

Marlyse Baptista in 'Reduplication in Cape Verdean Creole' (pp. 177–184), and the better known case, apparently restricted to Suriname creoles, of partial reduplication in deriving instrument nouns from verbs, just mentioned.

Typos are frequent, but seldom cause difficulty. More serious is the failure of some authors to provide glosses or translations for their examples. The bibliographic information for the tantalizing reference to 'what is probably the earliest attempt at a comprehensive treatment of the subject [various kinds of iteration in language] – Pott (1862)' (p. 1) is unfortunately missing, and a few other references are misfiled (e.g., the editor's 'Introduction' refers to a 1978 work by Moravcsik, presumably the one included in the References of the next chapter; in 'Reduplication in the Gulf of Guinea Creoles' by John Ladhams, Tjerk Hagemeijer, Philippe Maurer, and Marike Post (pp. 165–176), an article by G. Tucker Childs is correctly referred to as a 1994 work by Childs, but the References list it under 'Tucker, G. Childs'. But such faults are minor compared to the value afforded by the breadth and unity of the volume, and the depth of many of the contributions.

References

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Language change and language contact in pidgins and creoles. Edited by John McWhorter. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2000. Pp. viii, 503, plus index. Hardback \$145.00. [To order electronically, visit www.benjamins.com]

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The present volume is one of an ever-growing body of anthologies (e.g., Neumann-Holzschuh & Schneider, 2001; Smith & Veenstra, 2001, in the same series as the book reviewed here) that give exposure to a wide range of topics pertaining to the analysis, status, and history of pidgin and creole languages. Editor McWhorter's contribution to this literature contains an interesting and timely selection of papers 'presented at three consecutive meetings of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics ... San Diego in January 1996, Chicago in January 1997, and London in June 1997' and chosen to represent 'papers which, regardless of their topic, compellingly approach their subject in a novel way, bring to light hitherto under-covered material, or successfully bolster an unconventional or minority case' (p. vii).

As the discussion below indicates, the resulting papers are impressive in their diversity of topic, with phonology, syntax, semantics, sociolinguistics, historical linguistics, and other areas treated; in their range of theoretical approaches, with Minimalism, Optimality Theory, and Variationist frameworks represented, among others; and in their coverage of language and geographic focus, with creoles in the Caribbean, Cape Verde Islands, Surinam, South America, Africa, Hawaii, and elsewhere all found in the volume.

Reviewing a collection of essays is always difficult, as one wants to cover the whole volume but typically, limitations of space militate against that. Nonetheless, I offer here some comments on each paper – brief for some, more extensive for others – and then tie them together with a consideration of some general themes.

The first paper is 'Verb movement in four creole languages: A comparative analysis' by Marlyse Baptista. She starts with an account of the verbal syntax in Capeverdean Creole, 'focusing in particular on the ordering of verbal elements with regard to negation, adverbs, and floating quantifiers', and then extends her analysis to Haitian, Guinea-Bissau, and Louisiana Creoles. Of particular concern is the relationship between verb morphology and verb movement, and Baptista shows that even languages with little morphology on the verb, such as Capeverdean Creole, unexpectedly, given usual assumptions, exhibit behavior consistent with the presence of verb movement in the grammar. Baptista's interests lie with the theoretical consequences of her analysis, but I note as well that these findings provide fuel for both sides of the 'Creole Exceptionalism' debate (see DeGraff, 2003 for a recent survey and critique) – assimilating these creoles to standard analyses of verbal syntax shows them to be unexceptional in this respect, but the fact that they seem-

ingly show verb movement even without much verbal morphology suggests some exceptionality.

Angela Bartens's informative piece, 'Notes on componential diffusion in the genesis of the Kabuverdianu cluster', has a largely historical focus, reviewing the external history of the Portuguese-based creole spoken in the Cape Verde Islands and elsewhere, including the large community in Massachusetts, and then turning to the dialectology of the varieties spoken in the islands themselves, especially in the light of efforts at standardization of the creole. Of particular significance is the considerable dialectal variation, such that it is clear that 'Kabuverdianu is far from being a homogenous language'; Bartens attributes some of this variation to 'separate creolization processes' (p. 54) in different areas, resulting in a dialect cluster.

