The Carrier Pidgin

A newsletter for those interested in pidgin and creole languages

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FOCUS ON CREOLIST: GILLIAN SANKOFF

Miriam Meyerhoff
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Gillian Sankoff cannot scratch a coconut.

This is something of a surprise given (a) her other talents, and (b) the fact that she has spent so much time in the tropics, including two years in Melanesia, and since 1988 about a quarter of each year on windward O'ahu. However, it turns out that there is a sensible reason for this. Her formative years in Papua New Guinea (PNG) were spent mainly at altitudes above 3000 feet—well above the coconut line. So yams..., she knows yams, but give her a coconut rasp and a coconut and she will ask you to do the honours. And you probably will, not just in anticipation of the tasty meal she's cooking, but because just as Gillian likes to help other people out, other people like to help her out.

Gillian Sankoff

Gillian was born Gillian Topham, the daughter of teachers Marjorie and Tom Topham, an Anglo-Canadian family in Montreal. She did all of her university education at McGill University in Montreal finishing her PhD in 1968. Her dissertation and first academic post were in anthropology and throughout her career her background in anthropology has continued to colour her research methods and help define her interests in how language is used by individuals within the broader social matrix. This

continued on next page

IN THIS ISSUE

emphasis comes out clearly (though not exclusively) in her work on pidgins and creoles, where she stresses the interpersonal and sociohistorical aspects of the linguistic code under investigation.

Her first fieldwork was a stint in Jamaica over the summer of 1965 working with Raymond Smith. This involved her first plane trip ever, and the experience almost put her off air travel for good. All three pieces of equipment she had to travel on developed major faults, one going so far as to have to dump all its fuel before making an emergency landing.

However, Jamaica was not her first exposure to West Indian culture and language— she had many West Indian friends throughout graduate school and was a member of the *New World* group headed by Lloyd Best and Kari Levit at McGill. She recalls specifically working on producing the Guyanese independence issue of the *New World* journal.

Despite this early start in fieldwork, it was actually her 1968 doctoral dissertation, *Social aspects of multilingualism in New Guinea*, that established her place as an independent researcher. This was based on an initial period of more than a year's fieldwork in the Buang area near Mumeng in Morobe Province (PNG) during 1966-1967. She followed it up with further fieldwork in PNG in 1968 and 1971. Buang, an Austronesian language, was used in the region along with Tok Pisin, and Gillian became fluent in both languages as she conducted her ethnographic and linguistic research.

In doing so, she became something of a local curiosity and found she would have people brought over to meet her while she was at market in Lae with Buang women, who delighted in showing off their extraordinary white neighbour who spoke such elegant Buang. Samples of her Buang can be heard in a popular series of computer-based exercises, "The Lx Files", which are used to teach basic principles of phonology and sociolinguistics to undergraduates at the University of Pennsylvania. Her work on Buang produced papers on topics such as the poetic structure of Buang song (1977), though since the 1970s this ethnolinguistic branch of her work has been set aside. Her research interests since then have become more and more concerned with language variation and change, however her intimate knowledge of Buang life and language continue to enrich her analyses of variation and change in Tok Pisin and they make her a particularly insightful commentator on others' work on Melanesian languages and linguistics. She credits her knowledge of an Austronesian language with having made her alive to the substrate influences in Tok Pisin, so in a sense it is Buang as much as Tok Pisin itself that has driven her subsequent extensive research on Austronesian grammars and the structure of Melanesian Englishes.

One early paper blending both her ethnographic and linguistic expertise relied on her fluency in both Buang and Tok Pisin. 'Language use in multilingual societies: some alternate approaches' appeared in a widely-read 1972 sociolinguistics text and can still be recommended as a concise introduction to codeswitching. In my experience, undergraduates and beginners in linguistics find it very

approachable, and in its very brevity, it seems to open up a wealth of questions for further research of their own.

The late 1960s was an interesting time to be living in PNG, as it coincided with the move from Australian colonial domination to independence and Gillian turned her fluency in Tok Pisin to practical use, making contributions to education and linguistics in the fledging nation. By writing in Tok Pisin, which upon independence became the national language of PNG, she made linguistic insights accessible to a wide audience of readers (Sankoff 1975a, b).

As soon as she finished her dissertation, she took up a position in the Department of Anthropology at the Université de Montréal. Aside from short visiting professorships at Berkeley, Stanford, and the University of Pennsylvania, she remained in Montreal for the next decade. When she first arrived, there was a lot of work being done on creole speaking communities in the department and with related faculty elsewhere in the university, and she immediately found herself busy supervising students, many of whom have gone on to become significant players in the field of pidgin and creole studies themselves.

"In 1968 when I began teaching at the U. of M.," Gillian says , "I 'inherited' four young women who were doing MA theses as a result of field work in Martinique that we had set up as a joint project with Columbia University. Our department chair, Guy Dubreuil, was a Caribbeanist, and he had been central in getting this program off the ground, along with my colleague in the Linguistics Department, Gilles Lefebvre, who had worked on St. Bart. Of the four, Claire Lefebvre, Suzanne Laberge and Madeleine St-Pierre all went on to do PhDs in Linguistics or Linguistic Anthropology later.

"Then a few years after that I taught Christine Jourdan and supervised her MA on French. Of course Claire and Christine did their PhDs elsewhere but I maintained my contact with both of them and was in fact on Christine's committee at ANU [the Australian National University].

"I also taught Lise Winer at Montreal before she went to Trinidad to work with Lawrence Carrington."

At the same time, Gillian was also advising anthropology students who were doing fieldwork in PNG on non-linguistic topics, and advising students who were working on what was to become the next major area of research defining Gillian's career—multilingualism in Canada. The most notable of these, Pierrette Thibault, has gone on to be a friend and collaborator of long-standing in what is proving to be Gillian's ground-breaking real time study of language variation and change in Montreal French. Some of the research on Montreal French that Gillian undertook throughout the 1970s with Henrietta Cedergren and David Sankoff formed the foundations of quantitative studies of variation for researchers the world over.

During this period, Gillian held several visiting professorships in the US where she collaborated with a number of other notable linguists. Paul Kay and Dan Slobin co-taught the first seminar she ever gave on pidgins and creoles. Papers co-authored with Kay and Penelope Brown, who was a student in the seminar, remain important contributions to the field. She also taught Ellen Woolford at the 1973 Linguistic Society of America Summer Institute in Michigan, and met Tony Naro who was soon to become instrumental in establishing her now extensive ties with researchers in Brazil.

In 1978 the Department of Linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania approached her to see if she would be interested in taking up a position there to help develop the sociolinguistics program William Labov had started in 1970. She accepted, and moved to Philadelphia in 1979.

Upon taking up the position at Penn, Gillian brought valuable ethnographic depth to the linguistics programme and helped to build links between linguistics and the departments of Education and Anthropology. At Penn, she has continued the tradition she started in Montreal of inspiring and advising many students. Many of her Penn students and advisees have made significant contributions to sociolinguistic theory and practice—from Hassan Abd-el Jawad (PhD, 1982) to Marcyliena Morgan (PhD 1989) and Carmen Fought (PhD,1997).

Shortly after her move to the US, she accepted Tony Naro's invitation to take up a visiting professorship in Brazil, and she has regularly taught as a visiting professor there giving lectures in Brazilian Portuguese. Her ties to Brazil are also evident in the PhD topics she has supervised.

"When I moved to Penn, I decided that if I was going to live in the United States I had to learn some Spanish. So I was taking extension courses in Spanish when Tony invited me to Brazil. I went down there and loved it, and that was the end of Spanish for me. It had to be Portuguese after that."

However, despite the diverse range of sociolinguistics theses she has supervised, Gillian's interests in language structure, language change, and social interaction are perhaps reflected most clearly in the dissertations she has supervised on pidgins and creoles. They include Maria Luiza Braga (Capverdean Creole), Joan Fayer (the 18th century pidgin of Nigeria, 'Old Calabar'), Shobha Satyanath (Guyanese Creole), Mark Parisi (Louisiana French Creole), Gayla Iwata (Haitian Creole), Peter Patrick (Jamaican Creole), Miriam Meyerhoff (Bislama) and currently Tom Morton (Palenquero) and Tara Sanchez (Papiamentu).

And she can be credited with a hand in shaping other creolists' careers, too. Michel DeGraff, like

continued on page 29

LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA:

By Pilar Turégano
University of Valencia, Spain

Introduction

Pidgins, as every reader of The Carrier Pidgin knows, have arisen around the world as a result of a desire for communication in different circumstances, the most important of which, because of the numerous outcomes deriving from it, has been European colonialism.

English-based pidgins emerged in Africa, in the Caribbean, in Asia and in the Pacific. There are common features to all these pidgins, some of which are undoubtedly due to the use of certain universal strategies. However, local circumstances have resulted in differences among them. For instances, in the Pacific there was not slavery but indentured labour, and this seems to have favoured a stronger reliance of speakers on the substrate. Adults, it seems, played an important role in the creation and development of Tok Pisin whereas it could be argued that the role of children was more crucial in the Caribbean.

External circumstances also have an influence on the degree of development of the pidgin. Some pidgins have extended their use beyond their original purpose in the colonial society and have become useful in a high number of contexts. This is true, for example, of the pidgins that developed in Papua New Guinea (PNG), Cameroon and Nigeria. In the case of Tok Pisin, the range of functions has widened considerably, and while restricted variants still serve limited purposes (normally trading), Tok Pisin is an extended pidgin which has become the primary language of an increasing number of PNG speakers.

The analysis of the interaction between language and external history in different stages shows how Tok Pisin has become a dynamic system in continuous process of adaptation to new contexts. The features of current Tok Pisin provide clear evidence of changes taking place in this language now.

The sociolinguistic situation in Papua New Guinea today

The population of Papua New Guinea (5,190,786 according to the 2000 PNG census) is overwhelmingly rural (89.46%) and it is scattered in mountain valleys and on tiny islands. The country is the most linguistically heterogeneous society in the world, 823 languages are spoken. The diversity index is 0.99. The need for a common language, which is not associated specifically with any single social group, might be considered the most important factor motivating the expansion of the pidgin spoken there. Tok Pisin is spoken as a second language by 2 million speakers and it is the first language for an estimated 50,000 speakers.

A very low percentage of the population has completed basic education. Only 32.18% of the people 10 years or older have completed grade 6 (lower primary education). In the 1970s, English was the language of formal education, but education policies in the 1990s have enhanced the role of communities in the process of decision-making. Each village can choose the language to be used in the first three years of elementary education. In spite of this liberal approach, however, English continues to be the language most frequently used in schools.

English is widely used in the media (with the exception of the Wantok newspaper). It is the language of technology and of relationships with the international community.

History of Papua New Guinea

For the purposes of this paper, it may be useful to remind readers of some facts relating to the development and expansion of Tok Pisin. Exploration of the Pacific before the nineteenth century appears not to have involved relevant in-depth linguistic contact with the islanders. It was not until the nineteenth century that significant interaction started.

Traders and whalers visited the majority of the islands. Their sporadic contacts resulted in a jargon made up of lexical items from English and other languages where all the resources at hand were put to use in order to establish communication.

Later, the establishment of land stations where sandalwood and bêche-de-mer were manufactured allowed for closer contact among speakers of different

PIDGINIZATION, CREOLIZATION AND DECREOLIZATION IN TOK PISIN[1]

languages since they worked together for certain periods of time.

Plantations provided the environment where development of pidgins could take place. Sugar plantations were established in Queensland in 1863 and copra plantations in Samoa in 1867.

The constant need for labourers made recruiters move from island to island. Labourers from many different backgrounds were put together on the main plantations (Queensland, Samoa, Fiji) and early Melanesian pidgin emerged. However, with the declaration of a German protectorate over the northeast part of New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago in 1884, the area became isolated from other plantations and natives were only taken to Samoan plantations. As a consequence, the early Melanesian pidgin started diverging into two main variants—the pidgin spoken in Queensland and its relative spoken in Samoa.

After working three-year contracts, indentured labourers returned to their villages where they continued speaking their local languages but using Tok Pisin when interaction was necessary with speakers of other languages.

Returning labourers took the pidgin, already in a stabilized form, to New Guinea, first to recruiting areas and then to their villages. They played a role as brokers between the local people and the colonial society and some also served as teachers of Tok Pisin for young men willing to be recruited to work on plantations.

The expansion of Tok Pisin would probably not have occurred without the 'pax Germanica', that is, the gradual pacification of New Guinea that occurred between 1884-1914. The new situation allowed for intertribal communication, which had never happened to such an extent before. The German colonial administration favoured high geographical mobility by means of the construction of roads and other works in different parts of the country. The Highlands were reached by colonial representatives during this time. The prestige of Tok Pisin grew considerably, it was given recognition in the system of village administration, its knowledge often being the criterion for appointing tultuls or interpreters.

Australia occupied German New Guinea at the beginning of World War I. After Germany's defeat, Australia received German New Guinea as a mandate in 1921 and English became the official language of the colony. However, Tok Pisin was firmly entrenched and was being used in a number of new contexts. Although English was the official language, the distance between the Australians and the native population made Tok Pisin grow making use of internal resources and loans from local languages.

The Japanese occupied the Mandated Territory in 1942. American and Australian forces fought to drive them from the territory. The final surrender took place only at the end of the war in 1945. Armies realised that linguistic communication needed to be established to control the population. As a consequence, the first serious linguistic efforts to analyse the language took place then. In clear contrast with the distance that characterized interaction in previous stages, Tok Pisin began to be used to promote solidarity between the occupying armies and the indigenous population. While in pre-war times Tok Pisin had been a language for oral communication, during World War II it became important in its written form when used in pamphlets.

In 1946 Australia was given the right to administer the Territory of New Guinea and Papua. English teaching was then promoted and the renewed contact of Tok Pisin with its original lexifier had a considerable influence on the development of urbanized Tok Pisin.

Tok Pisin

The historical events briefly recounted above had immediate consequences on the development of Tok Pisin. Papua New Guineans created the language little by little, incorporating whatever elements were necessary to adapt the language to the new circumstances.

As a jargon it was characterized by a high degree of individual variation. Individuals made use of any resources at hand in order to communicate. Speakers of the jargon used the sounds in their local languages to pronounce the new lexical items. Alternation between the jargon and the local vernaculars was common. In the early stages of contact there was no grammar. Vocabulary is acquired before grammar in pidgins as well as in first and second languages.

The jargon was not solely a Pacific creation. It was,

continued on page 32

OBITUARY

WILLIAM STEWART (1922-2001)

by Edward H. Bendix
Graduate Center, CUNY

A descendant of New England missionaries who had settled in Hawaii in the 19th century, William A. Stewart was born in the multicultural environment of Honolulu and grew up speaking English, Portuguese, Spanish, and Hawaiian. The family house was in a neighborhood that had become Portuguese. He identified with his Portuguese playmates while knowing he was not one of them.

Stewart moved to California with his parents at the age of eight. His parents were killed in a car accident a year later, and he was raised in West Los Angeles by his father's parents. His sense of ambiguous identity led to a lifelong interest in ethnic minorities, such as black populations, and he was influenced by a high school teacher who was a German Jewish refugee and who took Stewart under his wing. He used the Spanish he had learned from his Puerto Rican playmates in Hawaii in his travels around California and on a stint as a cowboy on a Mexican cattle ranch. He eventually added Yiddish, German, French, Dutch, Ladino, Wolof, Haitian, Jamaican Creole, Sranan, Gullah, and others to his list. All his life, however, he considered Portuguese the most beautiful of all languages.

Stewart was drafted into the Army and served as a translator in Paris and Frankfurt, having qualified in five languages. After completing his military service, he earned a bachelor's and a master's degree from UCLA in 1955 and 1958, respectively.

His outspoken nature landed him in a Brazilian jail when he was a Fulbright scholar at the University of Pernambuco in 1959-60. He was arrested for heckling a Brazilian general during a speech and was not allowed to contact the U.S. embassy for assistance because he spoke Portuguese so well that the Brazilian authorities did not believe he was an American. He continued to be a rebel and maverick all his life.

In 1960 he became a staff linguist at the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, D.C., which led to residence in Africa and the Caribbean. In Senegal he researched for and wrote a teaching manual of Wolof, for use by the U.S. Government. While at the center he also tutored young black children who were having difficulty learning to read. He and a colleague, Joan Baratz, tape-recorded the children's conversations and produced a series of readers that included texts in both their African American Vernacular English and standard English as a means of teaching reading and moving them to learning the standard. Using the primers, the children quickly learned to read. Joey Dillard wrote about Stewart's special relationship to children. "Although William A. Stewart often seemed scornful of the knowledge of adults, and even seemed to refuse to listen to them because they could have nothing to tell him, he always listened attentively to children and assumed that any child could teach him something valuable. It was a pleasure to see him drop his sometimes brusque demeanor and listen attentively to a youngster. His pioneering article on Liberian Pidgin English, almost lost in the pack of his many works, was based upon information provided by an eight-year-old Liberian boy. The Urban Language Study of the Center for Applied Linguistics in 1965-67 was made possible because Stewart took black children from the Adams-Morgan district (then a slum) into his apartment and demonstrated his new gadget of an egg cooker to them. (He fed them eggs, too, by the way.)

