

Reviews

Akten des 1. Essener Kolloquiums über "Kreolsprachen und Sprachkontakte" vom 26.1.1985 an der Universität Essen. Ed. by Norbert Boretzky, Werner Enninger, and Thomas Stolz. Bochum, Germany: Studienverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer, 1985. 167 pp.

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This volume contains papers presented in January 1985 at the first of what has become a series of more or less annual colloquia on creole languages and language contact at the University of Essen. The stated purpose of these colloquia is to enthruse pidgin-creole studies in German-speaking Europe by presenting a forum for German-speaking researchers working directly or indirectly on issues in all aspects of language contact. The papers in this volume, however, deal only with language contact as it deals with pidgin and creole languages. As such, they present a good overview of current interests in research among German-speaking creolists. There is a wide geographical spread, covering South Africa (Afrikaans), Europe (the Gypsy languages), Melanesia (Tok Pisin), North

America (Louisiana Creole), and the Caribbean (Negerhollands), as well as in the former Portuguese empire. Three of the seven articles in the volume deal with various problems of substrate influence, two deal with the results of archival research in Europe, one deals with the problems of the definition of a creole, and one deals with dictionary writing.

The first of the three articles dealing with substrate issues is also the first in the volume, Hans den Besten's article on the origin of the double negative in Afrikaans. In it he examines the question of whether Afrikaans double negatives are inherited from Dutch or are the result of interference from African languages or pidgins.

He shows that although there are some Dutch dialects with a double negatives, an explanation of the sentence final second negative in Afrikaans requires a slightly different definition of 'S' which is unlikely to be a direct descendant of the European Dutch construction. It is similar to structures in both Khoisan (Hottentot) and Portuguese-based creoles. Den Besten rules out the latter as a source for historical reasons, but he mentions some problems that must be answered before a Khoisan origin can be considered definitive.

Mark Sebba's article in English on serial verbs is the only article in the volume not in German. He examines Atlantic creole serial verb constructions and those in possible African substrate languages, with the aim of providing a more comprehensive

explanation of their origin than offered by Bickerton's bioprogram hypothesis. After a detailed analysis of various functions and characteristics of serials, he is not able to come to a definitive resolution of the subject, but does show problems with using the bioprogram as the only explanation for the genesis of serials.

The bioprogram hypothesis states that serial verbs are a case-marking strategy made necessary by the absence of prepositions in the pidgin languages accessible to the first creole speakers. Sebba dismisses this as the only cause for serials because although serials are often reinterpreted as prepositions in creoles, there are no creoles having serials but totally lacking prepositions. But because serials in these creoles have a different function than in the West African substrate languages, he agrees with Bickerton in rejecting a substrate origin for creole serials. While serialisation in the Kwa languages of West African can act to multiply the number of arguments a verb (or a class of verbs) can take, Sebba does not find this strategy used in creoles. Instead, in creoles, they are used as lexicon-expanders and as the equivalents of prepositions or adverbials. Moreover, Tok Pisin has several serial constructions similar to those in Atlantic creoles even though it cannot have any West African substrate. Sebba concludes that neither a bioprogram nor a substrate explanation can answer why some, but not all, creoles have serial constructions.

In the third article about substrate issues, Thomas Stolz also questions the bioprogram hypothesis, but his is a much more forceful refutation than Sebba's. He examines verbal expressions of single repeated action common to a number of Portuguese-based creoles as an example of basic verbal categories which cannot be adequately explained by Bickerton's analysis of creole verbal systems in terms of three primary categories — tense, modal, and aspect.

Stolz shows that there are several ways of expressing this concept in Portuguese, the least frequent of which is to use *tornar* or *voltar* 'return, turn' as an auxiliary. In Portuguese creoles a reflex of *voltar*, if present, has only its lexical meaning, while in almost all Portuguese creoles a reflex of *tornar* loses its lexical

meanings, but retains a grammatical meaning of single repetition of an act. Because *tornar* acts as a full verb in Portuguese, but not in creoles, and because its use is much more common in creoles in comparison to Portuguese, Stolz argues that it is unlikely to have had its origin solely as a survival from Portuguese. Moreover, he sees parallels in other creoles not based on Portuguese, as well as in some West African languages.