'High' Kwéyòl: The emergence of a formal creole register in St. Lucia' by Paul B. Garrett also addresses issues of variation within a creole itself, in this case stylistic variation in the French-based Kwéyòl that has led to 'the emergence of a 'high' or formal register of the basilectal creole as an alternative to the official standard language' of English (p. 63). Garrett terms this a 'somewhat unusual result', for two reasons. First, it is more typical in such stylistic splits for 'the creole and the standard [to be] lexically related' (p. 63), but this is not so here, even though Kwéyòl 'has been demonstrably affected by contact with English at virtually all levels of analysis ... especially ... in the high register' (p. 64). Second, the notion of *register* has not often been applied in creole contexts, despite the fact that it is a useful notion (as in noncreole contexts too, of course) that clearly is called for here (and thus possibly will be useful in describing other creole situations). Garrett describes in great detail the very interesting external history and setting for Kwéyòl, emphasizing the importance in the Anglicization of Kweyol of speakers' ideology about language in general. In so doing, he examines their attitudes about what is and is not a language, and what constitutes good use of language. As he tellingly puts it, 'in any situation of language change, one has to consider not only what speakers are doing and saying with their language(s), but also what they *think* they are doing and saying – and why they think what they think' (p. 95, italics in original). Interestingly, in view of the volume's next paper, he describes the interactions between English and Kwéyòl (with French in the mix on occasion too) as being somewhat parallel to the interactions among Kannada, Marathi, and Urdu in Kupwar

village in India (p. 89, see Gumperz & Wilson, 1971), i.e. as essentially a mini-Sprachbund.

In 'From Latin to early Romance: A case of partial creolization?', Stéphane Goyette engages in what might be called 'applied creolistics', taking insights from what is known about creoles and creolization in general and applying them in a novel arena to material not previously considered relevant to creolistics. His focus is on an interesting and challenging question: why was there so much movement towards analytic structuring in the development of Latin into the Romance languages, and especially so much more than in the development of Greek over a comparable period of time? Goyette's provocative answer is that creolization, with its propensity to lead 'to a radically heightened degree of analyticity' (p. 126) played a role in the development of Latin (but not Greek). As a Hellenist, I am uneasy about accepting the premise for this question and its answer. It is true that some aspects of Modern Greek may be less analytic than Romance, but at least as far as the verb is concerned, one finds that:

- (a) both an analytically based future (built on the verb 'want') and a periphrastic perfect (with 'have' as auxiliary) occur;
- (b) the old synthetic subjunctive was replaced by an analytic structure now marked with *na* or *as* (admittedly analyzable now as prefixes, giving again a synthetic structure, but they were clearly not affixal in earlier stages of the language)
- (c) synthetic reflexive/reciprocal forms continue the Ancient Greek middle voice forms, but there has been the innovation of an analytic reflexive and reciprocal (via a reflexive nominal, *ton eafto* + POSSESSIVE PRONOUN, for, e.g., accusative reflexive objects, and a bipartite reciprocal phrase *enas o alos*, literally 'the one the other').

As a historical linguist, I am not quite sure how to measure degree of analyticity (cf. Schwegler, 1990), though I agree that there is a common sense intuition that can be invoked here even if exact quantification is not possible. More importantly though, Goyette does not take full account of Greek's involvement in a rapid expansion in the Koine period over a wide territory taking in numerous nonnative speakers. Saying only that the 'linguistic 'expansion' of Greek was primarily an elite phenomenon, leaving the bulk of the non-Greek-speaking peoples unaffected' (pp. 127–128, n. 7), an assertion that

I find somewhat hard to accept, given the range of, for instance, inscriptions and non-literary papyri with apparent substrate effects throughout the Greek-speaking territory in that era. Moreover, the involvement of Greek with its neighbors, i.e., the convergent developments known as the Balkan Sprachbund (a large-scale version of the Kupwar micro-Sprachbund), is probably critical here. Some neighbors, the South Slavic languages, show a move towards analytic structure in their nominal system, making the conservatism of Greek, with continued synthetic noun case-marking, stand out in contradistinction to Romance analyticity. However, one cannot ignore possible influence from Albanian, another neighbor, which has retained case marking and shows other signs of conservatism shared with Greek (e.g., retention of a synthetic medio-passive voice marking in the verb). Overall, then, despite the initial plausibility of Goyette's position and its intrinsic interest, I remain unconvinced, though I welcome the challenge that his proposal offers.

