

**JOURNAL OF
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JOURNAL OF PIDGIN AND CREOLE LANGUAGES

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AIM AND SCOPE

The journal presents the results of current research in theory and description of pidgin and creole languages in the wider sense, and applications of this knowledge to language planning, education, and social reform in creole-speaking societies.

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Gibt es das kreolische Sprachwandelmodell? Vergleichende Grammatik des Negerholländischen. By Thomas Stolz. Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York: Peter Lang (Europäische Hochschulschriften XXI:46), 1986. Pp. 272. Paperback. U.S. \$32.55.

Reviewed by John Holm, *Hunter College, City University of New York*

The answer to the question posed in this book's title is no: There is no special creole model of language change, according to Stolz. The language changes that produce creoles differ not in quality but rather in quantity from those that have produced other languages. This is not to say that there is nothing unique about the circumstances under which creole languages come into being, and this book attempts to provide a new integrated theoretical model to account for the genesis and development of creoles.

The data on which this study is based come primarily from Negerhollands (NH), the nearly extinct Dutch Creole of the United States Virgin Islands. NH is unusually well documented for a creole language: It arose after North Europeans and their African slaves began settling the island of St. Thomas in the 1670s (or possibly earlier; see Goodman 1985). Missionaries began writing in NH in the 1740s and in 1770 a grammar was written by a native speaker of the variety used by white creoles (Magens 1770). In addition to the sizable body of religious literature in NH, there are a number of linguistic descriptions, but the two principal studies (Hesseling 1905 and de Josselin de Jong 1926) are in Dutch and remain untranslated. Stolz's book is particularly welcome not only because it reviews the earlier literature in a more widely known language, but also because it does this thoroughly and competently in the perspective of recent advances in creole studies.

Bickerton (1981:74) refused to consider data from NH that ran counter to his bioprogram theory on the grounds that he believed all of the early work on NH to have been written by nonnative speakers and all of the later work to represent the deformed remnants of a dying language. This is clearly not the case of the basilectal texts collected by de Josselin de Jong, but these are only accessible to those with a knowledge of Dutch. Stolz has analyzed these and earlier texts, critically evaluating the reliability of those written by Europeans. He confirms the existence of a literary variety of NH considerably more influenced by European Dutch than the language of eighteenth-century field hands was likely to have been, but this in itself--

like the acrolectal variety used by white creoles--certainly had an impact on other varieties and thus constitutes a legitimate object of study.

As a student of Norbert Boretzky (whose 1983 comparative study of the Atlantic Creoles and their African substrate languages is just beginning to have an impact on creole studies in the United States and Britain), Stolz has the solid training in historical linguistics that one might expect. While there is nothing maniacal about his interest in substrate influence (he is interested in many other factors as well), his work suggests little enthusiasm for the bioprogram hypothesis. Stolz's method of presenting data is quite straightforward. His 30-page introduction outlines the theoretical perspectives that have guided the study of creole languages since the eighteenth century, ending with his rationale for re-examining the NH data. This is followed by the most substantial part of the book, his analysis of NH phonology (pp. 33 to 116) and morphosyntax (pp. 117 to 232). His discussion of nearly every aspect of these two main areas is sufficiently detailed (and illustrated with actual examples) to make the book a very valuable reference tool. Yet the discussion is well paced; when the important points on a particular topic have been covered, Stolz moves on to the next, achieving a completeness of coverage hardly to be expected in a dissertation.

Stolz provides a broader context for his discussion of each point of NH phonology or morphosyntax by referring to parallel features in creoles of other lexical bases (often the restructured Portuguese of Guinea-Bissau) as well as other varieties based on Dutch (the Afrikaans of both Whites and Coloureds, New Jersey and Mohawk River Dutch, and what is known of the creolized Berbice and Skepi Dutch of Guyana). Although I realize that this, like all works, was written under real constraints of space and time, I still believe it would have benefited from more frequent reference to the English-based Creoles, particularly the Eastern Caribbean variety that eventually replaced NH. For example, Stolz's derivation of NH *se* 'say; that' (introducing quotations and subordinate clauses after some verbs of thinking) from Dutch *zeggen* 'say' (p. 229) calls for some reference to Creole English *se* with the same meanings and distribution. However, the author is clearly able to work competently in an impressive number of the relevant languages ranging from Danish to Portuguese.