"Although the project ended badly, plagued by administrative woes, it did advance the careers of several linguists, produce the excellent anthropological study *Soulside* by Ulf Hannerz, and serve as a springboard for Stewart and Joan Baratz to go on to the Education Study Center. Surely no other white man knew as much about black children as William A. Stewart."

In 1968, Stewart and Joan Baratz formed the

Education Study Center in Washington, which was devoted to helping inner-city children learn to read by building on their black English. They distributed their primers to several Roman Catholic schools in the Washington area, planning to switch the students over to standard English texts as soon as they began to read. Stewart recounted that among the teaching nuns were Italians who, from cultural experience, could understand that learning to master the standard language does not prevent you from nurturing your own dialect. But the black nuns were opposed, seeing such use of black dialect as dragging the children back down. Stewart told them of his experience as a diver of being caught in an undersea wreck and being able to see the surface above him through holes in the vessel. He had to swim back down to get out and then up to the surface.

But a hailstorm of protest quickly engulfed the project. "Some misinformed people got the wrong idea that he was trying to teach them how to speak black dialect," said Joey Dillard, a linguist who worked with Stewart at the Center for Applied Linguistics and later wrote a definitive text called *Black English*. "They kind of hounded him out of the school system," Dillard recalled, adding that he and Stewart were regarded as "dangerous radicals" in the 1960s for calling black English a separate and legitimate speech variety, but Stewart "was the most dangerous of all, because he was the most outspoken and most knowledgeable." Much confusion arose from the fact that, as a linguist, Stewart considered this vernacular a separate language system in a technical linguistic sense of the term "a language," whereas the everyday understanding of the expression "a language" is a quite different sociopolitical concept in which the written form is seen as "the language." This was not the last time that dialect-to-standard transitional readers were misunderstood as trying "to teach the children black English" because of lack of understanding that learning to read involves learning to match those black marks on the page to the sounds, words, and meanings of the vernacular the child already knows and not to those of the standard the child has yet to learn.

Stewart demonstrated that speakers of the black vernacular were in fact speaking what remained of an Atlantic English Creole dialect after much decreolization in the direction of local white speech over time. But a more important aspect of the dialect-standard communication problem both in schools and out that he demonstrated and called "pseudocomprehension" is as yet grasped by only a few professionals in the field who have the requisite understanding of how human language works. Common understanding of the nature of language is subject to the abstraction that words and their meanings have an existence independent of the speakers of a language. Since meaning exists and is created in any physical sense only in people's heads, words that dialect speakers and speakers of a standard variety both recognize because they sound the same on the surface may in fact be given different underlying semantic and grammatical interpretations. Stewart pointed out that decreolization proceeds faster in the surface imitation of standard forms and structures than it does in change in the less observable cognitive phenomena of underlying semantic and grammatical meaning, what he called "surface mimicry." This leads to the misperception both by speakers using their most decreolized speech and by speakers of a standard that the speech (or writing) of the former *is* a form of the standard, such that the latter speakers may think they detect some nonstandard or incomprehensible usages that in fact are meaningful in their own right for the former and, further, try to interpret the utterances for what they mean to them in the standard.

"He was one of the founding figures in the movement to teach black children standard English as a separate language system and argued passionately for that approach until the end of his life," said John H. McWhorter, a professor of linguistics at UC Berkeley.

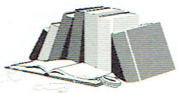
In 1973, Stewart won a National Science Foundation grant to study the evolution of Gullah, a dialect of Atlantic English Creole. Gullah was spoken largely by rural blacks living on the Sea Islands and coastal areas from South Carolina to Florida. The grammatical features of this speech variety had been widely seen by educators as evidence of ignorance or linguistic carelessness, but Stewart demonstrated that Gullah speech adhered to grammatical rules different from those of standard English and as regular as the latter.

He was called as an expert witness in the landmark Lau case in 1974, which led to the establishment of bilingual education in California. He also testified in a 1979 Michigan case that forced the Ann Arbor school district to take account of the black English of their students who did not know stardard English. Less far-reaching but attention-grabbing was his role in a 1986 dispute between the owners of Caesars Palace in Las Vegas and New York developer Donald Trump. Trump wanted to change the name of his Atlantic City hotel-casino from Trump Plaza to Trump Palace. Caesars won in part because the court accepted Stewart's new principle that "palace" was a protected term since it was not being used in its literal meaning. This was one of a number of court cases in which he served as expert witness. Lawyers were afraid of him, even those he worked for. The lawyers considered themselves to be experts on language, and Stewart kept revealing the weak foundations of their beliefs and undermining their sense of security.

After teaching appointments at Georgetown University, where he lectured on Spanish and Portuguese, Johns Hopkins University, and Teachers College at Columbia University, he joined the faculty of the Graduate Center of the City University of New York in 1973 and became a full professor in 1984, teaching pidgin and creole languages, phonetics, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, and forensic linguistics. He taught courses in the latter based on his experience, and even some lawyers took his course. He helped many students in their graduate studies toward the Ph.D. During his time at CUNY he was offered a Ph.D. degree for all his important work, since he never had bothered to earn one before, but, typically, he declined.

Stewart leaves no immediate family, and his ashes are interred at the National Cemetery in Honolulu.

continued on page 31



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, Jeff Williams, 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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The missing Spanish creoles: recovering the birth of plantation contact languages. By John McWhorter. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000. Pp. xi, 281.

Reviewed by John M. Lipski
Pennsylvania State University

Most of the important concepts in creole studies have arrived via controversial and hard-hitting pronouncements, rather than modest accretions to previous scholarship. Among the seismic events which have stirred the creolist community are the (at the time) revolutionary notion that creoles are 'real' languages, strong monogenesis, relexification, and the language bioprogram. With the book under review McWhorter delivers another blow to the foundations of contemporary creole scholarship by claiming, in effect, that 'plantation creoles' in the Caribbean and elsewhere were not formed on plantations at all, but rather in trading posts far-removed in time and space from their eventual homes. The call to arms comes from the striking lack of Spanish-based creoles in the quintessentially plantation economies of colonial Latin America (or for that matter, anywhere else in the world), as compared to the abundant Portuguese-, French-, English-, and even Dutch-based creoles which experienced no impediment to proliferation in what appear to be identical sociohistorical conditions throughout the Americas. And how has such an extraordinary alternative to received wisdom escaped the attention of several generations of the world's best creolists? McWhorter's answer embodies as much psychoanalysis of creole studies and creolists' attitudes as linguistic analysis of the so-called plantation creoles and their African and European ancestors. For reasons of expediency, the present review will concentrate on the latter dimension.

M begins by examining 'Where are the Spanish creoles?' To the extent that his affirmation that no true Spanish-based creoles exist, the remainder of his claims grow in credibility. One test case is the Colombian Chocó, where Africans outnumbered Europeans for several centuries in this isolated region. This would seem an ideal candidate for creole formation, but contemporary Chocó Spanish shows only the signs of geographical and sociolinguistic marginality, but is grammatically identical to other varieties of Spanish (although Schwegler 1996a claims that the prevalent double negation stems from a previous Spanish-based creole, while Ruíz García 2000 has found some vestigial deviations from monolingual Spanish grammar which may be the fossil remains of a long-disappeared Chocó creole or semi-creole). However, M's bleak description of the inaccessibility of Spanish to African slaves in the Chocó leaves open the question of how ANY native variety of Spanish penetrated this region. The fact that even the most uneducated and geographically isolated *chocoano* speaks grammatically standard Spanish (*modulo* the features typical of rural illiterate speakers worldwide) reveals that earlier barriers to access of full Spanish were completely penetrated, which does not exclude the possibility that prior to acquiring standard Spanish Chocó residents spoke some kind of Spanish-derived creole. The Chota Valley of highland Ecuador contains another speech community in which Africans once significantly outnumbered Europeans, but whose modern Spanish dialect shows only the mildest traces of an earlier restructured variety (Lipski 1986, 1987; Schwegler 1994, 1999). However, the Chota Valley is not geographically isolated (today the Pan American Highway passes through the region), and at least since the middle of the 19th century its inhabitants have always been able to freely travel to the remainder of Spanish-speaking Ecuador, surely ample time for any earlier creole to have been completely erased.

Moving to demolish arguments that Spanish-based creoles do exist in Latin America, M writes of Papiamentu and Palenquero, as well

as a putative pan-Caribbean *bozal* Spanish creole espoused by Megenney (1984, 1985, 1993), Schwegler (1996a, 1996b, 1999), Perl (1985, 1987, 1989), Ziegler (1981), Granda (1968, 1971), and others as ultimately being based on Portuguese, therefore formed in Portuguese slaving stations on the West African coast. However, the debate on the origins of the two existing creoles is far from resolved. In particular, the Spanish vs. Portuguese origins of Papiamentu represents a virtual tie among scholars, while the obvious affinities between Palenquero and the Portuguese creoles of the Gulf of Guinea are matched by the equally strong affinities with Spanish, which even according to the Portuguese-origin hypothesis (e.g. Schwegler 1996b) are not due to subsequent decreolization or relexification. Even Philippine Creole Spanish (Chabacano), dismissed by M (following Whinnom 1956) as relexified from Portuguese and—amazingly—as 'having emerged via marriages between Iberian men and Philippine women' (p. 14) is not unequivocally derived from Portuguese, and most probably had origins far more complex than those suggested by M (Lipski 1992). As to the likelihood that any vestiges of now extinct Spanish-based creoles in Latin America will turn up, which M mockingly compares (p. 40) to 'the hope many Western explorers have had of finding a living brontosaur in Central Africa,' M fails to mention the compelling evidence unearthed by Ortiz López (1998), who interviewed elderly Afro-Cubans in that nation's most remote regions and discovered not only accurate imitations of the last generation of *bozales* (including family members of some of the oldest informants), but also post-creole traits in their own speech, phenomena which Cuban linguists have long declared as extinct in their own country. Similarly, Green (1991) describes the speech of some Afro-Dominicans who evidence creoloid features in their speech (although Lipski 2001 suggests that at least some of these traits may originate in language disorders). Similarly, the ritualized *bozal* imitations of the *negros congos* of Panama (Lipski 1989) hint at earlier more restructured Spanish, as does the *bozal* 'talking in tongues' found among some Afro-Cuban adepts (Castellanos 1990). True, these approximations to Spanish are less grammatically deviant and systematically restructured than, e.g., Haitian Creole or Palenquero, but do fall in line with some Caribbean English creoles and Indian Ocean French creoles. In short, M has been a bit hasty in dismissing the possibility that any Spanish-based creole ever existed in Latin America, and has accepted facile Afro-Portuguese origins for Papiamentu, Palenquero, and putative Afro-*bozal* creoles, with only the most perfunctory acknowledgement of significant scholarship which contradicts these conclusions. While not invalidating the remainder of his affirmations, the looseness with which the Spanish data have been interpreted raises the stakes for the quality of evidence offered in support of the non-plantation origin of Afro-American creoles.

'The Atlantic English-based creoles' examines structural similarities among the aforementioned creoles, and concludes that they all derive from a single source. Among the common features are locative copula *de*, equitive copula *da / na*, modal *fi / fu*, anterior marker *bin*, and second-person plural pronoun *unu*, among others. M argues against multiple origins by asserting the unlikelihood that all or even most of these features would emerge spontaneously in all the regions where Afro-English creoles are spoken, in the face of plausible alternative forms. Barbados and St. Kitts emerge as the prime contenders for the origins of Caribbean English creoles, assuming that they were formed in the Caribbean at all. This matter is pursued further in 'The creationist at a cocktail party,' which proposes an explicit Afrogenesis account of English-derived Atlantic creoles, ultimately claiming that the Coromantin castle in the Gold Coast was the ultimate birthplace of all Afro-English creoles. M asserts that Sranan was already in existence prior to the Dutch takeover of Surinam in 1667, meaning that this creole was spoken by black slaves working in close proximity to white workers, counterindicating the limited access model of pidgin formation. The same holds for 17th century Barbados, where the massive black-to-white ratio had yet to arise. In examining the history of the Coromantin fort, M concludes that a Gold Coast pidgin English, formed before 1640, was the prime source for Afro-Atlantic English-derived creoles. Sranan, Ndjuka, and Jamaican Maroon language would then be the most conservative survivals of this early pidgin. According to M, castle slaves did not form the pidgin because of inability to acquire English, but rather because they needed only a basic mechanism to communicate with the English and with other African slaves. Although not entirely at odds with historical facts, the Coromantin scenario must come to terms with such items as the pronoun *unu*, as well as *okra*, *backra*, and other lexical items, apparently present only or predominantly in Igbo. M acknowledges that the Igbo presence in the Caribbean was never overwhelming, but proposes that Igbos were prominent as castle slaves at Coromantin. In the absence of convincing documentation, the account remains speculative.

'Off the plantation for good' makes similar claims for French-based creoles, namely that all (including at least Mauritian in the Indian Ocean) derive from a single West African source, in this case a Senegalese French pidgin, circa 1650. Aside from postulating historical scenarios which support this hypothesis, M compares several grammatical features of Haitian and Mauritian creoles which he claims can only be explained by a common ancestor. They include use of 'with' as the 'and' conjunction, some preverbal TMA particles, right-dislocated copulas, the postposed determiner *–la*, as well as phonological features such as lack of lexical tone and lack of uniform CV structure. M in turn correlates these features with those of Wolof in constructing his monogenetic Senegal pidgin model. Once more, we have no pre-established notion of the degree of grammatical similarity required to sustain a plausible monogenetic argument, nor of the

nature of such grammatical congruences. Nor is the postulated Wolof base above reproach, particularly given the well-documented and more extensive parallels between e.g. Haitian creole and the Ewe-Fon cluster of Gbe languages (cf. Lefebvre 1998).

Turning first to similarities and differences between Caribbean French (CFC) creoles (typified by Haitian and the Lesser Antilles) and the Indian Ocean (IO) creoles (Mauritian and Seselwa), we note the following correspondences, in addition to those mentioned by M: invariant indefinite articles, deictics separate from determiners, and specific combinations of TMA particles. Differences include lack of postposed plural marker (IO), non-use of the 3 pl. pronoun as plural marker (IO), lack of postposed possessive pronouns and NPs (IO), lack of postposed deictics (IO). The syntax of the Caribbean French creoles is substantially less 'French-like' than the IO creoles by these criteria, and assuming that the CFC traits derive from the putative Senegalese pidgin French, one must appeal to an otherwise undocumented 'decreolization' to account for their absence in the IO French creoles, a decreolization which left amazingly intact such equally non-French constructions as the TMA particle system and definite determiners postposed to NPs.

Nor is Wolof the most likely source of all creole French grammatical structures. Wolof does not have: invariant definite articles; 3 pl. pronoun as plural marker; separate deictics and definite articles; postposed possessive pronouns (except for 3rd person); combination of several TMA markers; future/irrealis particle between subject and verb; preverbal negation. All of the above traits are found in Caribbean French creoles, while fewer occur in IO French creoles. In defense of the Ewe-Fon contribution to (at least) Haitian and other Caribbean French creoles, both Ewe and Fon share with Haitian: definite articles postposed to NPs; invariant definite articles; separate deictics and definite articles; postposed deictics; postposed possessive pronouns (only 1st and 2nd persons in Ewe); postposed possessive NPs (Fon only); combinations of TMA markers; location and distribution of TMA particles. In fact there is no major grammatical structure found in Haitian creole which is present in Wolof but not in Fon or Ewe; there are, as has been seen, several major creole features shared by Haitian and Ewe-Fon but absent from Wolof. The structural similarities between Wolof and the Caribbean French creoles (and to a lesser degree the IO French creoles) are indeed significant, and given the high degree of French activity in the Senegambia during the height of the French slave trade a Wolof contribution to French-derived creoles is quite plausible. The comparative data nonetheless tip the scales away from a simplistic Senegal pidgin origin for the world's French-based creoles.

Part of M's claim of the pre-Caribbean origins of Caribbean French creoles is a 1671 text from Martinique, in which apparently a full-formed French creole is already present, thus dealing 'a crushing blow to all claims that plantation creoles emerged with large slave influxes, because in the 1670s Martinique was just beginning its transformation to a sugar economy' (167). However, most of the 'creole' features of the text are prevalent in French-derived pidgins and even vestigial French dialects elsewhere, including fossilized determiners (e.g. *zépaules* 'shoulders'), bare subject pronouns as reflexive pronouns, posposed *–lá* as deictic/determiner. The supposed postposed pronoun as possessive is instantiated only by *moi na pas mire* BAS *LI*, which M translates as 'I didn't see the bottom part of it,' but which could just as well be 'I didn't/couldn't see under it' with *bas* acting as a more French-like preposition. This leaves only a single instance of *té* as anterior marker: *moi té tini peur* 'I was afraid' to support the claim that this text exemplifies fully-formed Martinique creole.

