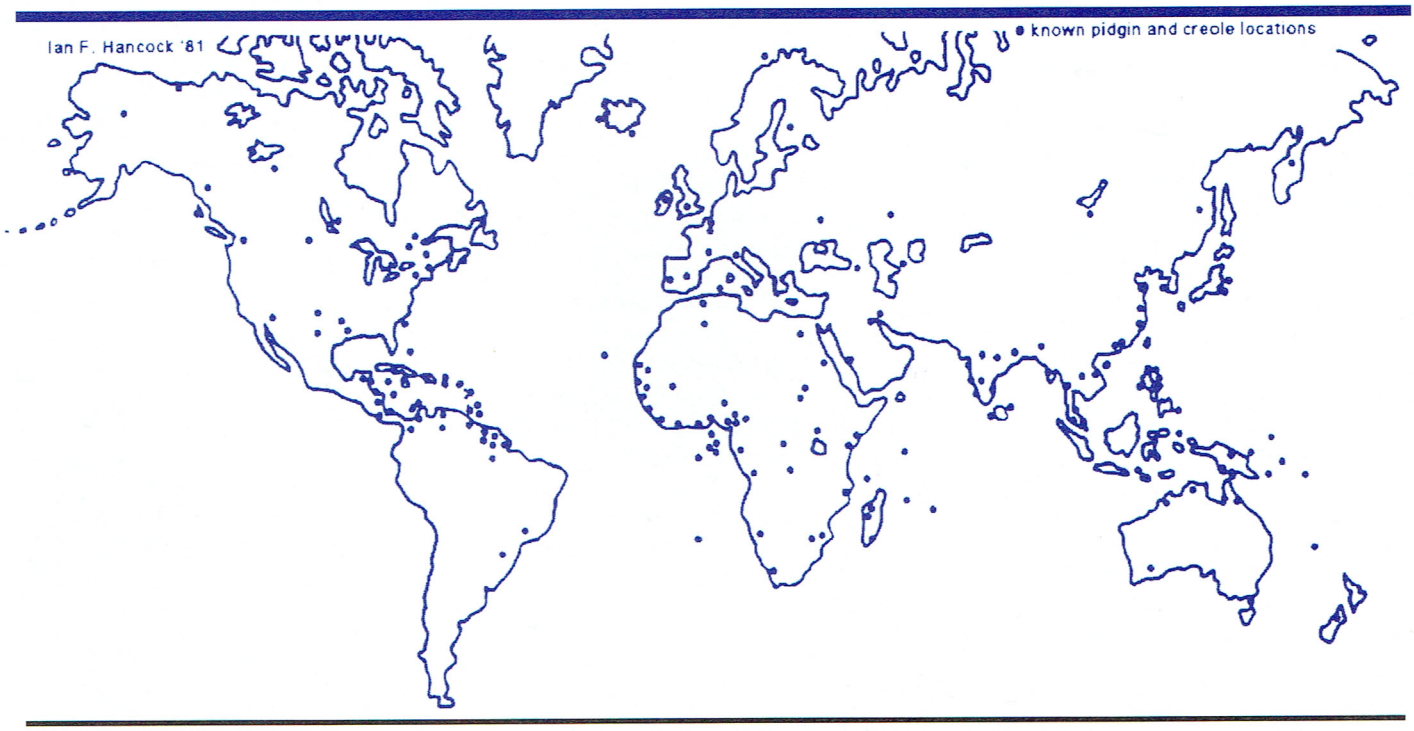

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FOCUS ON CREOLIST: SALIKOKO S. MUFWENE

by Robert Chaundenson
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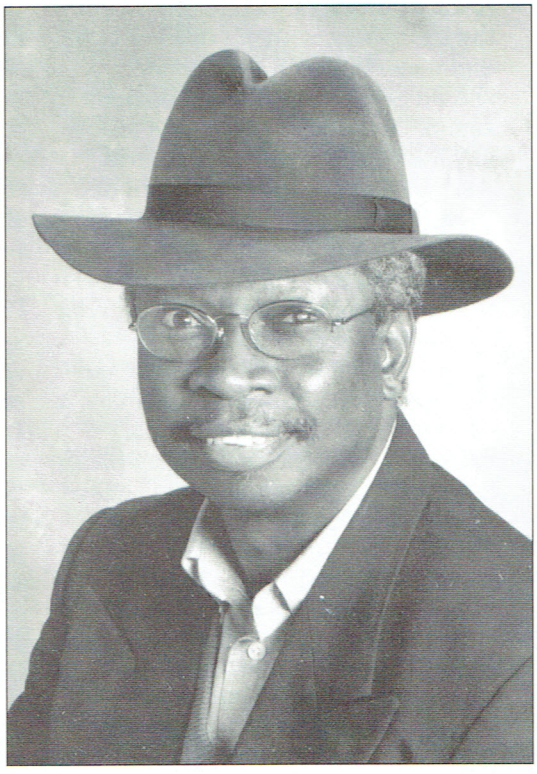
Translated from the French by Michel DeGraff

I was delighted by the *Carrier Pidgin*'s invitation to write a "Focus Article" on Salikoko Mufwene. Then, when I began to reflect a little on what I should write, I realized what an overwhelming task I had accepted. My personal acquaintance with Salikoko goes back some good fifteen years, during which I have assiduously followed his research and publications. I was well aware that in the past few years they have intensified. But I had not completely realized the diversity and the extent of his research until I started summarizing it for the present article. The increase in productivity is all the more surprising that, for the past six years (1995-2001), he was Chair of Linguistics at the University of Chicago.



Salikoko S. Mufwene

I got a glimpse of one of the reasons behind Salikoko's extraordinarily fruitful career when I discovered a biographical detail that he had hidden from me: he was born on the first day of November. This date is All Saints' Day. I suspect that November 1st in Mbaya-Lareme—his native village in the Congo—is "All Fairies Day". As in a tale, the fairies would have gathered around little Salikoko to lavish him with talents, thus setting him up for such a brilliant scientific career.

Seriously now, I am convinced that, more than his birthday, Salikoko's *birthplace* did set him up for a particular sort of academic life. Let me explain Take his first language. This is neither French, nor English as one might think when reading or listening to him. One of Salikoko's

continued on next page

IN THIS ISSUE

native languages is Kiyansi, of the Bantu family. In Creole studies—his academic discipline—this point is important because there are still too many Creolists who ceaselessly invoke African languages, about which they really know nothing.

It was in Africa that Salikoko first attended university. In 1973, he received, with Highest Honors, a *Licence en Philosophie et Lettres* (with a major in English Philology) from the National University of Zaire at Lubumbashi. The same year he also obtained his *Agrégation d'enseignement moyen du degré supérieur*, also with Honors.

Let me comment a bit on the significance of these diplomas, especially for readers who are not familiar with (post)colonial Africa. That the young Salikoko, born in Mbaya-Lareme, would find himself twenty years later in Lubumbashi at the University, with not one but two diplomas, and both with honors, should in itself count as an obvious sign of intellectual excellence for anyone who is in any way familiar with the Congo of that era. Salikoko must have seriously distinguished himself among his peers: at that time, overly limited opportunities and a brutally elitist educational system did entail fierce competition.

This academic debut is also characterized by Salikoko's polyglotism, a crucial ingredient throughout his career. He started life speaking Bantu languages, in the plural—I do believe he speaks many, although I haven't checked with him. Then he learned French at school, and later specialized in English at the University.

In his subsequent life as a linguist, his fluency in both French and English has given him a distinct advantage over his Anglophone colleagues who ignore not only works written in French, but more generally European linguistics written in any language other than English. Furthermore, Salikoko has written prolifically in both English and French, producing articles that are not necessarily translations of each other. This is a rare feat among creolists, and linguists in general.

This comment is not inspired by any sort of linguistic chauvinism on my part. Indeed there is no intrinsic reason why non-Francophone researchers should read works written in French. On the other hand, these works seem indispensable for those working on French or French-based Creoles or any other topic on which much scholarly work is produced in French.

Among the good fairies who bent down over little Salikoko on that fateful November 1st, there were, without a doubt, the Bantu fairies, the French fairy, and the English fairy. In order to avoid any problem with protocol, I have listed the fairies in the order of their appearance on stage!

Salikoko's diploma in English from the National University of Zaire at Lubumbashi allowed him to pursue his studies, this time in linguistics, at the University of Chicago, thanks to a Fulbright scholarship. There, he garnered additional honors and awards, and obtained his PhD in 1979 with Distinction. His doctoral dissertation on *'Semantic Field' versus 'Semantic Class'* was prepared under the guidance of the late James McCawley, a prominent name in the development of semantics in the 20th century. His Chicago training paved the way for some of his analyses of Creole structures.

Twelve years later, in December 1991, Salikoko would return as Full Professor to the same university where he began his career as a

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linguist. In the meantime, his career as creolist was launched and had begun to blossom, even if his PhD research was by and large orthogonal to creolistics.

After the Chicago graduate-school years, he spent a year and a half as a Lecturer at the University of the West Indies in Mona, Jamaica. The latter is, so to speak, a Mecca for creolists: the first international conference on Creole languages was held there in 1959, bringing together the few linguists who at that time had fledgling research projects on these languages.

It was during the 'Jamaica years' (1980 and 1981) that Salikoko published his first articles on Creoles. His "Observations on time reference in Jamaican and Guyanese Creoles" (1983/1984) is clearly an application of his training in theoretical linguistics to Creole topics. Yet it was already firmly anchored in fieldwork with native speakers—in this case, Jamaican Creole speakers, who gave him his first *in vivo* acquaintance with a Creole language (not counting his competence in Kituba and Lingala, which he is now reluctant to call "Creoles"). I will venture the guess that Mervyn Alleyne must have played a key role in this fortuitous and fortunate turn of events.

His position as Assistant Professor at the University of Georgia at Athens, starting in September 1981, would also play an important role in his intellectual growth as linguist and creolist. He would spend 10 years there (until December 1991). As an extension of his previous probes into problems of creolization, he very quickly began to work on Gullah. He first studied Gullah's morphosyntax (1982-1983), then widened his research to other aspects of the language.

Among his several publications on Gullah, the following titles significantly illustrate the evolution of his interests: "The linguistic signification of African proper names in Gullah" (1985), "Number delimitation in Gullah" (1986), "Restrictive relativization in Gullah" (1986), "How African is Gullah, and why?" (1987), "Equivocal structures in some Gullah complex sentences" (1989), "Some reasons why Gullah is not dying yet" (1991), "The ecology of Gullah's survival" (1997). This is only a small sample of his articles on Gullah. In fact, I may well incite him to add his 131st title to his already long list of publications by expressing my regret that he has not yet anthologized his Gullah-related works in one easily-accessible volume.

Towards the mid-1980s, the evolution of his interests towards more general perspectives and theories becomes manifest. The painstaking research on Gullah doesn't prevent him from investigating other products of language contact (e.g., Jamaican Creole, Guyanese Creole and African-American English aka Ebonics) and, more generally, the processes and products of language contact both in the `New World' and in the African context (e.g., the case of Kituba). Here we must note, inter alia, the 1993 publication of the now-classic *Africanisms in Afro-American Language Varieties* (proceedings of the round table he organized in Athens in 1988) and the 1998 publication of *African-American English* in collaboration with John Rickford, Guy Bailey and John Baugh.

The endless evolution of Salikoko's scientific quests is marked by an inescapable internal logic. Semantics and syntax have attracted him at the onset, since his "entrance into linguistics". His aforementioned polyglotism has given him precious access to multiple sources of both primary data and scholarly treatises. He can thus process facts from, and discussions on, an impressive variety of languages: English, French, Gullah, African-American English, English- and French-based Atlantic Creoles, Bantu languages (e.g., Lingala, Kikongo-Kituba, Kiyansi), etc. Nevertheless, and perhaps due to the very study of these languages (many of which originated at more or less the same time and in somewhat similar ecologies), Salikoko was brought to approach contact linguistics—in particular, the variation and evolution of languages—from the perspective of historical sociolinguistics, and historical anthropology. In this vein, one of his first theoretical articles about "creolization" bears the telling title "Les langues créoles peuvent-elles être définies sans allusion à leur histoire?" ("Can Creole languages be defined without reference to their history?'), in *Etudes Créoles* (1987).

It thus seems thoroughly logical that his research would subsequently evolve into an even more general reflection about the evolution of languages and, in turn, about the very foundations of Creole studies and historical linguistics. Here Salikoko's greatest innovation is to daringly bring together population genetics and the problematics of linguistic ecology and language evolution. Witness his latest book *The Ecology of Language Evolution* (Cambridge University Press, 2001). The very making of this book—in other words, its evolution (pun intended)—is itself an exceptional tour de force: it has the internal coherence of a monograph written in one go, yet it is mostly made up of revised papers, most of which have been, over the past few years, published individually for distinct audiences.

Over the last ten years, Salikoko has established himself not only as one of our most prominent creolists, but also, and especially, as one of our most prominent general linguists. The quality of his research and his prodigious productivity cannot but astonish most of us, even more so that his immense scientific output in the past six years has unfurled in tandem with his fulfilling extremely demanding administrative responsibilities. Recall that, from 1995 to 2001, he was Chair of Linguistics at the University of Chicago.

Nevertheless this success does have a price: Salikoko is sought after everywhere and can barely stay at home. He must incessantly travel to the four corners of the world, from Ireland to Trinidad and Jamaica, from South Africa to Singapore and Hong Kong, just to mention the most recent scientific escapades. In Spring 2002, he is a Visiting Professor at Harvard. He must learn to resist this tempting flow of invitations lest he succumb to the avalanche of stardom. *continued on page 8*

DA JESUS BOOK

By Suzanne Romaine
Merton College,
University of Oxford

Introduction

On June 30th, 2001 *Da Jesus Book. Hawaii Pidgin New Testament* was launched at a public event held at the Makaha Resort on leeward O'ahu. This Hawai'i Creole English (HCE) translation of the New Testament is the second volume to emerge from the work of a team of twenty-six translators headed by linguists Joseph Grimes and Barbara Grimes, whose name will be familiar to linguists as editor of the *Ethnologue* (Grimes 2000). The HCE translation is published by Wycliffe Bible Translators, a volunteer worldwide organization with over 5,000 members, with funding provided by the American Bible Society.

Da Jesus Book has been a long time in the making, with work having begun at informal meetings and Bible studies a dozen years ago. The first work to appear was a translation of the book of Matthew (*Matthew Tell Bout Jesus* 1997); an audio tape and HCE dictionary are planned, as is also an Old Testament translation (*Da Befo Jesus Book*).

The public event celebrating the launch was also conducted entirely in HCE, with Earl Monihara, one of the translators, acting as host. Significantly, this is the first public event of this type to my knowledge where HCE was used outside the comic domain, and not surprisingly, the host began with some hesitation and false starts. He commented that it was really difficult on such an occasion to speak entirely in "Pidgin", as the language is called locally, because he was not used to it. Having attended readings done by creative writers who use HCE in their works, what usually happens is that writers read their work in HCE but comment on it in English. This strategy is similar to the use of HCE within some prose genres, where the background narrative is in English, but the dialogue in HCE (see Romaine 1994a and b).

In addition to scripture readings and prayers, the program contained hula, as well as personal accounts offered by the translators, ranging in age from their 20s to their 60s, explaining how and why they had decided to become involved in the project. The accompanying photos show some of the activities.

A number of articles have appeared in the major Honolulu daily newspapers (see Adamski 2001, Kennedy 1997, Viotti 2001a and b) and the Grimeses maintain an excellent, informative website written entirely in HCE (www.pidginbible.org). The site is regularly updated and contains a daily sample scripture, information about the translation project, links to publicity releases, and other sites pertaining to Pidgin and Hawai'i. Among the interesting material included on the website is a page called Da Hawaii Pidgin Language containing a brief sketch of the grammar of HCE written in HCE (Da Grammar Map). Other linked pages explain the rationale behind the project (How come they making um?), spelling (How da Hawaiian Pidgin Bible spell da Words), suggestions on how the Bible can be used (How I can use da Hawaii Pidgin Bible?), and glossaries (Bible Kine Words, English Kine Bible Words).

Joseph E. Grimes presents a copy of Da Jesus Book to Rev. Franklin S. H. Chun, one of the translators. Barbara F. Grimes and Jonathan Burnett look on. *photo: Suzanne Romaine*

The power of Pidgin

I am sure creolists will agree with me that together, the website, the translation, and the public event launching it, represent nothing less than the most significant act of legitimation ever undertaken on behalf of HCE and its speakers. Most pidgins and creoles still remain unwritten, and most may never achieve the attention devoted to HCE. Nevertheless, many people still believe that HCE is not a language and that it cannot be written, with these stereotypes reinforcing one another in popular sentiment (see Romaine 1999, and Rivera 1999a and b). Undoubtedly, translation of the Bible into the world's vernacular languages, including some pidgins and creoles such as Gullah and Tok Pisin, has increased their prestige, despite the inevitable criticism of the predictable sort when a language is extended to a previously unused domain. As Joseph Grimes pointed out to a newspaper reporter, "We face the idea that Pidgin is just used for telling jokes... for people who think of pidgin as a debased language, they might see this as a kind of insult to Scriptures, translating it into a low-life language" (Adamski 2001).

Similar reactions have greeted virtually every translation of the Bible into vernacular languages. Even attempts at modernization of existing translations are subject to harsh criticism. In a speech on declining

A new standard for Hawai'i Creole English?

standards of English, Prince Charles, for example, singled out for special attack the *New English Bible*, a modern adaptation of the King James version, describing it as a "dismal wasteland of banality, cliche and casual obscenity ... If English is spoken in heaven (as the spread of English as a world language makes more likely each year) ... angels of the lesser ministries probably use the language of the *New English Bible* and the *Alternative Service Book* for internal memos" (*Daily Telegraph* Dec. 29, 1989). In railing against the "tide of pollution that engulfs our language", D.J. Enright commented: "We don't want God sounding like a civil servant, any more than we want civil servants imagining they are God. Modern translators have achieved the miracle of turning wine into water" (*Observer* Dec. 24, 1989).