Given its widespread presence, Stolz argues that the bioprogram hypothesis should be able to take this construction, like others common in many creoles, into account as a component of the core grammar. But since the bioprogram hypothesis explains universal forms as being those necessary for human survival, and the description of action repeated once is unlikely to have been vital for survival, he argues that this form is a good example of negative evidence in favour of a substrate rather than bioprogram explanation for the genesis of creole grammar.

The first of two articles in the volume based on archival research is Peter Stein's article on a publication of slave letters from eighteenth century St. Thomas. It is a particularly interesting account of the results of detective work in German missionary archives. While searching for the originals of three texts published in the eighteenth century, Stein came across no less than 150 letters written by slaves, some in Dutch, but most in Negerhollands. At the time of writing, he was finishing the preparation of a volume of all these letters together with linguistic and historical analyses. Given the vigour of the ongoing dialogue regarding the genesis of creole languages which the articles discussed previously exemplify, painstaking work of this type from early original sources still preserved in Europe is extremely valuable.

Inrid Neumann's article on the origin of Louisiana Creole French and its relation to Haitian Creole is also the result of archival research. She examines the widespread statement that Creole French was brought to Louisiana by the slaves of refugees from the upheavals in Haiti in the early nineteenth century. She cites historical data to show that when the massive numbers of Haitian slaves arrived, there was already a good core of native-born francophone slaves whose families had been in Louisiana since the beginning of the eighteenth century. At first these had been outnumbered by Whites, preventing either the emergence of the bioprogram or of a

stable pidgin. Thus the high proportion of Standard French features in Louisiana Creole are actually forms preserved from this early time when slaves were linguistically relatively unisolated, not the result of decreolisation. But the last half of the eighteenth century had seen the arrival of a large number of new slaves from Africa, who would have learned "French" from other slaves, rather than Whites. Neumann says there is no reason to believe that in such circumstances a creole would not have developed, and she quotes some evidence from contemporary sources to support this hypothesis.

Neumann notes that most similarities between modern Louisiana and Haitian Creole used to support a Haitian ancestry for Louisiana Creole were once present in other Caribbean French-based creoles. Only one shared possessive pronoun form cannot be attested in other modern or older varieties of Caribbean French-based creoles. But there are a number of noteworthy grammatical differences between Louisiana and Haitian creoles, such as an almost total lack of serials in Louisiana Creole and a different word order regarding negatives which offer a greater counterargument to a Haitian genesis of Louisiana Creole. Neumann concludes that the two creoles are related, sister, not mother/daughter languages whose similarities can be explained by a combination of the bioprogram, common substrates, and a common lexifying language.

Norbert Boretzky's article on Romany (Gypsy) languages is an interesting attempt to prevent the watering down of the concept of 'creole languages' by defining characteristics differentiating creole languages from other languages which have undergone strong outside interference. As a benchmark, Boretzky defines a set of core historical and linguistic requirements shared by the 'traditional' European-based creoles arising out of overseas colonialism. Historically they arose when the children of polyglot groups were thrown together and needed a lingua franca developing as creoles either in one generation or over a long period of time from a pidgin lingua franca. Linguistically, the 'traditional' creoles have lexicons which are up to 90% European, but with virtually no European inflections, relying instead on unbound grammatical particles.

The innovative Romany languages differ historically in that they were developed by immigrants in relatively monolingual host communities and are used for in-group, rather than inter-group communication. Linguistically they have the opposite relationship to the European languages than that of the traditional creoles; while the lexicon as a whole is not heavily European, the innovative Romany languages are un-

usual in their adoption of European bound morphemes and other grammatical words. Using Anglo-Romani as an example, Boretzky hypothesises that while the first Romany immigrants learned English quickly, as a permanently foreign fringe group they needed a mark of identity to set themselves apart as both Romany and British. This was provided, probably to some extent consciously, by Anglo-Romani, whose function became that of a secret language for ethnic self-identification. Thus, he concludes, although these languages have undergone strong linguistic interference like creole languages, this interference alone is not a sufficient criterion to consider them to be creole languages.