The result of the comparative studies promised in the book's title is to better establish NH's identity vis à vis other creoles and other varieties based on Dutch, which is an important contribution. Stolz's re-examination of the data indicates that NH is much more like the other Atlantic Creoles

than had been believed. For example, previous studies, such as that by van Diggelen (1978), revealed a number of words corresponding to *be* that appeared to vary randomly, unlike their counterparts in other Atlantic Creoles (Holm 1984). Stolz's quantitative study of this variable feature in the texts collected by de Josselin de Jong (pp. 150 to 155) indicates a clear pattern: *a* is the only highlighter and the usual equative copula before NP's when there is no tense marking; *mi* is the usual form before adjectives; *be* predominates before locatives; *we:s* is the only form that can be used in the imperative or after tense and aspect markers; all of these forms can be deleted except for *we:s* and the highlighter *a*. This pattern is similar but not identical to that of the other creoles. While NH retains the pattern usually found in the Niger-Congo languages (i.e., a number of different "copulas" that vary according to the following syntactic environment), it differs in some details (e.g., \emptyset does not prevail before adjectives, which usually function similarly to verbs). However, Stolz's evidence of NH's greater similarity to other Afro-American Creoles does not reveal it to be the "classical" creole that conforms to Bickerton's preconceptions. Its verbal system (pp. 155 to 198) abounds with syntactic and semantic patterns similar to those of other Atlantic Creoles, yet it fails to reveal the tripartite systems of tense, mode, and aspect marking required by Bickerton, as Muysken (1981) pointed out. Interestingly, many of the nonconforming features examined by Stolz (e.g., the existence of both nonpunctual and perfective rather than just a single aspect, or futurity as a tense rather than a mode) could be argued to be quite widespread in the Atlantic Creoles. While Voorhoeve's (1957:383) tripartite model for preverbal marking in Sranan led to the recognition of some striking similarities between the Surinamese Creoles and the French-based Creoles of the Caribbean, Bickerton's appropriation of this model as a test for all "true" creoles has not been helpful.

Stolz's feature-by-feature comparison of the varieties based on Dutch--the first to my knowledge since the rather tendentious work of van Ginneken (1913)--helps clarify the identity of each as well as their interrelationship. New Jersey and Mohawk River Dutch emerge as enclave varieties of European Dutch; the relatively slight erosion of their inflectional systems can be largely attributed to contact with English and attrition. White Afrikaans has an enigmatic blend of creole-like and non-creole features, but its verbal system would seem to tip the scales in favor of its European parentage. Coloured Afrikaans has more creole features, including what appears to be the same preverbal progressive aspect marker once found in NH, i.e.,

le (p. 180), perhaps from Dutch *liegen* 'to lie; to be located'--a semantic range which corresponds to that of the etymological sources of this marker in other Atlantic Creoles. This suggests the existence of a fairly widespread variety of contact Dutch, probably dating from the seventeenth century, given the early attestation of *le* in NH. Remnants of such a variety may survive in South Africa to judge from Fly Taal, a new Arikaans-based language that has arisen among some Bantu speakers since the reorganization of housing more strictly by race under apartheid (Makhudu 1984). While White Afrikaans indicates the future with *sal* (cf. Dutch *zal* 'will') and Coloured Afrikaans uses *le*, Fly Taal employs *loop* (cf. Dutch *lopen* 'walk; go') (Makhudu 1984:88-9). In NH, *lo* (apparently from the same source) replaced *le* as both the future and progressive marker. While colloquial Dutch can use *gaan* 'go' with an infinitive to form a future construction comparable to English 'going to V', a more likely connection is the archaic Dutch use of *lopen* with another verb to form a durative construction (p. 167). As varieties of contact Dutch were developing, the nonpunctual meaning may have been extended to include the immediate future, as in a number of African languages (Boretzky 1983:125).