Barbara Grimes, Joseph Grimes, Gaby Alvarez Hanna, one of the translators, Suzanne Romaine *photo: Suzanne Romaine*

The rationale behind these new translations, however, is the same sentiment that motivates *Da Jesus Book*, namely, it aims at being more understandable and accessible to ordinary readers. As the translators put it in their preface, the book is aimed at "peopo dat stay talk Pidgin all da time, an ony talk English litto bit" (*Da Jesus Book*, p. iii).

A new HCE standard?

Time will tell if the *Da Jesus Book* will set a standard for writing in HCE as the translators envisage. The HCE translation is of the highest professional standards. The team worked from the original Greek, and like translators everywhere, they faced the challenge of how to make the scripture intelligible to ordinary people. As one might expect, there is a considerable range of variation in HCE, as in other pidgin and creole languages today under constant influence from their lexifier languages—in this case, English-, particularly as a result of schooling and media. Contact with English has created a continuum of varieties, which are the result of decreolization. The most decreolized varieties are found on the island of O'ahu, which has 3/4 of the state's population, and is the location of the capital, Honolulu, and the main U.S. military base, Pearl Harbor. The outer islands of Kaua'i and Hawai'i (locally called the Big Island) are the least decreolized.

This variation raises the question of which model to choose in selecting a standard. In the introduction to readers, the translators, who represented various ethnic groups and the varieties spoken on the four major islands, explain that the variety of Pidgin they have adopted is "da heavy kine pidgin from da country". According to the translators, this variety "Sound mo like Leeward Oahu and da Neighba Islands den like da Honolulu kine Pidgin. Dass fo make um mo easy fo da peopo dat get problem wit da hybolic kine English o da middle kine Pidgin dat get plenny English word." (*Da Jesus Book*, p. iii). In local usage 'heavy' can be glossed as 'basilectal' and 'middle kine Pidgin' as 'mesolectal'. 'Hybolic' refers to acrolectal varieties, in particular, the kind of standard English used by middle class speakers.

Among the many dilemmas facing the translators was deciding whether to retain English words whose meanings might not be fully understood or to use circumlocution. According to the Pidgin Bible's website, there are only 1,443 different words used in the translation. Most of these are English words, as one would expect from HCE's lexical affiliation to English. The most important non-English source is Hawaiian, providing 46 words.

The basicness of the vocabulary and the directness of the style can be seen in the translation of "The Lord's Prayer" (*Matthew tell Bout Jesus* 6:9-13).

God, you our Fadda.
You stay inside da sky.
We like all da peopo know fo shua
how you stay,
An dat you stay good an spesho,
An we like dem give you
plenny respeck.
We like you come King fo
everybody now.
We like everybody make jalike
you like,
Ova hea inside da world,
Jalike da angel guys up inside

continued on page 26

OBITUARY

STEPHEN WURM: (1922-2001)
FROM CREOLES TO CATS

By Mily Crevels (University of Nijmegen) and Peter Bakker (University of Aarhus)

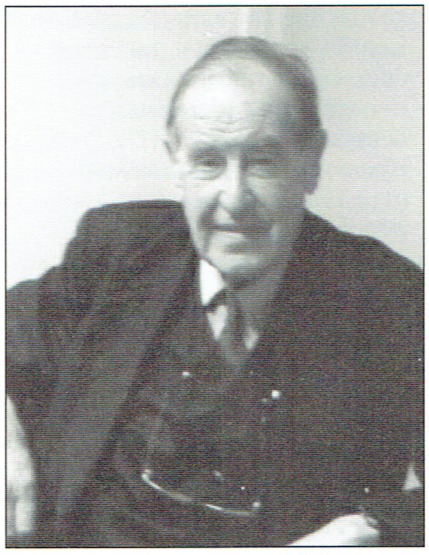

photo: Mily Crevels

On October 24, 2001, Prof. Stephen A. Wurm died at the age of 79. It is difficult to write about a man with as many skills, gifts and talents as Stephen Wurm. Emeritus Professor of Linguistics and Research Director at the Australian National University, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, he was among other things Chairman of the UNESCO International Permanent Committee of Linguists and President of the Australian Academy of Sciences.

Stephen Wurm came from a multilingual Central-European background. Born in Budapest, Hungary, and raised in Vienna, Austria, he settled as a stateless citizen in 1954 in Australia, the country that he came to love so much and that he considered to be his homeland. When asked how many languages he spoke, the answer would be 43, of which 25 as competently as English. The range of languages he claimed to speak belonged to language families as varied as Indo-European (e.g. German, French, Spanish, Russian), Uralic (Hungarian), Japanese-Korean (Japanese), Sino-Tibetan (Mandarin, Cantonese, Tibetan), Altaic (e.g. Turkish, Karakalpak, Uzbek, Mongolian), Australian (e.g. Duunggidjawu), Papuan (e.g. Kiwai), Austronesian (e.g. Motu, Tahitian), and Pidgins/Creoles (e.g. Hiri Motu, Tok Pisin). In a way Stephen Wurm could also be considered to be the last speaker of some languages. In the 1960s he worked with Willie Mackenzie, the last speaker of Duunggidjawu, and after her death he remained the only person with an active knowledge of the language.

Stephen Wurm's retirement from the Department of Linguistics of the ANU in 1987 in no way implied a retirement from academic activities. The personal bibliography that was compiled for his 1987 Festschrift contained no less than 295 entries, among which the monumental *Language atlas of the Pacific area* (1981-1983), and the *Handbook of Tok Pisin* (1985), which he edited with Peter Mühlhäusler. After his retirement, however, Stephen Wurm continued producing important linguistic publications aimed especially at language mapping, such as the *Language Atlas of China* (1988) and the *Atlas of Languages of Intercultural Communication in the Pacific, Asia and the Americas* (1996). While the language atlases that he (co-)edited never ignored pidgins and creoles, this last atlas was completely devoted to contact languages in the broadest sense of the word. Moreover, his retirement allowed Stephen Wurm to pursue with unflagging zeal the endangered languages cause and, inextricably bound up with this issue, the preservation of the world's linguistic diversity. His perseverance in this matter led, among other things, to the official recognition of the issue by UNESCO and the publication of the *Atlas of the world's languages in danger of disappearing* (1996) of which an updated and revised edition (2001) was published shortly before his death.

Stephen Wurm's work on contact languages is characterized by different types of publications. His first publications in the field of creolistics date from the early 1960s, when he prepared a written course on the pidgin Police Motu. He also defended the language status of New Guinea Pidgin English when few people, including linguists, would take such a position. In the past four decades his work focused mainly on Papuan and Australian languages. He also managed to publish dozens of articles and books on pidgins (Police Motu/Hiri Motu, pidginized forms of Russian), expanded pidgins (Tok Pisin), intertwined languages (e.g. Ejnu and other languages in China) and the unclassifiable (Papuan? Austronesian?) mixed language of Reefs Island/Santa Cruz. Furthermore he wrote a number of general and comparative studies on pidgins and creoles, for instance, as early as 1971, in the important *Current Trends in Linguistics* book series. His studies in this field cover a wide range of aspects of contact languages, including grammatical studies, sociolinguistic issues, proposals for standardization and course materials.

Stephen Wurm was not only a passionate linguist, he also had a great love for teaching and passing on his knowledge. He was a communicator in the true sense of the word. He was an enthusiastic and extremely inspiring coordinator who knew how to motivate his collaborators and solve any unexpected problems. His energy was inexhaustible, which is exemplified by the fact that he was always the first to submit his papers—long before the deadline. Stephen Wurm was not only good at languages, he was fascinated by all facets of life. He had for example an exceptional knowledge of the history of Australia and its flora and fauna. He was also an accomplished story teller who knew how to impress his fascinated audiences with all sorts of exciting stories. One of the most impressive ones was that when Papua New Guinea was struck by a tidal wave a few years ago, he was flown out to advise the local authorities on the relocation of all the people who got displaced by the wave. He had especially a soft spot for cats, with whom he liked to communicate by miaowing in tones whenever they crossed his path—the cat language is after all a tone language, he claimed!

The volume of his hundreds of publications seem to be the result of nine lives rather than one. His books and articles are the legacy of a pioneering linguist, creolist, teacher, story teller and friend who will be very dearly missed.

OBITUARY

CARLA LUIJKS (1958 – 2001)

photo: Sheila Wilson

Creole linguistics lost one of its rising stars on December 30th, 2001, with the death of Carla Luijks, ending her battle with cancer. Carla was born in Steenbergen in the Netherlands on January 12, 1958, and became part of the generation of generativist creolists who studied at the University of Amsterdam when Pieter Muysken was there in the 1980s. Although a major in Dutch Linguistics, her interests spanned theoretical syntax and contact studies, areas which she applied to the study of Afrikaans, the language for which she had a passionate interest. She wrote her master's thesis on "The development of the Afrikaans tense system" under Hans den Besten's supervision. In the summer of 1989, Carla and her Zimbabwe-born husband Kim moved on to the University of Tuebingen in Germany where she carried out research on the theoretical linguistic basis of computer linguistics. They moved to South Africa in 1992, where Kim's work took them to a small and culturally isolated town near Botswana. A big-city woman, Carla survived thanks to email and the Internet, which kept her in touch with what was happening in linguistics. She pursued her PhD research on the origins of Afrikaans at the University of Cape Town under Hester Waher, who along with others had worked on the non-European sources of that language when there was still resistance to such an approach during the waning years of apartheid. In 2000 Carla completed her dissertation, "The Realisation of Syntactic Principles in Non-Standard Afrikaans: the Correspondence of Jan Jonker Afrikaner (1820-1889)." She drew her data from the letters written by this man of mixed indigenous Khoekhoe ancestry who led his followers to what is today Namibia, interpreting his language use in light of her own native speaker's knowledge of Dutch as well as current standard and non-standard Afrikaans, especially the most restructured varieties. She did this within the context of what is now known about language contact phenomena, second language acquisition, syntactic theory and the contributions of indigenous languages to the formation of Afrikaans. Her work—focusing particularly on a comparative study of pronouns and the syntax of the verb phrase—provides important new insights in understanding the historical development of Afrikaans in the Orange River area and what is now Namibia. Her research also helps us understand better how Afrikaans as a whole came to be the way it is today.

In 2001, while still recovering from major surgery, she took up a teaching position at the distinguished University of Witwatersrand (Johannesburg), where she taught syntax, morphology, and sociolinguistics with the enthusiasm that characterized all her endeavours. She recently received a grant from the South African National Research Foundation to document the unstudied variety of Afrikaans spoken by the Karretjiemense, a nomadic group of chiefly Khoekhoe origin. It will be hard to find someone with her linguistic gifts to complete this undertaking.

Her husband Kim McCarogher survives her, and so does their eight-year-old son Keiran.

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By Ana Deumert (University of Heidelberg), Hans den Besten (University of Amsterdam), John Holm (University of Coimbra), Silvia Kouwenberg (University of the West Indies at Mona) and Paul Roberge (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

SALIKOKO S. MUFWENE:

by Michel DeGraff
Massachusettes Institute of Technology

As the title of this "Focus Article" suggests, its goal is to celebrate the transformative journey of a dear colleague and the still-evolving ecology of this transformation. Perhaps a better term is *restructuring:* the exceptional, 'abnormal' even, restructuring—through 'competition' and 'selection'—of Salikoko Mufwene (hereafter, Sali), from boarding-school pupil in the Congo to creolist extraordinaire and Full Professor and, until recently, Chair of Linguistics at the University of Chicago.

In meditating over his academic trajectory, I will unavoidably recapitulate the immense debt—personal and intellectual—that I, as a Creole speaker and as a linguist, owe to Sali.

Caveat lector: I won't even try to assume 'measured tone', 'emotional distance' and 'intellectual objectivity' while I focus my lens on Sali. Measure, distance and objectivity seem impossible, and perhaps irrelevant, when writing about a scholar and a friend whose first impression was terrifying and whose lasting impression has been a constant inspiration.

Why "terrifying" you may be asking? Well, I met Sali when I gave my very first presentation at the Society for Pidgin & Creole Linguistics (SPCL), at the meeting of the Linguistic Society of America held in Chicago in January 1991. This is also when I first encountered Sali's formidable intellect and academic persona.

Back then, I was still a shy and insecure graduate student, asking questions like "Is Haitian Creole a pro-drop language?". This was the topic of my talk, after which Sali immediately stood up and started to interrogate me—my first SPCL interrogation ever, and to-date the longest I've ever had to endure after a talk. Sali launched a full-front attack with heavy-duty artillery—this is how I perceived his reaction then and still recall now. He fired a long salvo of piercing and intricate questions, followed by pointed references to languages whose names I couldn't even parse. Then he concluded with a battery of comments and suggestions for future *and* better research, including a few dissertation topics, articles, monographs, etc. My assaulted mind went dead.

This 'assault' was long ago, and my mind has since resuscitated—although I've seen Sali perform similar feats in many other occasions. What I then saw as warfare I now recognize as Sali's trademark when he constructively tries to rescue colleagues from embarrassing errors.

Soon after that January 1991 encounter, Sali generously sent me a welcome assortment of offprints of his, including a paper related to the very topic I had addressed in my SPCL presentation. Since then, conversations with Sali, be they in real-time, on-line or through our publications, are precious food for thought. From that SPCL meeting onward, Sali's continuous, supportive and enriching camaraderie has been a true blessing in my own intellectual life. I particularly welcome the *dis*-agreements, which always bring new light.

One case in point: I had, until recently, erroneously assumed, along with many other creolists, that Haitian linguist Suzanne Sylvain, author of the 1936 classic *Le Créole Haïtien: Morphologie et Syntaxe*, was in the main a hardline substratist/relexificationist. But now Sali has convincingly cast Suzanne Sylvain as a forerunner of the Complementary Hypothesis. As Sali sums it up in his *The Ecology of Language Evolution* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), Sylvain "provides several connections between features of Haitian Creole with those of several nonstandard French dialects, aside from the much appreciated connections proposed with African languages". Sali's evaluation of Sylvain's 1936 book is more accurate than her being labeled a strict relexificationist.

Upon re-reading Sylvain with Sali's caveats in mind, I now realize that her position is indeed more nuanced and observationally more adequate than the sort of strict-relexification proposals that have been en vogue since Lucien Adam's 19th-century *Hybridologie Linguistique* , a spectacular instance of race-based and quasi-Darwinian creolistics.

Take Sylvain's 1936 analysis of the Haitian verb and, in modern terms, its extended projections in the clause. Sylvain, long before Morris Goodman and Robert Chaudenson, had already suggested that the bulk of Haitian Creole's preverbal tense-mood-aspect markers finds its etymological ancestry in the verbal periphrases manifested in (earlier stages of) regional and non-literary varieties of French. Similar observations were made in the 19th century by (e.g.) J.J. Thomas, Addison Van Name and Charles Baissac about other French-lexicon Creoles. As noted by Sali, these etymological links between verbal periphrases in the lexifier and preverbal markers in the Creole instantiate grammaticalization paths that obtain in a variety of diachronic scenarios, beyond "creolization." At any rate, Haitian pre-verbal markers as analyzed by Sylvain would make it difficult to maintain, like strict relexificationists still do (often with great violence to the data), that Haitian Creole is sensu stricto "an Ewe tongue with a French lexicon". The later characterization is Sylvain's best-known quip, her "unfortunate last sentence" which, as Sali has reminded us, actually contradicts the painstaking details of her HC-French-Ewe triangulation.

Sali's intellectual intuitions are fueled by his eclecticism, his enlisting of the most diverse sources (e.g., from the literature on population genetics, macro-ecology, complexity theory, and globalization, where he learned about multiple

FROM THE CONGO TO CHICAGO

causation and non-(uni)linear evolution) and his recognizing due merit even in works that the majority would overlook or mis-represent (witness the Sylvain's case discussed above).

What I have sketched so far is only a glimpse of how Sali's essays keep pushing us into climbing multiple "mountains of truth"—to use a Nietzschean phrase. This is the "constantly inspiring" part of my afore-mentioned conversion experience—from terrified to inspired.

Another confession: Having been overwhelmed by terror then inspiration, I now feel defeated by the challenge of writing a "Focus Article" on a scholar whose broad, eclectic and complex intellectual frame I cannot begin to comprehend or convey in a snapshot. So, in what follows, instead of focusing on Sali's work per se, I have chosen to look for a glimmer of the inner life underlying the ideas—the soul of Sali! No small task either, but here I can enlist help, through one more exchange with the man himself, in the form of a conversation on his life and research.

In "breaking bread" with Sali, I leave our theoretical dis-agreements aside—these are readily available from a comparison of our publications; see (e.g.) the anthology I edited, *Language Creation & Language Change* (MIT Press, 1999). Instead I begin by reflecting on certain epistemological and sociological aspects of his scientific quests, then I weave some of these reflections into a conversation, a meditation, on various loosely-connected topics, in creolistics and beyond. Like all meditations, this one does not try to answer all the questions it contemplates.

Let me preface this collaborative meditation—if I can call it that—by openly acknowledging, once again, Sali's key influence on some of my own recent take on the empirical and theoretical bases of Creole studies. More generally, my questions below are motivated more by the similarities than by the dis-similarities that I see between Sali and my respective paths through life and through linguistics. Together we meditate on our so-called Third World diasporic status, on our concerns about identity (trans)formation in given socio-economic ecologies and on how these 'real-life' concerns relate to, and inform, our intellectual approaches to language contact and language change/creation (aka language evolution).

Let me stress that Sali's tenacious criticism of what I've called "Creole Exceptionalism" stands tall among the publications—some of which go back to the 17th-century, like Descartes' *Discours de la Méthode* — that have deepened my conviction that this dogma is the most profound and most debilitating fallacy of our field.

