsterdam both Eersel and Voorhoeve were connected with a small group of expatriate Surinamese, known as Wie Eegie Sanie ['Our own things'], whose aim was the emancipation of Surinamese culture, including Sranan. Through his participation in Wie Eegie Sanie, Eersel was stimulated to write poetry in Sranan, a specimen of which was published in Voorhoeve & Lichtveld's (1975) Creole drum. For Wie Eegie Sanie, he developed and implemented a literacy program for Sranan, called Kwakoe de leesie [Kwaku is reading]. After his return to Suriname Eersel joined Voorhoeve as editor of a radiobroadcast, called Nanga opo doro [With open doors], a program devoted to Surinamese culture.

In Suriname, Eersel held a number of different positions, one of which was the directorship of the

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Taalbureau, founded in 1960 and supplemented in 1962 with the Bureau Volkslectuur [Office for popular literature]. The aim of these institutes was the promotion of the study of and literature in Sranan. Among their publications was Eersel's (1969) paper referred to above. Later on in his career, Eersel was secretary of Education in one of the interim administrations, and chancellor of the University of Suriname. For a long time he was affiliated with the Instituut voor de Opleiding van Leraren (IOL), a teachers' training college in Paramaribo, where he taught linguistics and Dutch. He was a member of the committee which prepared the official Sranan spelling in 1960 and he was involved in the preparation of the revisions made in 1986. He has been a member of the Executive Committee of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics as well as of the editorial boards of Oso and the Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages.

I am personally indebted to Hein Eersel for what he has taught me about Sranan, based both on his deep insights as a native speaker and on his intimate knowledge of the historical sources. In both capacities, he is an invaluable source of information. This became especially clear during a number of discussion meetings we had at the University of Nijmegen in the late 1980s. In the course of these meetings, which were also attended by Pieter Seuren and Herman Wekker, Hein made a number of substantial contributions, eg on reduplication and on tense, aspect and modality. He was the first, to my knowledge, to draw attention to the difference between the two modal markers sa and o, a distinction which was later confirmed by other creolists. Most important, however, from my personal point of view, is the fact that Hein graciously agreed to check and correct my analysis of the complete corpus (>100 pages of text!), which formed the basis for my (1989) dissertation. His corrections and alternative interpretations not only saved me from a number of embarrassing mistakes, but also showed him as the vast repository of knowledge of Sranan that he is. I count myself lucky to have shared in that knowledge. Grantangi, Masra Eersel!

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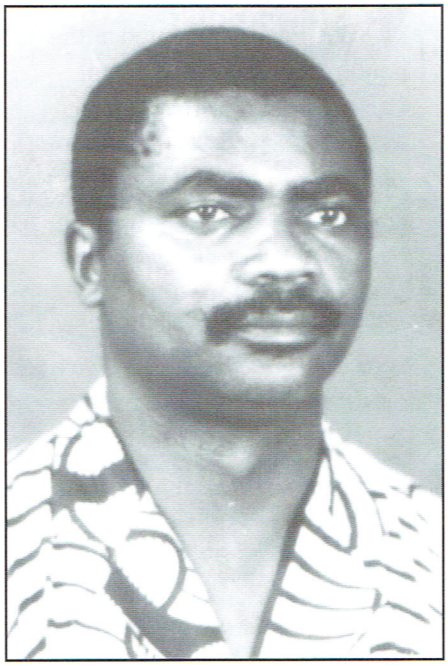
KAMTOK:
SOME COLONIAL VESTIGES IN KAMTOK PRONOUNCIATION



by Augustin Simo Bobda
University of Yahoundé, Cameroon

The first European contacts with the West African coast date from the 15th century. Forms of English, including Pidgin and Standard English, are perhaps two centuries later but, from their earliest introduction, they have continued to be used in the area. The users of English were of diverse origins and even teachers of English came from disparate African, European and Asian backgrounds. Southern Cameroons, being administered by Britain as part of Nigeria from the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 to its reunification with Francophone Cameroon in 1961, had a 42-year common history with Nigeria, and the legacy of this not-too-distant past has survived till today in Anglophone Cameroon's administration, way of life and use of Pidgin English and English.

Concerning Cameroon Pidgin English in particular, preferably labelled here "Kamtok" partly to mark its autonomy from (Standard) English, the pronunciation of some of its words seems to bear the traces of the complex colonial experiences of its speakers. The words selected to discuss this situation include the Kamtok words for *first* and *dirt*, *beer* and *pear*, *come* and *one*, and *doctor*.

For Received Pronunciation (RP) /fɛst/, first is pronounced /fɛs(t)/ in CamE. In Kamtok, it is pronounced fɛs/ by most educated speakers but /fɔs/ by (Francophone) Bamileke speakers in the west of Cameroon, and in the Anglophone provinces by speakers of the old generation, especially those who have not attained a high level of education. A more mesolectal realization is /fɔsi/, now uncommon in most Kamtok varieties. The pronunciation of *dirt*, for RP/dɜt/, contrasting with that of *first*, is uniform across the geographic, social, educational and gender spectrum. It is systematically pronounced /dɔtí/ by all Kamtok speakers. As with /fɔsi/, above, the final /i/ is the epenthetic segment added to many loans in the process of borrowing into Kamtok, and especially into indigenous languages, to achieve the CVCV syllable structure which is one of their hallmarks. The low and high tones (on /dɔtí/) are another feature of substratum African languages.

But where does the /ɔ/ in the Kamtok realization of *first* and *dirt* come from? The fact that /ɔ/ is not found in (standard) Cameroon Educated English pronunciation of these words only adds to the puzzle. An appealing explanation for this kind of phenomenon is the invocation of the influence of indigenous languages. But here, the limits of the explanation are obvious, as in other similar explanations. In fact, that the RP/ɜ/ of *first* and *dirt* is not found in any of the local languages is fully granted. But why is it replaced by /ɔ/, with which it does not have any particular similarity, rather than by any of the other vowels? The same question could be asked for /ɛ/ as a substitute for the vowel of other words in Cameroon English, and for that of *first* in the educated variety of Kamtok.

Two origins of /ɔ/ can be identified, which eventually boil down to one. First, there is the Nigerian source, clearly evidenced by the fact that mainstream Nigerian English has /ɔ/ for *first* and *dirt*, just as it does for other words where RP has /ɛ/ for *ir*, (eg. *bird*, *third*) and occasionally for *er* (eg. *person*). Note that such occurrences of /ɔ/ are found also in the English of Sierra Leone, another West African country, with close historical links with Nigeria. To return to the Nigerian source of Kamtok /ɔ/ of *first* and *dirt*, the historical links, also between Cameroon and Nigeria, provide an easy support for this speculation.

The second origin of /ɔ/ can be traced to Britain itself. It is a well-known fact that regional accents of Britain (eg. the Geordie accent of Tyneside) substitute /ɔ/ for RP /ɜ/ across the board, producing [wɔ:k, fɔ:s, ʃɔ:t] (*work*, *first*, *shirt*) for /wɜ́k, fɜ́st, ʃɜt/ (Wells, 1982: 374) knowing, as Kachru (1986:100) rightly remarks, that British farmers, traders, administrators, soldiers, missionaries, and significantly teachers, brought to the colonies a whole spectrum of their own Englishes, it is an easy guess that the /ɔ/ under consideration may have reached Cameroon either directly from Britain, or via Nigeria. A similar explanation holds for /ɛ/ as a variant of Kamtok /ɔ/ of *first* and CamE /ɛ/ of most words in *ir*, *er*, *ear* where RP has /ɔ/, e.g. stir, term, learn (see Simo Bobda 1994). There are indeed many British regional accents which have

/ɛ/ for such words (cf. Wells 1982).

The above cases are just some of the multitude in which Kamtok exhibits a clear influence of Nigerian English and/or British English regional accents. Other cases of Nigerian influence include the Kamtok pronunciation of the words, *beer* and *pear*. The Kamtok pronunciation of *beer* and *pear* is /bia/ and /pia/, respectively, contrasting with RP/bɪe/ and /pɛɜ/ on the one hand and CamE /biɛ, biə, and /pɛ/, on the other, but conforming with the Nigerian English /bia/ and /pia, pea/. Indeed, for RP /ɪə/ corresponding to the orthographic *eer* and *ear*, CamE has /iɛ/ as a variant of a more acrolectal /iə/, while Nigerian English has /ia/. For RP /ɛə/, CamE almost invariably has the monophthong /ɛ/, and Nigerian English /ea/ or /ia/.

A further feature that could be attributed to the influence of a regional British accent is the vowel of Kamtok /kum/ (comb) for mainstream CamE /kom/ for RP kəum/. Accents like that in East Anglia (Wells 1982:388) are known to substitute /u:/ for RP /əʊ/ in words like *soap*, *moan*, *boat* (pronounced /su:p. mu:n, bu:t/. Cameroonians may arguably have been exposed to /ku:m/ by some farmers, soldiers, traders, teachers, etc. from the region.

The Kamtok pronunciation of *come* and *one*, in terms of the relationship of this pidgin with CamE, Nigerian English and RP, is particularly interesting. For RP /ʌ/ (as in *cup*, *Monday*, *touch*), West Africa (except Ghana, Northern Nigeria, and Liberia whose English accent is only marginally African), including Cameroon, has /ɔ/ and /a/ (see Simo Bobda, fc.).

East and South Africa have /a/. Harris (1996) generally associates /ɔ/ with early British settlement in West Africa and /a/ with later settlement, when *strut-fronting* (Wells, 1982), changing /ʌ/ to /a/ in Britain, was already in progress., *Come* and *one* and their derivatives are the only words in which the educated English varieties of these countries have /a/, as a variant of /ʌ/. Kamtok, for its part, systematically has /a/ as in /kam,wan/. Where does the systematic /a/ come from? Is it the unusual and unexpected influence of Nigerian Hausa or Ghanian English or, even more unexpectedly, the influence of Southern and East African Englishes? If yes, why would such an influence affect only these two words? How is it possible to link these two words alone to the phenomenon of *strut-forming* currently taking place in Britain?

Another puzzling case is the Kamtok pronunciation of *doctor*. For RP /dɒktə/ and CamE /dɔktɔ/, *doctor* is rendered as /dɔkta/ in Kamtok. *Doctor* is pronounced /dɔktɔ/ in the whole of West Africa except in Ghana and northern Nigeria where it is pronounced /dɔkta/ (/a/ being the substitute for final (mostly open) syllable /ə/ in most words). Final syllable /ə/ is also pronounced /ạ/ in East Africa. Where does this final syllable vowel /a/ in Kamtok /dɔkta/ come from? How can we relate it to the geographically distant Ghanian, northern Nigerian and east African varieties? Why does this restructuring of final syllable /ə/ affect only *doctor*? (*motor*, *colour*, *neighbour*, etc. have /ɔ/).

But notwithstanding the difficulty of accounting for such cases, my analyses suggest that, in addition to the obvious influence of indigenous languages, the influence of Nigerian English and other African Englishes with which it was in contact in the colonial days, and/or regional British English accents may be responsible for some features of Kamtok phonology, especially those which differ from Cameroon English. From a purely theoretical perspective, the analyses cast more light on the controversial relationship between Kamtok and Cameroon English, in terms of standard British English. Mbassi-Manga (1973), representative of many current views, and contradicted by Ngome (1984), sees English in Cameroon to be a continuum, ranging from the variety nearest to standard British English to Cameroon Pidgin English. This statement may imply several things. But if it means that the adulteration of standard British English has produced Cameroon English which has further been adulterated to yield Kamtok, then this study clearly refutes the theory, at least as far as some phonological features are concerned. In many cases indeed, the pronunciation of a word in the two varieties exhibit so much divergence that they can clearly be seen to have derived from British English, but through totally independent routes.

That the phonology of Kamtok does not always derive from Cameroon English is further evidenced by the fact that the Kamtok pronunciation of some words corresponds to the standard British realization while the CamE pronunciation *does not*. Thus for RP /plæt/, plait is realized in CamE as [pleit, plet] but maintains in Kamtok a more RP-like pronunciation as /plat/. *Mosquito* offers an example on stress: this word is stressed in CamE as '*mosquito* but maintains in Kamtok the British pattern as mos'quito. Such phenomena clearly add to the evidence that Kamtok derives some of its pronunciation features from some British form of English, independently of Cameroon English.

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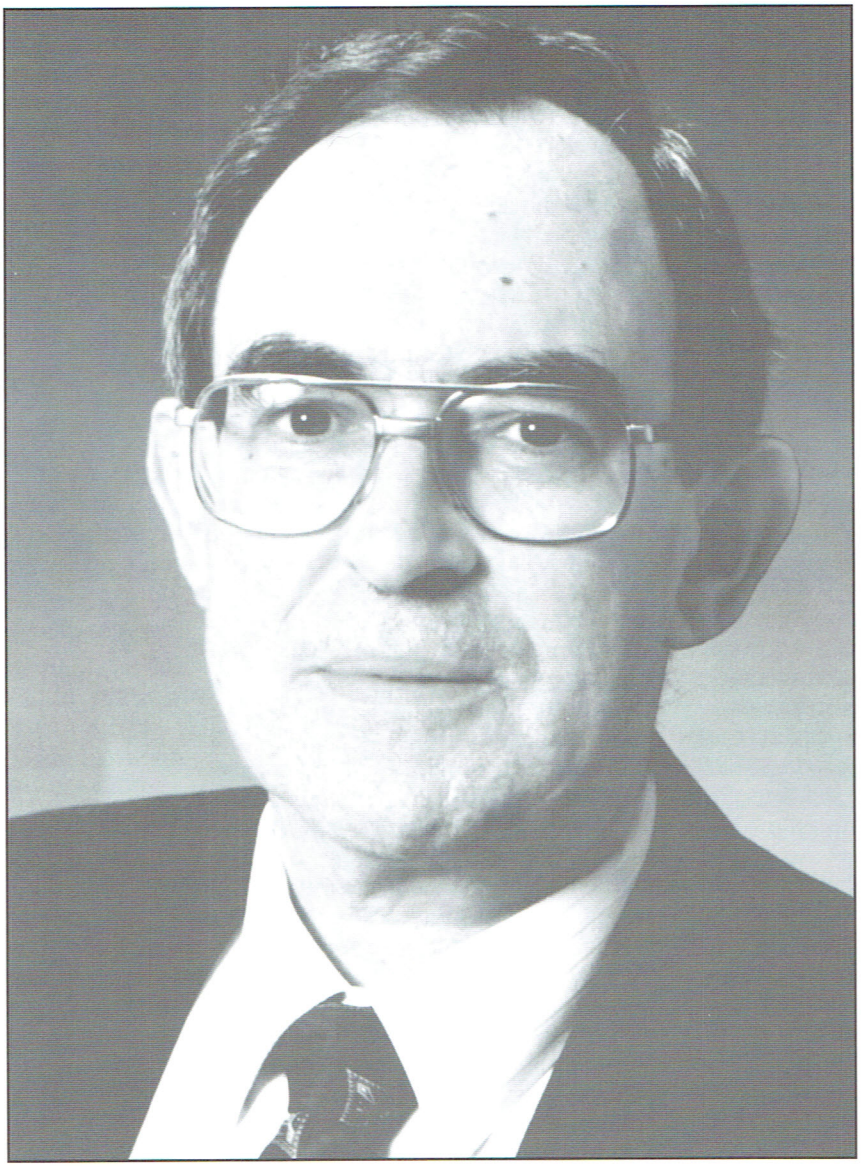
OBITUARIES

Chris Corne (1942 - 1999)

by William Jennings University of Waikato, New Zealand



Chris Corne spoke two contact-induced vernaculars before he studied any. New Zealand English and New Caledonian French began his lifelong interest in nonstandard varieties of language. He grew up in a small New Zealand town attentive to the divergence of the local English from the 'correct' version that aped RP English. On a school exchange to New Caledonia, he remarked a similar divergence of French, and enjoyed juxtaposing different registers throughout his life. He would ask a question in the coarsest vernacular to a room of precious post-modernists, or set his students translation exercises full of bewildering colloquialisms. His humour is perhaps best illustrated by the earnest tone of his paper on the phonology of l'enculé in New Caledonian French.

At Auckland University in the 1960s, Chris studied French and linguistics. Jim Hollyman, a pioneer in the study of French in the Pacific, encouraged him to follow his interests in nonstandard language varieties, a field beyond the pale of mainstream linguistics at the time. For his doctorate, Chris worked on Tahitian French phonology, and found that bilingual speakers had transferred features from Polynesian languages into the local variety of French.

After obtaining a lectureship in the French Department at Auckland, Chris investigated other nonstandard languages, gathering material from informants who lived locally to prepare his description of Mauritian Creole and brief sketch of a French Guianese Creole dialect. He also became an active proponent of New Zealand linguistics, President of the Linguistic Society of New Zealand, and editor of the Society's journal *Te Reo*. For over a decade he made a huge contribution to the growth and promotion of linguistics in New Zealand.

With the lectureship came funding for travel beyond the Pacific. Fieldwork in the Indian Ocean led to his *Seychelles Creole Grammar* and, with Philip Baker, *Isle de France Creole*. Although Chris had visited most French-speaking regions by the end of the seventies (thereby amassing numerous anecdotes—meeting Brando in Tahiti, and a tarantula in a Cayenne outhouse were two favourites), in the eighties and nineties he rarely went beyond New Caledonia because of increasing health problems.