One debatable component of M's argumentation is the notion that 'plantations themselves did not pidginize input to slaves' and therefore that '... on Spanish plantations, there were not two targets—the local standard and the creole—but just one, the local standard. Therefore, Spanish slaves simply acquired a second-language Spanish, and passed this on to subsequent generations' (p. 203). This is hair-splitting at best, since Africans' documented approximations to Spanish in the Americas often contained all the traits normally ascribed to pidgins. If by lack of pidginization M means that fluent Spanish speakers never deliberately modified their language when speaking to African *bozales*, this may also not be accurate, given well-documented imitations of Afro-Hispanic pidgin throughout Latin America, including documents written by Africans or their immediate descendents in a demonstrably stable pidgin, such as the 'Proclama que en un cabildo de negros congos de la ciudad de La Habana pronunció su presidente, Rey Monfundi Siliman' (ca. 1808). For Alvarez Nazario (1974:137), this document is the oldest specimen of Afro-Antillean Spanish, but the format of this pamphlet, giving a pidginized Spanish version 'en dialecto natural y propio de ellos' [in their own natural dialect] in one column and an *en face* translation into Spanish in a parallel column, casts some doubt on the authenticity of the examples, or at the very least of the authorship, since the text appears to have been written by a [white] native speaker of Spanish, rather than by a true Congo, whether *bozal* or Cuban-born.

Equally problematic is the notion that 'the prevalence of creole competence was due to the creole becoming established as the linguistic expression of black identity, as blacks came to interact more exclusively with one another than with whites.' The idea itself is neither objectionable nor implausible (McWhorter rightly points to vernacular African-American English as a contemporary example), but leaves unanswered the question of why creoles did not develop in areas such as the Chocó, the Chota Valley, and other areas of Spanish America in which blacks remained an isolated majority population for long periods of time. M answers the question by affirming that only pidgins imported from Africa developed into creoles in the

Americas, and that plantations were not conducive to pidginization of Spanish or other European languages. The reasoning is circular, however, since the only 'evidence' is the fact that creoles did not develop in Spanish American plantations (if indeed they did not). There is nothing inherent in the plantation or post-plantation environment which is qualitatively different than the trading post and castle slave venues described by M, and no a priori reason why blacks on a plantation should not adopt an L2 variety of Spanish as an ethnolinguistic solidarity marker (assuming that one can defensibly differentiate pidgins and rudimentary L2 approximations).

In keeping with the tradition of sweeping claims and leaps of theory, McWhorter has delivered a milestone contribution to creole studies. His model of off-the-plantation creole genesis is plausible, and not at odds with available historical, demographic, and linguistic evidence. To the extent that there is something 'special' about creole languages, this specialness can only reside in the intersection of linguistic features, attitudes, demographics, and historical trajectories, none of which is by itself sufficient to define a creole. The analysis does suffer from incomplete and selective interpretation of comparative creole data, and from a number of questionable a priori assumptions, without which the likelihood of the proposed model diminishes proportionately. By the author's own admission not a finished study, this book is a rallying cry aimed at all creolists, a challenge not just to rebut specific claims with equally specific quibbles, but to constantly re-evaluate the theoretical underpinnings of our discipline.

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Aspekt und Tempus im Frankokreol. Semantik und Pragmatik grammatischer Zeiten im Kreol unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Französisch-Guyana und Martinique. By Stefan Pfänder, collection ScriptOralia, Gunter Narr Verlag, Tübingen. 2000

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Pourquoi commencer une étude strictement grammaticale par une réflexion sur la notion du temps dans la littérature et dans les sciences humaines en général ? La réponse de Pfänder est claire : il ne veut pas

mélanger les genres mais aborder le sujet dans sa globalité. C'est là la première qualité du travail *Aspekt und Tempus im Frankokreol* paru dans la collection ScriptOralia chez Gunter Narr (il s'agit d'une version modifiée de la thèse de l'auteur) : Prologue et épilogue avec leurs références entre autres à Chamoiseau et Dostojewski donnent le cadre, permettent au lecteur non-initié de découvrir que la linéarité temporelle, si chère à la tradition judéo-chrétienne, est loin d'être la seule manière d'aborder l'expérience du temps, partagée par tous les humains. Ces préliminaires sont d'autant plus importants que le créole est analysé dans le contexte de l'oral et de l'écrit, contexte dans lequel des évolutions culturelles jouent un rôle de première importance.

Le chapitre I définit les objectifs de l'ouvrage :

Description du système aspecto-temporel des régions isolées de la Guyane française (forêt et savane).

Relation de cette variété de créole avec d'autres créoles à base française dans le domaine de l'aspect et du temps.

Répondre à la question de savoir si le créole guyanais témoigne d'une phase plus ancienne de la créolisation comme le suggèrent les observations de Guy Hazaël-Massieux.

Après une présentation du corpus très détaillée mais passionnante (chapitre II) ainsi qu'une brève et utile mise au point méthodologique (chapitre III), Pfänder définit le cadre théorique dans le chapitre IV :

Ainsi, l'aspect qui est au centre de l'étude permet de présenter une action comme étant vue de l'extérieur (aspect perfectif) ou de l'intérieur (aspect imperfectif). Contrairement au temps, l'aspect est une catégorie binaire et non-déictique. Le temps concerne la perspective que prend le locuteur pour situer un évènement E dans le temps. Il peut le situer par rapport au moment de l'énonciation (Sprechzeitpunkt, S) ou par rapport au temps de référence (Referenzzeit R).

Le chapitre V constitué d'une centaine de pages est consacré à l'analyse du corpus entièrement établi par Pfänder. Après une brève présentation de l'état de la question (V.1), Pfänder procède à des analyses individuelles de différents problèmes. Le sous-chapitre V.2.1. portant sur « Processualité et habitualité » explique, entre autres, la polyfonctionnalité du *ka* guyanais qui exprime le plus souvent le processuel. Il confronte ces fonctions à des exemples de divers autres créoles. Tout en restant centré sur l'analyse de *ka* (toujours en contraste avec Ø), le sous-chapitre V.2.2. présente les données du plus ancien document de la Caraïbe « La passion selon St-Jean en langage nègre ». Pfänder arrive à la conclusion tout à fait révélatrice (voir ci-dessus, troisième objectif du livre) que contrairement aux Petites Antilles, le *ka* des régions guyanaises isolées et le *ka* de la Passion assument avant tout la valeur progressive. Le sous-chapitre V.3.2 soulève le problème de l'incidence d'une action survenant subitement dans un procès en cours. Il est axé sur la comparaison des données créoles avec des modèles développés pour le français (Weinrich, Pollak). Le chapitre V.2.4. étudie les valeurs modales du marqueur *ka* en introduisant la notion de « Regresspflicht » (responsabilité communicative) empruntée au langage juridique. V.2.5. consacré aux verbes 'statiques' (vs. 'dynamiques') analyse surtout l'interaction entre les catégories d'aspect et de *Aktionsart* pour arriver à la fin du chapitre à la formulation d'une hypothèse centrale : plus l'aspect progressif est grammaticalisé, c'est-à-dire plus sa signification devient abstraite, plus il perd les caractéristiques typiques de l'aspect et ressemble à la catégorie du temps. Le sous-chapitre suivant (V.2.6) traite de l'expression du futur qui peut se faire moyennant les particules *ke, ka* et Ø en guyanais ainsi qu'en martiniquais. Le chapitre « Aspect et subordination » relève une nouvelle fonction de la particule *ka*, à savoir celle de marque de subordination. Dans le chapitre suivant la transition sémantique 'aspect imperfectif > marque de subordination' est analysée dans le contexte plus large du passage à l'écrit. Après une brève parenthèse sur l'expression de l'impératif (V.2.9.), le chapitre V.2.10 étudie les fonctions de la particule du passé *té*. Le dernier sous-chapitre de la section V.2. « Aspects de la mort » reprend une fois de plus l'interaction entre aspect et *Aktionsart* en analysant le verbe 'mourir' (voir déjà chez Weinrich) à l'aide de differents exemples du corpus.

Après cette longue série de onze sous-chapitres abordant l'aspect dans tous ses aspects, le lecteur est content de découvrir dans V.3. un premier bilan qui fait une synthèse résumant les principales oppositions. Le verbe non marqué (Ø) exprime en général l'aspect perfectif, notamment pour les verbes 'dynamiques' tandis que la variété fonctionnelle de la marque imperfective s'avère plus complexe : *ka* dans les textes anciens et dans les régions isolées prend une valeur progressive, en martiniquais et dans les régions côtières guyanaises *ka* exprime aussi l'habituel.

Le chapitre VI.1 donne une explication typologique aux constations faites dans le bilan et répond ainsi à la troisième question soulevée dans l'introduction : Les ressemblances entre le système aspectuel du texte de la Passion (diachronie) et celui des régions isolées de Guyane (synchronie) cadrent parfaitement avec le modèle de G. Hazaël-Massieux qui applique la théorie de la linguistique spatiale de M. Bartoli aux créoles français de la zone américaine. Selon cette théorie les créoles de la Guyane et de la Louisiane représentent des aires latérales et isolées qui se caractérisent par la conservation d'un état plus ancien de la langue. Les résultats de Pfänder montrent en effet que le créole guyanais, notamment la variété des zones les plus reculées de la Guyane, témoigne d'une phase plus ancienne de la créolisation dans le domaine de l'aspect verbal. VI.2. fournit une précieuse synopse des systèmes aspectuels et temporels de divers créoles à bases française, espagnole, portugaise et anglaise basée sur la littérature disponible.

Le chapitre VII aborde un autre domaine théorique difficilement négligeable dans la recherche actuelle sur les langues créoles : la grammaticalisation et le contact de langues. Pfänder retrace l'évolution de *ka* où grammaticalisation

classique et convergence avec une forme arawak lui permettent de proposer une nouvelle hypothèse concernant son étymologie controversée.

Le chapitre VIII est extrêmement utile et agréable à lire : il formule les principaux résultats de façon très précise et même typographiquement 'saillante' (pages 226-239) : L'étude d'un corpus de créole guyanais et martiniquais montre que malgré un inventaire de formes très similaire les fonctions des marqueurs sont différentes : L'opposition aspectuelle principale Ø (perfectif) et *ka* (imperfectif) représente les valeurs 'accompli-passé' vs. 'habituel-présent' en martiniquais. En Guyane, en revanche, ces marqueurs se réfèrent au passé, au présent ainsi qu'au futur. Leur extrême polysémie (surtout *ka*) peut être expliquée dans le cadre de la sémantique des prototypes.

A mon avis, l'originalité de l'ouvrage peut être résumée en trois points essentiels :

1. Comme beaucoup des ouvrages de la collection ScriptOralia, l'ouvrage est basé sur l'analyse minutieuse d'un corpus de langue orale. Ce corpus a pourtant plusieurs mérites particuliers : sa taille importante (81 heures d'enregistrement), les conditions difficiles de sa genèse (l'auteur a passé plusieurs mois dans la forêt guyanaise) ainsi que la sensibilité lors de son exploitation. (Une partie de ce corpus sera bientôt disponible sur CD dans Pfänder, Stefan : Oral Language – oral history, avec une traduction anglaise).
2. Contrairement aux analyses sur aspect et temps dans les langues créoles déjà existantes, la notion de 'texte' est prise au sérieux. L'étude de Pfänder dépasse systématiquement le cadre de la phrase, démarche qui rend les analyses infiniment plus complexes mais évidemment plus complètes et précises. La rigueur de cette analyse textuelle permet de montrer ce que les catégories d'aspect et de temps sont en mesure d'exprimer dans le discours.
3. La grande majorité des études sur aspect et temps dans les créoles partent d'une analyse qui contraste les systèmes primordialement temporels des langues romanes ou germaniques avec les systèmes « exotiques » à prédominance aspectuelle de la majorité des langues créoles. Pfänder fait ce qui est logique mais pas évident : il est le premier à choisir le point de départ de ses réflexions sur une langue primordialement aspectuelle dans les recherches sur des langues primordialement aspectuelles. Son étude est basée sur l'abondante littérature concernant les aspects dans les langues slaves, une littérature jusqu'à présent ignorée en créolistique.

Il s'agit donc d'un ouvrage très riche et innovateur qui donne priorité aux données sans pour autant s'arrêter dans le descriptivisme. Lecture à recommander chaleureusement non seulement à tous les étudiants et chercheurs en linguistique créole, mais aussi aux typologues ainsi qu'à tous ceux qui s'apprêtent à « faire du terrain », peu importe leur domaine de spécialisation. Seul petit inconvénient que l'ouvrage partage d'ailleurs avec les travaux du fondateur des études créoles, Hugo Schuchhardt : le lecteur ne doit pas reculer devant la langue de Goethe.

African American English in the Diaspora. By Shana Poplack and Sali Tagliamonte. Blackwell Publishers Ltd. 2001

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How to explain that Standard English developments localized *-s* to 3rd present singular verbs, that Early African-American English (AAE) featured it throughout the paradigm, and that African-American Vernacular English (AAVE) lost it everywhere? Why are the aspectual functions (habitual, durative) of present-tense *-s* and past-tense *zero* not creole diagnostics? What are the preferred variants for future marking in peripheral varieties of English, Early AAE, AAVE, and English-based creoles, as opposed to mainstream, in the ongoing change process of *going to* supplanting *will*? Is there any particular linguistic feature that discriminates Black English varieties from White? Is AAVE a relatively recent creation? If so, what is its ultimate source? An underlying English-Creole based grammar, or 17th century vernacular English? What is the relationship of Early AAE to other varieties of English?

These are some of the crucial and very important questions and concerns that have attracted and preoccupied many American linguists for the past 40 years or so.

Combining the variationist approach with the reconstructive power of the comparative method *à la* Meillet, and using them to triangulate from several old and contemporary peripheral sister English varieties, both from Britain and the Americas, Shana Poplack and Sali Tagliamonte (henceforth P&T), in their 2001 volume *African American English in the Diaspora*, devoted 293 pages to give coherent answers to the preceding questionings, and to ultimately reconstruct the parent language of Early AAE. P&T are rather generous with examples, data and detailed analyses, contrary to what we usually see in that kind of topic. The features selected to achieve their goals are related to the morphological expression of tense and aspect. Data are drawn from a plethora of peripheral varieties of English in the American diasporas: enclaves of native English speakers in the Samaná Peninsula of the Dominican Republic, descendants of former slaves who settled there in the early 1820s; two isolated Black communities, North Preston and Guysborough, on the east coast of the province of Nova Scotia, Canadian Maritimes, where they were sent, mainly from Coastal South Carolina and Virginia, Black Loyalists in the late 18th century after the American Revolutionary War, and refugee slaves following the War of 1812. These diaspora data are taken by P&T to represent the precursors of contemporary AAVE. Moreover, consistent with the comparative method, these diaspora varieties are situated vis-à-vis a number of other external control varieties of English, validating this perspective by a cross-variety comparison the detailed behavior of

tense and aspect variables. The external set of controls are: (1) one "external" *in situ* benchmark variety of AAE, the Ex-Slave Recordings (Library of Congress), interviews of former slaves born in the mid 19th century, in the Southern states of Georgia, Virginia, Texas, Alabama and Louisiana; (2) two *peripheral* White British-origin vernaculars for the purpose of ethnic- or race-based comparison: one spoken in the rural village contiguous to the Guysborough Enclave; the other in rural Devon, on the southwest peninsula of Great Britain, a potential candidate for a model transplanted to North America and the Caribbean in the 18th century; and finally (3) a mainstream uncontroversially standard variety of British ancestry, spoken in Ottawa, the cosmopolitan capital region of Canada. As an ultimate diachronic final control, P&T scrutinized the prescriptive history of English, by consulting systematically nearly 100 of its grammars and usage manuals of the period 1577-1898, for mentions of the linguistic variables under investigation.

The nature of the controls incorporated into the analyses enables P&T to situate Early AAE for the first time with regard to synchrony and diachrony, mainstream and periphery, internal transmission and areal diffusion. The diaspora varieties are cross-validated individually through comparison amongst themselves and with a benchmark variety of Early AAE. The effects of post-settlement contacts are controlled by comparing the speech of the Guysborough Enclave with that of Guysborough Village, and Samaná English with Spanish. The identification of an Early AAE feature as an African heritage or a reflex of older English proceeds by contrasting the four Early AAE varieties with the British-origin Nova Scotian Vernacular English (NSVE) and Devon English. The situation of Early AAE with respect to mainstream developments is assessed by comparing Early AAE and NSVE with Ottawa English. The perspective afforded by this multidimensional approach reveals whether inter-group linguistic differences are best explained as an African or creole heritage, or arise from lack of participation in ongoing change, or are the results of internal linguistic change in the diaspora communities.