My use of the term "Creole Exceptionalism" refers to the age-old orthodoxy that Creole languages constitute a well-delineated and *exceptional* language type. This orthodoxy opposes Creole languages to non-Creole languages, in terms of historical development (diachrony) and contemporary structures (synchrony): Creole languages are claimed to emerge "non-genetically" through some "abnormal" break in transmission that is exclusive to Creole genesis. Creoles are thus viewed as linguistic orphans—or as "illegitimate offspring" or "children out of wedlock", in Sali's words. In contra-distinction, non-Creole languages are (implicitly or explicitly) claimed as "legitimate offspring" that emerge "genetically" via "normal" transmission.

As Sali, myself and others have discussed elsewhere, Creole Exceptionalism is a miserable sociological-cum-scientific fallacy. At the same time, the (normal?) transmission of this dogma through centuries of creolistics should not be surprising. As I see it, the attractiveness and robustness of Creole Exceptionalism may even be considered a banal correlate of the twin (neo-)colonial history of Creole speakers and Creole studies.

In this vein, Creole Exceptionalism would be just one of the many epistemological dualisms entailed by Europe's "normative gaze" (Cornel West's phrase), a gaze fixated on a "Science of Man" with race theory as cornerstone. Throughout (post)colonial history, any egalitarian stance on the diachrony or synchrony of Creole languages was, and could only be, a Foucauldian "un-thinkable", given the mindset of the Founders of Creole studies and given the philosophical and psychological bases, and the economic and political goals, of Europe's *mission civilisatrice*.

Extrapolating Sali's version of the "Founder Principle" from his Creole-development theory to the history of Creole studies may well explain the *un-exceptional* transmission of Creole Exceptionalism. In turn, this extrapolation forces me to reflect on Sali's own biography (see Chaudenson's companion "Focus Article" in this issue) and how it may relate to his current positions vis-à-vis Creole Exceptionalism and other foundational issues in our field.

This seems a good point to start the conversation:

On creolistics as the (un)making of myths about the (ex-)colonies

MICHEL: Growing up in Haiti I went to a school run by a French religious order of catholic brothers: *Les Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne*. The brothers' meta-linguistic attitudes were brutally creolophobe and passionately francophile. Actually, at that time, they, like many among the Haitian elites, seemed to despise most cultural phenomena that were not of (un-ambiguous) European pedigree, from linguistic to religious practice. Not very "Christian", it seems to me.

From that experience, and from what I've discovered and read since, I've come to a rather pessimistic

continued on next page

conclusion: certain modes of (mis-) education in neo-colonial societies often turn students, along with their professors, into conformist and pseudo-elitist *non-thinkers*—uncritical consumers of pre-established myths, obsequious and self-serving upholders of that European "normative gaze". And you won't be surprised that I take "neo-colonial" to apply beyond the Caribbean and Africa and to even include some sectors of the North American and European intelligentsia.

Since you yourself grew up in the Congo toward the end of Belgian rule, you too may have received a thoroughly colonial and religion-based education. As compared to my own, your education in Belgian Africa was perhaps even closer to the self-alienating indoctrination famously dissected by Frantz Fanon. Yet, you are among the most reflexive and most critical creolists I can think of. You often refer jocularly to your positions as "heresies".

Over the years, you have consistently refused to accept any orthodoxy for granted:

You were among the very first to question the traditional correlation of Creole continua with so-called decreolization.

As early as your 1986 article in *Etudes Créoles*, titled "Les langues créoles peuvent-elles être définies sans allusion à leur histoire?" ("Can Creole languages be defined without reference to their history?"), you have demystified traditional attempts to define Creoles as a group by their structural features.

On page 1 of your book *The Ecology of Language Evolution*, you boldly claim, in Uniformitarian fashion, that "Creoles have developed by the same restructuring processes that mark the evolutions of non-Creole languages".

Elsewhere in the same book you state that one of your goals is "to prevent creolistics from being a consumer subdiscipline which espouses gratuitously, without questions asked, some still unjustified working assumptions and theoretical models accepted in other subdisciplines of linguistics."

You won't be surprised, then, that in a forthcoming essay of mine I give you thanks for your "always 'heretical' inspiration".

Now, what (if anything) did your childhood and education in (post-) colonial Africa contribute to your later intellectual interests and, in particular, to your "heretical" approaches to language-contact phenomena and language-evolution theories? More specifically, what aspects of your growing up in the (post-)colonial Congo may have prevented you from falling, later on, in the all-too-seductive trap of (neo-) colonial Creole Exceptionalism?

SALI: It is true that the Belgian colonial school system in the Congo was set up primarily to train colonial auxiliaries, who typically perpetuated a view of Africa, or the Third World in general, from a non-indigenous perspective. However, many of us who grew up during the transition from the colonial rule to political independence—or more accurately economic neo-colonialism—learned to question, not only pre-independence European rule, but also its post-independence replacements.

I left home early, at the age of 12, for the boarding school, likely to be easily influenced by older kids. My parents constantly advised me to be critical and not to be a sheepish follower of bigger kids. What they didn't anticipate is that I would also take pride in questioning authority.

Four years later, I was expelled from the junior seminary—my first boarding school—for "insubordination" (as it was formulated in my dismissal letter). I just disputed things that did not make sense to me.

At the next boarding school, I was sometimes chastised, if not altogether dismissed, from some class sessions for challenging my teachers' confusing explanations of some facts. My teachers then were Belgians who could not make it at home and had a chance in the ex-colony as "technical assistants". Sounds familiar?

During my time in college, I had to control myself, wait until I earned my *Licence* and got access to graduate education in order to better nurture my critical thinking. Aside from the fact that I was learning a lot of interesting things, including the discovery of linguistics through English philology, the reason for this transitional conformism is that the university system was more competitive than high-school and its selection process more peremptory. While we were all funded by the State, only a small fraction—not more than 50%—of those who began university could finish the four-year program. Yet, the beginning class represented the cream of the crop—at best, the top 5%—from the high-school system of the time.

This is one story in my past that makes me believe in luck as a necessary factor for success, in addition to all other qualifications.

On geography, biography, and bibliography

MICHEL: Well, Sali, "I'm a great believer in luck and I find the harder I work, the more I have of it" (that's not me, but Jefferson). Then again, the composer Berlioz also said, "The luck of having talent is not enough; one must also have a talent for luck".

So, let's say you have both talent and luck. Plus you do work very, *very* hard, don't you? No need to answer that. The answer is in your biography and in your bibliography.

On the topic of biography-cum-bibliography: Abstracting away from the amazing thematic diversity of your research, one can detect a remarkable consistency in your bibliography, a thread of Ariadne, or a few such threads, if you will. What's also remarkable—to me, in particular, as a creolist who hails from Haiti—is the extent to which your research themes seem to consistently track, mainly via language and linguistics, questions of identity (trans)formation in the context of the African Diaspora.

Some of the core questions raised in your research seem singularly connected to the theme of exile, which you and I also face on a regular basis, in the context of our personal and intellectual questioning of origins and homelands, either

geographical, linguistic and/or mythical.

Let me illustrate with a couple of titles taken from your prolific bibliography: "How African is Gullah, and why?" (1987) and "The ecology of Gullah's survival" (1997). Compare these actual titles with the following biographical titles that I've made up, tongue (firmly planted) in cheek but not in a totally frivolous way: "How African is Sali's life in America, and why?" and "The ecology of Sali's survival in Africa then in America".

Levity aside, can you identify any of your various scientific quests that may be related in some significant fashion to deeply personal aspects of your life, be they emotional, spiritual, socio-economic, ideological, etc.?

But, before you answer, let me clarify a bit:

One can—of course, with hindsights and with imagination, lots of it!—link the above (real and fictional) titles to aspects of your biography-cum-geography. One could creatively link these titles to your, or any immigrant's, adapting to new 'ecologies' while trying to preserve cultural roots and avoid various sorts of imagined and all-too-real extinction.

Understanding that this dialogue is neither confession, nor post-modern literary criticism, one could nevertheless ask of Sali what Sali asked of Gullah and its (original) speakers: How is identity defined and/or transformed in exile? Or: How African is Sali in America?

SALI: Starting my professional career in Jamaica after graduating from the University of Chicago was a blessing, though it did not feel that way at the time. I realized how many brilliant minds there are in Third World countries, especially among students, who either will never get an academic voice or won't even have opportunities to fulfill their intellectual dreams. That's part of the burden of being a so-called minority scholar, viz., having to speak not just to express one's own views but also those shared with other less privileged thinkers who have no access to the platform that one has reached, especially regarding unproven and puzzling assumptions about their languages and cultures.

Working with senior colleagues like Mervyn Alleyne and Dennis Craig, and with my peer Hubert Devonish, helped me pay more attention to the linguistic and political realities around me. Interactions with these Caribbean colleagues made me more interested in Creoles. None of these scholars can be considered a conformist. None of them expected me to agree fully with them, either. So, as you see, little could have been more nurturing for a heretical mind than such a setting.

I went to Jamaica as a theoretical linguist and left it fascinated by the myriads of challenges that the study of Creoles presents to general linguistics. The more I know about Creoles (strictly, those lexified by European languages), the more questionable I find several assumptions about them, and the more I believe creolistics should contribute in return to general linguistics.

I suggested in my book *The Ecology of Language Evolution* that creolistics has been a consumer discipline: the instances are all too rare where basic assumptions in general linguistics are questioned because of facts observed about Creoles. For instance, one could ask what makes them, or perhaps what does *not* make them, peculiar regarding speech continuum, non-monolithic grammatical structures (or "co-existent systems" in the way William Labov prefers to discuss this aspect of African-American English), and genetic classifications.

Speech continua are everywhere, regardless of whether you focus on regional or social variation. The boundaries posited by dialectologists are conveniences for academic discourse. Recent work by William Kretzschmar (University of Georgia) and Dennis Preston (Michigan State University) reveals that it is naive to reify those boundaries. Also, the stratification of lects into basilect, mesolect, and acrolect could apply anywhere.

Regarding non-monolithic systems, there are, in normal Creole speech, overlaps and frequent alternations between structures preserved intact from the lexifier (a set-theory union of *nonstandard* varieties) and innovations. The latter are what the debate on the development of Creoles has preferred to focus on. (That's part of the bias that has overemphasized divergence over inheritance and has precluded Creoles from serving as windows into the earlier stages of their colonial lexifiers.) However, rule overlap is true of non-Creole systems too. They dispute Antoine Meillet's slogan that "la langue est un système où tout se tient" or Ferdinand de Saussure's claim that the components of a language are integrated like pieces of a mosaic. If one must apply that Saussurean metaphor, reality reveals language to be a *sloppy* mosaic in which the pieces are far from being mutually delineating but overlap almost everywhere. (This is part of what produces the kind of variation so central to Labovian linguistics.)

Regarding genetic classification, it is high time the kind of external history brought to bear in discussions of the development of Creoles were applied to the evolution of other languages. The distinction becomes more and more artificial and fades away. Some have claimed that the comparative method cannot apply to Creoles, hence they cannot be classified genetically. That's an a-prioristic conclusion, especially given an embarrassing practice that has compared Creoles with standard varieties that had little to do with their development. The more we seem to grasp about the complexity of the development of Creoles, the more I believe the books should be reopened regarding certain positions in genetic linguistics and regarding the explanatory significance of Stammbaums. Those trees show the end results of processes not fully accounted for. Genetic creolistics is crying out loud for the missing explanation.

When I started my career in Jamaica, the dominant trend worldwide was to discuss Creoles as aberrations or deviations of some sort, as languages that still needed to

continued on page 29

BOOK REVIEWS

Guidelines for Reviews

Reviews are written in English and restricted to a maximum size of 1,500 words, unless specified otherwise. Both a hard (paper) and soft (computer file) copy should be sent to the Review Editor, Jacques Arends, for comments at the address given below; the soft copy may be sent as an attachment. After revision, a hard and soft 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. Please mention the name of the reviewer, the title of the book, and the name and version of the wordprocessor used. The heading of the review itself should include title, author(s), publisher, year of publication, 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 of that journal) as a guideline. Thank you for your collaboration.

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Out of Africa: African influences in Atlantic Creoles. By Mikael Parkvall, (2000). London: Battlebridge Publications, 188 pp.

Reviewed by Enoch Oladé Aboh
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Since the 19th century, creolist linguists have been trying to solve two issues:

1. How creole languages came into existence,
2. To which extent the study of creole languages is relevant to linguistics.

Both issues are grounded on the fact that creoles differ from other spoken languages in that we can more or less identify the period in which they came into existence. For instance, works on Sranan have shown that this language emerged within a period of thirty years (i.e. 1651-1680, see Smith 1987; Bruyn 1995, etc.). In addition, creoles are generally thought to share a great number of similarities with respect to their phonological, morphosyntactic, and semantic properties. This homogeneity seems to hold even though creoles are not all genetically related and may vary in many other respects. In this regard, creoles present linguists with a unique opportunity for better understanding the human language faculty. Put differently, the study of creoles might reveal how human languages are created and open a window into the human mind. Issues about the genesis of creoles have led to various schools. For instance, the Substratist approach proposes that the grammar and semantics of creoles correspond to those of the African languages spoken by the slaves in the Western Hemisphere, while the phonological shape is derived from the European languages. The creators of the creoles relexified their native languages using the European lexicons (Lefebvre 1998).

This book is written from the substratist perspective. It shows that the Atlantic creoles manifest obvious traces (or fingerprints) of their substrate ancestors. The book includes seven chapters. Chapter 1 sets the stage. It introduces the reader to methodological issues, such as the choice of the relevant features, the potential substrate languages and the sources. The discussion then extends to terminological issues such as the names of the languages (or language-families) and geographical areas. Chapter 2 discusses the issue of creolisation and shows that there can be no satisfactory answer to the question of the genesis of creoles if one only thinks in terms of either superstrate influence or substrate influence or language universals. Instead, the author shows that one reaches a better understanding of the creolisation process by assuming a four-dimensional process involving: lexifier retention, substrate transfer, restructuring universals and independent development. According to the author, substrate transfer arises when a creole manifests a feature that is "present in the substrates, absent from the lexifier, cross-linguistically uncommon and not generally present in other unrelated Pidgins and Creoles" (24).

Building on this, Chapter 3 contrasts the phonemic inventories of the Atlantic creoles to their lexifiers as well as their putative substrates. Under this approach, the fact that certain Atlantic creoles manifest three degrees of vowel aperture (as opposed to the four degrees typical of most the relevant lexifiers) results from substrate influence. The author then shows that while most of the relevant substrate language families (i.e. Atlantic, Mande, Kru, Kwa) distinguish four degrees of aperture, the most relevant Bantu languages display a three degrees aperture. This naturally leads to the conclusion that "the substrate speakers most likely to reduce the European vowel inventories would be the Bantu speakers" (26). This reasoning extends to other phonological features as well. Chapter 4 discusses certain syntactic features of the Atlantic creoles that can be reduced to substrate influence. This includes, for instance, reflexive constructions involving body parts, the usage of sentence- or clause-final negation markers, serial verb constructions, TMA-marking, etc. Chapter 5 discusses the lexico-semantic properties of the Atlantic creoles in relation to their putative substrate languages. Chapter 6 deals with demographic data (e.g. the slave imports from Africa, i.e. the western coast between Senegal and Angola), the slave populations in the colonies as well as the socio-cultural and political factors that might lend further support to the substrate influence hypothesis. The discussion there shows that "the substrate influences that are found in Atlantic creoles match quite well the ethnolinguistic composition of their creators" (154). Chapter 7 summarizes the book.

With respect to the form, the book is very well written and can be easily read by anyone who has an interest in creolistics, language variation and studies of African languages. In addition, the author has gathered an incredibly large number of references that the interested reader may consult.

As to the content, the author makes

two major contributions to creolistics. The first, methodological, suggests that the search for possible substrate influence cannot consist in establishing simple one to one correspondences between a creole and one representative substrate candidate. Instead, the author proposes a macro comparative analysis between the relevant creoles and the potential substrate languages. The discussion includes some 168 African languages. Quite interestingly, this study indicates that "the amount of grammar or phonology that can unequivocally be traced to languages other than the one which provided the bulk of the lexicon is clearly fairly limited, at least in the Atlantic area" (154). Put differently, the Atlantic creoles are not just relexified offspring of the relevant West African languages.

Granting that substrate influence results from relexification (or some of its variants), one could conclude that creolisation is not relexification. This led the author to the second point (more theoretical) that creolisation is a multidimensional (and presumably somehow gradual) process that involves a reduction stage (pidginisation) followed by an expansion stage (creolisation) where the language draws from both the substrate and superstrate language resources. This is compatible with the conclusion, in chapter 3, that creoles manifest lexifier retention (superstrate influence), substrate transfer (relexification), restructuring universals and independent development.

There are open questions as to what conditions trigger or motivate those four levels and how to account for them. In this regard, the book provides no suggestion. Sometimes, the reader feels rather frustrated because the proposed analysis only accounts for surface similarities. A case in point is the discussion on negation where, building on previous work, the author proposes that the cases of postverbal (i.e. sentence- or clause-final) negation be treated as instances of substrate transfer. The argumentation there goes as follows. That most creoles use preverbal negation is not surprising because this is the least marked option. But the use of postverbal negation in certain Atlantic creoles should be attributed to substrate influence, but not to pidginisation universals. The reason for this is that if pidginisation involves systematic reduction (of some sort), we do not expect it "to produce an outcome more complex than its input" (60). In this regard, the author proposes that in Berbice DC, the postverbal negation /ka/ is of an Ijo origin. This suggests that in cases where we have both preverbal and postverbal negation markers, the preverbal originates from the lexifier while the postverbal one derives from substrate influence. This is actually what the author suggests for proto-Gulf of Guinea Creole negation /na…fa/, where the preverbal marker (na) would derive from Portuguese não as opposed to the postverbal /fa/ which presumably derives from substrate influence.

Such an analysis raises two immediate questions. The first (of a more general consideration) is that the concept of what is grammatically more or less complex inevitably implies a theory of complexity (or a markedness theory) that we still can't define (Muysken 1988). The second deals with the fact that recent studies on sentence negation (Ouhalla 1990, Zanuttini 1997) have shown that preverbal and postverbal negation marking is a property of UG. In this framework, language variations result from parametric variations as to whether sentence negation is expressed by a phrase (mostly postverbal negative adverbials, e.g. French pas) and/or a head (mostly preverbal functional items, e.g. French ne). If true, that certain creoles manifest postverbal negation can be ascribed to independent development determined by principles and parameters of UG.