Two largely missing pieces of the puzzle are Berbice and Skepi Dutch--clearly creoles, although data remain scanty despite the efforts of Ian Robertson (1976 and later publications). It is still unclear whether these two varieties bear any relationship to NH other than via the common elements in their substrates, keeping in mind that Dutch Guiana and the Danish West Indies had no political ties and only tenuous economic links.

Stolz concludes his book with several appended discussions. The first involves the largely neglected areas of prepositions and conjunctions, two word-classes often held to be unlikely to be found in a pidgin and thus probable areas of innovation and borrowing in emerging creoles. Stolz also examines the idiolects represented in the texts collected by de Josselin de Jong. His study of several variable items reveals that some fairly important morphosyntactic features (e.g., use of the complementizer *fo* after certain verbs, \emptyset copula, or *lo lo* marking the future) were largely restricted to the speech of only one of his nine informants.

Finally, Stolz attempts to provide a new integrated theoretical model to account for the genesis and development of creole languages. While his discussion of this model is coherent and often insightful, the diagram which represents it (p. 254) is unreadable because there is no indication of the relationship between the relevant factors (convergence, decreolization, simplification, etc.). While Stolz's theoretical model needs more work, it is

clear that he has much to tell us that is worth knowing. We would be fortunate indeed if we had dissertations this good on every creole language.

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Social and linguistic history of Nigerian Pidgin English as spoken by the Yoruba with special reference to the English derived lexicon. By Anna Barbag-Stoll. Tübingen: Stauffenberg, 1983. Pp. 194. U.S. \$12.50.

Reviewed by Dudley K. Nylander, *University of Melbourne*

It is usually assumed that there are two varieties of West African Pidgin English (WAPE), namely Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE) and Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE). However, this classification has been questioned. Mafeni (1971) suggests that Sierra Leone Krio, although a creole language, can be regarded as a dialect of WAPE, on the basis of its structural similarities with NPE and CPE. More recently, Hancock (1982) has argued that there are, in fact, two varieties of CPE: an eastern branch, which is rather like Krio, and a western branch, which is rather like NPE.

The book under review deals with various aspects of NPE. The work, we learn, is the author's doctoral dissertation (in a revised form?), which was presented to the Department of English Philology of the University of Poznan (Poland). Barbag-Stoll presents us with various aspects of what she claims to be NPE as spoken by the Yoruba.

Although Barbag-Stoll's book is interesting, it is nevertheless plagued by a number of problems. Its title does not match its contents. The use of the term "history" in the title is barely justified since historical facts are presented only in chapter 2. Furthermore, most of the historical facts pertain to West Africa as a whole, and not specifically to Nigeria. An even stronger objection to the title is that the reader, after going through the book, is left wondering why reference is made specifically to the Yoruba. All the examples of NPE that are presented also apply, as far as I can see, to the varieties of NPE spoken by other Nigerian ethnic groups (Igbo, Hausa, and so forth). The author attempts to justify reference to the Yoruba by presenting tables of Yoruba phonemes, alongside NPE and Standard English phonemes (pp. 57-59). However, as Welmers (1973:52) points out, many West African languages have a number of phonemes in common. As such, Barbag-Stoll's arguments are not convincing.

Another problem is that she indiscriminately lumps together all English-related Pidgins and Creoles spoken in West Africa. For example, she states (p. 40) that the pidgin/creole spoken in Liberia "represents a variety of Atlantic pidgin related to WAPE." However, this is obviously incorrect since the pidgin/creole spoken in Liberia is very different from NPE, CPE,

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