By incorporating the variationist approach into the comparative method, both synchronic and diachronic, P&T obviate a lacuna in historical linguistics conceptions that sees a proto-language under reconstruction as being regular and invariant, subject to neither internal nor external variation. This was surely not the case. On the other hand, this insightful innovative methodological approach avoids the flaw of doubtful coincidental similarities with Creoles and African languages on one side, and differences from the Standard language on the other, so frequently invoked and cherished by substratophile creolists, working on English or French Creoles. There is no need here to discuss the validity of the principles of accountability and diagnosticity over the cafeteria principle; the variationist paradigm integrated into the comparative method in both synchronic and historical linguistics, as the study of P&T deeply demonstrated, is definitely superior in deciding among competing linguistic hypotheses.

One of the most striking conclusions of this study, given the structure of the Early AAE tense/aspect system as it emerges from the 54 multivariate analyses presented, is that nothing is distinctively creole in this variety, the differences between Early AAE and contemporary Standard English relating more to the lack of participation of the former in current mainstream developments than to descent from an underlying creole grammar. No evidence has been uncovered in this study of variable morphological expression of tense and aspect showing that Early AAE may be the legacy of any other language but English: each of the "creole diagnostics" tested in this volume turned out to be equally diagnostic of English.

The present reviewer, accustomed to the scarcity of data presented by colleagues and scholars engaged in building hypotheses on the diachronic French connections in the Americas, popular, vernacular or creole, and to the paucity of the methodological apparatus exhibited, found this reading of P&T's book a veritable delight; it is a welcome model in our field

As such, for those of us familiar with Labov's sociolinguistic hardware, we will find this easy reading even if the first impression is being suffocated by the mass of data.

This book is restricting severely room for polemic in the creolist world! In the long run, inspired by P&T's provocative methodological approach and insights, it won't come as a surprise if one day a Young Turk comes to the basic observation and conclusion that English Creoles are simply English, as we have argued elsewhere for the French Creoles (Wittmann, Henri & Robert Fournier. 1983. "Le créole, c'est du français, coudon!" *Revue québécoise de linguistique théorique et appliquée* 3:2.187-202.), or ultimately, that Creole is purely a mystification (Fournier, Robert. 1999: http://creole.ling.su.se/ creole/Archive/ Fournier-1.html). There may be no necessity for *Identifying the creole prototype* by *vindicating a typological class* for it, pace McWhorter (1998: Language 74 (4), 788-818).

Acquisition of Jamaican Phonology. By Rocky R. Meade. LOT International Series. Netherlands Graduate School of Linguistics. 2001. Pp xv, 265. (PhD diss. 2001, Universiteit van Amsterdam

Reviewed by Shelome Gooden
Ohio State University

'If Patwa could have died, elementary school teachers of yesteryear would have killed it...' (Pollard 1995).

Rocky Meade's (M) 'Acquisition of Jamaican Phonology' is among the first to undertake detailed research on the acquisition of any aspect of Jamaican Creole (JC) and one of the few to look at the acquisition of a Creole. Creole Studies has tended to focus on adult speech but looking at the speech of children provides us with a vital window on the development of the Creole grammar. M's study is primarily a descriptive analysis of the acquisition of phonology but does provide a brief

theoretical analysis. The study provides hard evidence for what many researchers on JC have long believed to be true; that not only is JC being propagated, but many speakers are in fact bilingual or multilingual in Jamaican English (JE) and JC. Pollard (1995) notes that '...there are many people...to my sure knowledge who speak both languages with a high degree of competence'.

Ch. 1 gives an overview of M's perspective on language acquisition, phonological development and language education in Jamaica. The goals of the study are outlined and linked to other Creole language acquisition projects. Ch. 2 reviews some theories and findings on phonological development from as early as Jakobson (1941/68). Consistent with recent studies on phonological variation, Ch. 2 discusses the application of an Optimality Theoretic (OT) framework to variation in the acquisition of Jamaican phonology. As M points out the very nature of the theory makes it well suited for the analysis of variation within a language continuum situation like Jamaica's. Ch. 3 gives a brief history of the language with a more detailed overview of the contemporary situation. M treats the mesolect as a separate language variety from the basilect and acrolect (collectively called Jamaican), questioning whether there is a single mesolect or a continuum of varieties (23). M's model of the continuum recognizes monolingual speakers at all levels (26, fig. 3.2) and sees variation between JE and JC as related to differences in socio-economic status (35), as well as education. In fact, the level of education of the primary caregiver was used as the main factor in selecting informants. Ch. 3 also presents M's assumptions on the phoneme inventory of Jamaican and the JC syllable structure that are potential input for children.

Ch. 4 describes the methodology for data collection and analysis. Over a period of 2 years, M video- and/or tape-recorded 24 children ages 1.0 to 4.6, from Guy's Hill, Linstead and St. Andrew. These were placed in two groups pre-secondary (Pre-sec) and post-secondary (Post-sec). The Pre-sec group included children whose caregivers had no more than primary level education whereas the Post-sec group included children whose caregivers had more than secondary level education. Elicitations were done using mainly picture books and a modified 'four boxes' technique in which the caregiver interacted with the child using the contents of four boxes provided by the researcher.

The dissertation addresses the following questions. (1a) How does the acquisition of the phonemic features and phonological structures of Jamaican take place? (1b) Are there notable differences or similarities in the process of phonological acquisition at two different levels of the language continuum? (2) What level of phonological development can be expected of a Jamaican child of a given age? (3) How do features of the input affect the process and speed of phonological acquisition in Jamaica? (4) What is the first language of pre-schoolers in Jamaica? Are they monolingual or bilingual? (59-60).

Ch. 5 and Ch. 6 present the results. Ch. 5 looks at the acquisition of syllable structure and segments and Ch. 6 looks at feature development, the use of phonological processes and also addresses the research questions directly (§ 6.5). A 5-stage syllable structure development was established in which children acquired open syllables, onsetless syllables, closed syllables, consonant clusters and syllabic consonants in that order (question 1a, mentioned above). Phonemes had a 7-stage development and, with few exceptions, were acquired in syllable initial position first, in the order oral stops, nasals, fricatives, glides, liquids. M cautions that the results are only an indication of the *likelihood* of the state of the child's phonological system at a given age (question 2). For example, by age 1.3 the majority produced disyllabic forms; by 1.6 all had onsetless syllables. By age 2.0 the majority of distinctive features were acquired along with closed syllables (question 1a, question 2).

Phonological processes, for example reduplication, are seen as a strategy to force the adult forms to conform to the child's system. Consequently, as the infant system develops, fewer phonological processes are observed. Given that reduplication is a productive morphological process in adult speech (LaCharité and Kouwenberg 1998; Gooden, forthcoming), it may be necessary to make a distinction between this strategical phonological process and the morphological process. It would be interesting to compare M's results for the children's phonological development of reduplication to their morphological development of reduplication, a comparison which M alludes to among the further research questions (178). M accounts for individual and inter-group variation noting some differences between the groups, for example, /U/ was acquired earlier by the Pre-sec group while /E/, /aI/, /o/ were acquired earlier by the Post-sec group (123). However, these differences were not statistically significant ($p<.01$), allowing for a composite sketch of phoneme acquisition for all informants, showing that the post-sec group acquired the majority of features earlier. M's data suggests that there is a relationship between the frequency of the input and the age of acquisition (161-2). This finding is problematic in some cases. For example, the caregivers of children G15 and G21 show a 1% difference in use of /o/ from G23, but only G23 did not acquire /o/. A similar observation can be made for G22 and G25 in their use of /e/. One wonders if these differences are statistically significant or if other factors are involved (161). With these results, M classified 6 of the children as monolingual; 3 in JE, 3 in JC, and the majority, 14, as bilingual in JE and JC or some combination of the mesolect and basilect. The children in M's study showed similar development patterns to Dutch children (Fikkert 1994) and English children (Grunwell 1982), thereby supporting the hypothesis of a universal pattern in acquisition.

Ch. 7 discusses some implications of the findings suggesting that the study has import for the development of the educational system in Jamaica. M points out that although the Ministry of Education acknowledges (in policy) that most children enter the school system

speaking JC (175), it is not clear how it categorises the variety. As recently as August 2000 at the opening session of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics (SCL) held in Jamaica, the Deputy Chief Education Officer of the Ministry of Education in addressing language policy suggested focusing on the needs of children with physical disabilities (Brown 2000). Brown stated that the 'Creole speaking child' is on a par with the physically disabled child and so has similar needs! If one is to accept this view as representative of the Ministry, then it is clear that there is no recognition (in practice) that the 'Creole speaking child' enters the school system *already competent* in one or more language varieties, which may or may not be aligned with the language variety used in the school system. M's study gives us an idea of what type of grammatical structures might be in place as models for the next generation of speakers and also gives educators an idea (174) of what to expect of children entering the school system.

The 'Theoretical Excursus' discusses a combined model for acquisition based on Dependency Phonology and OT, proposing place feature changes to account for the simultaneous acquisition of labials and low vowels, coronals and front vowels and dorsals and back vowels. The proposal is not discussed in great detail but promises a more extensive treatment in future publications (207).

Research question 2 (60) raises the issue of whether some aspects of structure might be more difficult to acquire than others or may develop at later stages in the acquisition process (Kellerman 1983). It might be useful to make a distinction between grammatical constraints versus cognitive and social constraints on language acquisition. M's study accounts only for cognitive and social constraints on language acquisition. M's account of variation (§3.5) presents some difficulty in relation to the treatment of the input. I assume here that the OT input is representative of the child's. For example, M claims that if the basilectal form /tIk/ 'stick' is the input to the JE grammar it would yield /tIk/ instead of /stIk/ since /tIk/ itself is well formed in JE. Based on this, M claims that 'for a...JE output...to be produced...the input must be the JE form.' (48). I contend that /tIk/ is well formed only as the output of the lexical item 'tick', not of the lexical item 'stick'. Later M claims that the input to /s/-stop clusters is irrelevant for the basilect (51). This seems odd given that M also claims that the speech of the caregiver has some effect on acquisition. Child L21, whose caregiver used the dental fricative variants all the time, produced only these, not the stop variants. Other children whose caregivers used both variants produced both. One would hardly expect that if the input were purely JE, the child would produce JC variants or vice versa.

M's *Acquisition of Jamaican Phonology i*s an extensive sociophonological treatment of acquisition of phonology of Jamaican children. There are some minor hitches, but it is a thrust in the right direction of modeling variation in a way that takes into account the speaker's social as well as grammatical reality. The study is thus an important contribution to variation studies, Creole phonology and even more importantly to the work on Creole language acquisition. It is written in clear lucid language and can be easily digested by the linguist and non-linguist alike. The summary provides the cursory reader with an excellent overview of the study while the appendices provide plenty of details of the actual data discussed.

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Pidgin and Creole Languages: A Basic Introduction. By Alan Kaye & Mauro Tosco. Munich: LINCOM. (LINCOM Textbooks in Linguistics 05), pp. V + 113

Reviewed by Jonathan Owens University of Bayreuth.

This short work of just over 100 pages fills a small niche in the literature on pidgin and creole languages. Its success lies in two directions. First, it generally manages to summarize in a broad and fair fashion key issues in PC studies. Secondly, without excluding other PC's, it draws heavily on data from Juba Arabic spoken in the southern Sudan and which both authors have researched, a pidgin/creole usually neglected in theoretical discussions. It thus contributes to situating a 'new' PC variety within the broader contours of the field. In the following review, while summarizing the book as a whole, my critical remarks will be concentrated on the authors' treatment of Juba Arabic, a PC which to date lies outside the PC

mainstream.

The book consists of three chapters. The first deals with the history of the discipline, etymology of the terms 'pidgin' and 'creole', definitions of and distinctions between pidgin and creole, and differentiation within the pidgin half of the PC pair. The second summarizes various theories about pidgin and creole origins, including relexification, substratum input, superstrate input, baby talk and bioprogram. The third and final chapter discusses phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical characteristics of pidgins, including a discussion of the Juba Arabic verb system, and the issues of the post creole continuum, PC's and genetic linguistics and PC's and historical linguistics. All in all, most of the topics which give PC's a special status in linguistics are dealt with in greater or lesser detail.

In the first chapter an important premise is that the pidgin-creole complex is abnormal (p. 8), and that this abnormality makes them especially interesting to linguistics. In them essential properties of language may be discovered bearing on "... evolution, acquisition, and description, just as neurolinguistics, which attempts to account for the 'abnormal language behavior' of brain-damaged patients, can help us gain insights into the 'normalcy' of the intact human brain and the resulting language acquisition device which yields the miracle of language." However, no parameters for normal/abnormal are given, and it could well be argued that what are termed jargons or prepidgins are quite normal language effects arising from communicative needs among speakers with little in common linguistically. Nonetheless, the authors' position is commensurate with others in PC studies, notably Bickerton's justification of postulating a bioprogram: lacking inherited input for language formation/transmission, creole genesis reveals inherent bio-linguistic processes.

The authors do expand their conception of abnormality by extension (pp. 21-7), adducing mixed languages (e.g. Media Lengua)[2] and artificial languages (e.g. Klingon, Esperanto) as further types distinguishable from PC's. It thus appears that the generational transmission criterion, emphasized inter alia by Thomason & Kaufman (1988) plays a crucial role in the notion of abnormality. Languages which demonstrably have been transmitted in an odd fashion, via extreme intertwining of different languages, for instance (Bakker & Mous 1994) or which have been formally constructed, are candidates for abnormality, while normally transmitted ones are 'natural' (p. 23).

The remainder of chapter 1 (pp. 28-54) discusses different types of pidgins – pre-pidgins, pidgins, expanded pidgins, jargons - and their relation to creoles, either as their predecessor or as non-nativized co-territorial varieties. They note that, despite all its attendant definitional problems, simplification is an important characteristic of pidgins and creoles. In this regard their later observation (p. 82) that Juba Arabic in its short 100 year history displays innovative morphological properties is interesting, and could have been integrated into the general discussion of simplicity, for it represents an exception to the general rule in creole genesis.[3] Consider the following.

Simplicity has a synchronic measure, language x for example has more segmental phonemes than y or a more complex morphology.[4] In these terms Juba Arabic is doubtlessly more complex morphologically than, say, Ndyuka (McWhorter 1998: 792). Simplicity also has a diachronic dimension, a point which has often been neglected in discussions of creole languages. If one compares Ndyuka and Juba Arabic with their respective lexical source languages, (certain varieties of) English and (certain varieties of) Arabic, in the case of Juba Arabic there has been a considerably greater degree of morphological simplification in Juba Arabic than in Ndyuka, since Arabic represents a markedly more complex morphological 'starting point' than does English. This situation leads to the following speculation: given a creolizing social environment, does a richer morphological input support a richer morphological output (in the creole). Besides the Arabic - Juba Arabic pair, the Kikongo – Kituba and perhaps the Bobangi – Lingala pairings would support this contention (Owens, 2001).

At the end of chapter 1 the authors introduce a new perspective to the origins of Juba Arabic. Contrasting Juba Arabic with Nubi (also known as Kinubi), a mutually intelligible Creole spoken in East Africa, they note that whereas Nubi is strictly a creole, only with native speakers, Juba Arabic has both native and non-native speakers. Juba Arabic is thus cited as another example (e.g. along with Tok Pisin) of a PC where no structural distinction is found between the pidgin and creole variety. They go on, however, to suggest that whereas Nubi originated as a soldier's language (certainly correct), Juba Arabic emerged as a lingua franca for trading purposes, "... early KN [Nubi, JO] speakers were soldiers, whereas early JA [Juba Arabic, JO] speakers probably used the language as a lingua franca for trading purposes" (p. 53).

Till now there have been two lines of speculation about the origins of Juba Arabic. The earlier one, proposed in Owens (1990: 221), suggests that Nubi and Juba Arabic have their origins in the same population of speakers, basically the southern Sudanese population which arose in the military-trading camps of the southern Sudan in the nineteenth century. The split occurred in 1888 when Emin Pasha was rescued by Henry Stanley, a part of the original army settling in Uganda, a part remaining in the southern Sudan. The most cogent argument for a common origin is a linguistic one: Juba Arabic (in its basilectal form) and Nubi are mutually intelligible, and a structural comparison reveals so many shared idiosyncratic grammatical features that a common origin is a plausible assumption. At some point, present-day Juba Arabic and Nubi speakers must have had a common ancestor. Historical documentation also exists supporting this explanation. Emin Pasha commanded two army corps, only one of which retreated into Uganda with him in 1888. The second remained in the southern Sudan/NE Congo, and although it was

eventually decimated by the troops of the Mahdi, it is possible that some of that population would have remained in the southern Sudan, representing an ancestral Juba Arabic speaking group.