This criticism extends to the analysis of pronouns. For instance, it is proposed that second person singular /i/, third person /a/ and second person plural /unu/ in English creoles are of an African origin. Now, if substrate transfer means the retention of the morphosyntactic features of an item, then it does not suffice to say that those forms are of African origin. Instead, we need to take into account the whole pronominal paradigm in both the creole languages and the potential substrate candidates in order to determine their basic morphosyntactic properties. Put differently, we need to take the author's suggestion that what looks African on the surface might not be African seriously. These comments notwithstanding, the book is one of the most systematic and documented investigations of substrate influence in the Atlantic creole languages that exist to date and is well worth the time of anyone interested in creolistics.

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Les îles du Cap-Vert aujourd'hui: Perdues dans l'immensité, by Nicolas Quint, 1997. Paris: L'Harmattan, 168 pp.

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Although it is not customary for the Carrier Pidgin to review travel guides or similar publications, there is some reason to make an exception in this case. Some of the views expressed in the book under review, written by someone who has published as a creolist (e.g. Quint 2000a, 2000b) and who has, therefore, become part of our scholarly community, are of such a nature that the community should be made aware of the fact that these views are held by one of its members.

The book is based on observations made by Quint (Q) when he stayed in Cape Verde as an agricultural engineer for about eighteen months around 1995 (11). Given the naivety of some of his remarks regarding language, one wonders whether Q had had any linguistic training by the time of writing. Q's view of the genesis of Cape Verdean

Creole (CVC), for example, is bafflingly simple: 'Ainsi naît le créole: des mots portugais et une grammaire ouest-africaine' ('That's how a creole is born: Portuguese words and a West African grammar') (59). No discussion of exactly *which* West African grammar(s) were involved or how these words and grammars interacted to produce a new language. Although in this case Q may perhaps be excused by the fact that this book is directed at a general audience, this is not so with regard to his ideas about the Capeverdean lexicon, which he claims to be 'extremely poor' (58). The argument is that in many cases CVC has only one word where 'une langue européenne de culture' ('a European civilized language') has several (58). (That the reverse situation may occur as well appears, ironically, from Q's own remark regarding the many different types of witchcraft that are distinguished in Cape Verde: 'il y a énormement de mots en créole pour les désigner' ('there is an enormous number of words to designate them') (86).) Things get even worse when this idea of 'lexical poverty' is associated, without any argumentation, with that of 'conceptual poverty' (58). 'Lexical poverty', 'conceptual poverty'...where did we hear these words before?

In spite of the length of his stay, Q is clearly incapable of looking beyond the mere surface of the society he is writing about. Everything is being measured according to a western—especially French—norm: From the amount of milk produced by local cows (53) to the meaning of Ash Wednesday (75), from the mourning of the dead (82) to the Capeverdean way of thinking (86). With regard to the latter, Q goes as far as to say that many Cape Verdeans 'n'ont pas encore été conquis par la pensée cartésienne' ('have not yet been won over by Cartesian thought') (86). There is, of course, a very simple explanation for that: 'Mais comment l'intelligence peut-elle être stimulée dans un milieu aussi exigu et aussi peu varié?' ('But how can intelligence be stimulated in an environment as restricted and uniform [as Cape Verde, JA]?') (108). Quite an example of Cartesian thinking, isn't it?

As an example of Q's attitude towards local modes of behavior, listen to his description of young Capeverdeans' way of dancing: 'Les corps se collent et les pieds battent le rythme. Le garçon frotte alors en cadence son bas-ventre contre la fille—un verbe, *siridja*, en créole, désigne précisément cette action—et ce jusqu'à érection. C'est le but recherché par beaucoup de danseurs.' (89) ('The bodies are being glued together and the feet are beating the rhythm. The boy then rubs his abdomen in a cadence against the girl—there is a specific verb in creole, siridja, to describe this act—until he has an erection. This is what many dancers are after.' Apart from the fact that one wonders how Q managed to observe erections when bodies are 'glued together', this description may well be factually correct. It is the insinuating phrasing, the condescending tone—reminiscent of how some European authors used to describe African modes of behavior in the past—which render this passage so disgusting. Compare, for example, Jan Jacob Hartsinck's (1770:908) description of the slaves' dancing in eighteenth-century Suriname: '...tot dat het geluid van de Trommels hen waarschouwd van elkander te naderen en zich samen te voegen, wanneerze met de Dyen en Buiken tegen elkander stooten; te weeten de Mans tegen de Vrouwen [...] maaken veele onkuische gebaarden, en kussen zich [...] Deeze Dansen, gelyk men ziet, zyn zeer wulps en dertel; maar de andere beweegingen, die men niet, zonder in de zaak kundig te zyn, bespeurt, zyn het nog ongelyk meerder.' ('...until the sound of the drums tells them to approach one another and to get close together, when they thrust against each other with their thighs and their bellies, that is to say the men against the women [...] they make many indecent gestures and they kiss one another [...] These dances, as you can see, are very lascivious and wanton; but the other movements, which you don't notice unless you're an expert, are even incomparably more so.') Sadly, two hundred years of *pensée cartésienne* later, Q still displays the prejudice and narrow-mindedness of our ignorant ancestors.

While Q's remarks on dancing are presented in a relatively straightforward manner, in other cases he often resorts to the rhetorical 'rumor has it' trick. This is how he frames his discussion of the sexual behavior of girls from Sao Vicente: 'Les moeurs faciles des Mindéliennes font rêver les Badiais et les autres îliens. Tantôt méprisées—toutes des prostituées—tontôt admirées—certaines filles de Saint Vincent peuvent avoir fait l'amour mille fois à l'âge de douze ans, **raconte-t-on ailleurs**—elles fascinent tout l'archipel.' ('The easy ways of the women from Mindelo are a source of dreams for the men from Santiago and the other islands. Sometimes despised—all prostitutes—sometimes admired—some girls from Sao Vicente may have made love a thousand times at the age of twelve, **rumor has it** elsewhere—they fascinate the entire archipelago.') (134). Bad as it is, this remark does not exhaust Q's appalling views of Capeverdeans' sexual behavior. Capeverdeans are 'des gens qui souvent ne peuvent se distraire qu'en faisant des enfants' ('people who can often only entertain themselves by making children') (148). The people from Boa Vista 'ne bouge[nt] que pour deux choses, le sexe et le football' ('move for only two things, sex and football') (128). Written (and published!) in 1997!

The same rhetorical trick referred to above is also used in the last part of the book, entitled 'Enjeux et perspectives'. Q sets the tone for this section as follows: '**Si on est méchant**, on peut dire que le Cap-Vert se comporte en parasite.' ('**If one is mean**, one can say that Cape Verde behaves like a parasite.') (139). He then goes on to sketch some of the 'perspectives' that have been suggested in the past: '**Des spécialistes en chiffres et statistiques** ont calculé un jour qu'il serait plus rentable pour la planète de déplacer l'ensemble des îliens et de les installer quelque part en Afrique dans la jungle équatoriale, qu'ils pourraient défricher et cultiver—sans oublier quelques mines qu'ils pourraient trouver et exploiter.' ('**Specialists in figures and statistics** have calculated one day that it would be more advantageous for the planet to displace all of the islanders and settle them somewhere in Africa in the equatorial jungle, which they could clear and cultivate—not to forget a few mines that they could find and exploit') (139). After having remarked that the calculation is probably correct, Q deems it necessary to add that 'il ne prend pas en compte le facteur humain' ('it does not take into account the human factor') (sic!). But still we hear the echo of these words: 'parasite', 'displace'...where did we hear them before?

Although Q has some positive things to say about Cape Verde and its people too, I do not wish to discuss them here. No amount of positive remarks could possibly outweigh the wrong he has done by publishing this shameful piece of writing. Instead, let Cesaria Evora have the last word: *Bem dzêm'quem bô ê na vida pa julgá realidade dess nôss pais? (Tell me, who do you think you are to judge the reality of our country?)*

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All translations are mine. Italics and bold typeface is mine (JA).

An introduction to pidgins and creoles. By John Holm. 2000. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Pp. xxi, 282. GBP 14.95 (pb).

Pidgins and creoles: an introduction. By Ishtla Singh. 2000. London: Arnold. Pp. xv, 142. GBP 12.99 (pb).

Reviewed by Anthony Grant
University of Manchester

Introductory books on various aspects of creolistic theory are fairly numerous nowadays, although few of these can be regarded as true introductory textbooks, since they do not provide exercises to assist students beginning courses in creolistics. Sebba (1997) is a welcome exception to this tendency. Neither of the books under review could be properly regarded as a textbook, although both Holm's book (like others in its series) and Singh's volume attempt to give students who are new to the field a state-of-the-art survey of the key issues in contemporary creolistics. Holm's book is a revision of much of Holm (1988-1989), while Singh's book, the work of an author who is a native speaker of Trinidadian Creole English, derives from materials which she used in a course on pidgins and creoles at the University of Surrey Roehampton.

A reader's choice of approaches to Holm's book is ironically reminiscent of linguists' differing reactions to creole languages, as languages just like any other, or alternatively as the result of unusual processes of historical development. Some readers will be interested in the book's intrinsic merits as a work of reference (and at this level, it scores highly, albeit with some caveats), while others will pay special attention to the previous history of the book and its subsequent development. In fact Holm points out (on page xii) that the present book 'rests on the foundation' of his previous volumes which were also published by Cambridge University Press, and this much is obvious to any reader who is familiar with them.

Holm's new book comprises the material of volume I of the first book, the theoretical and historical chapters, from which little has been omitted, but which have been revised (with differing degrees of thoroughness) in the light of developments and discoveries in the creolistic work of the last decade. For example, Tayo Creole French, which came to public prominence just as Holm (1988-1989) was coming out, is mentioned three times (although the map reference in the index is incorrect). The revision is not root-and-branch, though: little new is said about phonology, for instance (137-170). The fascinating discussion of the history of theoretical trends (14-67) omits some, such as Philip Baker's 'constructionist' work', which have been around for most of the 1990s and which have begun to attract adherents looking at a number of different creoles.

Volume II, the reference survey of all the pidgins and creoles which were then known, is not reprised. Given its sheer scope, this is unsurprising. Instead, Holm makes use here, as also in his chapter on syntax, of work in progress, namely a forthcoming volume on comparative creole syntax which he is editing with Peter Patrick and which draws upon responses to a standardised questionnaire. Holm selects seven languages from this comparative survey—Angolar, Papiamentu, Negerhollands, Haitian, Jamaican Creole English, Tok Pisin and Kinubi—and uses them as reference points for a discussion of the different lexifiers of pidgins and creoles and for the varied social situations in which they arose. This is presented in Chapter 3 of his book, 'Social factors' (68-105), one of the two freshest chapters in the book. Much of the material is familiar from the earlier two-volume work, but the brief Angolar text on p. 75, communicated by Gerardo Lorenzino, has not previously been published, and the conception of the chapter as a whole is new. It follows a 13-page introductory chapter and the long chapter on 'The development of theory' mentioned above. The chapter on social factors reflects Holm's interest in comparing creole features across lexical bases, an interest which was highlighted in Holm (1988-1989) by the comparison of phonological, syntactic and semantic (and other) features of Atlantic creoles of various lexical bases. In the present book, however, Holm's focus is upon a predefined subset of creoles as comparanda, and I do miss the wide if scattershot range of examples from Atlantic creoles, including otherwise rarely-cited ones such as Miskito Coast Creole English (Holm's dissertation language), which one found in the earlier book. One may ask, though, why it is that Jamaican is foregrounded in this section and in the book in general, rather than a more maximally-distinctive Surinamese creole such as Ndyuka, a language which is also part of the Comparative Creole Syntax project (syntactic analyses of Sranan and Saramaccan being surprisingly absent from this project, as for that matter is Berbice Dutch).

The other chapter which has innovated strongly from its representation in Holm (1988-1999) is the one on syntax (171-236). This is based on the work on comparative creole syntax, mentioned above, performed by Holm and Patrick with assistance from numerous other contributing researchers, many of whom are themselves native speakers of creoles. The backbone of this chapter is a checklist of morphosyntactic features which Holm drew up because of their relevance to structural comparisons across creoles. An earlier version had almost a hundred questions and was divided into twenty sections, but the one which is reproduced section by section in this chapter has 18 sections (the earlier discussions of dependent clauses and passivisation having been dropped). The questions mostly relate to syntactic patterns; only a few discuss the occurrence of actual morphemic forms (such as sentence-final *–o*: 236). The questions, and responses to them, are provided in tabular form for the seven languages listed above. Responses are marked as plus or minus, depending upon the presence or absence of each feature, or with 0 for the absence of a form, and with ? in cases where the answer to such questions cannot be ascertained.

As an approach to issues of comparability of features across lexifiers this presentation, if not completely original, is both impressive and informative, although its coverage of issues could have been expanded at some points. For instance, questions about tensed negators and about the use of special negators with imperatives

could have been added to the questions in Section 9, while more discussion could have been lavished upon the structure of reflexive and interrogative pronouns (both of which are very interesting in their behaviour across creoles but which are relegated to one question apiece in the discussion of pronouns), and also upon reciprocals, which are not even mentioned. Nonetheless, the chapter serves as a tasty appetiser for the forthcoming study by Holm and Patrick, the contents of which are also previewed on p. xii of the Preface.

Little has changed in terms of approach in the chapter on 'Lexicosemantics' (106-136). However, for those of us with an interest in the complexities of the creole lexicon, it is regrettable that available materials are insufficient for someone to present as thoroughgoing a comparative analysis of etymological, calquing and other features of the lexica of the seven pidgins and creoles surveyed in greater detail in this book as we have for the syntax. The four-page conclusion (237-240) which comprises Chapter 7 is crisp, but a longer discussion of 'where creolistics is at in 2000' and where it is headed would have been both pertinent and exciting. The volume is completed by a bibliography (241-266), which includes a large number of conference papers and unpublished works by Holm's former students at the City University of New York (to which he pays an admirable tribute in the Preface), and a 16-page index.

Holm's transmutation of parts of his earlier two-volume work into a new 'textbook' has been excessively hasty at times, and a number of errors and weaknesses from the earlier version still remain. For instance, the Berbice Dutch data which he cites, which derive from the largely unpublished work of Ian Robertson, could have been adjusted in accordance with the more recent, more phonologically accurate, and fuller work conducted by Silvia Kouwenberg (Kouwenberg 1994). Some other mistakes have been perpetuated, too. Sawyerr's 'Kriol' work, referred to on p. 39, was not on *Kriol* (the English-lexifier creole of the Northern Territory) but on *Krio* of Sierra Leone. The rubric to the map on p. xviii-xix talks of 'Palanquero' for *Palenquero* and suggests that Chinook Jargon is more certainly extinct than Mobilian, which is not the case. Additionally, Rodrigues has been put in the same place as it was in the map in Holm (1988-1989), which is to say too far north of Mauritius and not far enough east. Incidentally, Singh (2000) reproduces with acknowledgement Holm's map with some changes, and with the correction of some errors, though the misplaced Rodrigues persists.

But in general Holm (2000) is an improvement on the two-volume work in the sense that the new book, which is eminently readable, presents a more novel, clearer, more focussed and more sharply illustrated discussion of many major themes ands topics of interest in creolistics. Though not a teaching aid, it belongs on the reading list of any serious creolistics course, even if some of its data need to be approached with caution and even though it is not the fully-revised work that the field merits.

Ishtla Singh's book has half the pages and about a third of the total word-count of Holm's book. The blurb on the back cover (which, incidentally, is beautifully illustrated) states, somewhat optimistically, that the contents bridge 'the gap between introductory material and primary material'. The book certainly contains both—at least, the Trinidadian Creole English textual material in the book, which is taken from almost two centuries' worth of local newspapers and popular publications as well as from oral usage, will be new to practically all its readers.

This is the first introduction to creolistics which has been written by a native speaker of a creole. The Trinidadian Creole English component in this work enhances it considerably, although one would have liked to see a greater amount of usable descriptive data, for instance some Creole material in a phonemic transcription. But given that Trinidadian Creole French is both a creole and an endangered language, it would have been refreshing to see a little more discussion of that language too, and at least some mention of its first great analyst, John Jacob Thomas. In fact, the content of Singh's book is very strongly focussed on English-lexifier pidgin (and especially creole) varieties. This is a pity, since in Trinidad she has at her disposal a linguistic microcosm from which she could have drawn further examples of creole usage, structural simplification caused by language shift and resulting obsolescence, and several other issues, such as differences between exogenous and endogenous creoles, and the differing linguistic histories of Trinidad and its neighbour Tobago.

The body of the book consists of four chapters. The first of these (1-36) treats definitions of pidgins and creoles, the second (37-68) looks at the various theories of creole genesis. This includes an extremely clear and detailed presentation (52-68) of Bickerton's Language Bioprogram Hypothesis and the twelve salient structural features which have been associated with it, although there is little discussion of subsequent theoretical models in creolistics.

The third chapter (69-89) is devoted to an examination of the creole continuum from basilect to acrolect, a pressing issue for students of English-lexifier Atlantic creoles. This ties in nicely with the subject-matter of the well-illustrated fourth chapter (90-118), namely issues involved in creole language planning, especially in regard to education. The focus here is on societies, such as Trinidad, where a creole whose lexicon largely derives from the more prestigious language of the society is in a diglossic relationship with this same prestige language, which is used in formal education. The bibliography contains some 100 items, less than one fifth of what Holm's bibliography contains.

Singh's book is very readable—indeed a keen student could easily finish it within a few hours—but it lacks depth. It would be ideal to prescribe as holiday reading for students who were contemplating doing a module on creolistics, but it is simply not detailed enough to use as a textbook for a whole semester. This is not simply a matter of length. A comparison of Singh's book with Todd (1974), which is even shorter, will show that the latter, though avowedly dated by now, explores the core topics of contemporary creolistics in greater detail, and with a greater amount of exemplification, than Singh's book does. In addition, the descriptive chapters and appendices of Todd (1984) are much better at giving the reader a feel for the inner workings of English-lexifier pidgins and creoles than Singh's book is.