The next paper is 'The creole verb: A comparative study of stativity and time reference' by John Holm et al. Working with an approach that is broadly typological and comparative, the author and his team of 17 other creolists from his own former university (CUNY) and from around the globe examined 12 Atlantic creole varieties (Dutch-, English-, French-, Portuguese-, and Spanish-based) and 5 non-Atlantic varieties (English-, French-, and Spanish-based, as well as Assamese- and Arabic-based) in order to test Bickerton's 1979 claim that the unmarked creole verb 'signifies past with nonstatives and nonpast with statives' (p. 133). They conclude that 'while Bickerton's claim about the relationship between stativity and tense reference may reveal an interesting statistical tendency . . . his claim has no predictive value in any of the Atlantic or non-Atlantic creoles surveyed' (p. 159).

'Are creole languages 'perfect' languages?' by Alain Kihm centers on another of Bickerton's claims, the well-known Language Bioprogram Hypothesis (Bickerton, 1984). Inspired by Chomsky (1995), Kihm's paper addresses the rather provocative issue announced in the title. Proposing a "Relativized Universal Grammar Hypothesis" (RUGH, p. 189), Kihm says ultimately that 'there is no a priori reason why all the languages we currently call 'creoles' should fall under the RUGH or some variant of it' (p. 191). To justify his claim he points to 'the distinction between plantation and fort creoles' (p. 191).

'The origin of the syntax and semantics of property items in the Surinamese plantation creole' by Bettina Migge takes Alleyne's 1980 observa-

tions on parallels between adjectives in some Kwa languages of West Africa (e.g., Twi) and those in 'Afro-American language varieties' (p. 201) and explores the surprisingly quite controversial status in Ndyuka (Surinam), and in Surinamese Plantation Creole (SPC) more generally, of adjectives, and especially the attributive versus predicative usages (*This is a **broad** street* versus *The street (is-) **broad***). While Migge called this dual behavior (modifier in the former versus verb in the latter) 'relatively unusual viewed from the perspective of European languages' (p. 201), it is worth noting that this dual function for adjectives is a long-standing characteristic of Greek, an enduring one to be sure, already found in Ancient Greek and persisting into modern usage. Still, the behavior calls for an explanation of some sort, and Migge ultimately is led to the view that Gbe structures provided the models for these structures in SPC.

'Variable concord in Portuguese: The situation in Brazil and Portugal' by Anthony J. Naro & Maria Marta Pereira Scherre, while ostensibly about a non-creole language, namely Portuguese, actually does treat a creolistic topic. The authors explore the possibility that variable number agreement patterns in nonstandard Brazilian Portuguese in nouns, verbs, and predicative adjectives resulted from a pidginization/creolization of Portuguese in the multi-ethnic milieu of Brazil as opposed to being exclusively of European origin, brought to Brazil in the Portuguese of the new settlers. Their careful argumentation and statistical analyses of the variability lead them to a compromise position, surely reflecting a reality that extremes on either side of the controversy cannot capture; they conclude that 'Modern Brazilian Portuguese is the natural result of the centuries-old drift inherent in the language brought from Portugal' but interestingly became 'exaggerated ... in Brazil by extensive contact between adult language speakers of particularly diverse origins and the nativization of Portuguese by communities of such speakers' (p. 251).

'Nativization and the genesis of Hawaiian Creole' by Sarah Julianne Roberts is a bold study challenging Bickerton's Bioprogram Language Hypothesis on the very language, Hawaiian Creole, he used as the basis for his model. Roberts argues, based on demographic data supplemented with an extensive array of compelling sociolinguistic evidence, that 'the classic Bickertonian conception of [abrupt] nativization', defined as 'the process by which a language acquires a native-speaking community', is 'inconsistent with observed facts' (p. 257). What is proposed instead is a more gradual, three-generational, model of nativization unfolding in stages, much like what

has been observed in numerous other immigrant communities in 20th century America. An interesting finding, based in part on late 19th and early 20th century newspaper accounts of Japanese life in Hawaii, is that Japanese ‘children, not adults, introduced English into parent-child discourse’ (p. 272). This carefully argued paper may well be the most important one in the volume.