It was in New Caledonia that he devoted much of his

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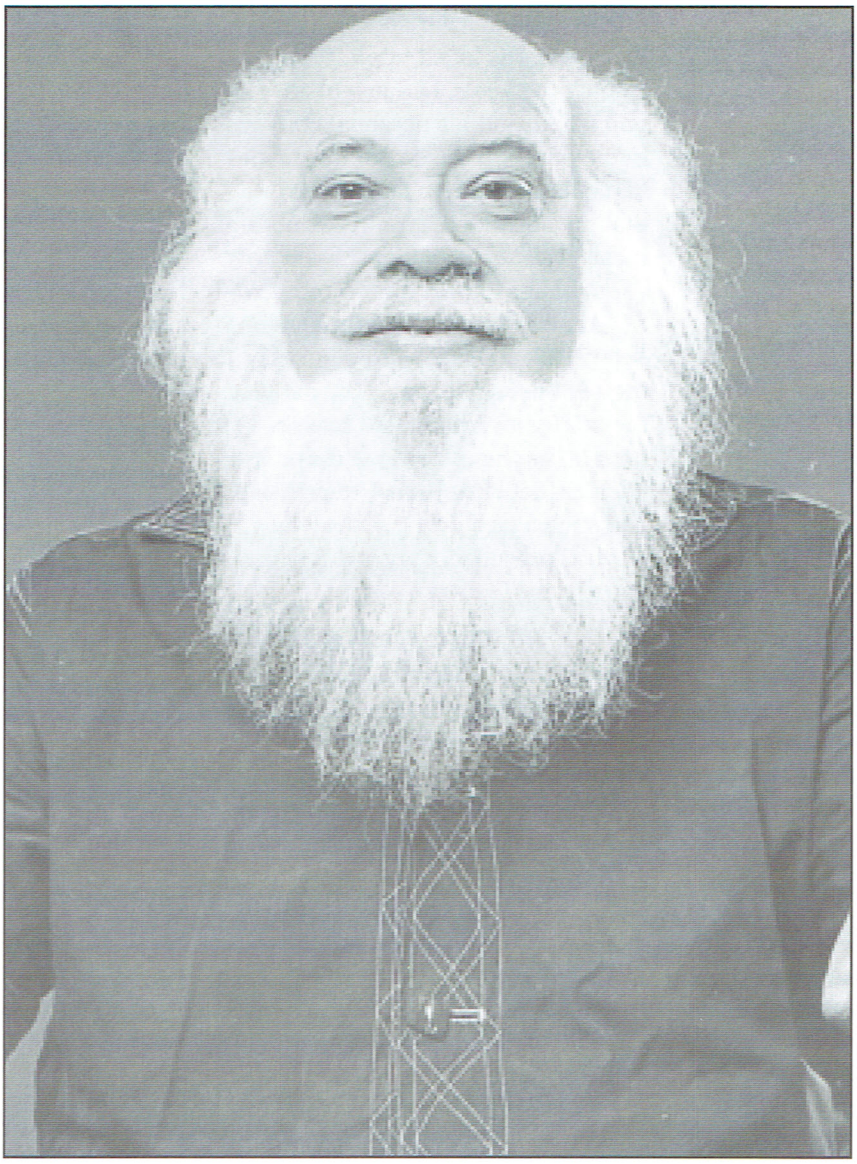
OBITUARIES

John Joseph Maria Figueroa (1942 - 1999)

David Sutcliffe
Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona



Him no ded sah ? John Joseph Maria Figueroa. Born: August 4, 1920, Kingston, Jamaica. Died: March 6, 1999. Academic and poet, author of four volumes of poetry, the latest being *The Chase* (People Tree Press, Leeds 1991). Three anthologies, *Caribbean Voices*, Vols. I and II, and the *Anthology of African and Caribbean Writing in English*. Made Chevalier of Bourg-en-Bresse, France, for his great interest in the town.

In 1953, appointed Senior Lecturer, University College of the West Indies, and in 1957, became professor of Education thus gaining the distinction of being the first native West Indian to hold the Chair in what was later to be the University of the West Indies. When he took over the Department of Education, it was offering the post-graduate Teacher's Diploma. To this was soon added the Certificate in Education, a Higher Diploma in Education, an M.A. and a Ph.D.

On March 6, 1999, John Joseph Maria Figueroa left this world for the next. As I wrote elsewhere (in an obituary which appeared alongside one written by Peter Patrick) John was a great and gifted man, a man of many parts, and an *Hombre del Caribe* as he himself like to think, rather than an African-, or any other variety of hyphenated Caribbean. And he was a language man (rather than a linguist) who reveled in language whether his or others, whether spoken or written, poetry or prose.

Accomplished and memorable poet that he was, he even wrote a fitting obituary for himself in the form of a poem which I've appended to this notice. The poem calls to mind the way John Donne had his portrait painted wearing his own winding sheet shortly before his death. But John Figueroa's poem speaks of life—from the perspective of death admittedly—and the way in which we live on according to our vigor in life and the dent we make on the collective mind. There is something Caribbean and ultimately African to that, and the way the named dead are seen to stay with us at least for a generation or two, something discussed by Karl Reisman in his classic article on Antiguan Creole. John, of course, was very tough with me and others who are prone to seeing Africa at every turn in Caribbean culture and language. I would certainly argue that the harrowing experience of the Middle Passage stripped away material culture, while a

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CHRIS CORNE

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research time in the decade before his death. His elder son had told him about a curious language spoken near Noumea. This was Tayo, which he announced as 'un créole à base lexicale française' in 1989. Chris once told me that thirty years earlier, he had heard a brief recording of the language but, not realising its significance, had missed the chance to interview speakers born before, during and after the genesis of the creole. Further investigation of the language in the 1990s led him to question the value of terms such as 'creole' and 'pidgin', and to talk about 'contact-induced vernaculars' instead. Tayo's structure challenged various models of creole genesis, and Chris was frustrated by what he perceived as the indifferent attitude of northern hemisphere scholars to the language. This was, he believed, a 'Podean' bias that ignored the many Pacific contact languages of the Antipodes that didn't fit the theories.

The bias was perhaps also a reflection of his own isolation in New Zealand, far from the American and European conference circuits. Chris reacted to it by becoming a tireless and prolific correspondent, especially with the development of e-mail. Decades of letter-writing ended when the university put a computer on the desk of this avowed technophobe and enabled him to dialog with the rest of the world. A quick exchange of e-mails was worth a year's correspondence to him, and suited his style much more than the formality of letters. Chris was in touch with everyone in creole studies, and would go out of his way to help graduate students all over the world, sending them bibliographies, articles and advice. He vigorously advocated electronic publishing as a way of speeding up the development of the field, and made significant contributions to the CreoLIST Archives.

Chris lived with his family an hour's drive from Auckland on a small farm where he could be a gruff down-to-earth Kiwi bloke far from the hassles of administration and bureaucracy. It was while he was returning home after feeling unwell that he died in a car accident on 17 May 1999. His latest book, *From French to Creole*, had just been published, and his personal copy was in the post. On the day of his death I had e-mailed him to let him know that my corrected, typo-free doctoral thesis was at the binder's. Even now, I sometimes expect him to reply. At the Aix-en-Provence conference in June 1999, colleagues told me that they felt the same way. Few people at the conference had met Chris in person, but many told me that, because he wrote so frequently and had such a strong and distinctive 'virtual' presence, they had lost a good friend.

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Creative Writing Corner

TREFOSSA

Gronmamama

Mi a no mi
solanga mi brudu
fu yu a n'e trubu
na ini den dusun titei fu mi skin.

Mi a no mi
solanga mi lutu
n'e saka, n'e sutu
mi gronmama, te na yu ati.

Mi a no mi
solanga m'no krari
fu kibri, fu tyari
yu gersi na ini mi dyodyo.

Mi a no mi
solanga y'n'e bari
f'prisir' ofu pen
na ini mi sten.

Trefossa

Mother of earth

I am not I
as long as my veins
are not filled
with your blood.

I am not I
as long as my roots,
my mother of earth,
do not reach your heart.

I am not I
as long as my soul
does not carry your image
inside itself.

I am not I
as long as my voice
does not cry out
your joy and your pain.

(Translation: Jacques Arends)

JOHN FIGUEROA

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relatively large proportion of the more abstract organizing principles and cultural values survived or reacted to creat syncretism. But it is worth repeating what he wrote on resources and resourcefulness in the Caribbean: All people in "deprived" situations, he argued, know how to improvise, not least people from Africa and the Caribbean. And, he went on, the linguistic situation both on the West Coast of Africa and in the sugar West Indies was often a situation of deprivation or crisis in terms of the contact between so many diaspora languages. He commented:

> It would be odd if Caribbean Heritage People showed this ability to improvise only in trading, cricket, in baseball, in building, in repairing machines which first-world experts write off, in beating out bashed up cars with well-chosen stones—but not in language. Might not some of the usages which scholars spend time tracing to this or that origin be the creative improvisions of speakers, which get fixed, rather than some sort of dependency upon an African template? (*System in Black Language*, p. xvi).

What John is arguing then is that there is a spirit or genius that is Caribbean but which—in the language contact situation—continually reinvented rather than inherited. In a sense, this prefigures, in a less theoretical way, the recent debate between the substratum specialists on the one hand, and McWhorter on the other. John Figueroa of course expresses the idea graphically, concretely—since he had little truck with unnecessary abstraction. After all, he was first and foremost an *Hombre del Caribe*, a lover of the cultures who was himself a writer of great fluency. I would dare to say it was only then, on his foundation, that he was also a distinguished academic—while never losing his informal, practitioner's grip on language.

Having said that, when we look at the comments he made in his preface to our book, *Systems in Black Language*, there are comments that seem to me especially pertinent to the way academia operates and the extent to which it not only forms the matrix, the womb, for the truth-creating process, for the analysis and understanding of observable phenomena, but also may paradoxically curb or repress like the proverbial stepmother. As John saw it, this happened when the investigator and would be academic or intellectual writer sought funding or sought to have their work published. At this point, they could, if they had the cussed temerity to sail against the prevailing wind in the discipline concerned, invite barbed criticism (if not the accusation of moral obliquity, as John put it), which would result in a very rough passage, or actually sink the endeavor without trace (until a later generation's pendulum swing salvaged it and its hapless author). The majority academic view of the time would thus defend its space, and at the same time feel it was acting in the highest interests of scholarship.

John (almost uniquely) was able to carry off this nonconformist role, write about it, live it, and in a sense never compromise his commitment to the truth as he actually and vividly perceived it. I salute him for it, and I sincerely hope that in all the heated academic battles, substratum versus universals, creole continuum against coexistent systems, and (in AAVE studies) dialectologist explanations against creolist ones, we do not lose sight of the lesson which John is teaching us. That we need to be able to go, without hindrance or prejudice, where the facts will lead us. And that the posing of one set of views against another can and should be seen as an academic exercise, a truth-creating process that goes forward in an academic environment which is as just and open-minded as we can possibly make it.

THE POEM

The old man is gone
Him ded, sah, him ded!
(Where are the frigate birds?)

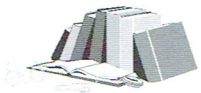
Absent from Jonkunoo Lounge,
Someone will miss him from
The Caribe bar—but only long
After.
Him ded, sah, him ded!

In Santiago de los Caballeros
(O Spanish men on horses!)
They will remember him when
It is too late how lively he
Could be.
Him deh, sah; se murio.

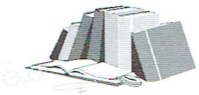
But Tavern on the Green
Will dance, and Tower Isle
And Myrtle Bank, so stupidly
Demolished.
Him done ded, sah)

And whenever for a moment or
A night he used to cast the spell
Against death with dancing—
A spell that works and does
Not work,
(Him ded, sah, him ded!)
A spell that did not last.

The frigate birds have soared away,
The hurricane clouds have left
The skies clean blue;
And in the silence he has danced
Away, away, across the bar.



BOOK REVIEWS



Guidelines for Reviews

Reviews are written in English and restricted to a maximum size of 1,500 words, unless specified otherwise. A hard (paper) copy of the first version should be sent to the Review Editor, Jacques Arends, for comments (see address given below). After revision, a hard (paper) and soft (diskette) copy of the revised version should be sent to the Editor of the Carrier Pidgin, Tometro Hopkins, at the address given below. Please use Word or Wordperfect for Windows or Macintosh; if this is not possible, please convert your file into ASCII (MS-DOS) format. The name of the reviewer, the title of the book, and the name of the version of the wordprocessor used should be mentioned on the diskette label. The review should include title, author(s), publisher, number of pages, and (if known) price of the book, as well as name and affiliation of the reviewer. As to style, please use the abbreviated style sheet for Language (printed on the inside back cover of each issue) as a guideline.

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Big Wok: Storian blong Wol Wo Tu long Vanuatu [Big Work: The story of World War II in Vanuatu] Edited by Lamont Lindstrom and James Gwero. 1998. Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Canterbury/Institute of Pacific Studies, The University of the South Pacific. 299pp + refs, index.

Reviewed by Miriam Meyerhoff, University of Hawai'i at Manoa

Lamont Lindstrom is a man with a mission. This is his fourth book in the last ten years dedicated to memorializing the Pacific theatre of WWII. For this volume, he teams with James Gwero, a Vanuatu Cultural Centre fieldworker, and presents highlights of the recorded reminiscences of 180 Ni-Vanuatu who remember the transformation of Vanuatu (then, the New Hebrides) during the war. Lindstrom and Gwero's (L&G) interviews are supplemented by interviews conducted by other VCC fieldworkers, however, the selection seems to rely most heavily on L&G's extensive personal networks on Tanna and Ambae, so it is a fair assumption that the bulk of the stories in*Big Wok* are the results of their personal recordings.

The volume is a treasure for linguists, as it is written entirely in Bislama. The spelling of the texts has been standardized, so variation in pronunciation is lost, but (at least some) lexical and syntactic variation is represented between and within individuals. Assuming the notion of apparent time is relevant to such variables (vocabulary obviously can change throughout an individual's life), the texts provide us with some idea of recent changes in the form and structure of Bislama. Most of the interviewees are c.60 years or older, so their widespread use of, e.g., *bat* 'but' (now usually *be*), *bikos* 'because' (now *from (we)*), *tel* 'until' (now *gogo*) and *tetaem* 'then; at that time' (now *long taem* ya) suggest a period in which Bislama was formally closer in some respects to Solomons Pijin and more heavily influenced by direct contact with English speakers than it is today. In addition, variation in subject-verb agreement (both *i* and *oli* occur with 3p subjects) provides potentially important evidence on the steps and timeframe through which the modern system has emerged. Because of the sheer quantity of texts, L&G also provide the basis for interesting future examination of the distribution of items that are fairly infrequent in natural conversation (e.g. quantifiers and morphological reduplication). Examples of NP focusing (both leftward and rightward) also abound, facilitating a more in-depth analysis of the pragmatics of Bislama.

Big Wok makes no claims about the accuracy of the stories retold (though in some cases L&G have made an effort to check names mentioned). Sometimes the stories are clearly second-hand. For example, three accounts of the sinking of the USS Coolidge are given, but only one of the men was unambiguously in Santo at the time. Most of the time, L&G adopt a Rashomon-like approach. When they are reporting particularly wild characters or hardly believable stories, they present similar accounts from several individuals, and leave the reader to weigh the similarities and discrepancies between them.

This is how they choose to report the bizarre life and death of Maevo the Sarakata ferryman and his nameless wife; also the charismatic and semi-mystical figure Leon Giovanni, a Santo-based guide who accompanied the military around the northern islands looking for signs of Japanese landing. It is also how they present the horrific story of an MP killing a baby when it would not stop crying during a blackout in Tagabe. Other sordid tales, such as the woman held for repeated and brutal

gang rapes by the military, guarded at their request by a fellow Ni-Vanuatu, are unverified, but seem likely to be true, since in this case the story is told by the former guard.

We also hear numerous stories illustrating the ugly and often dangerous work undertaken by Ni-Vanuatu men and women as their part in the war effort. *Big Wok* usefully and sadly refutes the claim that there were no war-time casualties in Vanuatu. While the Japanese may have inflicted no deaths, L&G's collection records many deaths from disease and misadventure with equipment. Many others were injured and maimed in the course of working horribly long hours, living in substandard accommodation in areas far from their homes.

However, the overall impression one gets from the book is an intense nostalgia for war-time Vanuatu: the over-supply of material goods, the cash economy, and the excitement of new faces, new customs, and new entertainments that accompanied the influx of soldiers. We are told that the first military to arrive in 1942 were Australians, who (to the dismay and sorrow of Ni-Vanuatu) immediately set about dispropriating and interning the islands' Japanese and part-Japanese population; large numbers of New Zealand and American troops soon followed. L&G report that by 1942-43, there were 100,000 Americans based in Santo and 20,000 in Vila (note that they estimate the Ni-Vanuatu population at this time to have been 40,000); Van Trease (1987) says 250,000 US military passed through during the war. Unsurprisingly, the war in *Big Wok* is about Americans and Japanese, and for most Ni-Vanuatu the latter would have been mere ciphers. Although L&G document several stories of bombs falling on the northern islands, and a submarine sighting near Santo, the only indubitable Japanese presence in these pages is that of the prisoners of war who passed through en route to camps elsewhere. Nonetheless, the fear of the Japanese is palpable even reading the stories today, a fear fed not just by the seriousness with which the military took them as threat (as evidenced by the extremely strict policing of blackouts), but also by the steady stream of casualties arriving for care and sometimes burial from the Solomons front.

An astounding piece of information was that many American casualties from the Pacific theatre were buried in Vanuatu during the war, but before a final withdrawal in 1946, every one of these people had to be dug up and repackaged for shipping back to the US. This was apparently a memorable event for those involved, not only for the oddity of it as a cultural practice, but also for the extremely disgusting nature of the task. I take at face value one man's claim that a rotten person smells much worse than a rotten animal.