In addition, there are a large number of mistakes and misunderstandings in Singh's text, which may have to do with the fact that she did not have the manuscript read over by any specialists in creolistics. For instance, both Todd (1974) and Singh (2000: 27) cite Suzanne Sylvain's observation about Haitian being 'an Ewe language with French vocabulary', as indeed does Holm (2000: 37-38). However, Holm cites the personal communication from Robert Hall in 1985 (information which would have been unavailable to Todd in 1974) that Sylvain had been compelled to include this

statement, in which she did not believe, by her dissertation supervisor. Singh does not cite Sylvain's disavowal. Furthermore, the claim on page 36 that Berbice Dutch is also known as 'Berbice Dutch-based creole' or 'Berbice Dutch-lexifier creole' is not so. The language (whatever its 'base' may really be) is also known as 'Berbice Creole Dutch,' 'Berbice Dutch Creole', or (by its speakers) 'Dutch', but it is not customarily known by the descriptive names which Singh mentions. More unsettlingly, although the passages of earlier Trinidadian Creole English which Singh cites can all be found among those presented in Winer (1993), from which they are taken, this is never mentioned in the book, although the book is listed in Singh's bibliography.

Singh's book may excite interest in creolistics among students of English language, but on its own it will not provide them with intellectual sustenance for more than a few weeks of their module. Holm's book is somewhat heavier going by comparison, but it will give the observer new to creolistics a good idea about most of the microlinguistic topics which interest creolists (though Singh's book has considerably more to say on macrolinguistic topics than Holm's does). Holm's book is also richer in sheer terms of information load. The ideal book dealing with at least the structural characteristics of pidgins and creoles, however, remains to be written, although several books produced within the last decade show great merit. Perhaps a volume of selected readings from the previously published literature, supplemented by some specially commissioned chapters, is the answer.

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Relexification in Creole and Non-Creole Languages, with Special Attention to Haitian Creole, Modern Hebrew, Romani and Rumanian. Edited by Julia Horvath & Paul Wexler. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997. Pp. 211.

Reviewed by Ian Hancock, The Romani Archives and Documentation Center, The University of Texas

This is an unusual book. Edited by two scholars who have never previously published in the area of creole linguistics, it contains just four chapters and an introduction, covering the languages listed in the title. Although billing themselves as its editors, Horvath and Wexler in fact wrote everything in the volume themselves, except the one chapter on Haitian Creole by Claire Lefebvre.

It begins (p. 1) with the statement that

> "[t]he linguistic mechanism of 'relexification' was initially introduced into theoretically oriented discussion based on the case of so-called 'mixed languages.'
>
> Specifically, the phenomenon was first defined explicitly in Muysken's analysis of Media Lengua, a mixed language spoken in Ecuador (1981)...[t]he topic of relexification became the subject of further discussion in the linguistic literature only when it was suggested, in the mid-eighties, that this mechanism might underlie the genesis of creole languages, specifically, when Lefebvre and her associates put forward the novel, and controversial, Relexification Hypothesis for creole genesis."

The term, however, was first used in print eighteen years earlier in William Stewart's 1963 LSA paper "Relexification as a factor in the emergence of Creole languages" (not listed in the bibliography), and the *concept* was addressed as early as 1869 by Thomas, and bore discussion well before Muysken's article appeared by, *inter alia* Thompson (1961), Taylor (1963) and Whinnom (1965).

The intent of the editors is to provide an "expanded exploration of relexification in language genesis [...arguing] that relexification is a unitary mechanism given by the language faculty, and the reason for its varied outcome results from factors involving the conditions under which it applies" (p. 8), in other words, circumstances alter cases. They attempt to demonstrate that this can operate on all languages, creole and non-creole. This last is hardly a novel idea; it was the basis for Hancock (1980), while the significance of the various social permutations in creole formation has been examined at length by this reviewer, Mufwene, Baker and others over the years.

There is little remarkable in the section dealing with specifically with creoles, and certainly nothing there that hasn't already been proposed elsewhere by others.

Given the restrictions of space, I will address only Chapter Three, "The case for the relexification hypothesis in Romani," in more detail. This chapter, by Wexler, is bizarre. Its premise was spelt out in a paper he delivered at the 1997 International Conference on Romani Linguistics in Prague, in which he maintained that

> "most of the members of each Romani community are of indigenous origin...Romani is not of Indic origin and did not acquire its Asian component by direct contact with, or by inheritance from, Indic languages" (p. 16).

He elaborates upon this in the present chapter, arguing that Romani has no grammar of its own but instead consists of various lects employing a fluid corpus of lexical items of multiple origins, strung together and employed according to the syntax and semantics of whatever the local indigenous languages happen to be. "There is no component in Romani," he says (p. 151), "which could not have been acquired in the Byzantine Empire or the Balkans; even the Indic component might have been acquired from an Asian lingua franca in use by wandering merchants active between India and Asia Minor." He also asserts that "[i]t should be clear by now that the suggestion by Hancock and others to reconstruct Romani migration patterns and Indic origins via Romani lexicon is flawed, as long as there is a possibility that most or all Asian components were *not* acquired *in situ*" (p. 150).

Reconstructing migration patterns on the basis of lexicon certainly is flawed, and it would be naive to attempt to do so using this approach alone; the presence of such Latin-derived items as *bishop* or *school* in Old English doesn't mean that the Anglo-Saxons were ever in Rome. None of my own work in this area has ever been restricted solely to an analysis of Romani lexicon—lexical information

may provide leads, but sociohistorical and other factors must be taken into account, in order to support them.

The claim that Romani has no Indic connection is easily disproved. That over 95% of the Swadesh lexical checklist is Indic and Dardic might be argued against by Wexler (though unconvincingly), but the semantics are less easily dismissed. The word for "big" (*baro*) in Romani can also mean "very," just as *bara* can in Hindi, though this is not matched in any European language; it maintains a distinction between words for "old" <+ human> and "old" <- human>, *phuro* and *purano* respectively— paralleled in Indic languages but not in Byzantine or Balkan ones; why would such a distinction be arbitrarily introduced (or for that matter deemed necessary) in a trade lingua franca? These are just two of very many examples. But the strongest evidence, based on this reviewer's ongoing research, lies in an examination of the redistribution of the lost Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) and Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) neuter gender.

OIA and MIA, exemplified by Sanskrit and the Prakrits, were three gender languages: masculine, feminine and neuter. The New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages, which date from about AD 1000, lost the neuter, their being redistributed to the remaining masculine and feminine sets. A comparison between their reassignment in languages spoken in India (Hindi, Panjabi, etc.) and in Romani demonstrates a nearly 100% match. This means one of two things; either Romani (or better *pre*-Romani) was still spoken in India when this began to happen, or else it had left the area earlier than this and lost the neuter subsequently and independently, the near 100% reassignment match with languages still in India being purely coincidental. To this we can add Wexler's scenario—that a macaronic trade jargon, of Byzantine and/or Balkan origin, would have acquired a stock of nominal roots of Indian origin with grammatical gender (itself uncharacteristic of a jargon), and furthermore that the genders of specific items would, purely by chance, match almost completely the grammatical genders of their equivalents in Indian languages. Only the first possibility is logical and, incidentally, argues against the various hypotheses that place the time of the Romani migration out of India earlier than *ca.* AD 1000.

Wexler's other statement, that "most of the members of each Romani community are of indigenous origin" has less bearing upon a linguistic discussion, but is important politically and must be addressed. Since the collapse of communism in Europe in 1989/1990, the question of Romani identity, both within the population and outside it, has taken on major significance. The question is whether Romanies are "European" or "Asian." If the Asian connection is dismissed, then the population must be viewed as a deviant European one, and efforts be made to bring it into line. If the Asian origin is acknowledged, then the question of how much effort at the administrative level should be put into helping a non-European minority maintain its cultural and linguistic distinctiveness. The commonest "official" position is to minimize any exotic aspects of a population more easily defined in social terms; neo-nazis and other racist groups, on the other hand, have used the Asian connection as justification for their brutality. A report issued in June this year begins "Roma remain to date the most persecuted people in Europe" (ERRC, 2001:5), and pictures of skinheads bearing placards reading "Gypsies Back To India" appeared periodically in the European press during the 1990s.

Within the small Romani academic community, evidence of an origin in India is seen as being of prime importance in terms of legitimizing identity, and in terms of providing demonstrable links with an actual country. Being a diasporic, non-territorial people and one lacking a government are fundamental factors underlying the problems Romanies face today.

Ongoing serological testing among Indian populations within India and among Romani communities in Europe by the Centre for Human Genetics at Edith Cowan University in Australia produced the following report:

> "Analysis of slow-evolving polymorphisms has identified a single paternal and a single maternal lineage of Indian origin shared by all Romani groups ...these lineages belong to a small subset of the known genetic diversity of the Indian subcontinent. Thus, Roma descend from a small ancestral ethnic minority in the Indian subcontinent that has subsequently fractured into multiple population isolates within Europe" (CHG, 2001:1).

Even Wexler's claim that *most* Romanies "are of indigenous [*i.e.* European] origin" leaves the assumption open that not *all* are, and we must infer that in light of these few exceptions perhaps some Indians did somehow get through. And if they did, then an unbroken Indian link, however tenuous, must be acknowledged. However, that link is far from tenuous, as the Cowan University findings and others clearly demonstrate. Thus Sareen (1976:42) finds that "The European Gypsies, who migrated from Northern India about 800-1000 years ago, have been well studied serologically, mostly by ABO, MNS and Rh systems. The results indicate that their blood groups agree well with the warrior classes of Northern India...and differ significantly from those of the local European population," while Mastana & Pahipa (1992:50) show that "[t]he evidence of the present study favours that Gypsy populations still have greater genetic affinity with Indian nomadic groups [than with the coterritorial European population]."

Neither editor has a demonstrable track record in either Creole or Romani Studies; a better acquaintance with both fields would have obviated much of the content of this book, indeed would have made its publication unnecessary. Wexler seems not to be quite sure of the distinction between the so-called Para-Romani languages (*i.e.* non-Romani languages containing greater or lesser Romani-derived lexical material, which in some places have become the sole ethnolinguistic markers of their speakers) and Romani proper, which maintains a clearly identifiable basic lexicon and morphology of Indic origin. It is quite possible that he is in fact well-aware of this, but has presented his ideas in order to be provocative and gain academic attention for himself. His earlier (1993) claims about the origin of Yiddish (*i.e.* that it is a relexified Wendish and entered Europe from the East) and about Hebrew (1990) reiterated in the present volume (that it is relexified Slavic) raised similar hackles in the Yiddishist and Hebraicist community. But if this is the case, then it is a dangerous game. There are bureaucrats and policy-makers in Europe who are only too willing to seize upon academic writings of this sort to strengthen their case that the Romani populations in their countries are people defined by behavior rather than by ethnicity, who have no legitimate linguistic identity, and who therefore need no special consideration as distinct ethnic minorities. One relevant example of this is the fact that in some countries, fifty percent of all Romani schoolchildren are placed in special

classes for the disadvantaged, when the real problem is the lack of bilingual educational programs. Such crisis situations cannot possibly be helped in any way by studies of this sort.

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Spreading the Word: The issue of diffusion among the Atlantic Creoles (Westminster Creolistic Series 6). Edited by Magnus Huber and Mikael Parkvall. 1999. London: University of Westminster Press. Pp. 325. £20.00

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Five of the fourteen contributions in "Spreading the Word: The issue of diffusion among the Atlantic Creoles" were presented at the third Westminster Creolistics Workshop, which took place at the University of Westminster, London, in March 29-31, 1996. The underlying theme of the book is, as explained by the editors in the introduction, "the possibility that Pidgins and Creoles spread from one place to another within the Atlantic area" (p. 1). The book addresses with renewed sociohistorical and linguistic insights, two important questions in creole studies: (1) whether or not English and French Caribbean Creoles can be traced back ultimately to a proto-creole spoken in West Africa, and (2) the likelihood that some kind of Portuguese creole spoken in Brazil served as input to creole formation in Surinam. Clearly, both questions, especially the former one, have occupied a prominent place in creole debate and helped shaped creolistics to become the multifaceted linguistic field it is today. The papers can be divided in three main thematic sections depending on the particular view contributors adopt with respect to how language diffusion worked as a diversification force among Caribbean Creoles: (1) first, the Afro-genesis position which claims that Atlantic English Creoles originated on the Gold Coast; (2) secondly, those creolists who are inclined to support the view that at least some creoles thought to have originated independently, may, after all, be linked through some common origin in West Africa and, (3) third, the view that a Portuguese Pidgin spoken initially in Africa may have spread to Brazil, Surinam and, from there, to other colonies.

After a short introduction by the editors, Magnus Huber and Mikael Parkvall (pp. 1-3), the reader will encounter McWhorter's "A Creole by any other name: streamlining the terminology" (5-28), which postulates two taxonomic reevaluations of the current creolistic terminology. These are motivated, respectively, by two contact language groups whose status remains a source of dispute within the broader literature of European-lexified Creole languages. I am referring to the African-based contact varieties Kituba, Lingala and Shaba Swahili and intertwined languages such as Media Lengua, Michif and Angloromani. For the former, McWhorter puts forward their grouping as semi-pidgins since, in his view, these languages differ considerably from their source language in order to be considered simply the result of interdialectal leveling. Intertwined languages, on the other hand, can be characterized from a sociological point of view by being created by speakers of the lexifier language and for whom the language has group identity value. On the other hand, Creoles are different from intertwined languages in that "in contexts conditioning a culturally intermediate identity, of which plantations are one of several, an intertwined language results when there is one substrate language, and a Creole when there are two or more" (p. 24).

In Parkvall's "Feature selection and genetic relationships among Atlantic Creoles" (29-68) a strong argument for diffusionism is made based on the analysis of a number of phonological, grammatical and lexical features. Though he clearly states that he does not advocate a strict Afrogeneticist scenario in the formation of the Atlantic Creoles, his study strongly favors a position which allows for a lesser number of independently restructuring cases than are usually admitted by creolists today.

The next paper, "The Gold Coast lexical contribution to the Atlantic English Creoles" (69-80), by Michael Aceto, presents the hypothesis that shared Gold Coast words in the Atlantic English Creoles derive from some kind of contact English variety which, ultimately, can trace a part of its lexical component to the Gbe and Akan languages spoken in West Africa. Though Aceto makes it clear he is not arguing for or against monogeneticist theories of Atlantic Creoles, he seems to support a polygenetic framework since "[...] a Creole is not necessarily determined by any *one* contributing factor but instead by a combination of *several* factors [...] brought together in different proportions under specific socio-linguistic conditions during a Creole's emergence in a specific location in the Americas" (69).

The title of Magnus Huber's contribution "Atlantic English Creoles and the Lower Guinea Coast: a case against Afrogenesis" (81-110) clearly sets its positions against the Afrogenetic Hypotheses à la Hancock (1986, 1987) or McWhorter (1997). Though the author admits restructured varieties of English were spoken on the Lower Guinea Coast, these were not the input to the Atlantic English Creoles since the former were introduced into West Africa

at a more recent date (ca. 1800). Here, Hancock claims Sierra Leone English Creole originated prior to 1800 while McWhorter postulates a pidgin at Fort Kormantin. In variance with the latter, Huber suggests the Atlantic English Creoles locative copula *de* emerged in the New World rather than being a 17th century development. Furthermore, he claims diffusion from the New World could equally explain similarities between the Atlantic English Creoles rather than from West Africa.

In McWhorter's second and much longer contribution (111-152) called "The Afrogenesis hypothesis of plantation Creole origin", the reader will find a summary of his book-length treatment (McWhorter 2000) on the Afrogenetic framework and the question of (the lack of) impoverished language input in plantation creole formation. Based on historical and comparative creole data he claims that most creoles we know today did not emerge in a plantation setting, thus arguing against the paradigmatic "dilution of input" conception current in creole thought from the early 60s as a force in creole genesis. Atlantic English Creoles arose in West African settlements where Pidgins were spoken in a communicative milieu constrained by social distance rather than the demographic imbalance claimed for New World plantations.

Dudley Nylander's "The structure of Tense Phrase in Creole languages: a case study (Krio)" (153-164) focuses on the TMA of Krio and compares it cursorily with that of Jamaican Creole. Historical and TMA data (the fact that *kìn* may express both mood and aspect) convince the author that Krio could not be an offshoot of Jamaican Creole (the 'Jamaican Hypothesis'): its roots are in West Africa as the Krios achieved a distinct ethnic identity sometime between 1850 and 1870.

The validity of the diffusionist theory as it relates to the question of prior creolization in the Portuguese of Brazil is treated by two Brazilian linguists. In view of the historical links and grammatical affinities between West Africa and colonial Brazil, Heliana Ribeiro de Mello's paper "Restructured Portuguese: from Africa to Brazil" (165-176) sets out to contrast mainly morphosyntactic data (disjunctive negation, highlighting, resumptive pronouns, passive formation) and some phonological features between Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese (BVP) and West African Portuguese-lexified Creoles. The empirical evidence suggests no conclusive support for the applicability of the diffusionist hypothesis to the genesis of BVP: "...there are no idiosyncratic features that provide a definitive conclusion about the diffusionist hypothesis since the features discussed here could have developed independently in BVP as a result of contact phenomena between Portuguese and Niger-Congo languages in colonial Brazil."

In "The question of (prior) creolization in Brazil" (177-194), Hildo Honório do Couto gives an overview of various contact varieties -Portuguese and non-Portuguese- which arose as the result of the multiethnic influences (European, African, Amerindian) that shaped Brazilian society. Some of those mentioned are Xingu Contact Portuguese, a pidginized variety of Portuguese used as a lingua franca among different Amerindian groups in a reservation located in the Xingu National Park (Mato Grosso), and the language of the Karipúnas, a Guayanese Creole French variety spoken in the Amapá state which borders with French Guiana. Also described are the Portuguese dialects of Palmares (Alagoas) and Helvécia (southern Bahia), whose historical development is closely linked to African slaves, especially the Palmares dialect since it was a maroon community between 1630 and 1697. Despite the sociohistorical likelihood that some form of restructured Portuguese was used in Palmares and Helvécia, Couto admits that the available linguistic data is insufficient to prove or disprove a Creole Portuguese was ever spoken in colonial Brazil.