In ‘The status of Sango in fact and fiction. On the one-hundredth anniversary of its conception’ by William J. Samarin, the author refers to a long career’s worth of study and examination of Sango (Central African Republic), and dispels numerous myths about it. The key question Samarin raises is whether Sango is a pidgin. He argues it is, on linguistic and non-linguistic grounds, but especially because of one key feature: ‘an extremely reduced lexicon’ (p. 321). This situation is particularly interesting because, as Samarin points out, Sango is ‘the primary language of several thousand people [making] it also a *creole*, according to one of the well-known uses of the word’ (p. 304). To the extent that being both a pidgin and a creole, by various criteria, is not a contradiction, the case of Sango provides a serious test of common understandings of these concepts.

‘Optimality Theory, the Minimal-Word Constraint, and the historical sequencing of substrate influence in pidgin/creole Genesis’ by John Victor Singler attempts to apply the assumptions and formalism of Optimality Theory to issues in the analysis, both synchronic and diachronic, of Vernacular Liberian English (VLE). Singler argues that ‘the perspective of a constraint-based theory of phonology . . . enables one to see that the chronological sequence of input from different substratal sources into a PC [= pidgin/creole] plays a vital role in determining the ultimate character of PC’s phonology’ (p. 335). He engages in some interesting speculation at the end (Section 6 is entitled ‘What if?’) about what might have happened in Liberia had the speakers of the different substrate languages inhabited different parts of the region 500 years ago from their historical territories, so that the order of acquisition and diffusion of VLE across groups of speakers would have differed from what actually happened historically. In so doing, though, he makes claims that are not testable (‘it is my contention that, had this order of interaction been reversed, some surface forms in both the Coastal and the Interior VLE would have been different’ (p. 348)), so one can wonder about the value of such an exercise. Still, there is great value in pursuing new theoretical models, and in the course of his discussion, Singler makes a particularly telling observation, namely that ‘a crucial difference between Atlantic pidgins and Atlantic

creoles is that pidgins do not ordinarily involve massive displacement of populations, while creoles do' (p. 348), providing, all in all, a rewarding and well-argued contribution.

'The story of *kom* in Nigerian Pidgin English' by Sali A. Tagliamonte takes another current theoretical approach – grammaticalization – and applies it to the analysis of Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE). Recognizing that 'the extreme sociohistorical circumstances' of contact languages mean that 'normally gradual processes of linguistic restructuring are compressed . . . while historical and ongoing developments in the source languages may often provide the backdrop for the interpretation of concurrent synchronic variation' (p. 353), Tagliamonte characterizes *kom*'s multiplicity of functions in NPE, including past tense marking, and both auxiliary-like and main verb uses, among others, as a telling sign of ongoing grammaticalization. I have argued elsewhere (Joseph, 2001, for instance) that grammaticalization is best taken as a result rather than a process, and is in a sense epiphenomenal, representing effects caused by other processes of change (e.g., regular sound change, analogy, borrowing, etc.) rather than being a distinct mechanism of change on its own. Still, the fluidity and variation in a contact situation would indeed seem to give speakers the opportunity to make judgments about relationships among elements in their own contact language and in the source languages that would allow for inferences about directionality and apparent pathways of development – pathways that might otherwise be opaque to speakers who do not have exposure to the source. Such a situation is entirely consistent with my claims about grammaticalization, since the basis for such inferences emerges from external facts rather than (a) speakers' cognitive systems, (b) the linguistic system itself, or (c) from some process with an independent status. Still, developments in contact situations would provide a reasonable basis for examining some typical ways in which speakers deal with perceived relationships among elements of differing but seemingly similar form and function.

'Tense and aspect in Sranan and the creole prototype' by Donald Winford offers new perspectives on a long-standing problem in creolistics and in the analysis of the verb phrase and tense/mood/aspect marking more generally. In a characteristically insightful and data-rich discussion, Winford counters – compellingly, I might add – some claims in Bickerton (1981) regarding the 'prototypical creole TMA system' (p. 383). This substantial piece (60 pages) is a model of clarity of presentation and argumentation.