Miller (2001), who experienced Juba Arabic in the early 1980's, has suggested a second possible line of development. She observes that older Juba Arabic speakers appear to have a less fluent command of the language than do younger ones. This could be explained as the effect of a strong influence of Nubi into Juba Arabic, which has increased the Nubi-like features in Juba Arabic. As with the previous scenario, this is historically plausible as well. Since the modern version of the civil war in the southern Sudan began in 1956, there has been a considerable movement of southern Sudanese both into East Africa (Uganda and Kenya) and back into the Sudan. One of the early refugee camps for southern Sudanese in Uganda, for instance, was located at Bombo some 30 miles north of Kampala, a town which is also the prime settlement of Nubi in Uganda, so contact between southern Sudanese and Nubi-speaking East Africans certainly occurred (see Khamis 1994). In this second viewpoint, structural similarities between Juba Arabic and Nubi are due to the migration of southern Sudanese from East Africa back into the southern Sudan. Here, the common ancestor for the two varieties was produced via contact in East Africa followed by re-imigration into the southern Sudan.

More research is needed to verify the validity of these two proposals. Against both of them, what Kaye & Tosco appear to be suggesting is that Nubi and Juba Arabic arose independently, the one in a military context, the other in a trading one. This perspective, however, requires quite precise parallel grammatical development on a massive scale, which is implausible. While the authors are correct in emphasizing the different socio-functional status of the two varieties in the contemporary world, it does not follow from this difference that the two varieties had a different historical origin.

Returning to the sequential summary of the book, the first chapter suffers at points from organizational infelicities. In 1.4, for instance, pidgins are defined and in 1.8, after Creoles have been introduced, the status of prepidgins vs. pidgins is taken up. Given that the book is intended as an introduction, a more logical and easier to follow sequence would have been a phylogenetic one, prepidgins introduced before, or with, a definition of pidgins.

The second chapter treats what arguably is the core of PC studies, as it deals with what sets PC's off from other languages, namely with theories of origin. The authors are properly agnostic, given the introductory nature of the work, about the various theories which have been proposed, monogenesis via diffusion, substrate (relying heavily on McWhorter here), superstrate (Chaudenson), bioprogram. Each of the positions is well summarized, and the weaknesses of each pointed out, so that the reader is given the overall impression, correct in my opinion, that there is something to be said for and against each approach. What perhaps could have been given greater emphasis is that the different explanations are relevant to differing degrees in individual cases.

The final chapter describes aspects of creole grammar and lexis, with the greatest detail being given to Juba Arabic. The reduced segmental phonological system of Juba Arabic is represented in comparison to a hypothetical (?) Old Arabic and Sudan colloquial Arabic (78-80),[5] followed by a summary of the Juba Arabic tense system. Both the semantic categories marked by the verb prefixes and their linear position are remarkably similar to those found in many other creole languages, so that the Juba Arabic progressive/non-punctual marker *ge/gi* for instance is comparable to Guyanese *a*, Cape Verde Creole *ta*, and so on. To underline the extent to which Juba Arabic aligns itself with many other creole languages against Arabic, it would have been helpful to have added the Sudanese Colloquial Arabic equivalent of, say *ita gi-juru* "you (common gender) are pulling" (p. 86). In Sudanese Arabic this would be *ta-jurr* "you pull" or feminine *ta-jurr-i* "you-pull-F". Juba Arabic, in contrast to Sudanese Arabic, does not distinguish gender morphologically in the verb or pronominal systems, and the category of progressive is marked by the prefix *gi-* in contrast to Sudanese Arabic where the ablaut form in the verb stem signifies progressive (cf. perfect *jarr-eet* "you.M pulled"). The person is marked by the independent pronoun *ita* in Juba Arabic, as opposed to the verb prefix *t-* in Sudanese Arabic.

The chapter ends with a discussion of the status of creole languages in genetic classification. The authors' position on this issue is ambiguous, suggesting that according to which criteria one takes one could find support either for Thomason and Kaufman's a-genetic classification, or assigning creoles to a language family. Privileging vocabulary, which the authors' appear reluctant to do, for instance, would lead to Juba Arabic being assigned to Arabic.[6]

This short introduction to pidgins and creoles can be recommended to those who do not have the time for the larger, standard introductions, such as Holm (1988) and Mühlhäusler (1986). It will also be of interest to creolists, who will be interested in seeing how Juba Arabic can serve as the basis of an introductory discussion in PC studies.

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1. I would like to thank Catherine Miller for comments on an earlier draft of this review.
2. Quite correctly Kaye & Tosco emphasize that the number of mixed languages in the world is small. A language like Maltese for instance, in the popular literature often cited as "a strange mixture of Arabic and Italian" (Ian Black writing in the *Guardian Weekly*, April 3-10, 2002; from a newspaper for whom the marketing of English as a Foreign Language is big business, one should hardly expect anything but a condescending attitude towards other languages). In fact, Maltese is basically an Arabic dialect with a degree of borrowing from Italian and English comparable to English borrowing from French in an earlier era.
3. This is not to say that Juba Arabic has a rich morphology. As the authors point out (p. 68), the degree of simplification relative to 'normal Arabic dialects' is extreme.
4. While discrete grammatical subsystems, like bound morphology, may be compared in terms of simplicity (McWhorter 1998), it is of a conceptually different order to claim that an entire language, should that be a definable object, is simpler than another one in terms of structural measures. McWhorter (2001) does offer plausible criteria, though his comparisons will have to overcome the suspicion that a cafeteria principle is being applied to the terms of comparison, that those criteria are singled out which allow creoles to be classified as globally simpler than other languages. Kaye & Tosco further emphasize the role of L1 in influencing what simple in language learning terms means (p. 31).
5. Two segmental phonemes, /p/ and /(/ which are, apparently, rare in Juba Arabic, but nonetheless listed in some works (e.g. Smith and Ama 1985: 164-5, e.g. *piripiri* "fresh chili" and *(o(o* "flying termite") are not on the list.
6. The authors unfortunately misquote Owens (2000:36). He is said to have written that creole Arabic is an "abnormal Arabic dialect", whereas the exact words are an "abnormal form of Arabic". There is a world of difference between the two formulations. An abnormal (i.e. abnormally transmitted in Thomason and Kaufman's sense) form of Arabic, formulated vaguely on purpose, could be *sui generis*, and does not, as the authors suggest, reduce the classification to one level of grammar, in this case lexis. To call creole Arabic an abnormal dialect is to attribute it specific dialectal structural features, many of which creole Arabic does not have (see contrastive forms cited above).

This is not the only place where the authors get sidetracked with terminological distinctions. Earlier (p. 49) they suggest that speakers of Juba Arabic " ... assume Juba Arabic to be just another Arabic dialect". Were this correct it would create the interesting situation of a variety demonstrably different from an Arabic dialect in structural terms being considered nonetheless another dialect. There is, however, no specific research on the perceptual classification of Juba Arabic, either among southern Sudanese or among native Arabic-speaking Sudanese (though the authors are probably correct in saying that northern Sudanese Arabs look disparagingly on Juba Arabic). Catherine Miller (p.c.) urges caution, noting that Juba Arabic has an important political symbolic status among southern Sudanese, at least among the political elite. Juba Arabic is used as a symbol of distance to the northern Sudanese whom they are fighting, and hence the africanness of the variety is emphasized, rather than its Arabicness.

St Kitts and the Atlantic creoles: The texts of Samuel Augustus Matthews in perspective. Edited by Philip Baker & Adrienne Bruyn. London: University of Westminster Press, 1999 (Westminster Creolistics Series 4). 444 pp., Pb. (GBP 20).

Reviewed by Sarah Roberts
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St. Kitts and the Atlantic creoles is a gem of a book. It brings together eleven late 18th-century texts of Caribbean Creole English (CE) from the writings of Samuel Augustus Matthews, and supplements them with twenty refereed papers exploring their social context and linguistic significance. Matthews, a lower class white carpenter raised in the Anglo-French colony of St. Kitts (Leeward Islands), was a fluent speaker of St. Kitts Creole (SKC) and he left behind a substantial body of lyrics and dialogues in the language.

Matthews' texts are significant for several reasons. SKC has not received as much attention as it deserves from linguists over the years and the corpus adds substantially to the modern data collected by Cooper (1979, 1980) and opens up a diachronic dimension to the variety. It is also probably the largest corpus of 18th-century Caribbean CE from a single writer and is thus valuable in investigating the linguistic structure of early Caribbean Englishes. The texts extant for most other 18th-century English varieties are brief, sporadic, and far eclipsed by the extensive material available for early Surinamese creoles (see D'Costa & Lalla 1989, Rickford 1987, Rickford & Handler 1994; Arends & Perl 1995). But what makes the texts especially valuable is the pivotal role St. Kitts played in the colonization of the Caribbean: it was the first foothold of both the English and French in the Caribbean and likely one of the first dissemination points of CE in the West Indies. Matthews' texts may thus furnish a "missing link" throwing light on historical relationships between Atlantic CEs.

The volume is the result of a collective – and to some extent, collaborative – enterprise to assess the significance of Matthews' texts,

launched in a 1996 workshop at the University of Westminster. It is rare to see such an interconnected and cohesive collection of papers in a workshop volume, and the careful approach Baker & Bruyn pursue in handling a new, and paradigm-altering corpus of data may prove to be a model for future studies.

The editors take painstaking care in editing, restoring, and translating the SKC texts (pp. 5-47). The original texts, printed in separate publications in 1793, 1805, and 1822, exhibit minor variations in spelling and form and contain possible misprints. The editors, with the assistance of Neville Shrimpton, Lise Winer and Alain Kihm, mostly follow the 1822 version in their restoration but fully document all textual discrepancies with footnotes. The translations reflect the collective input of the contributors and are rendered in an informal idiom that captures vividly the mood of the song or dialogue. The layout of the texts is economical in terms of space, and thus may appear in places cluttered and even confusing to the reader. However the scheme of line numbering furnishes a uniform system of reference for the rest of the book and goes a long way to unify the volume as a whole.

As stated in the book's subtitle, the primary task at hand is to place Matthews' texts "in perspective," and *St. Kitts and the Atlantic Creoles* does live up to its name. The first group of papers focus on the historical background of Matthews and his texts. Victoria O'Flaherty (pp. 49-58) gives a biographical sketch of Matthews, laying out his social experience and political views. Too poor to own slaves of his own, Matthews nonetheless was an apologist for British slavery and viewed it as just and essential to colonial control. Bridget Brereton (pp. 59-62) explores Matthews' writings in further detail and notes that Matthews, as an anti-abolitionist, regarded himself as a paternalistic 'friend of the slaves,' with genuine interest in their life and culture.

Matthews' social standing and ideological stance have obvious implications on his reliability as a witness to linguistic practice, and two excellent papers by Chris Corcoran & Salikoko Mufwene (pp. 75-102) and Philip Baker & Lise Winer (pp. 103-22) examine this issue in depth. Corcoran & Mufwene consider the features in Matthews' texts to be generally authentic, but note an exaggerated density of features and eye dialect spelling conventions which support their characterization of the texts as a form of linguistic "blackface" that reinforces Matthews' ideological and social position. Baker & Winer acknowledge that, as scripts for 'cabaret' performance, Matthews' songs and sketches overdo certain aspects of SKC but they argue that the texts cannot be likened to American minstrelry and were performed to black audiences as well. Baker & Winer, drawing on lessons learned from handling old texts of other pidgins and creoles, also lay out helpful methodological criteria on assessing the reliability and representativeness of old texts.

The rest of the papers in the volume investigate the linguistic implications of the SKC texts. They illustrate well the various approaches linguists may adopt in mining a new data source and a good number of the authors directly incorporate, discuss, or respond to the findings of other contributors to the volume.

It is impossible within the constraints of this review to provide more than a juicy sampling of the contributions. Anthony Grant (pp. 123-28) examines the language background of the slave names in Matthews' texts and finds some evidence of ethnolectal variation in the text titled "Mr Thompson" which portrays an African-born slave (and Matthews himself in conversation with him) as employing more paragoge and fewer articles than the other slaves. Kihm (pp. 21-34) considers the latter pattern as reminiscent of Pidgins, but notes that the same texts feature a well-developed tense-aspect system – an unusual combination which Baker & Winer regard with some suspicion.

Neville Shrimpton (pp. 129-44) and Norval Smith (pp. 145-72) take a closer look at the orthography of Matthews to uncover phonological evidence of SKC. Shrimpton posits correspondences between SKC graphemes and phonemes and explores evidence of finer phonetic distinctions made by Matthews, including possible tonal patterns. However there are other indications that Matthews did not possess full competence in SKC. Smith analyzes the vowel system of the SKC texts to shed further light on the historical relationship between Atlantic CEs. Smith finds that both Jamaican and SKC had Jamaican-type vowels at the end of the 18th century and Krio, Jamaican Maroon Spirit Language (MSL), and the Surinamese creoles preserve the original vowel system of Atlantic CEs and do not form a genetic subgrouping. This analysis breaks with his well-known (1987, 1997) positions, as well as the views of Bilby (1983) and McWhorter (2000) who regard MSL as related to (or derived from) the creoles of Surinam. Smith contends that his reanalysis necessitates "a complete overhaul" of existing theories and while this is debatable, his work does breathe new life into an old dispute.

Philip Baker (pp. 315-64) takes a rather different approach to the same problem. Adding the Matthews data to a much larger corpus of early CE texts, he examines the extent to which linguistic features were shared between Atlantic CEs. His methodology is similar to his work on Pacific varieties (Baker 1993), but incorporates a statistical check on the measurement of cross-creole affinities by determining the variance between the attested distribution of features and a random distribution. Baker finds close affinities between Krio, Jamaican, and Surinamese CE, while SKC had no significant influence on Jamaican or Surinamese CE. He views this evidence as support for the view that features spread from Surinam to Jamaica and then to Sierra Leone, and the importance of SKC for other CE varieties.

However it is not clear without the chronological evidence Baker had for Pacific varieties whether these affinities are truly shared innovations or represent (to some extent) retentions. With the possible exception of Surinamese data, most Atlantic creoles were attested only sporadically and without much time depth (as may be noted for SKC). It is thus not possible to determine

whether a given feature was truly absent in 17th- or early 18th-century CE. Some of the close affinities may have arisen through conservatism and not innovation. Also the statistical check that Baker employs only determines how far the given distribution varies from a random distribution and thus does not adjust for qualitatively skewed data. With these reservations aside, however, Baker's paper is an extremely useful resource on early Caribbean CE.

There are many other papers in the volume along similar lines. Magnus Huber (pp. 365-78) discusses early Krio attestations, Ingo Plag (pp. 173-91) compares phonological features in old SKC and Bajan texts, while Adrienne Bruyn (pp. 289-314) examines early textual evidence of relativizers and interrogatives in early CEs. There is also an interesting treatment of tense marking in Matthews texts by Derek Bickerton (pp. 193-200) and Sali Tagliamonte (pp. 201-36). Each contributor adds an important piece to the overall picture of Matthews and his texts.

The volume concludes with a very helpful concordance that will enable researchers to locate any word in Matthews.

Inevitably, in a work of this scope, a few errors have crept in (e.g. Fischer [1989] and Bailyn [1986] are miscited on pp. 78 and 100 respectively), but they are few and far between. The map on p. 147 is also astonishingly crude in resolution. All in all, the book (which incidentally is quite affordable) is a solid piece of work and will serve as both a resource and a model for future studies. The SKC texts will not only enlighten creolists with new insights, they will also provide hours of fascinating reading.

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Dictionnaire étymologique des créoles français de l'Océan Indien. by Annegret Bollée (2000). Première partie. Mots d'origine française A-D. Hamburg: Helmut Buske. 450 pp. ISBN 3-87548-059-7. 78 Euro.

Reviewed by Tom Klingler
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This fine volume is the first installment of Part One of the *Dictionnaire étymologique des créoles français de l'Océan Indien* (DECIO). The two remaining volumes, for letters E through O and P through Z, are currently in preparation. (Part Two, covering words of non-French or unknown origin, was in fact published first, in 1993.) As A. Bollée explains in the "Présentation du dictionnaire," the DECIO is designed to extend the coverage of von Wartburg's *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (FEW) to the French-lexifier creoles. Just as the organizing principal of the FEW is to list all French words of Latin origin under their Latin etyma, so Part One of the DECOI groups the lexical items of the Indian Ocean creoles under the French etyma from which they derive. Thus, for example, the forms *(z)afer, lafer,* and *nafer*, in each of their senses, are all listed under *affaire*. This example illustrates one thorny problem that lemmatization by etymon avoids: that of the alphabetical listing of words whose initial segment varies, as is often the case of French creole words showing agglutination. By way of comparison, in the (non-etymological) *Dictionary of Louisiana Creole* (Valdman et al. 1998), this problem was solved by listing agglutinated items under an unagglutinated headword, a reasonable solution that, however, sometimes resulted in headwords that were much rarer than their agglutinated variants (as with *afér* vs. *lafér, nafèr*, and *zafér*) or not attested at all (as with *apa** 'bait' vs. *napa* and *lapa*).