Jacques Arends' and John Ladhams' papers initiate a thematic unit on the possibility of the transmission of a Portuguese Creole from Pernambuco—a short-lived Dutch colony in northeast Brazil—to Surinam. Contra Smith (1987, see below for Smith's reply) Arends and Ladhams argue that the Portuguese lexicon present in Surinamese Creoles cannot be explained via the Pernambuco connection.

In "The origin of the Portuguese element in the Surinam Creoles" (195-208), Arends' reevaluation of the historical documentation on Dutch Brazil, in particular the passage of Sephardic Jews with some of their slaves from Pernambuco to Surinam in the 1660s, leads him to rule out the diffusion of a Proto-Creole Portuguese from Brazil as a basis for the presence of Portuguese lexical items in Surinam Creoles, as put forward in Goodman (1987) and Smith (1987). In his view, and contrary to earlier accounts, Sephardic Jews went from Pernambuco to Surinam in lesser numbers than what was previously thought and they were accompanied by even a smaller number of slaves. Therefore, Brazil could not have been an intermediate diffusion link between the Gulf of Guinea Portuguese Creoles and Surinam Creoles. Instead, Arends presents three tentative scenarios for explaining certain similarities, especially phonological traits, between Saramaccan and the Gulf of Guinea Portuguese (São Tomense): (1) similar substrate inputs (Edo, Kikongo), (2) some form of West African Pidgin Portuguese shared by slaves contributing to the formation of São Tomense and Saramaccan and, (3) the Lingua Franca Hypothesis.

Ladhams' "The Pernambuco connection? An examination of the nature and origin of the Portuguese elements in the Surinam Creoles" (209-240) also discards the theory of a Brazilian Creole as vehicle for the transmission of Portuguese lexical items into Surinamese Creoles via Portuguese-speaking Sephardic Jews and their slaves. In his view no creolization of Portuguese could have taken place by mid-seventeenth century nor "does there appear to have been a linguistic link with the Gulf of Guinea" (232). His analysis of the historical and linguistic evidence from all Surinam Creoles (Sranan, Saramaccan, Ndyuka, Djutongo) leads him to believe Saramaccan and Djutongo are creations for inter-ethnic communication (called "Ladhams' Creativist Hypothesis" by Norval Smith, see below) rather than being the result of relexification or the language bioprogram. The article contains two appendices: (1) a list with Portuguese-derived words in Surinam Creoles, and (2) names of members of Pernambuco's Zur Israel and Magen Abraham Congregations.

The next contribution by William Jennings, "The role of Cayenne in the Pernambuco-Surinam Hypothesis" (241-250), is the third paper addressing the question of the alleged diffusion of the Brazilian Proto-Creole to Surinam. When Recife, the Dutch Brazilian capital, fell in 1654, some of its inhabitants moved to Cayenne Island in the French Guiana, later on settling in Surinam. For Jennings, Cayenne can be disregarded as a stepping stone for the transmission of Portuguese or Creole Portuguese elements from Pernambuco to Surinam based on the following historic-linguistic criteria: (1) only a few slaves accompanied those who migrated from

Pernambuco to Surinam, and most must have died due to famine and sickness conditions that decimated one third of the French population in Cayenne by 1665, (2) the refugees who left Cayenne in 1664 in all likelihood were transported back to Europe since their arrival in Surinam is dated after mid-1665, and (3) most of the settlers' slaves were not taken to Surinam but remained in Cayenne.

Since Arends' and Ladhams' articles argue against the possibility of the transmission of a Portuguese Creole from Pernmanbuco to Surinam, the editors' decision to invite Norval Smith to contribute to this volume was propitious and will surely be appreciated by its readers in view of his hypothesis that Portuguese elements in Saramaccan can be traced to a Portuguese Creole spoken in the Dutch colony in northeastern Brazil. In one of the most extended, detailed and thoroughly argued contributions to this volume, Smith addresses what he considers to be an excessive sociohistorical bias in Arends' and Ladhams' rejection of the Goodman-Smith hypothesis, i.e. the resettling of Sephardic Jews who went from Pernambuco to Surinam and the concomitant linguistic result of a significant Portuguese element in Saramaccan. Instead, he recommends more caution upon having creole genesis argumentation follow too strictly the historical data in view of both its incompleteness and sometime ambiguous interpretation. Furthermore, the linguistic evidence—Smith argues—"can never be overturned by sociohistorical evidence however apparently strong this is" (252), though he rightly reminds us that "...the linguistic evidence too is open to debate" (idem). Smith agrees with Arends about the possible influence of Pidgin Portuguese in the formation of Saramaccan, though he maintains that that could not have taken place in Surinam but rather in northeast Brazil. Otherwise, he notes, one would expect Sranan and Saramaccan to share a core of Portuguese-lexical items, which is not the case.

The issue of the sociohistorical and linguistic degree of relevance in creole linguistic reconstruction is taken up again in a short note by Ladhams ("Response to Norval Smith", 299-304) who, nonetheless, commends Smith for his "detailed and lucid discussion of the Portuguese elements in the Surinam Creoles" (299). In Ladhams' view his treatment of the linguistic data seems to take only secondary place for Smith, attributing him a misreading of his article since for Ladhams "...linguistic and sociohistorical considerations should go hand in hand—the latter as an explanation of the former—in any such reconstruction" (idem). Then Ladhams goes on to criticize Smith for his analysis based on some phonetic and phonotactic similarities between Saramaccan and Atlantic Portuguese Creoles (/v/ to /b/, reflexes of Portuguese /esC/, Portuguese intervocalic /g/ to Saramaccan /k/) as a strong argument for the external origin scenario, i.e. northeast Brazil. For Ladhams, a similar and equally likely argument could be made for a non-Portuguese, namely Dutch or English, origin.

The volume concludes with the transcription of a lively workshop debate on Creole origins (305-318), dominated mostly by two (Derek Bickerton and John McWhorter) of the participants to the Third Westminster Creolistics Workshop. The book contains an index (319-324) and several maps.

Spreading the Word offers firm scholarship based on broad theoretical views and imposing linguistic and historical evidence. It shows impeccable and critical editing, not to mention the formidable task of coalescing into one volume contributions from creolists whose juxtaposing views on diffusion in creole genesis are at times as variegated as their number. Ending this review on a personal note, as a creolist particularly interested in Portuguese-contact varieties, I am delighted to see among creolists in general, as reflected in this book, a rediscovery of the West African Portuguese-lexified creoles and their admittedly problematical contribution to resolving some of the issues treated here. Current and exciting research on those (e.g. Gulf of Guinea) creoles, as witnessed, for example, by several papers read at the SPCL and ACBLPE meetings in Coimbra (2001), promises to offer useful data and new insights on the question of linguistic diffusion in creole genesis.

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Entwisted Tongues. Comparative Creole Literatures. By George Lang. (Studies in Comparative Literature 23). Amsterdam & Atlanta: Rodopi. 2000.

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The study of Comparative Literature originated as a 19th century philological project in the attempts to establish a European literary canon. George Lang's *Entwisted Tongues* takes up this scheme to explore a comparative cultural history of creole literatures, thus removing them from their marginal position to a central focus of attention. The intention of the author is clear: to confirm that, on the one hand, creoles are perfectly natural phenomena and produce literature just like other languages, while on the other hand, that their contested status imposes particular conditions on literary production.

In a detailed analysis of the socio-historical and cultural basis for writing in creole languages, the study provides counter-evidence for long-standing prejudices against these "twisted tongues"—an expression used by an eleventh century Arab geographer for a contemporary trade jargon. Lang succeeds in demonstrating "that creoles [and their literatures] are *prima facie* evidence of the human will to articulate speech, even in the face of penury and oppression" (299).

In the nine chapters of the book Lang takes the reader on a journey not only across history—from Medieval Lingua Franca to 20th century literatures written in creole languages—but also across the Atlantic and back, in his comparative discussion of literatures of

different lexical affiliations such as Crioulo, Sierra Leone Krio, Sranan, Papiamentu, and the varieties of French-based Antillean Kreyol. Such an ambitious project demands great interdisciplinary competence from the author, which he indeed demonstrates throughout the book. A Professor of Modern Languages and Cultural Studies (University of Alberta, Canada), Lang is at home in various European and creole languages, as well as in linguistic and literary theory, cultural studies and translation issues.

As he informs us in his *Preface*, his original aim was a systematic study of comparative literature in *all* creole languages, but "here is what happened: biting off more than I could chew, I fell into an entanglement of tongues" (vii). The reader may be grateful for this restriction. While the wealth of literary, linguistic and theoretical material is generally an asset in this "reduced version", it may at times also be somewhat counter-productive. Sometimes, the author's frequent jumps from one linguistic situation to another—the above mentioned languages are not the only ones discussed—his many anecdotes and side-comments given in the footnotes, his playing with a wide range of literary and philosophical allusions help to obscure rather than shape the argument of the book. One of the reasons for this may lie in the fact that *Entwisted Tongues* presents the culmination of a decade-long preoccupation of the author with different aspects of creole literatures (some of the chapters are revised versions of earlier papers).

One of the self-imposed restrictions is explained in the *Introduction*. The author remarks that "[...] the omission of Jamaican Creole in this study is not inadvertent, but a consequence of the strict definitions of literature and of creole adopted [...]. Some have even argued that the varieties of English spoken in Jamaica and elsewhere in the West Indies should not even be considered creoles. Unlike Sranan, cut off from English after 1667, Jamaican remained in contact with English and drifted back toward it, [...]" (18). The omission itself is, of course, legitimate, the motivations given, however, seem rather unfortunate. One may refer to other publications to compensate for this gap, e.g. Cooper's (1993) study on oral literary genres in Jamaican (creole!) popular culture or Roberts' (1997) publication *From Oral to Literate Culture* in the West Indies which, admittedly, focuses much on English rather than creole literate culture.

The first three chapters of *Entwisted Tongues* take us from the first codifications of the medieval Mediterranean contact language via early literary expressions in creoles to the language situation in the Caribbean. *Literary Lingua Franca* establishes the timelessness of literary expression in contact languages—as well as the prejudice against them and their frequent misuse for comic expression in European literature. Linguistic status and literary use need not coincide, as we learn from the example of Chinook Jargon, classified merely as a trade jargon, but still equipped with "a corpus of written stories, hymns, and other aesthetic and utilitarian texts, a virtually complete language system with many dialects and registers" (26, cf. also Lang, work in progress). In *Littoral Interpretations* the author recounts possible scenarios of the development of pidgins and creoles along the West African coast before and during the Atlantic slave trade. Well known questions are raised and discussed: What role did early Afro-Portuguese pidgin play in the process? Did creolization occur before the Middle Passage, i.e. did an African littoral Creole English mother the English Caribbean creoles? It is the strength of Lang's study to restage this drama with almost real-life characters, early lançados and tangomangoes, traders and agents, grumettos and so-called castle slaves, without losing hold of historical facts or relevant discussions of, for example, Hancock's (1986) or McWorther's (1997) contributions to the topic. *Baroque Babel* then moves to the Caribbean "Babelic" language situation with special focus on Sranan and Papiamentu. While it is not within the scope of the study to provide new fuel to the notorious creole genesis debate, Lang raises questions as to the validity of the "single instance of transportation" idea: "why, if an English-based slave pidgin was able to survive in the Dutch environment in Suriname, the same littoral pidgin did not sink roots in other plantation societies [...], for example, Curaçao, at the end of the same chain of supply?" (83). His explanations lie in the differing colonial policy situation, as well as in "chaos theory" (also promoted in Lang 2000).

Why should all this be important to the reader interested in creole literature? And why should subsequent chapters on creole literary strategies such as *Dubbing and Cloning*, on translation strategies and their potential of appropriation and transformation in *Travesty? Transformation!*, on the discussion of canonization processes in *Periphery as Paradigm* and *Chrestomathies or Canons?* be of interest to the linguist? On the one hand, because these literatures are shaped by the specificities of creole linguistic situations. This is shown in the connecting chapters *Deep Speech*, dealing with the phenomenon of the idealization of a "basilect" and its potential as an authentic literary form, and *The Diglossic Dilemma*, dealing with (literary) functional specification. On the other hand, because language and literature inherently share the same origin: "The bulk of creole folklore and proverbs, which are the underpinnings of their literatures, date from the period of slave society and likely from the approximate moment of creolization" (104). Creolophobia, which also serves as a driving force for creole literatures, Lang argues, emerged after, not before, emancipation and thus presents "a sort of throw-back to the period of creole genesis, when creoles were positive poles of attraction, the focus of a creative and collective enterprise. [...] in those milieux where creoles prosper, they stand in between, more precisely *among* other languages, drawing their strength from their power to implicate other cultures into their own diversity" (104). The many literary examples which are made accessible to the reader in this exploration of creole literary strategies, range from the poems of Papiamentu writer Elis Juliana and Haitian poet George Sylvain to Thomas Decker's Shakespeare translations into Krio.

"God, the saying goes, is in the details (or is it the Devil?), likewise literature" (298), Lang writes in his conclusion. The same holds true for *Entwisted Tongues*. The strength of the book lies in its wealth of information (both intellectual and material), its many stories and histories interwoven to a rich cultural and literary history; but one wishes, at times, the same care for detail would have been taken for the editing: misspellings ("Leibnitz" for "Leibniz"), wrong chapter headings ("Littoral Interpretations" where it should have been "Literary Lingua Franca"), sudden changes in typescript (in "Baroque Babel"), missing date of publication (Bailey, Hancock) in the references, or wrong citations of well known sources ("Diglossia" by Ferguson, 143) may not be major points of criticism but they are unfortunate in an ambitious project such as Lang's and would have been avoidable. Because of the wealth of sources and languages compared, more

detail would also have been useful in the compilation of the index, a mixture of a rather eclectic author/subject/language/ and text index, the selection process for which seems somewhat erratic.

These minor flaws notwithstanding, *Entwisted Tongues* is a highly recommendable source for anybody interested in creole languages, literatures, culture and history.

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Creoles, Pidgins, and Sundry Languages: Essays in Honor of Pieter Seuren. Ed. by Jacques Arends. Linguistics 38-5. 2000.

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This collection of papers appearing in Linguistics aims at honoring the contributions made by Pieter Seuren to the study of pidgins and creoles. Editor Jacques Arends, whose preface includes a bibliography of fifteen items published by Seuren on creoles, has brought together the following seven papers: P. Baker/M. Huber "Constructing new pronominal systems from the Atlantic to the Pacific"; T. Veenstra "Verb serialization and object position"; S. Kouwenberg "Loss in Berbice Dutch Creole negative constructions"; M. Sebba "Orthography and ideology: issues in Sranan spelling"; H. den Besten "The slaves' languages in the Dutch Cape Colony and Afrikaans *vir*"; P. Muysken "Semantic transparency in Lowland Ecuadorian Quechua morphosyntax"; and B. Comrie "From potential to realization: an episode in the origin of language".

Given that Seuren devised a spelling system for Sranan which became the basis for the official orthography of 1986, Sebba's contribution on ideological issues surrounding Sranan spelling is a fitting tribute. Sebba provides a very useful historical overview of the various attempts to develop a writing system for the language. He focuses on the ideological implications of the decision to treat Sranan as a linguistic system in its own right entitled to an orthography of its own distinct from that of Dutch, and the intention of early missionaries that the spelling should be etymological rather than strictly phonological where there is a conflict between the two. Interestingly, though perhaps not surprisingly, the majority of Surinamese are unaffected by these orthographic debates because very few are literate in Sranan. What is perhaps unique, however, is the fact that the language of sermons and public speaking came to be based not on the phonology of ordinary spoken Sranan, but on the spelling pronunciation of the language derived from the Moravian orthography following Dutch. As Sebba notes, "the orthography acquired a power that actually created a kind of diglossia between the pulpit language and everyday Sranan" (934). Seuren was among those who wanted to break the association between Dutch spelling and Sranan.

Kouwenberg investigates attrition in the use of negative constructions among nine remaining speakers of Berbice Creole Dutch, who can be ranged on a proficiency continuum. All the speakers had become dominant in Guyanese Creole and had ceased using Berbice Dutch. Despite the fact that different speakers have lost to differing degrees certain negative formatives and some of the distinctions made in the conservative negative system (represented by the most proficient speakers), all speakers observed scope-related constraints. Some speakers deviated by producing Guyanese-related strategies of negation and patterns mixing Berbice Dutch and Guyanese negation. Across the proficiency continuum there was evidence of greater use of non-native strategies as well as strategies not involving the standard Berbice Dutch negator. Kouwenberg suggests (p. 919) that attrition may eventually result in typological change with the Berbice Dutch negator being replaced by preverbal Guyanese negation. However, this prediction is logically at odds with her claim that the language is already functionally extinct. If the now remaining three speakers never use the language, and have not done so for decades, except when prompted by a fieldworker, then it would appear misleading to make predictions about future changes in the normal sense.

Baker and Huber examine the earliest attestations of pronouns deviating significantly from the English system in thirteen English-lexifier pidgins and creoles. They conclude that although most of the new forms such as me for first person singular 'I' in the Caribbean and elsewhere, you + me for second person plural inclusive in Melanesian Pidgin, etc., can be readily derived from English, their new functions cannot. The most important factor explaining the use of oblique forms in subject position is the use of these forms by Europeans to accompany pointing gestures. The evidence suggests that pidgin/creole speakers were not trying to acquire a variety of English but rather to construct a pronoun system on the basis of the available evidence. It is interesting that the pronoun systems tend to show more divergence from English in the plural than in the singular (a fact also true for non-English creoles). For example, eleven of the thirteen languages have distinct singular and plural second person pronouns, unlike standard English.