'Chaos and creoles. Towards a new paradigm?' by George Lang is an intriguing application of 'chaos theory', borrowed from the realm of physics, to the matter of creole genesis. Lang suggests that certain nonlinear models may offer a better perspective on 'the main paradox creolists have encountered over the years: the strange continuities within the discontinuity of creoles' (p. 443). He proposes that 'creole genesis may be one site of chaotic determination in history' (p. 448). I question whether this view will gain much acceptance, but it is always refreshing to see ideas from other disciplines applied to linguistic problems.

'Wh-words and question formation in pidgin/creole languages' by J. Clancy Clements & Ahmar Mahboob surveys creoles with a variety of language bases with regard to their handling of wh-words. The point of departure is Muysken & Smith's (1990) observation about the central status that question words have as function words, and about their apparent stability. Based on this, Clements & Mahboob test the idea that 'the question word system generally develops early in the formative stages of a pidgin or creole, and subsequently tends to be less subject to change than content words' (p. 460). This allows, they say, for question-words in principle to 'be taken as a reliable diagnostic of relatedness between two pidgins or creoles' (p. 492). While some results are promising (e.g., Sranan and Djuka question words suggest a period of common development, so also Haitian and St. Lucian, Mauritian and Seychellois, etc.), the authors exercise caution, recognizing that any similarities 'could simply indicate that, as with Papiamentu and Palenquero, [the] two creoles (or pidgins) simply share a common source language' (p. 492). This is similar to problems facing historical linguists working on non-creole languages; so in a sense, though the authors do not state it thus, we are here faced with a nonexceptional feature of creoles.

This is generally a well-produced volume, with few typos, a good balance of ideas and topics, and much interesting material. Overall I found the papers to be stimulating, thought-provoking, and thorough in their treatment of their respective topics. Two small bones I might pick with the editor concern the arrangement of the papers and the title of the volume. The papers are ordered alphabetically by author, and one wonders if some internal thematic grouping might not have been possible. It was not clear to me that this volume really was about language change and language contact in pidgins and creoles overall. For instance, creole genesis, a theme in several papers, is not a matter of change *in* creoles per se, though it is certainly pertinent to creole

history. Similarly, of those chapters that involve no real addressing of matters of history or change (e.g. ‘Verb movement in four creole languages ...’ [Chap. 1]), is it enough to say that language contact is involved simply because creole languages are the target of investigation and some reference to lexifier and substrate is inevitable? For that matter, is it fair to focus on pidgins and creoles in the title when some of the papers are only, as noted above, applied creolistics and not on any pidgins or creoles directly? Rather than take the title as a given and worry about the papers selected, I think the editor has it right when he says, in the Preface, that the diverse papers in this volume are ‘united in their aim to keep debate in creole studies moving ever forward in new directions’ (p. vii). This aim is certainly accomplished by the fifteen papers in this volume.

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Growing up with Tok Pisin: Contact, creolization and change in Papua New Guinea's national language. By Geoff P. Smith. London: Battlebridge Publications, 2002. Pp. xi, 244. Paper, £18.00, approx. \$30.00. [to order electronically, contact battlebridge@talk21.com]

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Based on the author's PhD dissertation, this book distills many years' experience in Papua New Guinea to form a many-faceted picture of Tok Pisin (TP) as spoken by adolescents in the late 20th century, and its ongoing development.

Chapter 1, 'Pidgins, creoles and Tok Pisin' provides the historical background, situating the language in relation to the antecedent Melanesian Pidgin (Keesing 1988) and its other offshoots such as Bislama and Solomons Pijin. Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical assumptions and methodology adopted. The author is cautious with respect to substrate influence, on methodological rather than theoretical grounds: in the case of TP the substrate languages are especially numerous, diverse and poorly described (p. 25). The aim of the book is to provide a synchronic description of the language as spoken by adolescents for whom it is a first language (p. 29). Identifying such people is not straightforward, given shifting language repertoires in multilingual communities. The corpus used comprises such speakers who were aged from 10 to 19 between 1985 and 1992. Informants were recruited mainly from schools in which English is the language of instruction (p. 31) and asked to tell a story,

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