Generally, the book shows American culture being met with enthusiasm or benign amazement. The cinemas, sports (baseball, boxing, new forms of music and dancing, including *danis teksas* 'Texas dancing'—memorable for the noise of boots on boards and the Juno-esque Black nurses taking part in it), the introduction of cigarettes, the provision of health care and widespread malaria control, and learning to drive are remembered fondly. The Americans are remembered for the generous wages paid for cleaning and housekeeping, and also for the monumental profligacy displayed (e.g. with blankets, clothes, food). Some of the apparent waste was undoubtedly misunderstood—such as the practice of burning or burying soiled hospital sheets—but in other cases it was undreamt of largesse. Not just one blanket, six or seven if you wanted them; tins of food with portions large enough to serve four people, and so on. Repeatedly (and despite occasional stories of rip-offs at the hands of individuals), the institutional munificence of the military is a source of heartfelt appreciation.

Given this, it's interesting to read Ni-Vanuatu recollections of how goods were disposed of during the pull-out. Although it was not deemed cost-effective to ship everything back to the US, the US military refused to leave anything in Vanuatu unless the colonial administration paid for it. Famously, the colonial government played chicken and lost; the US refused to give them anything for free and sank enormous quantities of material, equipment and food in the waters off Santo and Efate. Most of L&G's stories about the dumping place the blame at the door of the colonial government. The informants believe the colonials did not want to let Ni-Vanuatu have access to equipment which had traditionally been the preserve of white plantation owners.

Doubtless there was an element of this in the colonial mind of that period. Obviously, many Ni-Vanuatu men and women felt personally and collectively liberated by their often very friendly contact with whites and blacks in the military, and the colonials could hardly have failed to be aware of this. New skills that the Ni-Vanuatu learnt (driving, shooting), and learning that their existing skills could be valued more highly than they had been before were obviously important developments. As too was witnessing racial tension within the military and between the military and the settlers. Black servicemen's overt claims to shared brotherhood on the basis of skin colour opened other horizons, including (continued) identification with a global negritude. One person interviewed said that the international presence in Vanuatu during the war awakened many local intellectuals to the possibility that local wrongs (such as colonialism) might be dealt with through international channels and lead directly to the post-war independence movement.

Where *Big Wok* is somewhat disappointing is in the coverage of respondents. Only five of the interviewees are women and given the relative size of the Santo and Vila bases, there does seem to be an imbalance in the number of stories from people based around Vila compared to those around Santo.

The VCC has been criticised in the past for focusing its work on gathering men's stories, knowledge and artefacts at the expense of Vanuatu's women, and it has been working to redress this. However L&G might have made an effort to fill in gaps left by earlier fieldworkers' methods.

The production of the book (supported by grants from five institutions in the US, New Zealand and Japan) is good quality. There are 54 black and white photos and these are all reproduced clearly. The reminiscences are organised in 32 theme-driven chapters ("The Americans come ashore", "Watching for the enemy"); within each chapter, different people's stories are given their own heading, which makes browsing easy. The spelling generally adheres to the standardised system for Bislama, with some internal inconsistencies, e.g. sometimes *kamiong*; sometimes *kamion*. There are also a number of typographical errors, e.g. missing punctuation, missing spaces between words (on occasion, both together), a missing word at the start of sentence, *garden* in one sentence and *garen* in the next. These may sound trivial, but given that the book is written in Bislama, and therefore intended for a Ni-Vanuatu audience, and given that many people's Bislama literacy skills are fairly basic, errors like these may introduce an unfortunate added complexity to the task of reading at all.

Nonetheless, L&G have made it possible for me, and for anyone else interested in what the war did and does mean to Ni-Vanuatu, to share these stories and for this I am grateful. L&G clearly undertook the task in such a spirit of sharing (they receive no royalties) and in a spirit of genuine respect for the elders who assumed the hard, dirty and dangerous tasks required of them. I share their respect for these elders and extend it to L&G for curating one of Vanuatu's many national treasures.

Écrire en créole. Oralité et écriture aux Antilles. Marie-Christine Hazaël-Massieux, Paris: Éditions l'Harmattan. ISBN: 2-7384-2362-0, 1997. Pages: 316, paperback. Price: FF 160.

Reviewed by: David Sutcliffe, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, 08002 Barcelona, Spain

Marie-Christine Hazaël-Massieux's book Écrire en créole is one of those works which you can safely say has moved the state of our knowledge forward a decided step. It has certainly forced me to modify views I have held for a long time, specifically on the subject of the relationship between oral and written language. This, in spite of (or due to?) the fact that she takes what seems to me to be a highly personal line on certain issues. Nevertheless, not only is this a writerly rather than a readerly text, but also, and perhaps more importantly, an authoritative one.

The subtitle oralité et écriture has to be understood as "writing and orality in connection with writing" since there is little consideration of orality apart from writing and the forging of a written language.

As she rightly says, it has taken European languages like French and English centuries to evolve their written versions to the point they have reached today. Where I disagreed with Hazaël-Massieux [H-M] at least at the outset, was on whether these several centuries represented a gradual mastering of the written medium which could only have been achieved by such a slow and tortuous route. Or indeed whether the considerable distance between the written language of some writers and the corresponding spoken language at any one time, was strictly necessary. H-M's thesis, at any rate, is that the development of a fully mature, flexible written version of any language has typically taken a long time (often many generations) and it will take the French Creoles a long time (many generations?).

My discrepancy with H-M over this point, let us call it natural resistance on the part of the reader, had much to do with our different backgrounds. Twentieth century writers of English have in general tried to simplify the syntax used, shorten sentences and give an impression of writing in a heightened form of the spoken language, bending it to their needs and achieving their own individual voice. And now the advent of e-mail on the threshold of the 21st century again has us all (including perhaps even some French creole speakers?) chatting in the written medium.

Evidently a major problem in developing certain types of literature and other writing in certain types of society is the existence of diglossia, where the vernacular is in a sense hived off or isolated from most writing tasks and all learned activity oral or written. This segregation, as H-M points out, is enforced by the speakers themselves. Again, as H-M also reminds us this was the case with many of the languages of Medieval Europe, not least French, which Ronsard claimed was so unfit an instrument for written expression. And it is that situation which continues to impede the creation of a written creole tradition.

Drawing a comparison between the reactions of Guadeloupeans in 1990 to sermons and official speeches in creole, and the probable reactions of the elite to the serments de Strasbourg, the "earliest extant document written in the vernacular of France" in 842, H-M observes:

"Pourtant, ce sera très long; ce n'est pas en dix ans, ni en vingt, ni même en cent que le français est devenu cette langue écrite que nous connaissons et pratiquons."

"In any case, it will take a long time; French did not become the language we know and use in ten, twenty, or even a hundred years."

And she goes on to point out that, even as late as the 16th century, Montaigne was brought up to speak and write only Latin. It is this situation of extreme diglossia, and so-called low prestige (or counter-prestige) vernaculars, with no consensus so far on a standard orthography, which H-M confronts. She factors out the different facets of this situation, with their accompanying problems and suggested solutions, and does so with an evident sure grasp of her

subject built up after years of applied research and experience. Thus readers get a business-like overview of the whole issue, and within each of the aspects and domains she deals with are provided with authentic insight and information.

After a brief introduction in which she summarizes technical, anthropological and political aspects, she deals in chapter 1 with a statement of principles, looking for instance at the precepts put forward by the Prague Circle, and the standardization of the Czech language. This leads on to the interconnected issues of national standards, basilect and the concepts of language purity.

Chapter 2 looks at French Creole [FC] in the Lesser Antilles vis-à-vis the written medium. Here we have a brief glimpse of Bernstein with his —to me—misleading notion that there is a restricted code typically found in spoken vernacular. More convincing is the overlapping idea of development of language that will work in absentia. This incidentally would include forms of oral literature which are typically transmitted across time and space. These genres work in absentia and when written down are as coherent and complete, on paper, as material directly composed in the written medium. H-M puts forward a scheme showing four main stages in the evolution of a written language: orality with no written form; orality with written transcription of the oral language; more evolved written language which is functional in absentia; and lastly, a fully-fledged and completely autonomous standardized written language.

Chapter 3 contains proposals for an orthography. We are taken through the various technical and sociological (or marketing?) problems involved in choosing between competing orthographic systems, or indeed of improving them. Main points here are that most potential readers of FC speak French or are daily exposed to it, thus conditioning their response to written FC. Secondly, with the regional variation between the FC of the different islands, H-M argues that the best policy is to choose the "long form" of any given grammatical morpheme, since reduced forms triggered by regional variation or position in the clause are not so easily filled out as vice versa.

Chapter 4 looks at readers´ judgments of written FC. Here again the author is very informative. She draws on actual research which she has done which examines reader preference, perception of creoleness of various spellings, their readability, their beauty, and finally what version of the spelling readers actually recommend.

In Chapter 5, the author deals with the vital issue of intonation in the spoken language and its minimum expression in punctuation. Chapter 6 looks at the unity of discourse. Again, the author does more than summarize the issue, she very interestingly compares and contrasts an oral narrative in Antillean French on the subject of crab-hunting, with the spoken discourse of a French broadcaster, and shows that in both cases the spoken French is organized around topic and comment, or "kernels" and "satellites".

Chapter 7 again provides the reader with fascinating insights, on the relationship of lexis and writing (words for concepts). First, the author looks at the proliferation of terms for the action of deceiving, hoodwinking and manipulation of the gullible in Guadeloupean FC, precisely to show that French creoles may seem to contain lexical gaps when translating into it from French, but are already lexically rich within the scope of the vernacular world. As the obverse to this coin, she discusses the burning issue of how to expand creole lexis to deal with areas normally discussed in French or at least using French terminology.

Chapter 8, on Creole in the media, deals primarily with the limited use of French Creole in advertising, and reports phenomenal success in some cases, strictly depending on the product. (This contrasts interestingly with the situation in Britain, where, as far as I'm aware, only a comparatively small percentage of ads ever use working class vernacular, and then not usually with the runaway success that H-M reports for creole.) This gives further data on orthography choice: advertisers using creole opt for immediate readability, hence (often) for minimal changes to existing French spellings.

Chapter 9 addresses the question of creole in (written) literature. As in the Anglophone creole Caribbean we find that the most frequent use of creole is in poetry, drama and certain types of narrative where dialogue dominates. Least successful so far is the use of creole as the sole medium of the novel, although here the use of macaronic style, interweaving of some FC elements into the text, has been far more common and successful.

There are two pages of conclusions followed by three appendices, an index and a bibliography.

In summary I would describe this as an astute and highly informative book, which stimulates even where (in my case) the reader does not share some of the author's basic perceptions. Suitable for post-graduate students, educationalists and policy-makers in the relevant areas, and anyone interested in the combined issues of orality and literacy in the French-Creole speaking world and elsewhere.

Contact Languages: Pidgins and Creoles. By Mark Sebba, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997.

Reviewed by Ingo Plag, Philipps-Universität Marburg (Germany)

The past three years have seen the publication of four new introductory books on pidgin and creole (PC) languages, namely a joint publication by the strong creolist department of the University of Amsterdam (Arends et al. 1995), a book in German by Angela Bartens

(Bartens 1996), the revised edition of Mühlhäusler's 1986 classic (Mühlhäusler 1997) and the one under review. Even in the relatively small field of PC studies there had been a whole range of comparable books already on the market (e.g. Todd 1974, 1984, Hellinger 1985, Romaine 1988, Holm 1989, Mühlhäusler 1986) and the question seems legitimate whether the new volumes are indeed necessary and useful additions to the already existing selection. With regard to Sebba's book this question can definitely be answered to the affirmative. It is a text rigorously written for the undergraduate, being didactically superior to all previously published introductions. A wide range of data and topics are covered in a highly accessible way, and the generally well-informed discussion adequately reflects recent developments in the field. However, contrary to what the title might suggest, *Contact Languages* is not an introduction to contact languages, but to PCs, with some background information about language contact in general and contact languages in particular.

The book is organized in nine chapters. In the introductory chapter 'Close encounters between languages', Sebba discusses possible outcomes of close language contact, placing the study of PCs in the broader perspective of other language contact phenomena. The next two chapters are devoted to 'The character of pidgins' and 'Pidgin origins', followed by four chapters on creoles ('From pidgin to creole: Stages of development', 'Creolisation', 'Creole origins', 'Continuing contact: Life after creolisation'). Chapter 8 ('Pidgins and creoles: Issues for development') deals with what is known under the label 'Applied Creolistics', i.e. the status and significance of PCs in the societies where they are spoken. Chapter 9 ('Conclusions') comes across as a mixed bag of miscellaneous minor issues and only the last few pages ('Epilogue: Why study pidgins and creoles?', pp. 287-290) do justice to the title of this chapter.

Sebba's book presupposes very little previous knowledge of linguistics and can therefore be read not only as an introduction to PCs but also as an invitation to the study of language and languages in general. Needless to say, authors who aim at this kind of readership have to sacrifice a great deal of sophistication in theory and argumentation, a fact that will no doubt be lamented over by some scholars, but I deem such criticism not justified (with some exceptions to be discussed below). This is an introductory textbook in the best sense of the word. It is true, Sebba has to simplify theoretical issues in order to make them accessible for the novice, but his choices are in general well justified, and he does not pretend that there are solutions to all problems.

Among the things I especially like about the book are the carefully planned exercises, which alone are worth the price of admission. They do not only help to recapitulate the main points of the preceding text but also invite the readers to explore some new terrain by themselves or to assess their own intellectual development.[1] Each chapter ends with a small table in which the key points are summarized. Although extremely short and simplistic, these tables will provide many undergraduates with the kind of orientation they are longing for.

Another strength of the book lies in the presentation and discussion of data from a wide range of languages, although with some bias towards English-based varieties (Afrikaans, Butler English, Chinese Pidgin English, Fanakalo, Gastarbeiter-deutsch, Hawaiian Creole English, Jamaican, Krio, London Jamaican, Mauritian, Papiamentu, Pitkern, Russenorsk, Sranan, Tok Pisin, West African Pidgin English). Throughout the book, authentic texts from all of these languages (so-called 'case studies') serve to illustrate the problems involved in the study of PCs. Thus there is a strong emphasis on the empirical side of the matter, which is certainly a good idea with beginners.

Among the things expert readers will perhaps not like very much are some problematic and simplifying statements by Sebba. Although rather crude preliminary definitions presented in the first chapters are substantially revised later in the book[2], a few claims remain hard to digest the way they are presented. For example, on p. 16 it is said that "creoles, too, [like pidgins, I.P.] typically have rather simple grammars" without fleshing out (anywhere in the book) what the author's notion of simplicity is. In fact, his discussion of creole structures (e.g. serial verb constructions) in the pertinent chapters does not reveal the assumed simplicity at all. Similarly, in his introductory remarks to the chapter on the social issues concerning PCs, Sebba chooses to call PCs "'developing languages'—meaning they have yet to realize their full potential of linguistic resources" (p. 235). Although he explicates this potentially ambiguous statement in the subsequent paragraphs in a satisfactory way, a more careful wording would have helped to avoid misinterpretations. I would not like to see my students quote the above sentence as evidence for some kind of 'inferiority' of these varieties.

There are few factual errors, but at least one point struck me as being in need of correction. In the chapter on 'Creole origins', Yoruba serial verbs are used to illustrate potential substrate influence on Sranan (pp. 195-197). Of course, striking similarities between substrate languages and creole are prime arguments for transfer. The crux of the matter is, however, to determine correctly the African languages involved in the contact. In the case of Sranan, for example, we know that Gbe, Twi and Kikongo, but not Yoruba, are the major substrates (e.g. Plag 1993, Arends 1995). It is unfortunate that a textbook sets a bad example with regard to a crucial methodological problem.

The book ends with a short glossary, a bibliography, a subject index, a name index and a language

index, all of which are useful tools for the reader. I came across very few typos, but found myself irritated by the faulty arrangement of a number of references in the bibliography (e.g. Devonish (1989) is listed above Devonish (1986a) and (1986b); see similar errors with regard to the publications by Mühlhäusler or Muysken or Sebba).

The truly minor reservations aside, *Contact Languages* is an outstanding textbook for beginners and is therefore a welcome addition to the bookshelf of anyone involved in PC linguistics, be they students or teachers. I am looking forward to using this text in my next undergraduate PC course.

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1. One of the most original exercises is the very last one in the book (p. 287), where the readers are asked to revise their answer to a question posed in an exercise in the very first chapter (p. 35): "Have an argument with a friend, real or imaginary, in which you argue for or against using them to describe this language [Tok Pisin]: 'baby talk'[,] 'broken'[,] 'demeaning'[,] 'far from ideal'[,] 'extremely clumsy'[,] 'roundabout and wordy'[,] 'absurd' ."
2. For example, the definition of 'creoles' as "pidgins that become native languages for their speakers" (p. 16) is subject to close scrutiny in chapter 5.

L'angolar. Un créole afro-portugais parlé à São Tomé .
By Philippe Maurer, Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 1995. Pp. 288.

Reviewed by John Ladhams, University of Westminster.

Angolar, the only example of a Portuguese-based maroon creole, is spoken by some 5,000 people on the Island of São Tomé, in the Gulf of Guinea. Until Philippe Maurer's excellent description of Angolar was published in 1995, there was very little information on this important language, and now, at the turn of the century, when creolists are reassessing, in general terms, the knowledge available on the whole range of pidgins and creoles, it would be opportune to consider a number of issues which this book suggests.

After a very brief (perhaps too brief?) introduction on the linguistic situation on São Tomé Island, the historical and social background of the Angolars, and an explanation of the corpus resulting from the author's field research, the main body of the book is entitled '*Notes de grammaire*', which belies the extremely precise and detailed description of the grammar of Angolar, at all linguistic levels.