The entries of the DECOI contain a wealth of information that is organized in a logical, user-friendly fashion. The use of distinct symbols to introduce the various categories of information (such as historical attestations in French texts, etymologies, and derivations) helps the reader to navigate what are at times long and complex entries. Each entry begins with a French headword, which is listed as it appears in the *Petit Robert* dictionary of Standard French and is accompanied by the label *"fr."* Headwords of dialectal origin that do not appear in the *Petit Robert* are drawn from the FEW, the *Trésor de la langue française*, or other

lexicographic sources and are labeled "*fr. dial.*" Where applicable, the next element of the entry is an indication of attestations of the creole word in historical texts written in French. In cases where a word was identified by Chaudenson (1974) as a "survivance dialectale ou archaïsme français," the entry provides a list of attestations of its reflexes in the French-lexifier creoles of the American zone for purposes of comparison. This is followed by a list of creole forms and meanings found in the Indian Ocean creoles of Reunion, Mauritius, Rodrigues, and the Seychelles, drawn from the many sources of lexicographic information for these varieties, most of which, with the notable exception of Chaudenson (1974), have only become available in the last two decades. By bringing together in a single work the vast amount of material from these relatively recent sources, the DECOI can be seen as extending an updating Chaudenson's work, which laid the foundation for Indian Ocean creole lexicography and lexicology. Indeed, this work, along with the FEW, serves as the principal source of the etymological information that closes many of the DECOI's entries.

I found some of the most interesting entries to be those that include comparisons with the creoles of the American zone, since these allow the reader to see how widely spread certain archaic or dialectal French terms are among the French-lexifier creoles. The entry for *après* as a marker of progressive or durative aspect, for example, shows that reflexes of the word in these functions are found in the creoles of Reunion, Mauritius, the Seychelles, Louisiana, and Haiti. When this broad geographic distribution among creoles is coupled with etymological information showing that dialectal models of the form *être après* are widely attested in Metropolitan France and in Canada, the origin of the creole marker *ape, ap, pe* in the type(s) of French spoken in the colonies becomes clear. Entries that, like this one, contain rich comparative and etymological information demonstrate the great usefulness that a single lexicographic resources covering all of the French-lexifier creoles would have. A project for such a pan-creole dictionary was in fact launched some years ago by the *Groupe d'Études et de Recherches en Espace Créolophone* (GÉREC) but never came to fruition, and A. Bollée notes in the Preface to the present volume that her original plan was to create an etymological dictionary of all the French creoles, but that this project proved to be "too ambitious and unrealizable in the years of preparation of the DECOI" (p. 7, my translation). Given the blossoming of creole lexicography in recent years and the enormous possibilities now offered by new technologies, it is to be hoped that an online pan-creole dictionary will someday exist. As a first step in this direction, A. Bollée has undertaken to computerize her documentation of the creoles of Haiti, Guadeloupe, Martinique, and St. Lucia and plans to make them available on CD-ROM (p. 7).

My reading of the DECOI turned up only a few gaps. Among the reflexes of *attraper*, for instance, the forms *trape / twapé* are listed for Haiti, Guadeloupe, Martinique, and St. Lucia, but not for Louisiana, though *trape* is widely attested in Louisiana Creole. Similarly, attestations of *cagou* 'sad, out of sorts' are noted for these same American creoles but not for that of Louisiana, though the word is listed with this meaning in Valdman et al. (1998). The same observation goes for *capable* 'can, to be able to' and *côté* as a preposition meaning 'beside, next to, at.' These are minor omissions, however, in what is a carefully crafted, scholarly reference work of inestimable value. A. Bollée and her collaborators are to be commended for the painstaking work that made this wonderful new tool possible. We anxiously await the appearance of the remaining two volumes of this dictionary.

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The Genesis of Discourse Grammar. Universals and Substrata in Guyanese, Hawaii Creole, and Japanese. By Hirokuni Masuda. New York: Peter Lang. 2000. Pp. xx, 266. USD 59.95.

Reviewed by Viveka Velupillai
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The genesis of creole languages has long been one of the main themes in creolistics. There are two central theories that dominate this discussion. One is the *substrate hypothesis*, which highlights the role of the various ancestor languages of the originators of a given creole language. The other is various versions of the *universalist hypothesis*, which assumes that creole languages reflect an innate universal grammar, triggered by the specific sociohistorical conditions of creoles. Neither of these hypotheses excludes influence from the other domain, but they differ in emphasis.

In his book (which is based on his 1995 dissertation), Masuda (M) makes use of discourse grammar to address the issue of creole genesis. By applying a modified version of Verse Analysis (cf. for instance Hymes 1994) M discusses how both universals and substratum influences have played a role in the formation of Hawai'i Creole English (HCE) discourse. In noting that both Guyanese Creole (GC) and HCE have a discernible pattern in their respective discourse structure, M draws the conclusion that patterning is a universal phenomenon. However, the type of pattern differs between GC and HCE, and, looking closer at HCE, M shows a linguistic variation between those HCE speakers of Japanese ancestry (HCE-Japonic) and the rest (HCE-Compound). M demonstrates that the distinctive features of HCE-

Japonic can be found in Japanese.

Verse Analysis is a framework for describing the organization of oral narratives. Within this framework a given narrative is broken down into five contextual levels:

i. **line**: (the interpretation unit) "a block of ideas constituting the minimum amount of information" (50)
ii. **verse**: (the coherency unit) "a minimal suprasentential as well as rhetorical structure conveying a certain cohesive message" (52)
iii. **stanza**: (the episode unit) holds thematic information (such as time and location, etc.) (54)
iv. **scene**: (the juncture unit) "marked by transition of pragmatic factors related to the content" (55)
v. **act**: (the apex unit) "marked by transition of pragmatic factors ... beyond the scene level" (56)

Each level constitutes a group of the previous level (except for lines, the minimal level in the structure), i.e. a verse is a group of lines, a stanza is a group of verses, etc. An excerpt of a GC ghost story (71-80) serves as an illustration. The **act** is divided into **scenes**; each scene has a number of **stanzas** and each stanza has two to four **verses** containing a number of **lines**. The lines are identified by predication.

The Jumbie (Ghost) Story
"Tonight We Will Bury our Nana"

Act Di Jombii
Scene 1 Wan Maan
'One Man'
Stanza 1 Wen di Nait Kom
'When the Night Come'
Verse 1
Line 1 Wel, aa. wan maan yuuztu waak leet at nait,
'Well, aah. A man used to walk late at night.'
Line 2 Evri nait a ii kostom_
'Every night it was his custom_'
Line 3 Waak leet.
'to walk late'
Verse 2
Line 4 Mi na noo
don't know'
Line 5 If ii doz gu a ii swiitaart ar wo,
he would go to his sweetheart or what,'
Verse 3
Line 6 Bot ii o maan
'But he was a man'
Line 7 A waak out let
'who would walk late'
Line 8 Wen di nait kom.
'when the night came.'
Stanza 2 Yu Masn Waak
'You mustn't walk'
Verse 4
Line 9 Wel it opeer laika
'Well, it appears as if'
Line 10 Dem waan shoo dis maan sortn_aa_tookin, 'they wanted to teach this man a lesson, to tell him'
Verse 5
Line 11 Se yu mosn waak su leet,
'that you mustn't walk so late,'
Line 12 An awii gu stap yu
'and we are going to stop you'
Line 13 From waak leet a nait....
'from walking late at night....'
Line14 Dat abii gu profaarm az jombii.
'that we are going to perform as jumbies.'
Line 15 Abii jombii gu stap yu....
'Our jumbies will stop you.'
Scene 2 Muunnlait Nait
'Moonlight Night'
Stanza 3 Piipl Kom
'People Come'
Verse 6
Line 16 Bina muunlait nait, jentlmen.
'It was a moonlight night, gentlemen.'
Line 17 Dis maan gaan.
'This man had gone out.
Verse 7
Line 18 An wen ii lef ii...
'And after leaving his...'
Line 19 Di plees we ii kom fram,
'the place he had come from,'
Line 20 Ii a kom hoom.
'he was coming home.'
Verse 8
Line 21 Wen ii a kom hoom,
'While he was coming home,'
Line 22 E_e? wails waakin, waakin, waakin,
'eh_eh [surprise!] While walking, walking, walking,'
Verse 9
Line 23 Wen ii luk_
'As he looked_'
Line 24 Tuwadz we ii a gu hoom,
'toward the place where he was going, toward home,'
Line 25 Yu noo, ii sii wan gruup o piipl
'you know, he saw a group of people'
Line 26 A kom....
'coming....'
Stanza 4 Berin
'Burying'
Verse 10
Line 27 "Tunait awii gu berin awii naana,
"'Tonight we will bury our nana,'
Line 28 Tunait awii gu berin awii naana.
'Tonight we will bury our nana.'
Line 29 Tunait awii gu berin awii naana."...
'Tonight we will bury our nana.'"...
Verse 11
Line 30 Ii se,
'He said,'
Line 31 "Wel, livin piipl kyaan de a dam
"'Well, living people couldn't be on the dam'
Line 32 Fu gu kyai kaafn
'carrying coffin'
Line 33 A berin grong dis taim a nait.
'to the cemetery at this time of night.'
Line 34 Dis...mos bi o jombii, ar goos. "'This...must be a jumbie, or ghost.'"

M also follows Gee (1986) in making a distinction between *poetic* and *prosaic* narratives. A poetic narrative type is found predominantly in oral cultures, whereas prosaic narratives are found mainly in literary cultures. The basic characteristics for poetic narratives are that they have a structure of five levels (lines, verses, stanzas, scenes and acts); that the first level (lines) are short units; that the second level (verses) exhibits patterns as to the number of units grouped together; and finally that the distinction between lines and verses is clear-cut.

The book contains nine chapters. The first three (1-3) lay out the background and framework for the discussion. In the first chapter 'Prologue: Discourse competence' (1-10) M outlines the main theoretical considerations involved in the study of pidgin and creole languages, and discusses the concept of linguistic competence. The second chapter 'The contact: Pidgin and creole languages in Hawaii' (11-29) presents the

background of the various contact languages in Hawai'i, Pidgin Hawaiian (PH), Hawai'i Pidgin English (HPE) and HCE. M argues that the recent emergence of HCE from the nonstabilized HPE reinforces the universalist hypothesis, but that certain substratal features were transmitted from Japanese at some stage of the creolization process. In the third chapter 'The framework: Verse Analysis' (31-63) M presents several studies in discourse analysis and outlines the framework he uses, Verse Analysis, modified to facilitate the analysis of GC, HCE and Japanese.

Chapters 4-8 form the essence of the discussion. In Ch. 4 'The forerunner: Guyanese Creole' (65-95) M presents the results of his analysis of two GC texts taken from Rickford (1987). He shows that they both exhibit poetic narrative characteristics. Ch. 5 'The apex: Hawaii Creole English-Compound' (97-131) presents the analysis of two HCE texts and shows that these too have poetic narrative characteristics. By HCE-Compound M means the HCE of any speaker except those of Japanese ancestry. He compares GC and HCE narratives in Ch. 6 'The universals: A comparative analysis' (133-148) and concludes that "the *patterning* or the hierarchical organization of discourse units might be part of universal principles in discourse" (232). He then goes on to examine possible specific features in HCE-Japonic in Ch. 7 'The substratum: Hawaii Creole English of Japanese descent' (149-181) and finds that though the poetic characteristics are there, the way in which the pattern is realized differs from HCE-Compound. In particular the preferred number of lines and verses per group were 3 (contrary to the 2 or 4 of HCE-Compound). Also, verse-final markers (such as *æ* 'eh', *yæ* 'yeah', *sii* 'see', etc.) were more frequent in HCE-Japonic than in HCE-Compound. In Ch. 8 'The contributor: Japanese as a substratum language' (183-224), M demonstrates that the particular features found in HCE-Japonic are also found in Japanese (note that Japanese thus shows poetic narrative characteristics, despite its long literary tradition). He argues that the sociohistorical scenario in Hawai'i, with the large number of Japanese immigrants at the time of creolization (1890-1920), as well as the discourse pattern of Japanese, provide a solid basis for viewing Japanese as a donor language. He offers the Matrix-Language Frame model (Myers-Scotton 1993) as a plausible mechanism for the substratal transfer.

In the last chapter 'Epilogue' (225-235), M proposes that the type of numbering found in Japanese might be explained in terms of cultural traditions and customs. He also claims that the findings of his study support both the substrate hypothesis and the universal hypothesis of creole genesis, and that further research may well show superstrate (in this case Standard English) features. He concludes that the complementary hypothesis (Mufwene 1993), where all three (substrate, superstrate and universalist) theories should be considered when trying to establish the genesis of a creole language, seems to be the most promising hypothesis to use in the discussion on the origin of creoles.

The general implication of his study is that both universal and substratal factors need to be taken into account when discussing the origin of creole discourse grammar. The book is a valuable contribution to the discussion of the genesis of creole languages. In analysing the discourse patterns of HCE, M clearly shows that the structure of the language is determined by several factors. However, there are certain problems with the approach itself. First of all, M *a priori* assumes that creole languages form a structural type as opposed to non-creole languages. The motivation for comparing GC with HCE is that they are both creoles with different input languages, and therefore similarities between them are presumably due to universal tendencies. The similarities he finds are of the general nature that patterning exists, which, in my opinion, does not argue for any creole-specific tendencies, since patterning can be found in, for instance, various Native American languages (Hymes 1987), and, as M's study shows, in Japanese. Secondly, the choice of HCE data seems questionable. M states that appropriate texts were chosen "by finding and examining *creoleness* in them" (60) for which he uses (i) phonological, morphological and syntactic criteria; (ii) social criteria (such as the background of the informants); and (iii) other people's judgement. The criteria for (i) are scantily given (98) as the preverbal tense-mood-aspect (TMA) markers *wen / bin*, *gon / go*, and *ste*, and the preverbal negative markers *no / neva*. I find it circular to base a study on the possible uniqueness of a language by singling out only those texts that exhibit the presumed uniqueness.

However, this book opens interesting questions in a wide range of areas. The fact that Japanese displays poetic narrative characteristics raises problems for the definition of various types of discourse structures. M's study also shows that, while the discussion of the genesis of creole languages is essential, it should not be limited to one specific theory. Finally, his framework is a useful tool for comparative analyses of discourse structures, and as such a valuable contribution to linguistics in general.

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Comfa: Religion and creole language in a Caribbean community. Kean Gibson (2001). Albany NY: SUNY Press. 235 pp., $21.95 (USD).

Reviewed by Don E. Walicek
The University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras

Kean Gibson's *Comfa: Religion and Creole Language in a Caribbean Community* stands out as an informative example of ethnographic writing, one that explores issues of cultural identity, language change, and ultimately, ethnographic representation. Primarily a study of African-derived religion in Guyana, the text provides a detailed account and explanation of fieldwork the author conducted between 1990 and 1996 around the theme of "Comfa," a general term for the manifestation of spirits. The book will appeal to scholars of Caribbean and African-American religions as well as readers with interests in the sociology of religion and debates about linguistic (de)creolization.

As Gibson points out, three factors motivated the publication of the text. First, much literature exists on Caribbean religions but little on those of Guyana. Along these lines, *Comfa Religion* fills a gap by giving attention to the neglected area of the African influenced religions of Guyana, thereby making future comparative studies possible. The author identifies the second factor as "a personal one," involving conflicts between her roles as participant and observer. In retrospect, she relates this dilemma to the reexamination of her presumably objective position as an academic and to the highly syncretic nature of Comfa religion and Caribbean identities. Finally, a desire to accurately describe the Guyanese Creole in terms of linguistic variation and change motivates her work. The book's title may be misleading because it suggests that language is a central theme. Though all the chapters to some extent challenge the reification of language as a mode of scholarly inquiry, surprisingly enough, only the final chapter deals specifically with language and linguistics.

Chapter 1 discusses Guyana's history with respect to the migration of colonizers, slaves, and indentured laborers. The former includes the Dutch, the French, and the English while the latter two, groups of forced migrants, include Africans, Chinese, East Indians, and Portuguese. Several primary sources inform the diachronic historical account provided here, whereas the discussion of race and racial stereotypes relies on secondary sources such as the work of American anthropologist Brackette Williams (1991). The importance of race relations in Guyana informs the text's eventual use, discussion, and endorsement of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) work on social identification.

The bulk and most compelling section of Chapter 1 is its discussion of "obeah," a central element of Comfa. Gibson explains that "obeah" is a word used by non-believers to describe practices that they either fear or altogether reject. But for practicioners (many of whom attend Christian churches), obeah is a whole way of life; accordingly, they do not use the word and consider it a term used by others. The author's use of the first person in the text gives this already insightful book a narrative quality that brings the reader closer to unfamiliar topics. Gibson includes (19-23) several interesting passages from late twentieth-century Guyanese newspapers to show that beliefs associated with Comfa are common in modern Guyana. Beliefs in spiritual figures, such as Old Higue, Baco, and Watermamma, are discussed in terms of their African heritage. Additional excerpts from fieldwork interviews, myth, and song provide the reader with an overview of the religious terminology devotees use and the phenomena it names. The author also comments on possible misinterpretations of Afro-Guyanese cultural practices. For example, she states that dances a nineteenth-century observer called "obeah dances" are probably the same dances modern practicioners call "Drum Work." The chapter's detailed explanation of terminology and folk belief will allow scholars to re-examine earlier interpretations of religious practices, thanks to the emic point of view it provides.