Peter Mühlhäusler's article deals with Tok Pisin dictionaries. The article begins with an historical overview of Tok Pisin dictionaries. Although Tok Pisin has been better documented than most other pidgins and creoles, most dictionaries have been written by and for the colonial masters, so that many registers used mainly only by indigenous speakers are poorly covered. He goes on to discuss issues raised in his current work on an etymological dictionary of Tok Pisin and the other South West Pacific creoles. One of these is the question about whether to have a dictionary of one single language or a set of related languages. Mühlhäusler concludes that for diachronic purposes, patterns of past contact and parentage can best be indicated by including all related languages, although it can be difficult to draw the boundaries.

Another question is the degree of diachronic information to be included, especially since the history of many words in a dynamic creole is not continual. Similarly, etymologies can be hard to describe, as with words having multiple parentage (e.g. English *belly* and Tolai *bala* > Tok Pisin *bel*), or when a word such as *gras* or *han* has a European form but a non-European semantic range. The boundary between literal and metaphorical definitions can often be quite arbitrary and, very often, based on foreign, rather than indigenous, perceptions.

Overall, there are few complaints can be made about this collection, which raises issues covering many areas of interest with articles that are readable and detailed. One problem for many potential overseas readers with a less than perfect command of German is the lack of abstracts, either in German or English. English abstracts would have been especially welcome since, with the exception of Boretzky's article on Romany languages (and Sebba's article which is in English anyway) the languages under discussion are in countries where German is not a language in which scholars can normally be expected to be fluent. Linguists from the developed world do have a responsibility to facilitate access to their research for their colleagues from the communities where they conduct their research. In a volume such as this without ab-

stracts in English or the language being discussed, this is not usually possible.

The volume is typeset, but readable. The binding, however, is very poor, at least for use in the tropics. At the conclusion of the volume is a list of addresses of contributors, which is particularly useful for continuing dialogue.

This volume work provides a useful insight into a number of areas and issues. The editors set out to promote pidgin-creole studies and overcome 'the certain deficit' which they note in the number of contemporary German-speaking creolists. The existence of further, and much longer, volumes in succeeding years testifies to their success.

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The Melanesian content in Tok Pisin. By Rick J. Goulden. Pacific Linguistics B-104. Canberra: Australian National University, 1990. xii + 194 pp. AUSS\$27.30.

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This work is a revision of Goulden's 1987 doctoral dissertation (University of Toronto), incorporating many references to - especially - Keesing (1988) and other publications that had not been made available before.

Goulden justifies the name Tok Pisin (as opposed to Neo-Melanesian, Tok Boi, etc.) in chapter 2. He summarises what is known or hypothesised about the history of TP and follows Keesing in assuming a close link between TP, Bislama and Pijin as developed from Melanesian Pidgin English,

originating on plantations of Queensland, Samoa, New Hebrides, before 1880.

The TP material of Goulden is basically the variety spoken in West New Britain, where he did his fieldwork on both TP and Lusi.

In chapter 1 he introduces historic and accounts for his fieldwork. His topic is to show how TP (and by extension Bislama and Pijin) is influenced by Melanesian Austronesian (MNAN) languages. The substratum hypothesis is contrasted with other models in chapter 3. Other models that are discussed briefly are: 1) partial learning, subsuming simplification and reduction, 2) internally generated innovation, with a separate section on universals. Substratum influence is effected mainly by calquing of superstrate vocabulary on vernacular grammar. G actually allows for an interaction of these different factors. Rather than looking at just one substrate language, G maintains that a number of MNAN languages should be considered. Comparison between one variety of TP (or broader: Bislamic languages) with just one substrate language (as e.g. Mosel (1980) did with regard to Tolai and TP) would naturally fail to find an identical match between TP and that language. The appendices provide materials from selections out of a total of 27 Austronesian languages, spoken in Vanuatu, Solomon Islands, and Papua New Guinea (mainly New Britain).

Based upon these data the chapters 4-7 give evidence for Melanesian Austronesian substratum of Tok Pisin in Phonology (ch.4), Morphology of Noun