The first of the 3 sections on the grammar covers the orthography, phonetics and phonology to a depth rarely encountered in creole linguistics: no less than 10 pages are devoted to the difficult question of tones in Angolar, and a further 3 pages on intonation. This is in addition to the more 'conventional' description of the vowels, consonants, syllable structure and sandhi phenomena. The section ends with a summary, presenting the phonological system of Angolar in tabular form. The second section, by far the largest, occupying 110 pages of the book, examines the morphosyntax of the language, divided into the by now traditional subsections of the noun phrase, the verb phrase, sentence types, what the author classifies as '*diathéses*' (i.e. reciprocal, reflexive, passive and causative), and finally the complex sentence, including subordination and co-ordination. The third section of the grammatical 'notes' covers other word classes: emphatic particles, interjections, reduplication and ideophones. By now it should be clear that Maurer is unnecessarily modest in describing his description as mere notes - it would be hard to find such a thorough examination of the structure of any creole language, at the same time both clearly and succinctly laid out.

The book continues with 7 Angolar texts (with glosses in French), consisting of six stories from two different informants, and a group of three children's songs. This is followed by an Angolar wordlist, containing 1,450 items, with not only French translation but also the etymology in most cases; what is more, the author includes a 1,800-word French-Angolar vocabulary, for facilitating cross-references. The book ends with not only the list of bibliographical references, but also something that is unfortunately all too rare in books of this kind - a complete and accurate index.

In short, a major achievement, which has taken its place as perhaps the most complete and most detailed description of any Portuguese-based creole, let alone the other three

related creoles in the Gulf of Guinea group. Having said that, are there any shortcomings to be found in this book? I mentioned above that the introduction is perhaps too short: while Maurer's book is intended to be only what is stated in the subtitle: '*notes de grammaire, textes, vocabulaire*', the background to the language could have been sketched out in a little more detail, if only as a point of reference.[1] After all, while the sociohistorical circumstances of the formation and development of maroon creoles are clearer than those of plantation creoles, it would be of great importance to establish just how the different circumstances have affected the creoles from a purely linguistic perspective. In the case of Angolar, the early history is not well documented: it would appear that, judging by oral tradition as well as 18th-century documents, the Angolar community originated with the 16th-century wreck on the Southern coast of São Tomé of a slave ship from Angola, whose survivors managed to live apart from the Portuguese settlers in the dense forests for at least 200 years. It is also likely, however, that they were joined by runaway slaves from the plantations at the Northern end of the island at various times during those two centuries. Meanwhile, although the Angolares have managed to maintain a distinct sense of community solidarity until the present day, their language has come under increasing influence of both São Tomé Creole and European Portuguese.

The most visible linguistic consequences of their history are, on the one hand, a notable similarity between Angolar and São Tomé Creole ('*Forro*'), but on the other hand, a much greater influence in Angolar, particularly in the lexicon, from Bantu languages, especially Kimbundu. This latter point is referred to by Maurer in this book (pp. 208-209), and was also the subject of an article (1992), in which he estimated that of the 1,300 lexical items in his corpus, 14% (approximately 180) were of identifiable Bantu origin, predominantly from Kimbundu, and only 1% (i.e. around 13) were of Kwa origin: this would mean that 93% of the non-European vocabulary in Angolar is Bantu. This compares with the findings of my own research, showing that in São Tomé Creole 63% of identifiable non-European etyma are Bantu, in Príncipe Creole only 27%, and in Annobon Creole ('*Fa d'Ambu*') this proportion is 55%. The predominance of Bantu vocabulary in Angolar can of course be attributed to the 'shipwreck' version of the community's historical origins.

As for the apparent fact that there is a striking similarity between Angolar and São Tomé Creole,[2] this can of course be attributed to increased contact between the two creoles since the 18th century - most Angolar speakers are bilingual in the two creoles. What would be of considerable interest for future research would be: a) the extent to which one could establish a 'Proto-Gulf of Guinea Creole', and whether/how diffusion between the islands took place; and b) the extent to which maroon creoles differ from plantation creoles in strictly linguistic terms. Thanks to Maurer's detailed description of Angolar, these are now both viable research programmes.

Maurer himself (p. 5) modestly states that his study is "necessarily incomplete", and suggests that further research should be carried out into socio-dialectal variation, the phonology, the status of adjectives (as verbs), and the TMA system.

One other point should perhaps be mentioned: in his introduction, in the sub-section on the corpus, Maurer indicates (p.4) that his informants were apparently only three in number - the principal one in his late 50s, one other in his 30s at the time of the author's fieldwork, and an anonymous fisherman, recorded on a single occasion. Nevertheless, he also states that his research consisted of recorded texts, questionnaires and interviews. Meanwhile, in an influential article on variety and variation in small communities, published in the previous year, Nancy Dorian criticised what she sees is the increasing tendency in linguistic fieldwork to rely on a highly reduced number of informants, whose information "is likely by its very nature to underplay the degree of speaker-to-speaker variation in the speech community" (632). In her case, her published findings are based on thirty years of research, with a considerable number of informants. Does this invalidate Maurer's description of Angolar? In my opinion, this is not the case - in the first place, Maurer was explicitly not researching variation, and secondly, he deliberately concentrated on trying to obtain the most basilectal form of the language, particularly through elicitation and interview. While Dorian's warning is apposite in the context of linguistic field research, in order to avoid what she calls "a particularly difficult sort of bias" (idem:631), this should not lead one to assume that a limited number of informants necessarily undermines the research findings. Maurer's outstanding description of Angolar is more than adequate proof that it is certainly not always the case.

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Maurer, Philippe 1992 L'apport lexical bantou en angolar. *Akrikanische Arbeitspapiere* 29: 163-174.

[1] The sociohistorical background to the Angolar community is covered in some detail in Lorenzino (1998), the scope of which is much broader, with all the advantages - and disadvantages - the published thesis format entails; nevertheless, I feel it would have been appropriate for Maurer to have sketched some link between the linguistic and extra-linguistic factors in this particular case.

[2] There are, however, a number of

significant differences, particularly in the phonology.

Substrate influence in the formation of Surinamese Plantation Creole: A consideration of sociohistorical data and linguistic data from Ndyuka and Gbe. By Bettina M. Migge, Ohio State University dissertation.

Reviewed by John McWhorter, U.C. Berkeley

This dissertation bolsters the case for extensive substrate influence upon the Suriname creoles, focusing on serial verb constructions and copular constructions in the maroon creole Ndyuka. Migge's analysis improves upon almost all other substratist treatments in being based upon her own extensive field work both on two dialects of Ndyuka and no fewer than seven of the Gbe languages (including Ewe [Vhe] and two Fon varieties). Especially regarding African languages, most previous substratist treatments (including my own) have relied upon isolated sentences from grammars, and thus make no reference to acceptability judgements and precede upon a highly abridged representation of the grammars in question.

After a first chapter surveying the substratist literature, in a second chapter Migge identifies Gbe as the main substrate for Ndyuka and describes her field work in some detail. The third chapter surveys the sociohistorical context of the development of Ndyuka's progenitor Sranan, making admirably ample reference to all of the most pertinent sources on slave shipments, colonial history, and plantation culture.

The heart of the work begins with the fourth chapter, a demonstration that Ndyuka serial verb constructions (henceforth SVCs) were modelled on those in Gbe. She draws closer and richer parallels between Ndyuka and Gbe SVCs than any previous analyst, convincingly showing that the SVCs in these two languages correspond so intimately in terms of configurational type, grammatical function, degrees of grammaticalization, and etymological sources that a transfer relationship is essentially incontrovertible.

Migge considers her approach an improvement over my work on transfer in Saramaccan SVCs (McWhorter, 1997), claiming that my argument "lacks analytical rigor" (169-170) in comparing surface constructions, rather than comparing syntactic generation patterns and semantic features. While my argument was certainly not the last word on the subject, Migge implies that the list of West African SVCs I presented was the whole of my argument, when in fact it was merely an "appetizer" before a lengthy discussion appealing to other aspects of Saramaccan and West African grammar, comparison of SVCs worldwide, cross-creole comparisons, and other arguments.

One senses that this dismissal of most of my argument, a distortion also found in Veenstra (1996: 178), stems from an understandable sentiment that the approaches in question are not as "sophisticated" as syntactic and semantic analysis. This innocent feeling, however, leads Migge into a problem. Despite how closely they match in most ways, Ndyuka and Gbe SVCs exhibit a fair number of discrepancies. Here is the rub: if syntactic and semantic parallelism is the only valid approach to a transfer argument, then how does one judge whether or not Migge has made her case? This is even more of a problem in the following chapter on copulas, where the syntactic and semantic mismatches run much wider and deeper.

In fact, I am being intentionally coy, because it is in fact a mistake to require a valid transfer argument to present identical syntaxes and semantics. Worldwide, transfer simplifies and distorts as often as it preserves. It is unremarkable that constructions sometimes do survive transfer intact, but it is equally unremarkable that they often do not—and this means, quite simply, that *identical* syntactic generation is an invalid requirement of a transfer argument. For this reason, I find Migge's chapter an invaluable advance upon most previous work in this area including my own; the minor areas of "slippage" between Ndyuka and Gbe are unremarkable and do not harm her argument in the least. I am less convinced, however, that my broader argument and similar ones, in not taking her approach, "lacks empirical rigor." It is precisely such distributional, typological and cross-creole comparative perspectives which can tie up the loose ends inevitably left by the "slippage" that Migge can only chalk up as a "problem."

The fifth chapter attempts to show that Ndyuka's copulas were also modelled upon Gbe ones. Here, the author is less successful, because as noted above, the parallels are weaker than in the SVC case. In McWhorter (1997) and elsewhere I note that Suriname creole equative copulas exhibit a number of syntactic behaviors foreign to their West African equivalents, and that this suggests that the likenesses are a superficial happenstance. A great deal of evidence converges into a copula over time. Migge argues that Ndyuka *na* is indeed modelled upon Gbe *nyi*, noting that both items are used not only as copulas but presentatively as well (*Na on pisi?* "It is where?"). However, since deictic semantics are inherent to a demonstrative, it is unproblematic that one would evolve into presentative usage (cf. the fate of French *çela* in *c'est*). As such, the fact that *na* and Gbe's verbal *nyi* share the presentative function is analyzable as natural convergent evolution, and does not argue for transfer in itself. There are copulas historically derived from demonstratives all over the world which double as presentative morphemes, due to the naturalness of this diachtronic pathway.

Migge carefully acknowledges the several syntactic discrepancies between Suriname copulas like *na* and West African copulas like *nya* that I have pointed out (285-93), but her attempts to explain them are decidedly strained. For example,

unlike *nyi*, *na* cannot appear sentence-finally and cannot take a preposed tense marker. Migge suggests that this may have been modelled on a Gbe focus marker, but gives no reason why Ndyuka's creators suddenly found this marker more compelling than *nyi* itself. I note that only the oblique third-person singular pronoun can appear before Suriname equative copulas like *na (en / *a nadatra* 'he is a doctor'). As an explanation, Migge notes that in Gbe, emphatic pronouns "usually" occur in *topicalized* constructions where the copula is sentence-final. But the *en na* construction in Ndyuka is categorical, not "usual," and does not involve topicalization. Under my account where *na* begins as a demonstrative, all of these quirks become predictions. It is unclear how Migge's *ad hoc* surmises constitute a preferable analysis of the history of *na*.

There are similar problems in the treatment of the copula *de*, which in Ndyuka besides being the "locative copula" familiar to Caribbeanists, edges into the equative domain in negative constructions and with preposed tense markers, quite unlike the strictly locative Gbe equivalent. I have argued that the Gbe equivalents were not the model for *de*, but Migge instead supposes that *de* was extended into these equative usages because it was "the only verbal copula in Ndyuka" (311). But this begs the question as to why these contexts required a copula at all. Haitian *ye* has been argued to be the only true copula in Haitian, the outwardly "equative copula" *se* being actually a demonstrative. Yet in the equative, *ye* is not used with the negator (unless the predicate is topicalized), and tense markers occur without any copular element (*Bouki se yon doktè* 'Bouki is a doctor,' *Bouki te doktè* 'Bouki was a doctor'). In the same vein, it has ben argued the Caribbean allomorphs of *na* are non-verbal as well (Escure, 1983), and yet in Caribbean English creoles, *de* has not moved into the equative at all.

My argument also refers to historical documentation, typology, cross-creole comparison and other approaches, none of which Migge addresses. Migge, like many analysts, appears to suppose that the division of labor between equative and locative copulas found in the Caribbean and in West Africa makes a transfer relationship obvious. Yet I have pointed out that in fact, this configuration is extremely common worldwide, only appearing quirky to Germanic and Romance language speakers in whose languages there happens not to be such a subdivision.

In general, I cannot help noting that where I emphasize surface comparisons with SVCs, Migge sees a lack of analytical rigor, but where I base an anti-substratist argument about copulas on syntactic analysis, Migge appeals readily to loose tentative surface comparisons. I have nothing but praise for her chapter on SVCs, but regarding the copula, one cannot help sense that she is shoehorning the data into a present substratist analysis rather than letting the data speak for itself.

Despite my reservations about Chapter Five, this dissertation is hugely welcome in many ways. It usefully summarizes the available literature on early colonial Suriname. I heartily approve of Migge's treatment of Sranan and Ndyuka as varieties of a single Surinamese Plantation Creole, which is a healthy alternative to the excessively polygeneticist orientation of some creolist work. The study benefits from the richness of the author's corpus, much of which is from spontaneous running speech. It is clear that Migge has acquired a substantial acquaintance with Ndyuka and Gbe varieties far beyond the textbook level, and this will only enhance her future contributions to the field.

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Lenguas criollas de base lexical española y portuguesa.
Edited by Klaus Zimmermann. Frankfurt: Vervuert Verlag/Madrid: Iberoamericana, 1999. Pp. 556.

Reviewed by John Ladhams, University of Westminster.

This extremely important book is by far the most comprehensive survey of Iberian-based creoles to have appeared so far, being a collection of 26 papers from a Conference held in October 1996 at the Instituto Ibero-Americano in Berlin. Previous publications of conference proceedings can now be seen in retrospect to have been pioneering; however, they concentrated principally on Portuguese-based creoles. As Zimmermann points out in his Introduction, the Berlin Conference organisers wished to represent a relatively even balance between Portuguese- and Spanish-based creoles. The first of the five Sections contains 7 papers on Portuguese-based creoles, and the second Section 5 papers on Spanish-based languages. The remaining three Sections are as follows: 'Problems of genesis' (2 papers), 'Comparative studies' (4 papers), and 'Creole structures in present-day non-standard varieties' (8 papers). Of the total of 26 papers, 12 are in Portuguese, 10 in Spanish and 4 in English [the language of each paper is indicated below as Ptg., Sp., and Eng., respectively] .

The first four papers in Section I deal with Cape Verde Creole (CV): Jürgen Lang (17-23: Ptg.) considers the phonetic representation of the 1st Sing. personal pronoun in CV, which until now has been indicated as /N/ in the standardised orthography of Cape Verde; Lang discusses an alternative orthography, and examines—and largely rejects—the possibility that the morpheme has been reduced to initial

nasalisation of the verb. Marlyse Baptista (25-47: Eng.) looks in depth at the nature of the morpheme *e* in CV, from the more general point of view of copular predication and pronominal clitics and non-clitics, comparing CV with Guinea-Bissau Creole and Hebrew. She concludes that "the morpheme *e* has evolved and undergone both substrate and superstrate influences" (44). In the third paper, Jean-Louis Rougé (48-63; Ptg.) examines lexical items of African origin in CV, as well as in Guinea-Bissau Creole. He makes a critical analysis of earlier descriptions and comparisons of the two creoles, and presents notes on the possible African origins of a number of lexical items and some morphology.

The paper by Angela Bartens-Adawonu (65-88; Ptg.) is more ambitious in both scope and form. Entitled 'The genesis of Cape Verdean Creoles [sic] through componential diffusion and the importance of dialectological studies', her paper starts out by making the controversial assertion that the two or more varieties of CV constitute separate languages, a situation brought about by 'componential diffusion', an opinion she has reached by analysis from what she alleges is a dialectological perspective. However, her examination of the sociohistorical background to Cape Verde Creole, being based on somewhat unreliable secondary sources, is faulty, and has led her to what could well be erroneous conclusions. Nevertheless, the fact that she tackles a difficult problem from a fresh point of view, and her appeal to examine creoles in the light of dialectological methodology, is to be welcomed.

Philippe Maurer's paper (89-100; Sp.) analyses the use of the equivalent of 'put' (Ptg. pôr) in serial verb constructions in three of the four Gulf of Guinea Creoles (he does not include Annobonese). In examining the semantic range of such SVCs, he notes that in Angolar there are considerable differences from the other two languages, possibly as a result of being a maroon rather than a plantation creole, and concludes that there is a much wider range of SVCs in the Gulf of Guinea creoles than had been previously attributed.

The last two papers in Section I concern possible creole varieties of Brazilian Portuguese in isolated communities, a theme taken up later in the book in Section V. Margarida Maria Taddoni Petter (101-117; Ptg.), in examining whether Cafundó, the language of a former slave community in São Paulo State, is a creole or an 'anti-creole', highlights the need to (re)classify language varieties in isolated black communities in Brazil and elsewhere. However, one problem with Petter's paper is that she presupposes that Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese (BVP) and varieties thereof are necessarily the result of decreolisation, something that is increasingly being shown to be unlikely (see below). Alan Baxter & Dante Lucchesi (119-141; Sp.) follow up their previously published research on the variety of BVP in Helvécia, in Bahia State, which could well be the only example in Brazil of creolisation, albeit partial. Their previous work has taken the form of a statistical variation analysis, but this paper also presents detailed sociohistorical evidence from the early 19th century, making an even stronger case for creolisation in this community.