Chapter 2 describes the Faithist Church, of which most Comfa practicioners are members, and the beliefs associated with it. This exhaustive discussion centers on Comfa's organization, basic features, and beliefs. Figures 2.1 and 2.2 feature cosmograms of biblical origin entitled "The Scepter of Judah" and "The Circle and the Star," respectively. In addition to these images, the author's accounts of her first-hand interactions with Comfa worshippers allow the reader to better understand the Comfa world-view. Standing out among these are practicioners' accounts of how Comfa changed and continues to shape their lives, presented here and elsewhere in the text in Standard English. When necessary, the author comments on the significance and symbolism of Comfa rituals. The chapter lists, apart from the main text, information that is probably the result of fieldwork and related archival research; however, the author neither cites these sources nor states precisely how the information was obtained.

Chapter 3 provides a detailed ethnographic description of six different types of religious ceremonies that the author attended. Of particular interest are 12 black and white photos Gibson includes. Most of these depict female practicioners as ethnic spirit identities, personas assumed during Comfa embodiment or possession, figures such as the Dutch Child, the English Aristocrat, and the Spanish Flamenco dancer. The book's next chapter builds on the previous information to discuss the African origins of Comfa, showing that it, unlike other Afro-Caribbean religions, is of Kongo origin and essentially Bantu. Gibson calls into question the assumptions behind systems of anthropological classification that exclusively categorize religion as either Neo-African, ancestral, or revivalist, pointing out that Comfa is all of these. She suggests that the wide range of its contemporary features is the result of followers' struggle for the survival of their culture. Chapter 5 testifies to this resilience and contains Gibson's analysis of Comfa as a social process.

Undoubtedly interesting and provocative reading for linguists, the last chapter of the book discusses Guyanese Creole; it builds on articles the author has published on this topic, combining the work with a

discussion of Comfa. Here Gibson envisions two parallel continuums: one for language behavior and the other for religion. The former comes from the continuum model proposed by Derek Bickerton (1973; 1975) in his explanation of language variation and change. Gibson believes that there are basically two languages in the speech communities of Guyana, Guyanese Creole and English. What complicates these categories is the fact that mixing between the categories occurs in two different ways: between basilectal and mesolectal creoles and between the Creole system and the acrolectal English system. The latter continuum, describing religion, pulls from the book's first five chapters. These chapters can be said to portray Comfa on a continuum that has African traditions at one end and Christian traditions at the other. As the comparison of these continuums unfolds, the author argues against analyses that suggest Guyanese is being decreolized and moving toward English. She argues (206) convincingly for the use of the continuum as a descriptive device, holding that it should not be approached as a "predictive theory based on the idea that the Creole is diminishing with everyone (and/or) language heading towards English." Correctly quoted? The habitual and progressive categories exemplified by the aspectual forms *a*, *doz*, *-ing*, *de* and *bii* are the foci of this discussion.

Gibson explains (199) that in cases such as the one exemplified by Guyanese Creole, linguists usually succeed in showing and describing variation from basilect to mesolect because these language varieties fall within the same system or, as she would put it, within the same grammar. This addition sounds superfluous to me. The problems come, the author holds, in scholarly attempts to similarly account for discontinuity from mesolect to acrolect. More to the point, scholars assume that interlocutors' movements between these two varieties must be smooth. Gibson disagrees (199) with this presumption, stating "the changes cannot be smooth and will remain unsubstantiated because some speakers are in control of two different systems and will switch, mix, and exploit overlaps between the two systems as the social need arises, and within the confines of their competence." In support of her position she considers speakers' awareness of the range the continuum allows and individuals' abilities to select particular forms and constructions within the limits of their own productive knowledge. She provides potent examples, showing that in Guyana speakers alternate between Standard English and Creole utterances according to particular contexts and situations. For example, in response to the interview question (207), "*What job do you do*?" an informant replied: *mi nau a wok nau. Ai am not working nau*. Gibson presents several examples showing that factors such as the status of the interviewer and the topic of conversation influence a speaker's selection of an appropriate language variant and movement between these variants. Even in cases in which speakers appear to be gravitating toward a more prestigious variety of English, Gibson holds that they are doing so within the parameters of Guyanese Creole grammar.

As stated by Gibson, her approach to understanding Comfa religion and Guyanese Creole is "Guyanacentric." It is her honesty and straightforwardness that makes the text a valuable contribution to the newly emerging literature on transnational and diasporic processes of identity formation (e.g. Gordon 1998, Wade 1993, Williams, 1991). In short, the book shows that the formation of identity and religion is a strategic and negotiated process structured by uneven power relations; in doing so, it underscores the importance of language in society, particularly as it relates to persons of African descent in Guyana. On another level, the book reminds linguists that their work can contribute to and benefit from theoretical debates on social differentiation and processes of national, racial, and cultural identity throughout the African Diaspora.

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Korle Meets the Sea. A Sociolinguistic History of Accra. By M.E. Kropp Dakubu. New York: Oxford University Press. ISBN 0-19-506061-X. 1997.

Reviewed by Peter Bakker, Aarhus University

Both books discuss the linguistic history of Ghana, a West African country from which countless inhabitants were sold as slaves in the New World. For that reason alone they are of interest for linguists interested in Atlantic creoles, as these languages may show substrate features from these languages.

I will deal mostly with Huber's book, since that relates most explicitly with the field of pidgins and creoles. Kropp Dakubu's book focuses on some of the almost 50 indigenous languages of Ghana, especially the more recent history of migration of members of rural and tribal groups into the city in the 20th century, and pidgins play a less prominent role here.

Huber's book is a revised version of his dissertation defended at the University of Essen, Germany. It is a solid study on the history of different varieties of restructured English in Ghana, and the historical and linguistic connections of Ghanaian Pidgin English (GPE) with other varieties of West African Pidgin English (WAPE) are also discussed. It is in my view a well- researched book and an example for those who do research on the history of contact

languages.

After an introduction about Ghana and a discussion of the few previous studies on Ghanaian Pidgin English that have been produced, Huber starts with a sociohistorical account of pidgins on the Gold Coast and surroundings, in which he tries to make sense of a range of references by early European commentators to more or less restructured varieties of English, French, Danish, Dutch, Portuguese and Lingua Franca from the 17th century onwards, and spoken by the local population and sometimes by visitors. The quotations referring to Portuguese and Lingua Franca are repeated, with their context, in the original languages and in English translations in an appendix. The advantage of Huber's approach to the history of contact languages compared to some earlier attempts is that Huber does not limit his search to just one language, thus avoiding the impression that a single contact language dominated. Huber surveyed a wide range of travel accounts. Strikingly, Kropp Dakubu has a few quotations that are lacking in Huber in the chapter on "exotic languages" (Danish, Dutch, and especially Portuguese and English). Huber's chapter deals with the early presence of English in the area as well, and the snippets of information on pidginization are valuable early sources. None of these early contact varieties, however, had a lasting impact on the local languages or the 20th century pidgin, except for a limited number of words.

The third chapter is a seemingly historical and demographic chapter about the settlement of the Sierra Leone peninsula from the late 18th century to 1850. This history appears of importance in the discussion of different varieties of West African pidgins and their historical connections with each other and the creoles of the New World, for instance between Gullah (30 % of the immigrants came from the Carolinas presumably speaking this creole) and Krio in Sierra Leone.

After this excursus Huber starts to deal with more technical linguistic matters in chapter 4. Following the succesful method developed by Philip Baker in his historical work on Pacific Englishes, Huber went through 200 published and unpublished sources in order to find earliest and latest attestations of a range of features reported for different varieties of West African Pidgin English, from Cameroon and Nigeria to Ghana and Sierra Leone and Liberia. New World creoles like Jamaican are also taken into consideration. This survey covers both phonological (9 items) and grammatical features, both in the copular space (10), the verb phrase (17), the noun phrase (20), but also typical lexical items and function words (53). Huber considers both the geographical overlap of these items across different varieties of pidgins and the diachrony, suggesting patterns of influence and migration—the latter discussed from a historical perspective in the preceding chapter. This whole dataset casts doubt on the hypothesis that Sierra Leone Krio emerged in West Africa and was brought to the New World as sometimes suggested—it is rather the result of movement in the other direction. There are also a number of items attested only in the Ghana area suggesting a partly independent genesis or development from Sierra Leone Krio. It appears that Krio has many features in common with New World creoles, but WAPE and GPE have very few items also attested in Krio. This suggests a more independent development of GPE from Krio and pidgins influenced by Krio such as Nigerian Pidgin English.

Chapter 5 discusses the sociolinguistics of Ghanaian Pidgin English (GPE). Huber distinguishes three main varieties. Most importantly, the uneducated/non-institutionalized pidgin as used by unskilled laborers and educated/institutionalized pidgin as spoken in educational settings such as secondary schools and by university students. Furthermore there is a range of varieties as spoken by individuals who learned English in interaction with English speakers, labeled "jargon" by Huber.

Chapter 6 is a grammatical sketch of uneducated pidgin, and with almost 90 pages the longest of the book. It covers phonology, sentence types, subordination, noun and verb phrases and topicalization and focus. It is based on the thirty hours of speech recorded by Huber and it shows that this variety reveals many complexities, despite the fact that it is nobody's mother tongue. The sketch focuses on the "deeper" variety of pidgin as spoken by uneducated persons, but the author regularly refers to the students' variety when that is different. An interesting innovation is that a great number of examples can actually be heard on the accompanying CD, allowing the reader/hearer to make additional analyses. A special marker with the examples in the book shows which ones are available in audioformat (those from Huber's fieldwork) and which ones are not (examples from other sources).

In a number of cases Huber refers to earlier work on GPE, correcting errors on features supposed to be part of GPE but which are not found in his data. A number of structural features of GPE are compared with Bickerton's creole features suggested to be part of the bioprogram and therefore the result of nativization. Even though the number of native speakers of GPE is close to zero, the TMA system and other features appear to conform rather closely to the bioprogram, casting doubt on the role of children in the formation of these features.

The brief final chapter called "Conclusion" summarizes the findings too briefly in just over two pages. A more synthesizing conclusion, linking the different chapters that are almost independent studies, would have been welcome.

Four appendices provide the early quotations referred to above: a list of the almost twenty Portuguese words attested in early European sources, a list identifying the sources of the pidgin features used in chapter 4, and the final appendix lists some of the recordings used by Huber, including a radio commercial and samples of the three main varieties, including two somewhat aberrant written texts from newspapers. The references cover 18 pages and there is one index covering names and subjects.

Huber's book is a valuable study, not only because it is the first major study on GPE, but also because it is the result of a fruitful combination of the use of early sources on language contact, historical data about migrations and demographic changes, linguistic fieldwork, and

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text collection. An additional value is added by the inclusion of the CD-ROM which contains sound files, photos of trading posts in Ghana, maps and texts, both written and in Audio format, and usable with both Windows and Mac systems. The sound files can be used both in computers and CD-players.

Dakubu's book deserves more attention from creolists than it has had thus far—it is not mentioned by Huber in his book, even though he quotes some of Dakubu's other work. For one thing, it describes patterns of multilingualism in modern Ghana in a detailed manner, including those that are the consequence of urbanization that often leads to stabilization of pidgins. Second, it describes the native languages of wider communication, some of which are more recent, and some that are also pidginized. These probably have been in use for a long time, such as Hausa in the north and Akan along the coast. The latter may therefore have been an important language in New World slave societies. Third, it contains observations on the use of European languages, pidginized or not, in the history of Ghana, especially its capital Accra.

Where Huber focuses on English and only discusses Portuguese and indigenous languages for historical arguments, Kropp Dakubu deals with a range of indigenous languages, including those used in interethnic contacts. Ewe, Gbe, Fante and Gã are some of the more important languages in urban Ghana, and these are also known as proposed substrate languages for Caribbean creoles. Hausa is today the most important indigenous contact language, used mostly by immigrants from the North where it has long been established as a lingua franca. It may also be pidginized in some places. English is becoming increasingly important.

Huber provides more linguistic details, focusing on English pidgins. Kropp Dakubu is richer in historical data and ethnographic detail, with emphasis on the indigenous languages. Together the books give a rich look at a fascinating country with a rich variety of old and new languages, providing complementary perspectives. Both books are recommended.

GILLIAN SANKOFF

continued from page 3

many formal linguists in the Penn program, took Gillian's graduate course on pidgins and creoles for credit. He remembers her as being extremely important to his own professional and personal development.

"Gillian is among the teachers who, in various ways, have been most influential in making me the linguist I am today. It's Gillian's course on 'Pidgin and Creole Languages' that (re-)kindled my desire to study Haitian Creole and other 'Creole' languages, specifically what these languages could teach us about the human mind and how it acquires and creates language."

But DeGraff credits her influence as going beyond simply wakening him to the possibility of being a professional linguist specializing in creole languages.

"Growing up in Haiti, I had always been fascinated—back then, in the most naive ways—by Haitian Creole and its (socio) linguistic (mis-)uses. You won't be surprised to hear that kids in Haitian schools were, and in many cases are still, trained to despise their native Creole language as a structurally "lesser language". It's in Gillian's class that I started to realize what linguistics could contribute to Creole speakers and vice-versa."

In 1986, she helped organise the Linguistic Society of America Summer Institute in New York, during which she offered a course on pidgins and creoles that was attended by Terry Crowley and Nick Faraclas. Also at the Institute, she and Bambi Schieffelin organized an intensive workshop on pidgins and creoles that brought together a host of major names in creolistics, including Lawrence Carrington, Claire Lefebvre, Derek Bickerton, Pieter Muysken, Yves Dejean, and Marta Dijkhoff.

Terry Crowley credits Gillian's Institute course with having inspired him to write his historical grammar of Bislama, and his debt to her and to the other colleagues at the workshop Gillian organized is recognised in his 1990 book.

During the 1990s, Gillian returned to working on bilingualism in Canada and Canadian French. She has just begun a new NSF funded research project on language change across the lifespan, again tackling core issues in sociolinguistics, and is also studying the social and linguistic conditions necessary to become an effective user of a second language. She has simultaneously managed to pursue her work on synchronic and diachronic variation in Tok Pisin, and she is a popular speaker on all three of these topics at conferences and workshops internationally.

In the last year, I have had the chance to go carefully over her pidgin and creole writings while I have been working on a contribution to John Singler and Silvia Kouwenberg's forthcoming *Handbook of Pidgins and Creoles*. The lasting impression you get from this is the scope of her work: her ability to pose and take on important questions to do with linguistic structure, the role of variation in the genesis and development of pidgins and creoles, and the way she consistently addresses the challenge of incorporating social and psychological dimensions into our models of language structure and language change.

Her book *The Social Life of Language* (now unfortunately out of print) remains fresh and thought-provoking even after 20 years. Early papers like the 1976 'The origins of syntax in discourse: a case study of Tok Pisin relatives' are classic demonstrations of the interplay of multiple levels of linguistic analysis and have rightly had a major influence on how creolists and functional linguists have subsequently conducted their research.

More recent work like 1996's 'The Oceanic substrate in Melanesian Pidgin/Creole revisited: a tribute to Roger Keesing' also reward closer study. Not only does the paper sensitively honour Keesing's work and his life, it unifies a body of scholarship that Gillian has now amassed over decades. In doing so, I think it points us to what may be the next step in her work on Tok Pisin, a holistic treatment of the grammar and a socially nuanced treatment of the ebb and flow of variation in the history of a language.

Reflecting on her friendship with Gillian, Claire Lefebvre writes, "From a student's point of view, Gillian is the best. She is insightful, encouraging, supportive, creative, you name it: she has it. From a colleague's point of view, I would say the same. From a friend's point of view, I would also say the same. The only shadow from all points of views is that we never see enough of her."

Peter Patrick says, "I have this habit of having an idea, writing it up, and then realizing that it's a variation of something I read or heard from Gillian. I think I've managed to credit all those! But she has been a fount of good ideas in our fields, and we belong to several of them—maybe just the fact of working at that nexus of fields is a result of having had Gillian as a teacher?"

She can also be credited with getting a number of people into the study of creoles when they had never thought of it before. Patrick remembers, "It was Gillian who suggested I think about doing my PhD on Jamaican. Originally, I thought I was going to do my PhD on Chinese variation. I took her class on Language Contact in the spring of my first year, but knew nothing about pidgins and creoles yet, and then I took that course the next fall. Then of course it became obvious that she was right, and so my personal history was made."