Veenstra's paper looks at verb serialization patterns in Saramaccan and claims that they can be regarded as secondary predication constructions in that both structures share one object. Accounting for the feature of object sharing has been a controversial topic within syntactic theory, in particular whether the object is part of the first or second predicate. Veenstra argues that in the case of resultative serial verb constructions the shared object is part of the first predicate and the argument sharing effect is produced through operator movement inside the second predicate. A crucial piece of evidence comes from a tone sandhi rule operating on adjacent elements. Although one would expect the object intervening

between two predicates to block the application of the tone sandhi rule, it does not. The two verbs undergo sandhi. From this Veenstra concludes that the two verbs are adjacent below the level of surface form, and that the surface order is achieved by movement. Additional evidence comes from patterns of exceptional case marking, extraction and the distribution of ideophones.

In his article den Besten examines the Afrikaans preposition *vir*, which like its source form Dutch *voor* 'for' marks beneficiaries and certain prepositional objects. Unlike Dutch, however, Afrikaans *vir* can also mark recipients and animate direct objects. Although the expansion of the functions of *vir* in Afrikaans is usually explained in terms of influences from Asian Creole Portuguese or Indo-Portuguese, den Besten argues that object-marking in Eastern Malay, one of the languages spoken by the slaves from eastern Indonesia in the Dutch Cape Colony, behaves similarly. Hence, this source of influence cannot be ignored.

Muysken pinpoints a number of features of Lowland Ecuadorian Quechua, which suggest its origins in a possibly pidginized variety dating from the 16th century. This variety has been less influenced by Spanish than most Highland varieties of Quechua, and shows virtually no Spanish influence on its syntax and morphology. Muysken appeals to the principle of semantic transparency to account for the absence of a number of morphophonemic alternations, the loss of nominal person marking, a reduction in the inventory of suffixes as well as the object marking system, and a variety of other features indicative of simplification. He concludes that the notion of universality deserves more careful scrutiny and possibly redefinition, but does not offer any further pointers.

Comrie's paper takes quite a different tack from the others in this collection in that it does not examine structures in particular creoles, but speculates rather generally on the nature of the input necessary for humans to realize their genetically endowed linguistic potential. After considering the scenarios presented by feral child language acquisition, creolization, deaf sign languages, artificial languages, and twin languages, Comrie concludes that the basis prerequisite for the creation of a language is the provision of a lexicon. Crucially, children not exposed to language at an early age do not spontaneously develop a lexicon. What is missing from Comrie's speculations, however, is a consideration of the differing nature of lexical input across these scenarios and how this might affect the outcome, particularly in view of recent trends within syntactic theory to focus more on the lexicon, the learning of individual lexical items and their peculiarities, rather than on more complex and abstract aspects of syntactic constructions per se (see Romaine 1992).

In summary, this collection is an appropriate offering for a scholar such as Pieter Seuren, with an interest in theoretical issues posed by creole languages as well as the peculiarities of the languages themselves. Most of the papers provide not only interesting accounts of specific phenomena in creole languages, but at the same time raise issues of more general interest, touching on, for instance, language attrition processes, syntactic theory, and the evolution of language.

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Foreign Language Teaching and Language Minority Education. By Kathryn A. Davis (ed). 1999. Honolulu: Second Language Teaching and Curriculum Center, University of Hawai'i.

Reviewed by Jeff Siegel
University of New England, NSW

This volume is a collection of seven papers related to the United States Department of Education funded Foreign Language Partnership Project, (FLPP) conducted at the University of Hawai'i. An aim of the project was to build partnerships among various traditions of language teaching in order to promote language learning among the English-speaking majority and improve the education of immigrant minorities. This was done by utilizing the language resources of immigrant communities in the teaching of heritage or foreign languages.

In the Preface, the editor, Kathryn A. Davis, outlines three separate traditions of language teaching and research in the USA: (1) foreign language education, (2) English as a second language (ESL) and (3) bilingual education. Each of these developed independently because of a number of socio-historic factors. Davis notes that foreign language education in the USA focuses predominantly on monolingual English-speaking communities and that it is not very successful in promoting bilingualism. The education of the increasing number of language minority students in the USA has also led to disappointing results. Davis points out that despite research in bilingual education showing the cognitive and socio-psychological advantages of mother tongue education, most immigrant students receive only a few hours of pullout ESL instruction and very few get the chance to learn in their own language. In fact, since the 1970s bilingual education has suffered a steady decline of funding and public support. Because immigrants' native language skills are often "devalued and disregarded", language minority children frequently turn their backs on their own languages while at the same time failing to acquire academic proficiency in English. Thus these programs are also not successful in promoting bilingualism.

In contrast, Davis says that the "two-way" model of bilingual education is ideal for developing bilingualism among both the monolingual English-speaking majority and immigrant language-speaking minorities. In such programs, English speakers learn a minority language which is eventually used for content courses, while speakers of the minority language learn English but also learn some content in their own language. Eventually there is a balanced curriculum in the two languages. Such programs, however, are rare because of a number of myths and misunderstandings about language learning. These may be countered by building bridges between foreign language teaching and language minority education, and by making both foreign language teaching and ESL professionals aware of the potential of using immigrants' linguistic and cultural resources in language programs. This volume aims to examine this potential.

The first part of the book, *Social and Political Contexts for Language Partnerships*, is made up of four chapters. The first is "Language planning and policy in the US: Honoring language rights and building on language resources" by Rebecca Jasso-Aguilar. After a brief historical overview of multilingualism in general and in the USA in particular, the chapter describes the recent phenomenon of "one flag, one language, one nation", a movement whose ultimate goal of amending the

constitution to make English the only official language would lead to linguistic restriction and repression. The question of the need for a language policy protecting language rights is then discussed, and the approaches to this matter in Australia, New Zealand and Hawai'i are described.

The situation in Hawai'i is most relevant to CP readers because of the role of Hawai'i Creole English (HCE). Its development is outlined, and mention is made of the English Standard schools which, in the first half of the 20th century, did not admit HCE-speaking (i.e. non-Caucasian) students. Since statehood in 1959, only English and Hawaiian have been designated as official languages. Nevertheless: "HCE has become a strong marker of local identity and has withstood the opposition of educators; and accent discrimination cases have been tried in the courts." (p.14). The author concludes (p.15): "Considering the historical tradition of multilingualism, it is time that the language strengths of the country be celebrated and valued, instead of being perceived as irrelevant or problematic."

In the second chapter, "Rethinking foreign language education: Political dimensions of the profession", Lourdes Ortega reviews significant areas of conflict between the "mainstream ethos" of the foreign language (FL) teaching profession and "the goals of multilingualism and language equality for minority language students" (p.21). These include lack of political awareness, elitist attitudes and the double standard of regarding bilingualism as a resource for majority English-speaking students but a problem for immigrant or indigenous minority students. This ethos has been maintained by continuing efforts to legitimize the field of FL teaching in academia and by the "four pillars of FL professional and scholarly cultures": teacher credentialism, the language proficiency movement, a focus on methods, and the myth of the "native speaker" (p.25). The author concludes that the goal of language equality in education will not be met until institutions change their practices and FL professionals change their system of beliefs and values. This can best be achieved by collaboration among second language teachers and students within different education settings.

"Acculturation, identity, and language: Implications for language minority education" by Zafar Syed and Audrey C. Burnett provides a conceptual framework for the process of acculturation by immigrants, focusing on the process and context of acculturation, the associated "costs" with regard to one's own social and cultural identity, and the role of bilingual education in the process. The authors describe several models of acculturation from the fields of second language acquisition (SLA) and the social sciences. These models are seen as deficient in several ways, including the following: (1) they view acculturation as linear or unidirectional, (2) they do not value the culture, language and literacy that individuals bring with them, and (3) they do not consider the importance of intragroup or intergroup support systems. The "costs" of acculturation are also considered in terms of sociocultural identity, racism and other factors. With regard to language, the authors conclude that maintenance bilingual education programs are the most beneficial to immigrant students in terms of both academic achievement and psychological adjustment to the new environment. However, the low social status of immigrants can be also improved when their language is seen as a resource—for example in programs where immigrant students act as tutors for majority students learning their languages as foreign languages.

The final chapter in this section is "Learning with others: Collaboration and partnership in education" by Zafar Syed. The author outlines the advantages of the process of collaboration in learning, from the theoretical point of view (e.g. Vygotsky's work) and from research in SLA. He then goes on to describe collaborative action research in education and its use in school-university partnerships. However, to be successful collaborative efforts must have four essential elements: (1) a shared framework, (2) continuing interaction, (3) voluntarism and (4) flexibility and patience. The remainder of the chapter describes the collaboration among students and teachers at the University of Hawai'i and a local high school in the FLPP.

The second part of the book, *Community Language as Resource*, comprises three chapters. In "The Foreign Language Partnership Project," Ann Shonle and Megan Thompson Rolland describe the project which is the focus for this book. It involved hiring and training "at risk" immigrant high school students to provide tutoring in their languages to University of Hawai'i students who were studying these as foreign or heritage languages. The goals were to improve the university students' foreign language fluency as well as to facilitate the high school students' appreciation of their own bilingualism and increase their self-esteem. The project went from 1994 to 1996 and included the Ilocano, Tagalog and Samoan languages. Most of the chapter is devoted to presenting the results of qualitative research carried out to evaluate the project. Basically they show positive results for the university students in terms of second language development and for the high school tutors in terms of general academic and personal development.

In "Emerging identities and heritage language education", Audrey C. Burnett and Zafar Syed report on a qualitative study of the dynamic sociocultural identities of Filipino immigrant high school students and of Filipino American university students studying their heritage languages (Tagalog or Ilocano). The high school students were constantly dealing with issues of identity formation and adjustment to mainstream language and culture. Because their languages are not valued, there was little thought of language maintenance. On the other hand, the university students, whose parents or grandparents were generally immigrants who adopted the dominant language and culture, were now trying to go back to their roots. The authors conclude that it would be better to maintain linguistic and cultural diversity with programs such as the FLPP.

The final chapter, "Conclusions: The benefits and promise of language partnerships" by Ann Shonle and Zafar Syed, reiterates the themes of the earlier chapters and summarizes the positive outcomes of the FLPP.

One problem with the book is the organization. Although the preface and early chapters refer to the FLPP, the reader doesn't find out about what exactly the project involved until the fifth chapter. Also, unfortunately there is no index. But on the positive side, the chapters are well-written and the book is nicely produced and remarkably free of typographical errors. (However, in the Australian context, the term Aboriginal needs to be capitalized.) The FLPP had many beneficial outcomes and certainly paves the way for similar projects to be done elsewhere. While the book is not really relevant to pidgin/creole studies, it will make good reading for those interested in language maintenance among immigrants, issues of social identity, and heritage language teaching.

DA JESUS BOOK

continued from page 5

da sky make jalike you like.
Give us da food we need fo today an every day.
Hemo our shame, an let us go.
Fo all da kine bad stuff we do to you,
Jalike us guys let da odda guys go awready,
An we no stay huhu wit dem
Fo all da kine bad stuff dey do to us.
No let us get chance fo do bad kine stuff,
But take us outa dea, so da Bad Guy no can hurt us.
[Cuz you our King,
You get da real power,
An you stay awesome foeva.
Dass it!]

Reverend Stanley Shiroma, Pastor of Wai'anae Baptist Church and one of the members of Da Pidgin Bible Translation Group, has been using the translation in his church. He observes that when concepts such as sin are translated as 'all da bad kine stuff you wen do or all the bad kine stuff you stay doing' "to people who have spoken pidgin all their lives, they become more clear in meaning" (Kennedy 1997:B3). Other circumlocutions in this passage include let go and hemo da shame for 'forgive/ foregiveness'. The translators' choice of hemo da shame, in particular, shows their sensitivity to local culture and language, key ingredients for a good translation. The loss of face embodied in local notions of 'shame' is a central concept in both the Hawaiian and Asian communities, which make up the the majority of the population of HCE speakers.

The two glossaries Bible Kine Words and English Kine Bible Words attempt to explain cultural concepts from the time of Christ which may be unfamiliar to modern readers and to give HCE explanations for some religious concepts for readers whose only experience has been with the English Bible and its vocabulary. Many of the nearly 250 entries in Bible Kine Words are proper names of people, places, and events such as Canaan, Elijah, Passover, culturally unfamiliar objects such as manna, myrrh, and key religious concepts such as baptize, sacrifice, etc. The English Kine Bible Words contains 125 entries. It is not entirely clear to me how the translators decided which entries to include in which glossary, and which to cross-reference. Thirteen of the Hawaiian words are defined in Bible Kine Words. For example, huhu is listed in Bible Kine Words and glossed as English 'angry', and angry is listed under English Kine Bible Words with the meaning 'huhu'. Six other words are similarly cross-referenced. However, the majority of Hawaiian words are not listed at all. This is puzzling. If these Hawaiian words were used to facilitate comprehension, then there should be no need to gloss any of them. In practice, however, many of the once frequently used Hawaiian loanwords in HCE and local English are no longer known. Nevertheless, some of the ones included in the glossaries are in fact the most commonly used ones judging from surveys I and students at the University of Hawai`i at Hilo have carried out over the past 11 years. Glossed words such as mahke 'die' (Hawaiian make), likewise, ohana 'family' (Hawaiian 'ohana), are almost universally known to local residents, while some of the unglossed ones are not as widely known and used, especially by younger and urban speakers. It is also odd to find in the glossary the very common expression shaka meaning 'ok'. In practice, the hand gesture in which the thumb and little finger sticking upwards are waved is more common than the actual expression.

Luana Kaopuiki, one of the translators, dances hula accompanied by Keli`i Cardenas and Donald "Buddy" Sipe. photo: Suzanne Romaine

Space does not permit a detailed examination of grammar, but a few remarks are in order. The basilectal norm at which the translators have aimed is in evidence in their choice of tense, mood and aspect marking, as well as other key HCE grammatical features such as the zero copula and preverbal negation. An examination of past tense marking in this passage shows how *Da Jesus Book* makes consistent use of wen + verb, where spoken varieties also make use of haed + verb (primarily on the outer islands of Kaua'i and Hawai'i), as well as the usual standard English past tense forms.

Get one wahine wit da peopo. Her was bleeding fo twelve years. Her wen suffa plenny, no matta plenny doctas wen try make her good. Her wen spend all her money, but her neva come good. Her come mo worse. Her wen hear bout Jesus, so her come in back a him wit all da peopo aroun him and her touch his clotheses. Her tinking, "If I can ony touch his clotheses, I goin come good again". Right away her bleeding wen pau and her wen feel inside her dat she no mo suffa. Den da wahine, she wen know wat wen happen to her. She so scared, she shaking. She wen go down by his feet, an wen tell him da whole story. (Mark 5:25-29, 33. *Da Jesus Book*, p. 110-111).

Because the whole point of standardization is to eliminate

variation in form, it is not surprising that the translators consistently employ one form, where other writers vary between HCE variants and standard English forms. This is not to say, however, that there are no instances of variation in *Da Jesus Book*. This passage also reveals varying subject personal pronoun forms she and her (compare also we and us guys in the Lord's Prayer).

Although *Da Jesus Book* takes HCE narrative style into a new domain and breaks significant new ground by using consistent third person narration, something no one had done before, the translation does not, however, resolve in an entirely satisfactory fashion the problem of 'hau fo rait pijin' (see Romaine 1994a and b). In raising the issue of orthography with Joe Grimes (2001), he told me that he had originally tried using the phonemic orthography developed by Odo (1975), but only one member of the translator's team with a training in phonetics from the University of Hawai'i at Manoa liked it. The others felt the orthography treated them as illiterates, and so the Grimeses went in the direction of Pidgin to da Max (Simonson 1988), a collection of cartoons illustrating some common local expressions and one of the most popular written works about HCE.

The Odo orthography has been used primarily by linguists and has no wider recognition among the growing community of creative writers successfully using HCE as a medium for poetry, short stories, and drama. Most writers have chosen the route of adapting English spellings to represent some of the features characteristic of speech varieties in Hawai'i. Only a few writers have on occasion attempted to break free from the spelling conventions of English.

From my own experience of teaching HCE-speaking students at the University of Hawai'i at Hilo over the past 11 years, and speaking to creative writers, most prefer to work out their own ad hoc system rather than use the Odo orthography. In this respect, the Grimeses' decision to adapt English spelling for use in *Da Jesus Book* follows a strong local concensus on the issue of 'hau fo rait pijin', however unsatisfactory a linguist might be inclined to judge it. The dependence on English orthography, whatever its inconsistencies, has decided advantages for readers already literate in English because they know the spelling conventions. Most HCE speakers are not used to seeing the language written, and a phonemic-based orthography can look alien and intimidating. Cooper's (1995:12) comments about Jamaican Creole English apply equally well to HCE: "although there is wide variation in the representation of sounds in the individualized systems of each writer, readers can usually figure out what the symbols mean. The common English orthography base makes the idiosyncratic systems mutually intelligible".

As is already evident from the brief extracts I have looked at here, not all words which could have been respelled are actually respelled. All in all, the respellings and other lexical choices that serve as indicators of HCE are rather small indeed, compared to the number of words which appear in their usual English spellings. If we look again at the Lord's Prayer, there is a total of 160 words, and 51 respellings. However, when the total is adjusted to take into account the fact that six high frequency words account for 30 of the respelled words (i.e. an, da, dem, fo, jalike and kine), there are really only 24 (15%) unique respellings.