The first paper in Section II, by John Lipski (145-176; Sp.), is an interesting examination of the various forms of the copula in Iberian-based creoles in comparison with bozal Spanish in Cuba. His conclusions are that neither monogenetic nor polygenetic theories can be used in isolation to explain the origin of Iberian creoles or bozal Spanish. The second paper in the section, by Luis Ortiz López (177-203; Sp.), also considers bozal Spanish and the possible influence of Haitian Spanish, as well as Haitian Creole, on the Cuban variety. Carlos Patiño Rosselli, in a paper entitled 'Aspects of the structure of Palenquero Creole' (205-230; Sp.), analyses the morphosyntax of Palenquero, in the form of a general overview of work by previous researchers. The Section ends with two papers on Papiamentu: Frank Martinus (231-249; Eng.), in discussing the origin of the adjectival participle in Papiamentu, provides new evidence in the debate on the Spanish versus Portuguese origins of this creole, and examines the theoretical consequences. Finally, Matthias Perl (251-260; Sp.) examines current problems concerning the standardisation of Papiamentu, problems which exist despite the very high prestige of the language.

The first of the two papers in Section III, by Dan Munteanu (263-275; Sp.), examines creole genesis from a strictly theoretical point of view, and appeals for more research into the pragmatics of language contact, as distinct from the sociohistorical background and the linguistic consequences in the formation of a pidgin and/or creole. In the other paper in this section, J. Clancy Clements (277-293; Sp.) discusses the possibility of monogenesis as a scenario for the formation of Portuguese creoles, examining in particular the use of question words; he concludes that monogenesis is unlikely, considering the different forms of question words in the Portuguese creoles worldwide.

Section IV begins with a paper by 15 researchers, coordinated by John Holm, (297-319; Eng.) comparing serial verb constructions in 10 Atlantic and 5 non-Atlantic creoles, in an attempt to assess why there are so few SVCs in Cape Verde Creole. The general conclusion is that "the paucity of serial verb constructions in the Upper Guinea Creoles...and their abundance in the Gulf of Guinea Creoles...reflect a parallel difference in their substrates, providing further evidence that the syntax of creoles is influenced by their substrate languages" (316). The second paper in this Section is an interesting survey of the use of proverbs and riddles in creoles, by Hildo Honório do Couto (321-334; Ptg.). Couto feels that this subject is not only of interest in itself, but can provide evidence of substrate

influences. Most of the examples he gives are from Guinea-Bissau Creole (G-B), though in this case the influence would surely be better classified as adstrate—from West Atlantic and Mande languages—rather than substrate, as well as being continuous, since G-B is a clear example of a 'fort' creole on the African mainland. The next paper, by Petra Thiele (335-354; Ptg.), is an interesting typological comparison of the forms used for 'singular repetition' of verbs in 18 European-based creoles, and one other (Hiri Motu). She finds that the Romance creoles generally use auxiliary constructions based on the grammaticalisation of a European verb, whereas the other creoles examined use adverbs. The partial exceptions are the four French creoles examined, where 2 use auxiliaries, and 2 adverbial constructions for repetition. The Section ends with a paper by Jean-Michel Charpentier (355-369; Ptg.) which investigates whether the (slight) Portuguese influence on English-based Pacific pidgins derives from Macao Creole as an adstrate, or from a hypothetical worldwide Portuguese pidgin, through the monogenesis theory: Charpentier opts for the former.

In Section V, the first of the eight papers is by Katherine Green (373-387; Eng.), on 'The creole pronoun *i* in non-standard Dominican Spanish'. Her conclusion is that the pronoun offers evidence of earlier "semi-creolization" (under John Holm's definition) in this variety of Spanish. Alexandra Álvarez (389-410; Sp.) offers a discourse analysis of simplification in Venezuelan Spanish in Caracas (together with Palenquero in Colombia) as compared with Mérida, and finds that simplification only seems to occur in a language shift situation (i.e. with population movement in Caracas, the capital city), and not in Mérida, a provincial capital. Vicente Jesús Figueroa Arencibia (441-440; Sp.) discusses "semi-creole" features in non-standard Spanish in S.E. Cuba, in a paper which should be read in conjunction with that by Ortiz López (see above).

The next paper, by the editor of this volume, Klaus Zimmermann (441-475; Ptg.) is arguably the most important in the book, being one of the five concluding papers on features of Brazilian Portuguese. Zimmermann's paper, which was originally published in German in 1996 , is a thorough examination of the available evidence, both linguistic and extra-linguistic, to establish if non-standard Brazilian Portuguese (BVP) arose as a result of prior creolisation. His tentative conclusion is that a post-creole scenario is attractive, though unlikely, if only because there are many more African lexical items in BVP than would be the case for a (post-)creole. In his concluding remarks (470-471), Zimmermann suggests that there should be documentary evidence of the use of language(s) by African slaves in Brazil: there is indeed such evidence, albeit slight, particularly from the period of the Dutch occupation of Pernambuco, indicating that a creolised variety of Portuguese did not in fact exist in Brazil, at least at that time. Also significant in this paper is the careful examination of previous attempts to respond to this issue, as well as comparisons with Portuguese Atlantic creoles, the varieties of Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique, and a contact variety of Spanish in Mexico.

The following paper, by Dante Lucchesi (477-502; Ptg.), compares the contact situations in Helvécia and Xingu in terms of a gender agreement rule; however, he extends his findings to suggest a decreolisation scenario for the formation of BVP, which is unfortunately less convincing. Mary Francisca do Careno (503-523; Ptg.) examines reduction as a possible universal stage in the internal development of languages, based on her studies of isolated black communities in São Paulo State. Heliana Ribeiro de Mello's paper (525-554; Ptg.) returns to the same issue as in Zimmermann's contribution; in considering 10 features of BVP, she concludes that they are symptomatic of imperfect L2 acquisition. However, her paper highlights the danger of careless use of source material, in that she assumes that there is "clear evidence" of the diffusion of creolised Portuguese from the Gulf of Guinea to Brazil (e.g. 533), whereas this is almost certainly not the case. The book ends with a paper by Alzira Tavares de Macedo (539-554; Ptg.) analysing discourse markers in the Xingu Brazilian Portuguese from a variationist perspective.

In conclusion, this book is to be welcomed wholeheartedly as an important contribution to a somewhat neglected area of creole studies. It is customary in reviews of volumes of this nature to enumerate the shortcomings—one could mention that it is unfortunate, though understandable, that a number of Iberian creoles are not covered here, e.g. Indo-Portuguese, Philippines Spanish Creole(s), etc.; also, one could indicate the (extremely few) typing errors, and the lack of an index, but it would be churlish to do so. Finally, one should highlight a point made by Zimmermann in his Introduction (8), that so far there have been very few contributions (none in this volume) from linguists in Spain or Portugal, and that apart from the significant interest on the part of Brazilian scholars, as manifest in this book, it has been left to 'outsiders' to study Iberian-based creoles.

English Haitian-Creole Science Dictionary. By Féquière Vilsaint, and Maude Heurtelou, 1995. Coconut Creek, Florida: Educa Vision. 134 pp. US $12.00. (ISBN 1-881839-59-1).

Reviewed by Jeffrey Allen, European Language Resources Association (ELRA)

The English Haitian-Creole Science Dictionary (abbreviated henceforth as SD) one of the few bilingual Haitian Creole (HC)—English references for the natural and applied science fields (ie., biology, chemistry, physics, geography, etc), is available in

paperback edition, 8.5 x 11 inch format and is published and distributed directly through Educa Vision. The authors indicate in the introduction that this science reference has been "conceived to provide Haitian-Creole equivalents for basic terms in science" (p. 3). They state that the first of the two sections of SD (pp. 5-64) consists of a bilingual dictionary. This appears to be an overstatement since the section actually contains no lexicographic information other than headwords in English, listed in alphabetical order, with corresponding equivalent headwords in HC, thus corresponding more closely with the format of the English-Haitian Creole Glossary of Scientific Terms (Augustin, 1994). Recent HC dictionaries (Freeman and Laguerre, 1996; Valdman et al. 1996) contain, at minimum, word classes (ie., noun, verb, etc) in order to help distinguish homonyms and also provide short definitions and/or sample sentences in one or both languages. This lexicographic criterion should be considered for the next edition of SD.

The authors also announce that the second part, a reference section, is a "refresher...of previously learned concepts and ... support materials for ... preparing lesson plans" (p. 3). Each of the 67 pages of part two treat independent concepts and form a well-designed teaching reference for presenting transparencies/slides/computer-based projected images in a classroom setting. Compared to other HC science materials (Sully, 1992a; Sully, 1992b; Celestin, n.d.; Dimanche, 1992) that contain a majority of prose with a few illustrations, the SD is very pictorial in nature and is presented in a format that lends itself well to serving visual pedagogical needs. In essence, since SD would be used for teaching science courses in English and/or HC, it should necessarily be as accurate as possible, with regard to form and content. In carefully reading through SD, I have come across numerous types of errors in both English and Creole words, including formatting errors, translation errors, and more importantly technical content errors. The comments provided below refer primarily to section two of SD.

Typographic/spelling errors -- there are a significant number of typographical errors in English, including the following: *lenght* for length (p. 64); *abrev.* instead of *abbrev.* as shortened form of abbreviation (p. 66); *obtus* for obtuse (p. 86); *simmetry* for symmetry (p. 87); *beacher* for beaker (p. 104); *wavenenght* for wavelength (p. 112); *wheel & axe* for wheel & axle (p. 113); *refence* for reference (p. 115); *lattitude* for latitude (p. 115).

Some spelling mistakes are also found for HC words. The authors of SD choose to write *ògànizasyon* (pp. 90, 116), although this is not necessary since à is used to indicate a non-nasalized back low vowel followed by consonant n /an/ in contrast with a nasalized back low vowel /ã/. The use of *à* is usually only found in a few proper nouns (e.g., *Masedwàn* 'Macedonia', *Antwàn* 'Antoine', *Lahavàn* 'Havana', *Dànmak* 'Denmark') and in a limited number of common nouns (e.g., *ògàn 'organ'* / 'organism', *kràn* 'cranium', *(an)pàn* 'breakdown', *vàn* 'pipe stopcock'). From the list of 13 independent sources of HC texts cited in Allen and Hogan (1998), I have conducted supplemental analyses (Allen, 1998) which clearly indicate that this word, and related derivatives, never contain an *à* (274 *ògànizasyon*, 92 *oganizasyon*, 81 *ògànize*, 16 *ògànizatè*, 5 *oganize*: each written form of the word is preceded by the number of occurrences found in the entire database). In addition, Faublas-Pressoir orthographic conventions are followed for the word *ko-n* (Eng. cone) (p. 84), although the official Institut de Pédagogie National (IPN) orthography is used throughout SD; it should be written as *kòn*. The hybrid use of orthographic conventions within the same book is confusing for those who are first learning how to write in HC. Also, the HC translation of English *clavicle*, written as *zoclavikil* (p. 102), and should be corrected to *zoklavikil*.

Formatting errors—the pair *densite / dansite* appears twice in the same list (p. 64); the side-by-side horizontal presentation is used for the pair *circle / sèk* (p. 84), yet the other ten pairs of translated pairs on the page follow a vertical format (ie., the word circle directly above the word *sèk*); redundant information (pp. 97-99, 100), using different pictures for the same material presented on different pages, could be avoided; the term *sample wells* appears twice on the same page for a diagram that describes Electrophoresis, with the second occurrence placed apart from the diagram (p. 107); no diagram is provided for electrical current, although diagrams are presented for all other examples on the page (p. 124); the title Transistors / Transistò is missing for the corresponding diagram on the page (p. 132).

Advertising for Educa Vision (publisher of the book being reviewed) is evident by multiple occurrences of the word Educa that unnecessarily appear inside of illustrations (p. 9, 17, 108, 110, 122, 123, 131). It would be preferable for the publisher to have removed these occurrences because they do not make sense in the context, especially if readers do not realize that Educa refers specifically to the publisher of the dictionary.

Translation errors—There are also quite a few translation errors, such as missing or inaccurate equivalents, that are indicated as follows: Decimal system prefixes (ie., mega, kilo, centi, micro) are missing HC equivalents (p. 75), which are found in a chart elsewhere in SD (p. 64); cell wall is translated as *manbràn sou* deyò (p.94), but would probably be better as *manbràn pa deyò*, and cell membrane translated as *manbràn sou anndan* (p.94) would probably be better as *manbràn pa anndan;* the translation pair of *Right (angle)* and *Rektang* is incorrect (p. 85) since English right angle is the equivalent of HC *ang dwa* and English rectangle is the equivalent of HC *rektang*; DNA representation is

translated as *reprezantasyon DNA* but should rather be translated as *reprezantasyon ADN* (p. 106); translations in HC are missing for *cooling line*, *vacuum line*, *buffer tank* and *power supply* for diagrams describing Centrifugation and Electrophoresis (p. 107) whereas eleven other pairs of bilingual terms are given on the same page; the title of the Periodic Table of Elements is translated (p. 109), yet the entire table of elements appears only in English and therefore does not correspond with the stated purposes of this "bilingual" reference; English translations of the title and instructions are missing for *Etap pou konstwi fou solèy* (how to build an outside oven) (p. 122); power outlet is translated as *multiplòg* in HC (p. 123) whereas the terms *plizye priz* or *miltipriz* give less the impression of being calqued translations based on English; although *kibòd* is given as the equivalent of keyboard (p. 123), I disagree that monolingual speakers of HC would recognize this form, so I suggest *klavye* as a translation; HC *repilsyon* and *atraksyon* are both missing their respective English equivalents repulsion and attraction (p. 125); orange is incorrectly translated as *abriko* (p. 131) and should be *zoranj*; the HC term get *lojik* is obviously a direct calqued translation from English *logic gate* (p. 134) and deems a more native rendition in HC.

Spelling, formatting, and translation errors like those mentioned above do usually occur in bilingual manuals, yet it is expected that they be quite limited in number. However, the following examples, technical errors reflecting a misrepresentation of the information being treated, are not acceptable for a pedagogical reference.

Half of the diagram for "Series Circuit" (p. 127) is missing and thus does not provide an accurate example of such a circuit. The diagram, as presented, does not even constitute a complete simple circuit. The authors should have consulted Sully et al. (1992b, pp. 199-211) for detailed information written in HC about electrical currents and circuits. The translation Capacitors / Kondansatè is not quite accurate (p. 129) since condensors are in fact types of capacitors. For two diagrams on the same page on Series Resistors (p. 130), the left diagram is correct yet the right diagram is missing a resistor. Lastly, ten colors and a series of numbers (single digits up through nine digits) are provided in a chart of Transistor Color codes (p. 131), but no indication is provided about what the numbers refer to, and two very important transistor colors (ie., gold and silver) are not even included in the chart.

Given the amount of different types of mistakes that have been enumerated in this review of SD, it appears that the authors did not carefully adhere to accepted norms of quality control, validation, proofreading and editing for the production and publication of such a reference document. I would highly suggest that a more rigorous editing approach be adopted for future editions of SD, especially if this book is to be used for teaching the natural and applied sciences in an educational context.

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Dictionary of Louisiana Creole. By Albert Valdman, Thomas A. Klingler, Margaret M. Marshall & Kevin J. Rottet. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. 1998. 656 pp.

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Louisiana Creole (LC), until recently without lexicographic resources, is now well described in a dictionary which can be considered a masterpiece of Creole lexicography. Albert Valdman, Thomas A. Klingler, Margaret M. Marshal, and Kevin J. Rottet present a synthesis based on all available written sources, published and unpublished, and on extensive fieldwork in the four areas where LC is still spoken "by an estimated 20 000 to 30 000 persons, mostly African-Louisianans but also

some whites" (3): the Bayou Teche region, Pointe Coupée Parish, the German Coast along the Mississippi and Saint Tammany Parish north of New Orleans. LC is undergoing "severe language loss" (3)—cf. the number of 60 000 to 80 000 speakers given in Neumann (1985, 20); the scientific community will, therefore, be most grateful to the authors for preserving a rich documentation of this Creole and the cultural heritage it conveys.

Initially planned by Albert Valdman as part of a Dictionnaire Pan-Créole de la Caraïbe under the direction of Jean Bernabé, the Dictionary of Louisiana Creole (DLC) has apparently soon developed into an independant research project, in which leading scholars in the field of LC have collaborated, supported by various grants and institutions. Nevertheless, the decision to use the pan-Creole spelling system devised by Bernabé and the GEREC (Groupe d'Études et de Recherches en Espace Créolophone, see Bernabé 1976) was maintained. Using conventions of French spelling such as <ou> for /u/ or <an, en, on> for nasal vowels, but in a systematic manner, the system avoids IPA transcription signs not easily available on typewriters and computers, and it is without doubt more acceptable than the IPA-system for the speakers of LC, who are mostly in some degree familiar with French.