A similar off-hand remark that Gillian made to me at the end of her pidgins and creoles class gradually took root and found me moving to Vanuatu to study variation and change in Bislama 18 months later.

continued on next page

She has also played a crucial role in helping some of us stay in the field when life and the dissertation process seemed mutually incompatible. As Tom Morton puts it, "She is always ready to help. She consistently maintains a positive attitude and is patient. She seems not to have forgotten that creole- and socio-linguistics is fun. A major reason I applied to Penn was for her academics. A major reason why I continued was her gift for making you feel welcome and capable. She just *always* comes through and is consistently and believably encouraging."

There are many tributes I could make to Gillian here but I know they would embarrass her, they would probably embarrass me, and they would certainly embarrass third party readers. So I'll forebear. One thing I will say is that in the ego-driven world of academe, she astounded me once by the simple honesty with which she said, "I don't like to be the kind of supervisor who's always telling their students to read everything they've written."

A major difference between Gillian and some of her academic peers is that Gillian isn't in the business of training 'students' or developing a school that has all the answers; Gillian trains researchers and colleagues. Gillian, like her many friends in the creolist community, are in the field because they love and respect both the social and the structural complexity of creoles as languages in use. Continuing to work in that spirit is perhaps the finest tribute we can all join in paying to her.

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continued from page 7

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Papua New Guinea

Continued from page 5

in part, the result of a preexisting tradition of "talking to natives". The lexicon consisted of a few hundred words used to speak about a restricted number of topics. The meaning of words was context-depending, a feature then enhances individual variation.

During stabilization, norms became established. It was during this stage that Tok Pisin started to be used for communication among local people rather than only between colonizers and natives. The phonology continued to be the least stable part of the pidgin. Study suggests that it evinced universal tendencies observed in other pidgins, such as the elimination of marked sounds or the tendency to have a CVCV structure, but distinctions found in substratum languages are also observable in Tok Pisin.

There are two different views on how the grammar of Tok Pisin was created. Mühlhäusler thinks that language-independent strategies played the most important role, since the lexifier was remote and the substrate was very heterogeneous, while Keesing considers the substrate (Oceanic substrate) to have played a very important role. The use of the different strategies is reflected in Tok Pisin grammar. Together with features present in other pidgins, there are some specific features that reflect substratum influence:

Pronoun system: singular-dual-plural

Inclusive-exclusive (1st person plural)

Predicate marker suffixes: transitive suffix -*im*

suffix – *pela* to signal plural

There are various sources that contribute to the lexical inventory of Tok Pisin Samoan Plantation Pidgin, Tolai and other local vernaculars, German and, to a lesser extent, Malay.

The lexicon of the stabilized pidgin is not an unstructured list anymore. Systematic aspects such as lexical field structures, circumlocution and the emergence of programs of lexical derivation can be observed.

While during stabilization, decodability was the most important aspect of communication, production is the most important one during expansion. Phonological distinctions increase in comparison with previous stages.

During expansion the pidgin starts becoming an independent system in which conventions emerge, lexical structure appears and syntax is used to derive new lexical items. Tok Pisin made use of internal resources and expanded the possibilities already present in the language. Lexical expansion is aimed not only at increasing the referential adequacy of the pidgin but also at providing stylistic variation.

A shift from a pragmatic mode to a syntactic mode occurs in which more and more relationships are expressed grammatically.

The development of the derivational lexicon can only take place once the syntactic structures of the language are stabilized. Although a few lexical programs emerged at the end of stabilization, it is during expansion when there is a continued increase in the number and productivity of these programs.

Features of current Tok Pisin[5]

Phonology

As far a phonology is concerned, although marked sounds continue to be eliminated, there are signs in spelling that a change in pronunciation is taking place and marked sounds are being used, e.g. *menegment, agensi, rijonal, haijekim, mesej*

CVCV structure is not always kept and clusters are becoming common, e.g. *ekseketiv, miks, paliment.*

Diphthongs in English loans are sometimes kept and not simplified as it used to be the case in previous stages, e.g. *dedikeisen, wei, leit, vout.*

Syntax

Syntax seems to be the part of the language that keeps more pidgin features, e.g. verb markers. However, even here, the influence of English can be seen:

Interrogative word order: *inap mi kam sindaun long beksait bilong yu?*

English wh- words: *wai*

English prepositions: *ova, ov.*

Subordinate clauses of all kinds

Evidence from the texts analyzed shows that at the present moment the new patterns being borrowed do not seem to be replacing old ones, but rather both of them coexist. Thus , instability will be a feature of the language while restructuring takes place.

Lexicon

As it was observed in the diachronic description, the lexicon is always the first area of the language to be affected by changes. It is in this area where the influence from English is greater, and Tok Pisin structure more likely to be replaced:

Specific Tok Pisin word formation is replaced by English patterns, e.g. expression of gender. As a consequence of borrowing from English the Tok Pisin lexicon is becoming less transparent. Thus, the distinction of sex both in animals and humans by using *man* and *meri* can gradually disappear

as a consequence of the borrowing of English words which do not make such a difference, e.g. *prisina, woka* instead of *kalabusman / kalabusmeri* and *wokman / wokmeri*.

Also idiomatic expressions, which reflect the specific manner of expression of a language, are being influenced by English. English idioms are finding their way into the language, e.g. *brukim lo* (break the law), *brukim haus* (break into a house), *holim opis* (hold office), *ronim stua* (run a business), *bikpela mani* (big money), *poket mani* (pocket money), *pen pren* (pen friend).

New words needed to refer to new topics are borrowed from English. Tok Pisin does not seem to be making use of its internal resources:

Technology: *kompyuta labratori, fex, email adres, fektri*

New jobs: *ofisa, sosel woka, gaidens counsela, arkiitet, pablik servan, jenerel menesa*

Business: *kampani, indastri, bisnis, bisnis man*

Education: *pri-skul, koles, praimari skul, hai skul, teknikel skul, yunivesiti*

Sports: *ragbi lig, skoa, tropi, prisisen, kompetisen, fainel, sponsa, sempionsip*

As a consequence of the changes taking place in society, the use of loanwords from the substratum is declining, because they reflect a reality that is gradually disappearing. Only those words whose referent is still present will remain.

The existence of a great number of synonyms in Tok Pisin reflects different influences during its development and also the use of different resources at different times for the creation of new words. More recently a large number of synonyms reflect the massive borrowing from English, which can create a communication gap between speakers of different sociolects. In order to help bridge the gap, speakers of Urban Pidgin tend to use the lexical innovations together with the older Tok Pisin words, so that they can make Rural Pidgin speakers understand and, at the same time, they can show their knowledge of English:

Ol ***bikpela*** *oa "****key****" kantri raun long wol.*

Ol memba blong wanpela ***lain*** *oa "****gang****".*

Malaysia ibin ***deportim*** *oa* ***rausim*** *wanpela man bilong Iraq.*

Ol ***bikman*** *oa* ***lida*** *bilong ol rebel*

Pasin nogut *o* ***domestik vailens***

Givim ***skul*** *o* ***edukesen***

Synonyms can also be joined by *na* or *ol i kolim:*

Ol polis iwok long ***putim eye*** *na* ***wuas***

New Caledonia i nambawan kantri long wol long salim ***dispela ston*** *ol i kolim '****nikel****'*

Another remarkable feature in current Tok Pisin is the use of code-mixing, that is, the use of English and Tok Pisin within the same situation, or even within the same sentence:

Stupid pik where are you I kill yu na karim go mumuim yu long ples

Love na best wishes igo long yu. Ikam long mum Simmy, dad Victor

Betde gritins i kam long daddy, mummy

The future of Tok Pisin

Following the analysis of the sociolinguistic information, some hypothesis can be made about the future of Tok Pisin. Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea is mainly a second language, only a low percentage of the population speaks it as their first language. However, even as a second language it is a primary language for a high percentage of people in such a rich linguistic environment.

Migration to towns is likely to increase the percentage of creole speakers since more families where parents have no common language will be using Tok Pisin and children will acquire it as their first language.

Nowadays Tok Pisin and English do not seem to be so far apart as they used to be in previous stages. There is some evidence that increasing influence of English on Urban Pidgin is causing an incipient continuum to emerge. Social mobility and education will be important factors that will make speakers modify their speech in the direction of the standard. A linguistic continuum might consolidate with Australian English as the acrolect, Urban pidgin as the mesolect and Rural pidgin as the basilect, and intermediate stages between these.

At the present moment very few people in Papua New Guinea are in direct contact with English. And for many it is a language learnt in the formal environment of the classroom. The influence of English on Tok Pisin will not spread if English remains only the language of formal education. However, other factors such as the contact of a growing number of speakers with English as a consequence of expected migration to town areas, the influence of the media or the growing prestige of the urban variety can help to increase the number of English features in Tok Pisin.

Throughout its history, Tok Pisin has evolved and has become enriched by its speakers. They, rather than language policies, have been the ones who have decided the direction of the development of the language by accepting or rejecting the different possibilities of expansion. It is in their hands to

decide what Tok Pisin will be like, to decide if they want to favour the changes in the direction of English and the consolidation of a linguistic continuum already emerging, knowing there is a risk of losing communicative power, a factor which cannot be undervalued in such a linguistically heterogeneous society.

Future research

In my current research I have limited my scope to an analysis of the most relevant events which took place in the history of Papua New Guinea and a diachronic analysis of the developments occurring in Tok Pisin, which allowed me to make hypotheses about the future of the language. The field is very wide, however.

More research should be encouraged by institutions. Nevertheless, resources in Papua New Guinea are very limited. The major interest of University is only in technological studies in Forestry. Further research could be carried out into a vast number of aspects, which would provide interesting insights into the language and the society. I propose some suggestions for further research:

- **A diachronic study of Tok Pisin lexicon**. Since Tok Pisin is a relatively recent language (118 years old if we take 1884 as the year of its birth), this would not involve going too far back in time for the accomplishment of this task. Mihalic's project on Internet is a good departure point for the elaboration of this study. It is intended to revise Mihalic's dictionary so that it reflects the language as it is used in the XXIst century.
- **Results of the choice of language in education.** The UNESCO encourages governments to implement the use of vernaculars in education because they are vital for the acquisition of basic skills. This seems difficult in a country such as Papua New Guinea where the choice of language is not an easy decision to make. Tok Pisin is the language most spoken in the country, but it is the native language of only 50,000 people. On the other hand, developing materials in all the languages seems to be an impossible task. Not everybody seems to agree on the use of Tok Pisin since English is perceived as the language necessary for promotion in society. While Tok Pisin will be learned in everyday life (within the family or the community), English can only be learned in the formal context of school.
- **Current circumstances which might have an influence on the development of Tok Pisin**. The European presence in Papua New Guinea favoured contact between people from many different areas, speakers of many different languages. Tok Pisin became a language of solidarity among them. Papua New Guineans had a feeling that it was a language of their own.

The consolidation of a common language can make a strong nationalistic feeling emerge, which could make the most radical groups express their rejection towards Australia and towards Australian English, consequently reinforcing the use of Tok Pisin.

- **Standardization**. The use of Tok Pisin in written form in different contexts will help the process of standardization to take place. This will have implications on different aspects such as orthography or the creation of a literature which is not translation of foreign literatures, but a Papua Niuguinian literature.
- One more interesting aspect for further research would be the study of the role the missionaries played in the creation of Tok Pisin and in its standardization. The first written texts in Tok Pisin were their translations of the Bible.

Tok Pisin might have sometimes been intended to be a transitional stage towards proficiency in English as Mihalic's[6] view stated in the preface to the first edition of his dictionary reflects:

"Therefore we choose it [Neo-Melanesian] as our bridge to English not, however, implying in any way that we thereby perpetuate it indefinitely (...) I am looking forward to the day when Neo-Melanesian and this book will be buried and forgotten, when standard English and the Oxford dictionary will completely replace both".

However, Tok Pisin is the Papua New Guineans' creation, the reflection of their own identity and its disappearance would involve the disappearance of their specific way to understand the world.

[1] PhD dissertation defended at the University of Valencia (Spain) on September 27, 2002

[2] Ethnologue, 2002. http://www.ethnologue.com

[3] Mühlhäusler, P. 1986. *Pidgin and Creole Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell

[4] Keesing, R. 1988. *Melanesian Pidgin and the Oceanic Substrate*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

[5] The texts analyzed for the synchronic description of Tok Pisin include traditional stories, formal documents, web pages, transcripts of Radio Australia News and different sections of Wantok newspaper.

[6] Mihalic, F. 1971. *The Jacaranda Dictionary and Grammar of Melanesian Pidgin*. Brisbane: Jacaranda Press.

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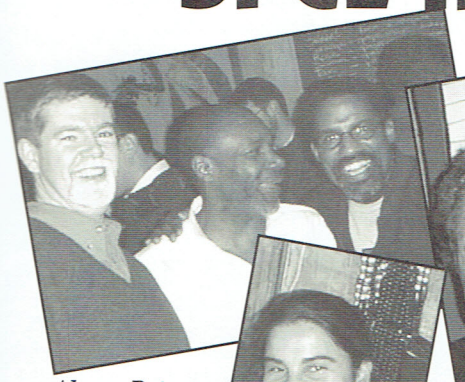

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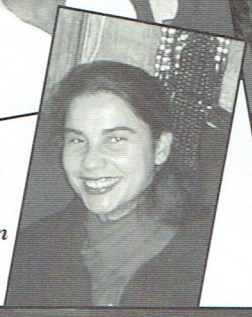

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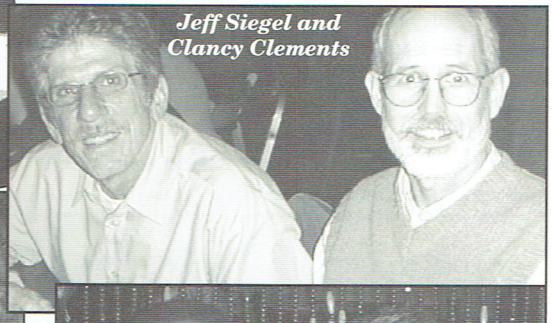

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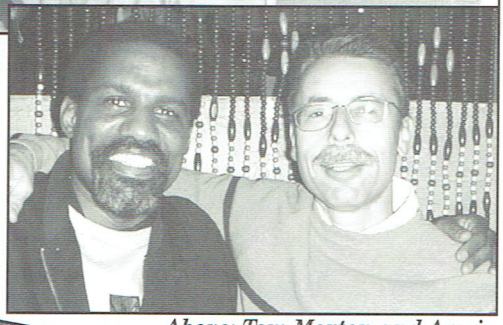

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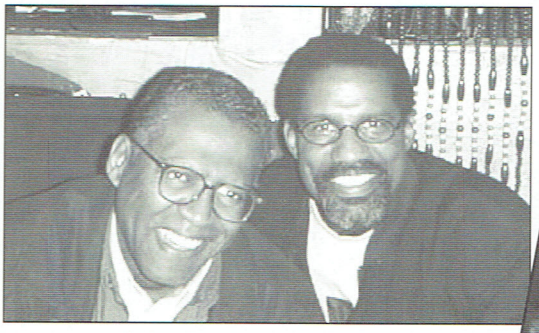

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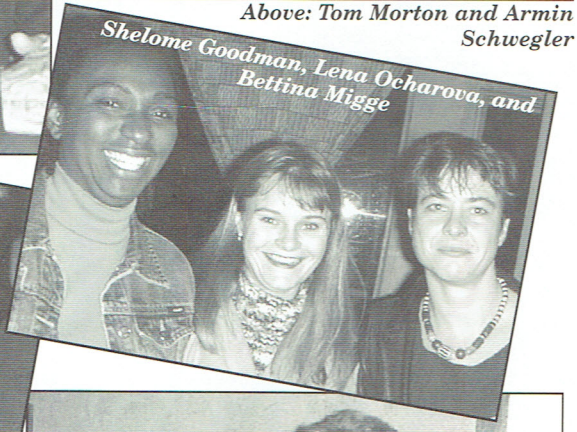

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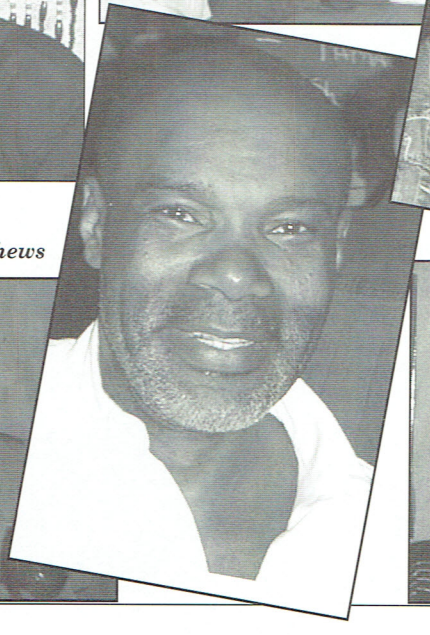

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