These respellings reflect some of the salient phonological features of HCE such as /l/ vocalization (e.g. awready, spesho, peopo), absence of post-vocalic /r/ (e.g. Fadda, shua, fo, ova, hea, dea, odda, foeva), simplification of final consonant clusters ending in t/d (e.g. an, respeck, kine), use of stops where English has interdental fricatives (e.g. da, dass, dea, dey, dem, odda, dat wit, fadda). Some words are affected by more than one process (e.g. fadda, odda), but many more words which could have been respelled to reflect these tendencies are left unaltered. For instance, although absence of post-vocalic tends to trigger respellings of agent nouns and comparative adjectives ending in -er (as seen in ancesta, baptiza, begga, beginna, bigga, betta) as well as other cases such as fo, bitta, and shua, it is not clear why the translators have opted for bear instead of bea, flower instead of flowa, star instead of sta, four instead of foa, and river instead of riva. Similarly, we can ask why three not tree, tousand not tousan, nuff instead of enough, but tough instead of tuff, and why not schoo for school, etc. Interestingly, these inconsistencies turn up within one and the same word, or related word forms. Why do the translators respell lefovas but not left? Why is the first syllable in carpenta not respelled even though many Pidgin speakers would not have post-vocalic /r/ in either the first or last syllable or both?

Other respellings are eye dialect,

Front row: William "Wilz" Romena, Luana Kaopuiki, Paula Kaopuiki, Starlight Kaopuiki. Back row: Barbara F. Grimes, Joseph E. Grimes, Jonathan Burnett, Robert Arakaki, Rev. Franklin S. H. Chun. photo: Suzanne Romaine

continued on next page

i.e. non-standard spellings that mean nothing phonetically because they convey no phonological difference from the standard, or ordinary colloquial English, e.g. cuz, dono, wat, nite/tonite, thru, wen, etc. There is of course, a limit on how far one can go before the familiarity with the English orthographic base which makes the respellings intelligible is rendered useless and readers get confused. Unlike other ad hoc spelling systems, however, this one does not use apostrophes, and words that are respelled seem always to appear in their respelled form. As the translators indicate in their preface, "da same word get da same alphabets every time" (*Da Jesus Book*, iv). Other authors tend to vary a great deal, spelling for instance, ask as ax, ass and ask, and for as for or fo'. *Da Jesus Book*, however, uses only aks and fo, respectively.

The proof is obviously in the pudding. *Da Jesus Book* must already be deemed a great success. According to the website, it has appeared on the Honolulu Advertiser's best seller list four times. As of October 2001, about half the press run of 7,000 copies went quickly, and the rest subsequently sold out. A second printing was to be available in November.

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See back cover.

SALIKOKO MUFWENE

continued from page 11

be dignified as "normal". Even today, some creolists still characterize Creoles as "unnatural" or "irregular". Unfortunately, and as you yourself have been documenting, misconceptions about Creoles have not changed much since the 19th century.

Not having been trained in creolistics, I felt odd trying to analyze Creoles according to the standard training I had received in general linguistics (especially regarding the semantics of time reference) and figuring out how to enrich the theoretical framework I was using. Yet I saw no sound alternative to this uniformitarian approach.

One blessing in my life is that Caribbean scholars paid attention to what I was doing, while the rest of the world hardly cared, including those who had trained me in Chicago. Perhaps I should not be that unfair. Some of my former professors did see the value of my scholarship and eventually brought me back to Chicago.

In any case, the fact that the scholars the closest to the Creoles that interested me did not think I was insane was reassuring enough for me. Today, I also feel that more attention should be paid to Third World scholars who evolve in places where Creoles are spoken. For instance, the papers of Yves Dejean that you have shared with some of us pointedly expose some unjustified assumptions about Creole communities and about the coexistence of Creoles and their acrolects.

Oops! This "acrolect" is a term I too should use with caution. Not too long ago I read an insightful paper by a junior Jamaican scholar who questions the colonial way in which the term has been defined, based on a foreign standard. The author perceptively questions whether it can be defined structurally, especially on a predefined battery of features dictated by a foreign norm (a "normative gaze" from the outside?). She then goes on to reveal embarrassing inconsistencies in our scholarly practice. I hope the journal to which the paper was submitted will adequately appreciate the value of this paper inspired by local sociolinguistic facts observed by a local scholar.

You ask: "How African is Sali in America?". It is difficult to answer that question.

When I returned home in the Congo in 1984, even members of my own family thought I was not fully African any more. Of course, I was not and am not—except in my phenotype, of course. I have been both deculturated from my background and acculturated to other ecologies since I left home.

Besides, I could not help noticing that the Africa I saw in 1984 was no longer the one I had frozen in my memories. There is no static African culture any more than there is any static culture anywhere on this planet. This is one of the misunderstandings in the literature on language endangerment, where scholars forget that members of a population make their culture as they evolve from day to day.

I also know that I am not fully Americanized. I am just an instance of culture contact in North America, absorbing a new culture against the backdrop of an Africa I brought with me in the 1970s, eclectic in my behavior as in my thinking.

You can see the kind of experience and attitude that must have contributed to my "feature pool" theoretical idea and the centrality of the behaviors of individuals in my model of language evolution. This model is not driven only by my familiarity with the literature on population genetics.

I am a world citizen with a strong and nostalgic attachment to part of the Africa in which I grew up, and with aspects of the West that I have selected into my present personality. The ecology of my survival lies in that eclecticism, being adaptive to new living conditions and not losing a sense of who I am—better yet, of what I do not want to be.

In exile, in a new setting, the balancing act in the give-and-take game of life is difficult, though easier when one can live without the impositions of self-conscious behavior. The evolution of one's personality is in some ways like language evolution, by competition and selection, which take place largely without engaging one's own awareness.

On symbolic markets and personal investments in Creole studies and in Creole communities

MICHEL: I remember reading somewhere that identity may be less about who we are than about who we feel we aren't or (made to feel) we can't be. But, don't worry, I won't ask you who is it you don't want to be like!

Here's one other question about the (implicit) biography in your bibliography. As I've promised myself, I do want to glimpse at the essence of the mind behind the ideas.

Besides accident of history and geography (vis-à-vis, e.g., your fieldwork on Jamaican Creole in Jamaica and Gullah in South Carolina), are there any particular salient events—any isolatable turning points—that have attracted or prodded you from one research topic or one theoretical framework to the next?

Here I am thinking about the title of one of your recent articles on (dis)similarities between creolization and language acquisition: "Hints from Tazie"—Tazie being your teen-age daughter born in the USA. This is one of the titles that may suggest that for you the personal is never too far from the intellectual. In your internal and external ecologies, the private and the public are perhaps not binary oppositions, but overlapping regions in a continuum. Of course, you should feel free to (re)draw the line as you see fit for this conversation.

Let's take another topic, perhaps more germane to questions of identity, migration, transformation and extinction, namely your interest in language endangerment. This interest is not so recent. Witness your 1991 article "Some reasons why Gullah is not dying yet" (1991). More recently, you revisit the topic in your book on *The Ecology of Language*

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Evolution. There you further articulate your account of language evolution by competition and selection, subject to factors defined by specific ecologies, toward an understanding of how the socio-economic activities of a population influence the fates of their languages.

From your previous answer, one could reasonably speculate that your approach to language evolution is ultimately connected to a wider probe about personal transformation (via, e.g., migration, career moves and investments in symbolic markets à la Bourdieu). One could also speculate about the metaphysical implications of your work vis-à-vis the intrinsic impermanence of individuated cultural phenomena, personal relationships, life and so on.

I realize that this line of questioning puts me far out on a new-age limb. Do not hesitate to bring me back on earth—or in line. Better yet, just ignore anything you don't want to discuss.

SALI: Oh, dear! you have been asking me tough questions! I have not spent much time putting my life in perspective. I think that typically I have reacted to explanations that I consider implausible or downright outrageous while working with others that I find adequate. The state of the art in creolistics in the early 1980s is really what brought me to the field.

I am grateful that some common threads have emerged in the ways I have approached issues and that I could integrate some of the discussions in a book. For the longest, I considered myself primarily a critic of the scholarship. But it is now more obvious to myself that I have been doing more than just critiquing what others have done. I have actually outlined a research program of my own.

Originally I was interested in morphosyntactic characteristics of Creoles. The trigger was really some dissatisfaction with the state of the art in the early 1980s. Then I was appalled by the unnecessarily special explanations proposed for the development of Creoles—what you've been calling "Creole Exceptionalism" in your own recent work. Since I was not trained in creolistics and thus started without a global view of the field, I basically have continued to react with consternation to some of the accounts I have read.

The decreolization hypothesis seemed outrageous to me, because everything I learned about the history of the relevant territories suggested a different language-evolution trajectory, more consistent with Robert Chaudenson's views on the development of Creoles, which have too hurriedly been dismissed by some as "superstratist". The very suggestion that people from the lower class aspire at speaking like those of the upper class is so contrary to sociolinguistic reality around us. The suggestion that the factors associated with the putative decreolization would have worked on African Americans but not on White speakers of similar vernaculars in the USA is preposterous.

Perhaps another biographical footnote is in order here, in the spirit of your "biography-cum-bibliography" focus: I myself started my life at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder and have often wanted things that the upper strata could afford, but never could I think of wanting to be like them.

In the context of the USA, you can see that at some point linguists must have misinterpreted African Americans' struggle for equality as some desire to (fully) adopt European-American values or become European-American cultural clones. Anybody who has observed affluent African Americans should know much better. There is cultural diversity even in upper middle-class America.

The decreolization hypothesis is an unfortunate misinterpretation in a linguistics that has been primarily exercised by scholars from the white middle class. These scholars seem to not realize that the underprivileged populations whose language varieties they have investigated have, by and large, no social identity problem and have not wanted to be like them or speak a vernacular like theirs (the scholars'), though some of the Creole speakers have felt the need to speak another lingua franca, which happens to be similar to that spoken by the scholars, for socio-economic reasons. The decreolization hypothesis is a pathological interpretation that has little to do with Creole speakers.

Having dealt with such issues in creolistics, it was only natural for me to voice my opinion in the ongoing concerns about language endangerment. The vast majority of linguists who have expressed opinions on the subject matter are theoretical linguists, who know little about language ecology. Their opinions seem to reflect more guilt about European colonization of the past 400 years than a real understanding of language vitality, the broader context in which language endangerment must be discussed. Worse of all, they have expressed more concern about languages as commodities for linguistic analysis than with the costs and benefits to the populations who have shifted languages.

Even a well-documented book such as *Vanishing Voices* (by Daniel Nettle & Suzanne Romaine) fails to address this socio-economic aspect of the subject matter, at least not to my satisfaction. In several ways, as compared to environmentalists in regard to endangered species, linguists concerned with endangered languages sound like amateurs, because they pay no (significant) attention to language ecology, the dynamics of which are poorly understood. The very confusion of language maintenance with language preservation, which is evident in much of the literature, is embarrassing for the field.

It's interesting that you invoke Bourdieu's notion of linguistic market. Anybody who is consistent with that approach should realize that it is inevitable that Creole speakers will preserve their Creole while they are still marginalized socio-economically. And, still following Bourdieu's linguistic-market model, there will be an array of symbolic and real—and sometimes conflicting—interests to be derived from the maintenance of

the Creole.

It's sad, isn't it, that the overwhelming majority of a country's population is crowded at the margins, especially in socio-economic and political terms. The linguistic marginalization is but a reflection of these margins. It did not strike me until this past Summer in Jamaica that the vitality of Patois arises from that marginalization, which leads the population to exploit linguistic differences and identify with Patois. The same must be true of Haiti; I remember you quoting the phrase "Linguistic Apartheid" from Paul Dejean's work. (Things are of course more complex than the simplification I am presenting here.)

A whole lot of the misunderstanding now has to do with misconceptions about how globalization works, but we'll leave that alone.

Let me reach again for a biographical footnote—and I am glad that these footnotes can be put in 'focus'!

The adaptive pressures that you and I as immigrants to North America experience in our linguistic and economic lives differ in significant ways from those of Creole speakers in Jamaica or Haiti, because the socio-economic structures are not the same, and challenges on an immigrant are not the same as those on a native.

The situation in Jamaica reminded me of socio-economic conditions in the Congo and other sub-Saharan African nations where a foreign language is used in the small sector of the economy that participates in, or interfaces with, the global economy of the world. An important difference is that in these other places the languages of the mass are not genetically related to the official languages. Another difference is that the Congo is heavily multilingual with lots of ethnic diversity whereas places like Haiti are virtually monolingual and mono-ethnic. I think in Jamaica ethnic stratification has taken a backseat to economic stratification. But that's a rather complex topic, which I would prefer to discuss elsewhere.

While in Jamaica, it was easy for me to see why, from a political point of view, some have wanted to identify Patois as a separate language, though its speakers are really ambivalent about whether or not it is. My students in Jamaica have also made me more ambivalent about this issue.

One thing that was evident to me is that the worsening economic conditions seem to have led speakers of Patois to use it with more pride as a marker of identity. It could be that I failed to notice it 20 years earlier but it was now more obvious to me that just the opposite of the mythical decreolization is happening in Jamaica. This is one thing that one may want to read in Velma Pollard's work on dread talk.

On the journey ahead

MICHEL: Is there anything that you haven't found time to work on and that you fear you may *never* have time to work on because of your other "competing" (pun intended) interests and obligations? In other words, what other academic pursuits might you have "selected" if your own "ecology" were ever so slightly different?

SALI: My daughter and I recently bought two books on serendipity, which underscore accident as an important factor in the development of research questions and hypotheses. I believe that my main challenge is to discipline myself so that I can continue to address the many questions that arise from my book *The Ecology of Language Evolution*, which I consider the summary of an ambitious research program. I should refrain from other interesting pursuits, except social ones.

My recent visits to Jamaica and East Asia caused me to think more about the heterogeneous ways in which colonization, decolonization, and globalization have taken place around the world and the concurrent diversity of their influences on language evolution. My accidental discovery of the separate social identity of the Peranakan Chinese in the Straights of Malacca (well known to local historians) and the role they played in language evolution in the region has caused me to rethink some assumptions about the development of Creoles, for instance, the mischaracterization of the roles of social status and practicality (of costs and benefits to speakers) in language shift.

Learning about settlement patterns in colonial Singapore has also led me to wonder whether the mixing of Africans on Atlantic and Indian Ocean plantations really had such a counterpart in Hawaii and whether we have been correct in assuming that the ecologies of the developments of Caribbean Creoles are so similar to that of Hawaiian Creole.

Reading more about population movements in the history of mankind, including the work of Cavalli-Sforza and André Martinet, has caused me to wonder why genetic linguistics has ignored, or downplayed, the role of contact in language diversification and whether one can investigate language speciation without being informed by population genetics or studies of populations in general.

Does historical linguistics make any sense if it focuses solely on structural change, without a complement of external language history, including the socio-economic history of populations of speakers?

Does it make sense to study language change without considering patterns of interaction among speakers?

Even if contact of languages is not factored in, how about the variation inherent in a language among its idiolects and among its dialects?

Can one address the actuation question without addressing these factors in language evolution?

I obviously have more research questions than I can pursue and I hope there are junior scholars around interested in addressing some of them.

I am dying to get dirty with field research and structural analysis again, an anticipated healthy break from my present concerns with ecological aspects of language evolution. Every time I read your papers, for instance, I wish I could set some time aside to explore just another aspect of Creole structures,

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especially those presumed to be unproblematic. There's usually a lot of excitement to derive from those unexpected discoveries, and a lot of unsuspected challenges to face, which invite us to reopen books that were closed too soon.

Creolistics is such a poorly exploited gold mine for general linguistics!

PUBLICATIONS ON CREOLES AND AAVE

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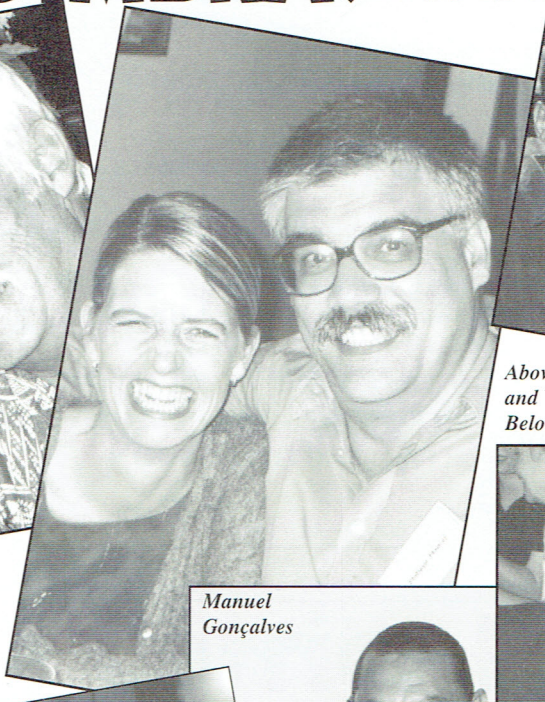

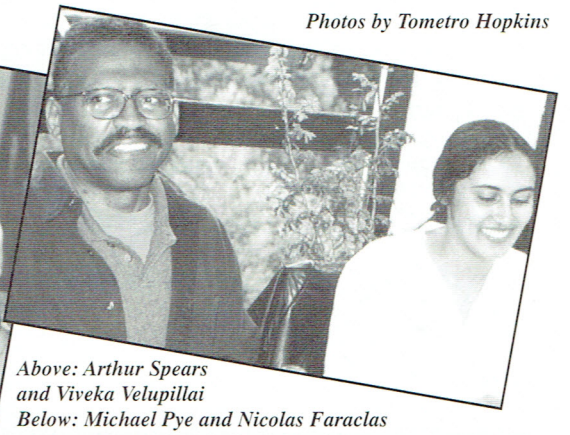

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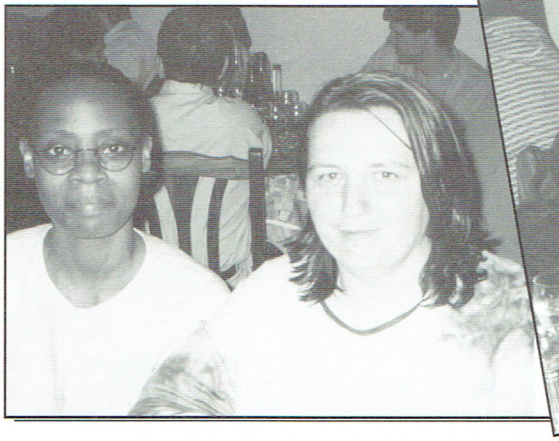

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