The most serious problem the authors had to face was that of variation: LC varies considerably in each of the four regions, but also due to contact with local varieties of French (Cajun and Colonial French). The authors have carefully recorded phonetic and morphological variants in the data collected in fieldwork or from written sources, and the variation is reflected in different spellings. From these variants, the one "which is most similar to Standard French" was selected as headword (21)—a policy in sharp contrast with the principle of "déviance maximale par rapport au français" formulated by the GEREC and Bernabé (1976, 34 and 1983, 16) and at variance with the "Grammatical sketch" preceding the dictionary, where the focus is on basilectal LC (7). This policy, it must be said, has not always lead to convincing solutions: e.g. one is surprised to find *Bondye* 'God', *diber* 'butter' or *dife* 'fire' under the mesolectal forms Dyeu, *bœr* and *feu*, when these forms are obviously less frequent (forms with bon occur in 10 out of 11 examples under *Dyeu*) and when other words with agglutinated *di (< du)* like *disèl* 'salt', *dipwav* 'pepper' or *diri* 'rice' are found where one expects them, only because a mesolectal form without di- does not happen to be attested. "Headword selection based on attested forms similar to Standard French" may indeed make "the dictionary easier to use for readers familiar with Standard French" (22), but some choices will certainly astonish readers familiar with LC, especially headwords with an asterisk which are not attested at all, e.g. *am** 'soul' (LC lam, nam), *ègwiy** 'needle' (LC *negwiy*, *lègwiy*, *zegwiy* etc.) or *eklèr** 'lightning' (LC *leklè*, *zeklè* etc.). According to the "User's guide", "a cross-reference is provided at widely varying forms that appear to be common" (21), but apparently this is not often the case. Cross-references are scarce, and the reader coming across forms like zo, lezo, zòs, nòs or vle, voe, vè, le and voule in a text will have to guess that they might be found under *dezo* 'bone' or *ole* 'to want'. For the variants occuring in the cited examples which are not listed at their place in the alphabetical order, the user can, of course, look up the English equivalent in the English-Louisiana Creole Index to find the appropriate entry. For 10 of the 11 variants gleaned from the modern contextual examples on pp. 93 to 95, this method was successful (e.g. *jich* s.v. *just*, *tchwe* s.v. *tue*, *ga* s.v. *garde*, *dusuk* s.v. *suk*, *lòrd* s.v. *òrd*, *jodi* s.v. *ojourdui**, *nave* s.v. ina), but *euzot* (s.v. *chalon*) remained untraceable.

The macrostructure of the DLC is not more or maybe even less extensive than that of comparable dictionaries (e.g. 438 entries in the letter—as compared to 584 in Ludwig, Montbrand, Poullet & Telchid 1990); its richness lies in its admirable microstructure, described in detail in the "User's Guide to the Dictionary" (19-31). The Creole headword is followed by an indication of the part of speech and by a list of variants collected in fieldwork since 1960, with source codes indicating where the variant was attested. The meaning is described by means of English and French glosses and Creole contextual examples with English translations. Homonyms—defined as words of different origin like *bon* (< *bon*) 'good' and *bon* (< *bond*) 'jump, leap'—receive different entries, whereas multiple meanings of polysemantic words are subsumed under one headword, clearly separated and numbered with boldface roman numerals. Multiple words (e.g. *baton bale* 'broomstick', *baton kanet*' fishing pole', *met latab* 'to set the table', *mèt kouche* 'to put to bed') and idiomatic expressions (*mennen dan latet* 'to remember', *met devan lalwa* 'to take to court', *tonbe an feblès* 'to faint') are listed in boldface under the semantically most salient word, set off with a bullet.

The most remarkable feature of the DLC is its wealth of contextual examples, gathered in fieldwork or drawn from written sources—the first texts dating from the mid nineteenth century. The historical examples, presented in the original orthography, are set off by the symbol *u* and thus easy to identify. The vast majority of words are illustrated with one or several examples—only 26 out of the 438 entries under—lack examples. While some contexts may not be very illuminating (*Mon gen en brul-soley 'I have a sun-burn'*, *Li gen en bwate 'He has a limp'*), many examples are helpful illustrations of usage: To *diz an plu vye pase mwa*. 'You are ten years older than me' (s.v. *pase2* 'than') or of local traditions: *To fe sakamite avèk mayi blan. To gen p pile li. Sete en desèr pou nou.* 'You make porridge with white corn. You have to grind it. It was a dessert for us' (s.v. *sakamite*); *To mèt savon jonn, dimyèl e fle fevi anlèr en*

deklou e landmen li te bòs 'You put yellow soap, honey and okra flowers on a boil and the next day it would break open' (s.v. *savon*); *Pou rezipel kon li vini blon ye te pron farin, trwa ti moso sasafra pi wiski e ye te met sa onsonm pou fer kataplonm.* 'For *erysipelas*, when it turned white they used to take flour, three pieces of sassafras and whiskey, and they put all of that together to make a poultice' (s.v. *sasafrwa*).

Following the example of the Dictionnaire créole-français (Ludwig et al. 1990), the DLC provides an outline of LC grammar which will be welcome for the user not familiar with the language (7-16), as well as a brief account of the origin of LC (16-18). In the "Summary bibliography", the reference to the unpublished doctoral dissertation of Thomas Klingler may not be very helpful for "readers who wish more information on LC" (18).

To sum up, the DLC is a very important contribution to Creole studies and a remarkable documentation of an endangered language.

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Les Créoles: l'Indispensable Survie. By Marie-Christine Hazaël-Massieux, 1999. Paris: Editions Entente. 320 pp.

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Marie-Christine Hazaël-Massieux's Les Créoles: l'Indispensable Survie is the third volume to appear in a series titled Langues en Péril, and the first to deal with creole languages. The basic perspective taken--that the French-lexified creoles (FCs) are "endangered" languages--may at first seem an unusual one. There are collectively about ten million speakers of these varieties, and only a few FCs (e.g. those of St. Thomas, Grenada, and Trinidad) seem to be close to language "death." But as Hazaël-Massieux convincingly argues, even Haitian is susceptible to various internal and external forces--linguistic, economic, political, and ideological--that affect these languages' prospects for long-term "survival."

The notion of language "endangerment" tends to be a problematic one, all the more so when one is dealing with multiple distinct varieties that are widely dispersed geographically and exist in greatly differing sociolinguistic contexts. Recognizing this, the author painstakingly specifies the notion of langues en péril with regard to the FCs, examining a broad range of phenomena that contribute to what she characterizes as the minoration of these varieties. By treating them as langues minorées [devalued or disadvantaged languages, roughly translated], rather than langues moribondes or langues en étiolement [literally, blanching or wilting languages, a botanical metaphor sometimes used in the French literature], for example, she prudently avoids making predictions about the ultimate fate of any FC; she notes that multiple interrelated factors must be taken into consideration, and that any given situation can be transformed significantly in only a few years' time (pp. 93-94). Hazaël-Massieux also contrasts her notion of langues minorées to langues minoritaires [minority languages], noting that "une langue peut être parlée par un nombre important de locuteurs et être pourtant dans une situation de minoration linguistique (une langue minorée n'est pas nécessairement minoritaire)" (p. 86). Attention to the diversity of the world's FCs (and the social contexts in which they exist) is maintained here and throughout the book, so that even lay readers will be disabused of any monolithic notion of le créole français.

A few lines on the book's cover about the series Langues en Péril characterize it as a "collection sans prétention scolaire." Although this might suggest that the series is intended for a popular audience rather than for academic specialists, the latter will find Hazaël-Massieux's book well worth their attention. Conversely, lay readers (including most students below the graduate level) may find it less than accessible; the same features that make the book a valuable resource for scholars may tend to alienate non-specialists. Hazaël-Massieux makes detailed and abundant references to the published scholarly literature, to a number of unpublished theses and dissertations, and also to various creole-language serial publications (most of which were of very limited circulation and are now defunct). These references (and excursions into various tangential issues) often take the form of lengthy footnotes, which occasionally take up more space on the page than does the main text. While these provide a wealth of information for the specialist, they will do little to enlighten the lay reader.

This, however, is what the book initially seems to set out to do. The "Introduction" starts by briefly addressing the basic questions "Qu'est-ce qu'un créole?" and "Dialectes ou langues?" Chapter I goes on to tell where FCs are spoken, giving brief statistical and historical profiles of the various territories. (The dates of independence for Dominica and St. Lucia are given incorrectly as 1979 and 1980 respectively; the dates should be 1978 and 1979.) A few sample sentences in the local FC (with French translation) are provided in most cases, but not in the case of Dominica, St. Lucia, or Rodrigues.

Chapter II, "Quelques éléments de description linguistique des créoles,"

in contrast to the preceding chapter, seems targeted to a more sophisticated reader--one who needs no explanation of such concepts as aspect, morpheme, and labialization, for example, and who needs no key to the sounds represented by IPA symbols. Such matters of audience design aside, the single most troubling aspect of the book emerges in this chapter, and it is one that will surely give pause to most creolists: Hazaël-Massieux's perspective on the origins of the FCs is staunchly superstratist. This is made explicit in such statements as "De la même façon que le français, l'italien, l'espagnol sont le résultat de l'évolution du latin au cours des siècles, les divers créoles à base française sont le produit de l'évolution de parlers français du XVIIe siècle [In the same way that French, Italian, and Spanish are the results of the evolution of Latin over the course of the centuries, the various French-based creoles are the products of the evolution of seventeenth-century French dialects]" (p. 49fn). Hazaël-Massieux is quite right to focus attention on seventeenth-century regional dialects of French as opposed to modern standard French, and on vernacular speech patterns as opposed to literate usage; indeed, she demonstrates quite convincingly that several prominent FC features may have their source in vernacular spoken French (rather than in African languages, as others have suggested). But in repeatedly stressing "[l]e lien entre le français parlé et les créoles [the link between spoken French and the creoles]" (p. 53), she ignores--and sometimes sweepingly dismisses--other productive lines of research that call attention to other, non-superstratal factors in creole genesis.

Hazaël-Massieux apparently sees no need to entertain the possibility of a significant African contribution to the FCs, for example, nor any need to take demographic and sociohistorical factors seriously into account. Referring in passing to "[l]es conditions sociolinguistiques de la colonisation qui sont marquées par la domination du maître: domination sociale et sexuelle [the sociolinguistic conditions of colonization, which were marked by the domination of the master: social and sexual domination]," she asserts, "Les esclaves ainsi n'étaient guère en mesure d'imposer l'une de leurs langues ou même des éléments de l'une d'entre elles, sauf sans doute pour la nomination de certaines réalités locales communes à leurs pays d'origine et à ce nouveau monde des colonies inter-tropicales [The slaves were thus hardly in a position to impose one of their languages, or even elements thereof, except, doubtless, in naming certain local realities common to their countries of origin and to this new world of the tropical colonies]" (p. 41). Hazaël-Massieux thus limits the African contribution to "une très faible partie du lexique [a very small portion of the lexicon]" (p. 62). Similarly, with regard to grammar she asserts that "la grammaire du créole s'explique dès que l'on prend en compte le français oral [the grammar of creole is explained as soon as spoken French is taken into account]" (p. 54). Finding the source of all things creole in seventeenth-century regional dialects of French, and focusing almost exclusively on "la contribution énorme des dialectes français dans la formation des créoles [the enormous contribution of French dialects in the formation of the creoles]" (p. 41), she likewise ignores or minimizes important contributions to current understandings of creole genesis made by substratist, universalist, and sociohistorical approaches, and by recent syntheses of these approaches. Chapter III, titled "Les créoles sont-ils des français minorés?," continues in this uncompromisingly superstratist vein; the answer to this question that ultimately emerges is clearly in the affirmative.

The book's strongest points, which are considerable, are to be found in the chapters that follow. Chapter IV, "Les situations de péril: principes d'analyse," provides a brief but nuanced overview of approaches to language attrition or obsolescence, and examines factors that tend to give rise to such situations of decline. Chapter V, "Comment et pourquoi les créoles français sont en danger," takes a closer look at the sociolinguistic particularities of the various creolophone territories, making many instructive comparisons and contrasts. Strangely, Dominica and St. Lucia are never mentioned in this chapter, despite the fact that Trinidad, Grenada, and Louisiana (other territories where FCs are in contact with English) are briefly examined. Coverage of the various FCs is a bit uneven here as elsewhere in the book; interesting comparisons are occasionally made between those FCs that are in contact with French and those that are not, but the former receive greater attention overall.

The author's answer to the question posed by Chapter VI, "L'écriture peut-elle changer quelque chose au statut des créoles?" is strongly affirmative; she sees the possibility of widespread literate usage of FCs, and a consequent equalization of their status vis-à-vis the standard languages with which they co-exist ("un bilinguisme équilibré"), as the single brightest hope for the future of these languages. This is not immoderate optimism, however; Hazaël-Massieux also provides a frank discussion of the various obstacles to progress in this area. Chapter VII, "Les créoles et l'école: diverses situations" describes and compares the situations in the French Antilles, Haiti, and Mauritius. A noted authority on these topics, Hazaël-Massieux deals deftly with them in these two chapters.

Chapter VIII, "Les créoles et les médias: presse, radio, TV, Internet..." likewise deals briefly but effectively with this still little-explored aspect of the situation of creole languages in a rapidly "modernizing" and "globalizing" world. Particularly insightful is the author's discussion of the paradox that results when broadcasters and others set out with the best intentions of promoting creoles by using them in new domains, but end up contributing in

various ways (some quite subtle) to their ongoing minorisation and décréolisation. The effects of such transformations on creole-speakers' subjective relations to their own languages are also perceptively examined.

Chapter IX, "Les créoles et la littérature," elaborates on themes first examined in Chapter VI; the author asserts that fostering creolophone literature is essential if the FCs are to co-exist with "[les] grandes langues de longue tradition écrite" (p. 161). Brief overviews of creolophone literature produced in three major genres (poetry, theater, and the novel) and in various territories are provided. The author also examines factors that have inhibited the growth of creolophone literature: technical problems as well as problems rooted in local and global political economies of language.

The premise of Chapter X, "Problèmes d'aménagement linguistique dans le monde créole français," is to show that "si l'on constate que les créoles sont à des titres divers en danger, il est encore possible de les 'aménager' pour en faire des langues à part entière [if it is established that the creoles are in various respects endangered, it is still possible to engage in 'language planning' in order to make them into complete languages]" (p. 221). By langues à part entière, Hazaël-Massieux means here languages that are fully "instrumentalized," i.e. adapted and elaborated (technically, conceptually, and otherwise) for use in all domains. The complex challenges encountered in any such project of aménagement are enumerated: establishing an orthography, dealing with variation, producing dictionaries and grammars, generating new vocabulary, and maintaining the creole's autonomy vis-à-vis French. Chapter XI, "Et les autres créoles dans le monde?," provides a brief comparative overview of three non-French-lexified creoles: Jamaican, Sranan, and Papiamentu. The conclusions drawn are minimal; the point of this chapter seems to be simply to show that these languages, much like the FCs, are also in a precarious situation due to their co-existence (in highly unequal relationships) with dominant European languages.

The "Conclusion," consisting of four brief paragraphs, is followed by a section of fourteen appendices. Among these are a table showing the vital statistics of creolophone territories, a map, sample texts in four creoles, brief bibliographies (including comprehensive lists of FC dictionaries and grammars), profiles of creole authors, and even contact information for organizations devoted to the study and/or promotion of FCs. The table that constitutes the first appendix contains a few inaccuracies and omissions. The population of Dominica is given as 100,000 here, but is given earlier in the text as 80,000; and the population of French Guiana is given as 114,700 here, but as 165,000 earlier in the text. (The latter figure in each case is the more accurate; apparently the figures in the main text come from a more recent source than those in the table.) The population of Dominica's capital city Roseau is given as 2,000 (presumably a typographical error; should be about 20,000), and no population figures at all are given for the capitals of Grenada and Guadeloupe. The first of two maps labeled "Cartes des créoles français dans le monde" indicates where fourteen creoles are spoken, but does not identify them by their lexifer languages; this may suggest to the lay reader that all fourteen are FCs, but in fact only four of them are. One of these four, furthermore, is labeled "Créole des Antilles" (a collective designation avoided in the main text), with arrows pointing only to Guadeloupe, Dominica, Martinique, and St. Lucia (Grenada and Trinidad are ignored); this is odd considering the pains taken in the text to treat these varieties individually and separately. Notwithstanding such minor problems, the book has much to offer to dedicated non-specialist readers and to creolists alike. The former will gain an appreciation for the FCs in all their complexity and diversity. The latter will find thought-provoking the book's point of departure and the well-developed premises on which it builds, and will benefit from Hazaël-Massieux's expertise in its central areas of investigation.

The structure and status of pidgins and creoles. Including selected papers from the meetings of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics. Edited by Arthur K. Spears and Donald Winford (*Creole Language Library* 19). Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1997. Pp. viii, 461. Hardcover, NLG 198 / US $ 99.

Reviewed by Adrienne Bruyn, *University of Manchester*

What do we mean when we talk about pidgins and creoles? The editors of this volume in Benjamins' "yellow series" make it clear that they wanted it to focus on issues related to this question, rather than being merely a collection of papers presented at SPCL conferences. Authors of such papers were therefore asked to expand their contributions accordingly, and two invited contributions were added. In the Introduction, Winford recapitulates the vexing difficulties in distinguishing pidgins and creoles from each other as well as from other languages, be it on structural, functional or historical grounds, and he suggests the more fruitful approach is to place them within a typology of contact languages. The leading question then becomes as to whether pidgins and creoles can be distinguished from other contact languages as well as from each other, and what kinds of criteria are relevant to the establishment of such a typology (p. 3). As it is not feasible to review all 15 papers in detail, I will focus on those aspects that bear more clearly on such issues.

As to be expected, the invited contributions by Salikoko Mufwene and Sarah Thomason, contained in the section *Typology and terminology*, address the theme explicitly—albeit along rather

divergent lines. Thomason defines contact languages as languages whose grammatical and lexical components cannot be traced back to one single parent language, and proposes a typology comprising the prototypical categories of pidgins, creoles, and bilingual mixed languages. She argues that while a combination of linguistic and social correlates may be relevant to the classification, synchronic criteria are derivable from diachronic ones, and that creoles nor mixed languages are identifiable from a purely synchronic viewpoint. Only a historical approach provides a means of unifying, and accounting for, the social and linguistic features that are characteristic of the various outcomes of language contact (p. 73). Thomason's presentation of the typology is embedded in the context of historical linguistics, genetic relationship, and contact phenomena, offsetting the idea that pidgins and creoles are somehow of a unique nature. Readers acquainted with e.g. Thomason (1995) will recognize the typology but the present paper places it in a broader context; for those creolists less familiar with Thomason's work it is recommendable reading in any case.

While acknowledging the fluid nature of language history and the concomitant fuzziness of the three major types she proposes, Thomason stresses the usefulness of abstraction and classification in order to be able to talk about and compare different varieties, be they clear-cut, prototypical instances, or borderline cases. Mufwene, on the other hand, appears to argue in the opposite direction in his thought-provoking or even provocative contribution in which he questions the usefulness of terms such as "jargon", "pidgin", "creole", and "koine." Mufwene dwells on how linguists have adopted lay terms laden with connotations of corruption and low esteem, and subsequently failed to define them—understandably so, as the terms were not based on genetic histories or structural features in the first place. However, once appropriated for academic purposes, they came to figure in the life cycle JARGON > PIDGIN > CREOLE, without there being evidence that this structural-developmental model is applicable to the European-lexifier creoles that came into existence in the New World and the Indian Ocean between the seventeenth and the nineteenth century—the languages for which Mufwene wants to reserve the term "creole." Rather than on linguistic criteria, such usage would be based on the particular sociohistorical circumstances, involving the presence of a creole population, that led the languages to be baptized as creoles. Mufwene argues that creoles, pidgins, and koines, but also indigenized varieties of European languages and immigrant workers' varieties, share enough to be regarded as "results of the same complex equation for contact-induced restructuring. The variables of the equation *just* assume different values in different conditions and *thus* yield different outputs" (p. 49; italics added, AB). I fully agree that "[w]e gain nothing special from imposing names we are particularly familiar with [É], to realities we have not quite understood yet" (p. 60). It is not so clear however how abandoning the various terms in favor of a general one such as "contact variety" is by itself helpful in grasping the various kinds of such varieties and the different values of the variables in the equation by which they may be determined.

The second section of the volume, *Process and evolution*, contains some interesting conference papers in that they contribute to the rethinking of various terms and concepts by assessing individual cases against the backdrop of particular, more or less firmly entrenched assumptions.

Philip Baker brings in Mauritian to illustrate that the lexifier language, French, did not serve as the target in the initial period of contact, nor in later stages. Rather, slaves created a medium of interethnic communication. Notwithstanding continuing contact with French there is no evidence for decreolization in the case of Mauritian, indicating that this is a less inevitable consequence than sometimes assumed. Drawing on historical data from various languages, Baker also demonstrates that so-called typical creole features do not develop faster in nativized creoles than in pidgins that remain in constant use. While it would be possible to quibble about the interpretations of historical attestations, that would not affect the main point, viz. that the traditional distinction between creoles and pidgins on the basis of nativization is outmoded.

William Samarin comes to a similar conclusion regarding this last issue on the basis of Sango as spoken in the Central African Republic. This Yakoma-based variety—which would not count as a "creole" for Mufwene in any case—poses similar challenges as Tok Pisin in that there do not appear to be essential differences between the pidgin, i.e. second language, and the creole, i.e. nativized, varieties. Taking into account sociolinguistic insights as well as his own decades-long experience with Sango (which perhaps explains the omission of any introduction to the language) Samarin focuses on morphophonological condensation. He expresses his doubts regarding the factors proposed to explain similar reduction in Tok Pisin—such as fluency, or stylistic expansion—and about the assumed major role of children regarding innovative changes. As for condensation in Sango, the conclusion is that the changes started with people, mainly adults, who learned an indigenous Central African language before or along with Sango. Condensation thus turns out not to correlate with nativization, thereby calling into question again the appropriateness of nativization as the criterion to distinguish between pidgin and creole varieties.

The notion that nativization is not crucial also figures in Jeff Siegel's paper. His main points are however that different kinds of language contact may involve similar processes, and that, contra substrate opponents such as Bickerton, new language varieties may contain a mixture of features from several other varieties. In this sense, the cafeteria metaphor may be rather appropriate after all. (Incidentally, it may be noted that Dillard's (1970)

"cafeteria principle" concerned assorted English dialects.) Offering interesting examples from Overseas Hindi, indigenized varieties of English, and Hebrew, Siegel shows how contact varieties can incorporate both morphological forms and syntactic rules from various sources through mixing and leveling, and discusses how these processes may have operated in the development of pidgins and creoles. As second language acquisition plays an important role, research in this area may teach us more about the constraints that determine which features may be on the cafeteria menu, and which may eventually be selected.

That a unifying approach not necessarily enhances our understanding of pidgins and creoles is to some extent illustrated by Carol Myers-Scotton's contribution. Her claim is that the concept of matrix language combined with a regulated distribution of content and system (or functional) morphemes is essential to all contact phenomena, including not only codeswitching, the original object of her model, but also language attrition, interlanguage, mixed languages, and pidgins and creoles. In order to account for the latter, Myers-Scotton argues that here the matrix language, i.e. the language supplying the morphosyntactic frame, may be a composite of the European lexifier language, speakers' first language plus other substrates, and universal strategies. Apart from the problems inherent in the assumption that some kind of bilingual codeswitching is at issue (p. 162), at this point it is not clear how such a flexible interpretation of the matrix language may offer new insights into the interaction of the respective ingredients in different circumstances. The paper being rather programmatic, the few creole data it contains are not very illuminating (e.g. Saramaccan *di* is apparently assumed to derive from English *the* (p. 167) whereas the actual source is rather *this*, rendering the parallel with English noun phrases less straightforward).

The section *Sources and genesis* contains two papers on what are generally considered "true" creoles, including Saramaccan. The latter is unusual, however, in having a mixed, English/Portuguese-derived lexicon. Michael Aceto compares Saramaccan basic vocabulary items of Portuguese provenance with their counterparts in various Iberian-lexifier creoles, against the background of the relexification hypothesis—the one proposed in the 1960s that Atlantic creoles with various European lexical sources were relexifications of a West African Portuguese-based pidgin. Surprisingly, although Aceto otherwise refers to Smith (1987), he does not actually discuss the possibility of relexification in the opposite direction, from English to Portuguese. This would account not only for the existing doublets but also for some of the semantic extensions. Aceto concludes that the Saramaccan forms are the result of contact in the Americas rather than in West Africa, and that his findings can be couched in Hancock's componential approach.

In a broad-sweeping and somewhat superficial manner, John McWhorter sets up an argument that West African copula systems cannot have had a direct impact on the copulas in the Atlantic creoles, contra substratist claims.

Two other papers concerned with typical creoles appear in section 5, *Aspects of structure*. Philip Maurer puts forward a new analysis of the tense, aspect and mood system of Principense, which shows several deviations from the "prototypical" creole pattern. While part of these may be accounted for in terms of substrate influence or internal development, the case adds to the doubts regarding the universality of a prototypical system.

Mary and George Huttar present a catalogue of the morphological, semantic and syntactic aspects of reduplication in Ndyuka, which also involves addressing the notorious issue of the distinction between adjectives and verbs.

In the same section we find Hein van der Voort's article on Eskimo pidgins, which takes into account heretofore unknown historical material. Besides some lexical stock, the various trade pidgins share a tendency towards analyticity in comparison with the polysynthetic Eskimo, or Inuit, language. This, together with the unintelligibility to speakers of the input languages, and the fact that the pidgins were the target of acquisition by foreigners—the European and American whaling crews—indicates that they can be classified as pidgins indeed.

Classification is more problematic with the varieties dealt with in section 4, *Questions of status*: Afro-Brazilian Portuguese (Alan Baxter), Afrikaans (Christa de Kleine), Shaba Swahili (Vincent de Rooij), and Isicamtho of Soweto (Tucker Childs). These papers illustrate that it certainly is worthwhile to explore various types of contact languages, but that classification or labeling becomes meaningful only when conducted within a specified framework. Thus, de Rooij takes into account both linguistic and sociohistorical aspects in his assessment of Shaba Swahili, and explains in which sense the language may be regarded as partially creolized, thereby referring to the framework of Thomason & Kaufman (1988). Childs articulates his arguments for rejecting Isicamtho as being creolized also both in terms of linguistic features and of social function. The two other papers however show a tendency to use terms such as "(de)creolization" and "(de)pidginization" without much clarification. This is, of course, not at all unusual, and in a sense it illustrates the relevance of the theme of the volume.

Obviously we should not expect the book to have answered the question posed at the top of this review. The value of the volume lies in its raising the issue and bringing to the fore that there are no simple answers on which everyone would agree. Yet the contributions also appear to reflect that there is a certain degree of consensus in the field on a couple of issues, albeit often in the form of a rejection of certain assumptions. Thus, the pidgin-creole cycle, together with nativization and decreolization, is challenged by several contributors. It also appears to have become a common opinion that pidgins and

creoles must be viewed in the broader context of language contact rather than as unique types, that they are essentially sociohistoric phenomena, and that creoles cannot be classified synchronically on structural criteria. However, while this is not a particularly new view, the debate on especially the latter issue has in the meantime been restarted by McWhorter (1998) formulating a typological creole prototype. But it is better to have debates than let rusted stereotypes persist without rethinking, and the volume under review contains valuable contributions to that end.

Perhaps the book as a whole could have gained even more weight if the proclaimed theme had been given more prominence, through the selection of the papers, or by including more invited contributions. As it is, there is some ambivalence between a thematic volume and a collection of conference papers. To conclude on a more practical note, since papers from various conferences are involved, going back as far as 1992, the absence of consistent indications of year of presentation, and, where applicable, revision, is unfortunate, in particular in combination with the delay in appearance of the volume.

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Limonese Creole: A Case of Contact Induced Language Change. Dissertation. By Elizabeth Winkler, Department of Linguistics, Indiana University, Bllomington, 1999

Reviewed by Geneviève Escure
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Elisabeth Winkler's [EW] dissertation is a welcome addition to previous analyses of Central American English-based creoles. It is innovative because of its focus on borrowing from Spanish by speakers of Limonese Creole, as Limon Province has emerged from its geographical isolation, and been increasingly subjected to the dominant influence of Spanish. Because of the three-way confrontation of Limon Creole [LC], Standard English [SE] and Spanish, this study also constitutes -as stated by the author- an excellent test case for the Thomason-Kaufman [TK] (1988) framework for contact-induced language change. The TK model is appropriately used here because it emphasizes the importance of external factors in language change, contrary to the tradition of historical linguistics that relied almost exclusively on internal change: "The sociolinguistic history of the speakers and not the structure of their language [..] is the primary determinant of the linguistic outcome of language contact" (TK 1988: 35, as quoted in 238-9). The Costa Rican situation is complicated by the fact that the previously isolated LC community has now extended its repertoire to include acrolectal varieties inspired by SE, thus developing the continuum typically found in postcolonial communities subject to the pressure of relatively recent educational standards. The dominant use of Spanish as education medium and language of the wider Costa Rican community is then superimposed on this continuum restricted to the Limon Afro-Creole community. EW's study—based on well-documented fieldwork methodology (Chapter 4)—examines more particularly the mechanism of borrowing from Spanish, including lexical and morphosyntactic items. EW finds only limited morphosyntactic borrowing and calquing from Spanish in LC, in spite of the intensity of the contact situation and the cultural pressure exerted by Spanish on Afro-Limonese. Furthermore, borrowing is primarily limited to discourse markers, such as bueno and es que, and a few others that EW calls pause fillers, although I suspect that they might function as highlighters or topic markers—an essential property of creole discourse, which is also shared by Spanish. Even those discourse markers borrowed from Spanish occur minimally: no more than 148 for a total corpus of 111,206 words (43 speakers), if I interpret correctly the information provided in Chapter 4: 112 (Methodology) and Chapter 6: 143 (Results). However, when looking at the various tables documenting the effects of independent variables such as age, place of rearing, level of bilingualism, and gender (Tables 11-14), the number of dicourse markers varies slightly around 135—discrepancies that the author should account for in further publication of her work.

The evaluation of independent external variables (age, place of rearing -urban vs. rural, level of bilingualism and gender) makes it clear that the use of Spanish is more prevalent among younger speakers, and that bilingualism is developing without much borrowing or interference. But EW is careful to distinguish between often fuzzy or overlapping terms such as borrowing, loanwords, interference inter alia.

She does so in Chapter 1, which provides a solid theoretical background for her study, and refers to the pioneering work accomplished in the LC community by Herzfeld (1988). EW points out in particular the uncertainty involved in defining intensity of contact and cultural pressure, two elements identified as essential components of language change in TK's Borrowing Scale (reproduced in 240). EW finds that intensity of contact -having rapidly achieved a high level among Afro-Costa Ricans- is not always a key factor leading to language shift. She

lists a number of mitigating characteristics that may counteract the invasion of Spanish in the case of LC as well as in other creoles: The expanding use of acrolectal varieties of English, accessible through various media and business venues can be a factor contributing to the maintenance of local English-based varieties. But given the typical confusion in speakers' minds between English and Creole ['we grow up speaking English': 244], one can wonder whether LC will actually be pressed to disappear, diluting into some mesolectal or acrolectal forms of English—and leading to a so-called postcreole situation, while Spanish keeps growing independently.

Chapter 1 provides a comprehensive study of contact induced change, with special attention to treatments of language shift and various accounts of the concepts of code switching and borrowing. EW attempts to differentiate between the two types of transfer—a complicated issue indeed in a community where variability is the norm. EW presents her dissertation as a search for the nature of borrowing.

Chapter 2 includes sociohistorical information on the LC community, and a general descripton of the creole continuum, with reference to speakers' attitudes toward Spanish and English. EW addresses briefly speakers' confusion as to the distinction between English and creole, attributed to the traditional stigma of 'non language' attached to vernacular basilects. In this chapter, the author appears to embrace (without further discussion) the common assumption that decreolization has taken place in the LC context, even though there is little evidence that creoles were ever pure, stable ('radical') and free from the effect of contiguous acrolectal forms, which would inevitably create a continuum-type range of styles.

Chapter 3 is a sketch of LC, including phonological, lexical and morphosyntactic structures—the latter based on data collected in 1997 by EW. This chapter constitutes a very general, but useful survey of major aspects of LC.

Chapter 4 provides extensive methodological details of the fieldwork underlying the dissertation. EW's efforts must be commended, displaying a concern for naturalistic data not present in many other studies of creole communities, and an in-depth perception of problems inherent in the community. She discusses at some length the relative importance of random vs. non random sampling, problems associated with the elicitation of the full range of the informants' repertoires and the reasons underlying her choice of three extra-linguistic independent variables (age, place of rearing and education), and surveys of language attitudes. She perceptively notes that attitudes—especially in the case of traditionally stigmatized varieties such as creoles—can hardly be measured by a formal instrument: on the one hand, speakers may be offended by the use of creole in formal questionnaires, and on the other hand, any question relating to English is likely to be interpreted as referring to the standard and not the local vernacular LC. This summarizes pretty well the conflictual situation creole speakers are exposed to, and the challenges met by observers in the field.

Chapter 5 presents full results of the analysis of borrowing and code-switching in LC, primarily focusing on the overlap between them. EW finds that discourse markers account for 48% of the borrowings from Spanish, nouns for 42%, and verbs for only 10%. Of the thirty Spanish lexemes presented as borrowed (Table 8: 145) most occur only 3 to 6 times each in the complete corpus. A small number of those items are also loan shifts (or false cognates), which involve a meaning shift (from Spanish) assigned to an existing lookalike in LC. The most common item cited in EW's corpus is *college* having acquired in LC the Spanish meaning of 'high school'. Urban and rural speakers do not vary much in their use of borrowed items, nor did age seem to have a strong effect on borrowing. This EW interprets as an indicator that the Spanish items used in LC are loans rather than codeswitches, probably suggesting that the borrowed items have been assimilated for a long time into LC. Level of bilingualism is found to have an effect on borrowing, as high bilingual speakers account for 80% of the loans. Unfortunately, EW does not discuss how she came to a categorization of the 43 informants as 'high', 'medium' or 'low' informants. Was it based on self-reports, exhaustive observations? Since younger people are generally claimed to be the most common users of Spanish, but often display a passive competence in LC, does that make them high bilinguals? And if so, why is age not related to borrowing? Finally EW concludes that gender has an effect on borrowing mostly in the case of discourse markers: women use discourse markers twice as frequently as men. However, one must note that in EW's corpus, females produce a corpus three times larger than that elicited from men. Furthermore, it would be useful to know if all data were recorded in individual interviews (both the principal investigator and her assistant are female) or in a variety of same-sex and cross-sex conversations. These elements are likely to impact on the choice of discourse markers which are very much a function of the topic and pragmatic type of interaction. Finally, the term gender is used inappropriately, since no attempt is made at defining the various social roles assigned to men and women in the LC community. EW is actually observing the effect of sex differences on language use.

Chapter 6 concludes that little borrowing and calquing from Spanish is found in LC considering the intensity of the contact situation and the cultural pressure from Spanish. She argues for an extension of the TK framework that would allow for the maintenance of native languages in spite of extensive contact with the dominant language. She identifies the Limon situation as one of 'double-contact-double-shift: shift to the dominant language of the community (Spanish) and shift due to decreolization' (238). Clearly the dynamics of a creole situation is mutidimensional, and this also applies when a non-lexifier language

expands in the community. Theories of language change need to incorporate those multiple dimensions. EW's dissertation will be of interest to historical linguists and creolists. It provides a model to investigate similar situations involving English Creole-Spanish contact, such as the northern and western districts of Belize, the Bay Islands and coastal provinces of Honduras, Guatemala's Atlantic coast, especially Puerto-Barrios, and the Miskito coast of Nicaragua.

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Die haitianischen Tiersprichwörter und ihre Herkunft. By Sonja Fuchs, (Kreolische Bibliothek, vol. 17.) Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag. 1996. XVI + 563 pp.

Reviewed by Angela Bartens
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& The Finnish Academy.

The book under review is a revised version of a 1994 University of Bamberg doctoral dissertation supervised by Professor Annegret Bollée who is also series editor of the Kreolische Bibliothek. The topic of the study, Haitian proverbs with animal characters and their origin, fits nicely into the Franco-Creolist research tradition of the Aix-en-Provence and Bamberg school established by Robert Chaudenson and Bollée: Chaudenson (especially 1992) has been among the few to explore possible parallels between the creolization of culture and the creolization of language and orature has played an important role in the work done at Bamberg University. Nevertheless, there are only few antecedents the author of the present study could rely on as the study of creole folklore has largely concentrated on tales (where a lot of work also remains to be done).

Animal proverbs, i.e., proverbs in which at least one animal character occurs, were chosen as the object of study because they form the largest unified whole among all Haitian proverbs (pp. 1-2). In anticipation of the results of the study I would like to note that as with animal tales, animal proverbs are typical of, although of course by no means restricted to, Africa. The study is organized as follows: after a short introduction (pp. 1-4), the author discusses theoretical issues (chapter 2, "Theory of the proverb", pp. 5-30) such as the definition of a proverb and its delimitation from other genres and adopts the definition by Neal R. Norrick (1985:78) according to which "The proverb is a traditional, conversational, didactic genre with general meaning, a potential free of conversational turn, preferably with figurative meaning." Needless to say that the border areas are fuzzy.

Chapter 3 (pp. 31-110) is a concise presentation of the "Historical and social background of Haitian proverbs". The history of Haiti is followed only until the end of the 19th century as two of the best collections of Haitian proverbs were published in the second half of the century and the repertoire of Haitian proverbs is apparently assumed to have remained more or less intact since then. Fuchs then traces the origin of the population of Haiti to the era of the slave trade and outlines possible scenarios for cultural contact including the transmission of proverbs. As an example for the contextualization of Haitian proverbs, Fuchs points out the large number of proverbs thematizing distrust and caution that can only be understood against the historical background of the slave trade (p. 76).

Chapter 4 deals with methodological issues ("Explanatory notes to the corpus of the study", pp. 111-189): the reader is introduced to the 23 collections of proverbs used as sources, the (mainly) African informants, the classification adopted in the corpus, and the design of the entries. The history of Haitian creole orthography is also discussed as a preliminary since the original orthography of the sources is conserved in the corpus. Many of the collections used by the author are not easily accessible and therefore chapter 5, the "Corpus of Haitian animal proverbs" (pp. 191-408), constitutes a valuable resource—and delightful reading!—in itself.

However, the main interest of the volume under review obviously lies in the interpretation of the data of the corpus (chap. 6, pp. 409-469). The animal characters occurring in the proverbs are largely indigenous to Haiti (85% of the types and 98% of the tokens). Domestic animals occur more frequently than wild animals, and the dog and the hen/cock are by far the most popular characters. 75% of the proverbs feature a solitary animal character. The most frequent types are proverbs where the animals profess behavior expected of animals or occur with humans. Speaking appears to be a common means of anthromorphizing animal characters and Fuchs suspects this to be a carry-over from Africa, last but not least because a different set of animals is concerned: the parrot, the crab, the cayman, the frog, the viper, and the monkey (p. 434-435, 485).

516 of the 897 proverbs contained in the corpus have parallels (in the pertinent tabulations, Fuchs distinguishes five degrees of correspondence; for 246 proverbs, a parallel was found in only one language but as Fuchs notes on pp. 439-440, this may be due to limitations in her data base rather than unequivocal origin): 77% have parallels in African languages, 11% in languages and dialects spoken in France, e.g., Basque and Provençal, 8,5% both in languages/dialects spoken in France and in Africa, and 3,3% in other languages, e.g. Spanish. As the author remarks on p. 486, the common history of Haiti and the Dominican Republic make Spanish a likely source to look for parallels for the remaining 381 proverbs which could not be etymologized in the study. Ewe and Baulé stand out as the African languages with most parallel proverbs (30 and 25 literary attestations, respectively; note that Fuchs at least in principle distinguishes between Ewe and Fon,

much more frequently cited in the research on Haitian creole, cf. pp. 457 and487, note 8, although e.g. Singler 1996:216 also suggests that Fon speakers were in the minority among all Gbe speakers shipped to Haiti). Proverbs of French origin feature an average of 0,8 variants while the corresponding figure for proverbs with parallels in African languages is 1,2 (p. 437). Fuchs attributes this to the easier translatability, higher degree of fixedness and longer contact with French (pp. 437-438); I would add that, as with lexical items (e.g. nyam 'to eat') and even some grammatical morphemes (cf. Upper Guinea Creole Portuguese and Mande –ba(n) 'past; completive' and Bartens 1996:88 for more examples of transmission/convergence), transmission into the emerging creole language and culture is more likely when an item exists in similar form in several substrate languages.

A confrontation of the results of this ananlysis with the known origins of Haitian slaves in chapter 7 (pp. 471-479) basically confirms the two geographic regions which previous studies have demonstrated to have played a major role in the formation of Haitian creole and culture: the Slave Coast and the Congo-Angola region in its widest sense (cf., e.g., Singler 1993; 1996). However, while demographic records indicate a larger number of shipments from the Bight of Benin (36% in the statistics considered by Fuchs for Haiti, above all Débien 1974) than from the Bight of Biafra (12,5%), the ratio is reversed when considering the origins of the proverbs in the corpus (18% vs. 22% of attestations in literary sources). Fuchs takes this as evidence that slaves from the Bight of Biafra hinterland were shipped over forts in the Bight of Benin; the shipment of slaves from the forts of another slave trading region is a pratice actually documented (cf. McWhorter 2000). The results for the Bantu region are even more dramatic and it is here that the study under review presents creolistics with a real challenge: while slave shipments from the East African Coast constitute a fraction (2%) when compared to the West African Congo-Angola region (36,9%), a disproportionately high amount of proverb correspondences (13,5%) was found in languages spoken in the East African Bantu region. Fuchs' hypothesis is that the hinterland of the Congo-Angola region extended until East Africa. This hypothesis can be tested e.g. with lexicological studies of Atlantic creoles although the different nature of the language and culture contact phenomena and Common Bantu lexicon may interfere with this endeavor. In addition to that, Fuchs' data base on African languages may bias the results as she readily admits on more than one occassion: where both literary attestations and attestation by informants occurs, she gives preference to the former, and she always tabulates literary and informant attestations separately. (Here it would have been conceivable to tabulate literary attestations with and without informant attestations.) The relatively high occurrence of parallels from Curtin's (1969) regions 1 and 2-4 (Senegambia and the coastal region from the Casamance to the Gold Coast) is explained by means of what Mufwene (1996) has termed "the founder population" (16% and 18% of parallel proverbs vs. 8% and 5% of slaves to Haiti). Note, however, that most statistics on Haiti do not take into account the smuggling of slaves from Jamaica which played a major role during the early decades of the 18th century (cf. Parkvall 2000:130). Many of the slaves were originally from the Gold Coast and from the Ivory Coast which in turn would explain the high incidence of parallel proverbs in Baulé, Akan and Gã (25, 13 and 13 literary attestations).

The main findings of the study are summarized in chap. 8 (pp. 481-487). The volume closes with very brief "Final remarks" (p. 489), listings of references for the Haitian proverbs (p. 491), cognates in African (pp. 492-505) and other languages (pp. 505-513), general references (pp. 515-530), indices of the graphies of Haitian animal designations (pp. 531—533), animals (pp.535-537), keywords (pp.539-548), languages (pp. 549-552), a listing of African languages where attestation by literary source and/or informant is indicated once more (pp. 553-561) and a map of Curtin's slave trade zones (p. 563). The table of contents (pp. V-X), preliminary remarks (pp. XI-XII), a list of abbreviations (pp. XIII-XIV) and diagrams (p. XV-XVI) can be found at the beginning of the volume.

This is a carefully executed, interesting study. After putting the volume away, only some minor doubts linger on in the mind of the reader: Why are only slave shipments to Haiti in the 1790's considered in Chap. 3? If speakers of other African languages had been consulted as informants or if some of the complex tabulations had been done differently, how different would the results be? Fortunately the findings of this study are compatible with the results of earlier research. The East African hypothesis is just the kind of nut for fellow creolists to crack such a study can be hoped to come with. And it will hopefully motivate a lot more research on the unduely neglected creole language-culture interface.

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Ndyuka. (Descriptive Grammars series, 18).. By George L. Huttar & Mary L. Huttar. 1994. London and New York: Routledge. 631pp. Hardback, $190/$110, ISBN/ISSN:0-415-05992-5

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This is one of the most voluminous and informative monographs on a creole available to date. It is the result of the authors' extensive fieldwork in the Ndyuka community during about a decade and their careful study of Ndyuka language and culture during nearly three decades. The authors' detailed knowledge of and familiarity with Ndyuka culture and language is clearly reflected in the total of 2474 carefully selected sample sentences comprehensively illustrating the different structures which were not simply elicited from a few native speakers, as has often been the practice, but were recorded in a wide variety of natural social settings ranging from every day encounters, palavers to traditional tales. Some of the data also come from written materials such as self-help texts and gospel translations written by native speakers of the variety. The grammar also includes useful lists of common ideophones and lexical items such as those referring to body parts, kinship, cooking, clothing, greetings etc...

Ndyuka was published in the series Descriptive Grammars whose goal is to bridge the gap between theoretical and descriptive linguistics by making available descriptive data from a wide range of languages within a descriptive framework informed by research in theoretical linguistics. The description of the varieties appearing in this series is organized according to a common framework originally published in Lingua (vol. 42, no. 1) to ensure that the grammars are "(a) sufficiently comprehensive to cover the major structures of any language ...; (b) sufficiently explicit to make cross-language comparisons a feasible undertaking ...; (c) sufficiently flexible to encompass the range of variety that is found in human language" (editorial statement). Given this focus, Ndyuka is cast in a general linguistic terminology avoiding as much as possible idiosyncratic creolist notions and making it easily accessible to a general linguistic audience.

Ndyuka is organized into five major parts. Chapter One, which takes up over half of the book (372 pages), discusses the syntax of Ndyuka. It deals, in that order, with the different sentence types (pp. 1-131), structural questions, namely the internal organization of sentences and phrases (pp. 131-227), coordination (pp. 227-251), negation (pp. 251-263), anaphora (pp. 263-273), reflexives (pp. 274-282), reciprocals (pp. 283-285), comparison (pp. 285-293), equatives (pp. 293-297), possession (pp. 297-299), emphasis (pp. 299-335), topic (pp. 335-356), minor sentences types (pp. 357-359), and operational definitions for word classes (pp. 360-363). Chapter Two is about 170 pages in length and is concerned with morphology. It discusses inflection (pp. 373-535) and derivation (pp. 535-540). Chapter Three focuses on the phonology of Ndyuka, discussing the different phonological units (pp. 544-552), the phonotactics (pp. 553-562), the suprasegmentals (562-580) and the morphophonology (pp. 580-593) of Ndyuka in fifty pages. Chapter Four discusses ideophones (pp. 595-602) and interjections (p. 602). Finally, chapter Five is 23 pages in length and deals with the lexicon investigating specific structural semantic fields such as body parts etc. (pp. 603-618) and the basic vocabulary of Ndyuka (pp. 618-625). In addition to the main chapters, the book also includes two maps, one indicating the location of the different maroon societies in Suriname and the other sketching the location of this area within Suriname and South America. The three-page introduction to the grammar briefly sketches the origin of Ndyuka, its relationship to other creoles in Suriname, and the origin of the data. The last roughly one and a half pages contain a short index of selected topics and forms.

I have three general problems with this grammar. One concerns the nature of the index. I have found the index (pp. 630-631) too meager for such a substantial references grammar. It ultimately reduces the book's resourcefulness as a reference work. It is not clear, for example, why the index only lists a few frequently occurring items such as the TMA markers *be* 'past', *e* 'progressive, habitual', *o* 'future', *sa* 'uncertain future' and the multifunctional elements *anga* 'with', *fu* 'of, for', and *gi* 'give, for, to etc.' while it does not include other equally common and multifunctional items such as *(n)a* 'copula, focus marker', *kon* 'achievement, goal, come', *de* 'copula, there'. It is also unclear to me on what basis topics such as preposition, negation, serial verb construction were selected for the index while other equally important topics such as copula and tense were not included.

The table of contents is similarly unsatisfactory. Rather than highlighting the careful structuring of the contents of the individual chapters the table of contents obscures it by not listing various subsections, i.e. those after the fourth level. The omission of these sections from the table of contents does not only reduce its usefulness as a search mechanism but also makes it rather difficult and time

consuming to trace the various cross-references to such subsections which frequently occur throughout the grammar.

It is also not clear what the purpose of sections such as section *2.1.1.8. Number marking in nouns* is. It is essentially irrelevant since it only contains the information that this feature does not occur in Ndyuka. Such sections are somewhat misleading to the unsuspecting reader who might get the idea that Ndyuka nouns cannot be marked for number which would not be entirely accurate since they are marked for number though not by inflectional morphology. This would, however, only become clear on (substantial) further reading of the grammar. In addition, this style of presentation, which seems to be due to some narrow interpretation of the notion of comparability, is not only problematic from a purely descriptive point of view but also leaves behind an aftertaste that Ndyuka is in some ways deficient, which is definitely not the case. It would have been more fruitful to present the language according to its own logic rather than forcing it into a predetermined framework.

I would also like to raise several issues regarding the analysis of the data focusing mainly on those grammatical areas I am most familiar with. I very much appreciate that the authors present the whole range of variation found in some areas such as locational modifiers. It would have been useful from both a descriptive and a theoretical point of view, however, if they had also supplied a few remarks about the nature of the variation; the reader might be interested to know that *tapu* 'top', *ondoo* 'under' etc. typically follow the NP and that the pre-NP pattern is typical of specific speech styles *(wakaman tongo)* and of certain social groups (men who identify/are in contact with town culture). Without such an explanations, the variation appears random and leads to an inaccurate picture of the language.

Another issue concerns the positioning of ideophones within the grammar. The list of ideophones is definitely a valuable feature of the grammar but I wonder why it was made a separate section. In my opinion, the syntactic properties of ideophones should have been discussed together with those of other adverbs and the list of individual items would have fit in best with chapter four. By placing them in a separate section their relationship to other lexical categories such as adverbs is obscured.

I have also found the section on copula predication rather confusing. First, it is not really clear to me why items such as *kon* 'achievement, goal', *toon* 'turn into.', *tan* 'stay, remain', and *gei* 'resemble' were included in the category copula along with *(n)a* and *de* without any further explanation. In my opinion, the former items are not equivalent to the latter: *(n)a* and *de* function primarily as linking elements or as a predicator *(de)*, while the former perform either aspectual functions (*kon*, *tan*) and/or main verbal i.e. lexical functions. Second, I find the discussion about the syntactic properties of the copulas *(n)a* and *de* somewhat unsatisfactory since it avoids necessary generalizations. In the case of *(n)a*, for example, Huttar & Huttar carefully present its distribution (the complements and subjects it can take, its incompatibility with TMA markers, and its merging with the negative marker and third person singular pronoun) but they do not draw any explicit conclusions about its categorial status from it, namely that *(n)a* is clearly not a verb. In addition, it would have been very helpful for the uninitiated reader if it had been mentioned that *(n)a* is primarily a focus and presentative marker and only secondarily a copula since this is vital for understanding some of its (more) peculiar distributional properties such as its incompatibility with the third person singular pronoun and tense markers, and its occurrence with non-NP complements. Finally, in my opinion, several sample sentences such as (583-585), for example, have been misanalyzed as copula sentences when they actually involve presentative rather than copula *(n)a* (583-584) or the third person singular pronoun *a* (585).

(583) a bun, di na i sa oli en a ede, ma da pai mi, no?
3s good that BE 2s IRR hold 3sobl LOC head but CJ pay 1s TAG

'It's good, you're going to keep that in your head (remember it), but then how about paying me?'

Despite the above mentioned organizational and analytical problems which, in my opinion, are largely due to the strictly formal and typological approach of the series in which Ndyuka appeared, it is definitely a highly valuable addition to the list of detailed descriptions of creoles.

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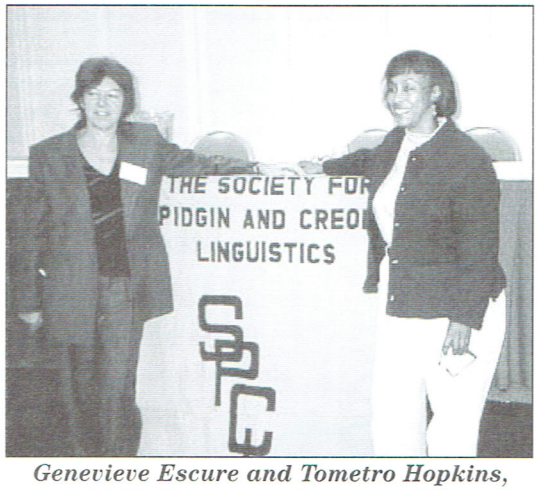

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