

Glenn G. Gilbert (ed.). **Pidgin and Creole Languages**. Essays in memory of John E. Reinecke. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987. i-x + 1-502. US\$35.00

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This book is a fitting tribute to John E. Reinecke, one of the founders of the discipline of pidgin and creole studies. It reflects Reinecke's own career which spanned a wide range of linguistic concerns within this field. Reinecke would also endorse the balance between theory and data that is evident in this collection of papers. All scholars of pidgin and creoles studies will find this volume a useful and stimulating reference work. My only complaint with the book is that although the Pacific area forms a thematic section within it there is no paper on Australian pidgins and creoles. The only reference to Australia is to Australians learning *Tok Pisin* (p.183) and this is in spite of the growing body of publications appearing on the subject.

The book is divided thematically into seven unnumbered sections. The "Introduction" is a tribute to Reinecke and his work. This is followed by "Theoretical perspectives" which is a collection of articles on general theory in the field. The next five sections are devoted to smaller selections of papers dealing with specific pidgin and creole languages within major geographical areas studied by pidgin-creolists -- "Pacific area", "Atlantic area", "Portugese in the New World", "West Africa and Asia", "Amerindian" and "Africa". These are the applied sections complementing the theoretical. Space being limited here, I will concentrate my comments on the theoretical and the Pacific papers -- areas which are directly relevant to my own research, with brief comments on the rest of the book.

I particularly enjoyed reading the biographical sketch of Reinecke, in the "Introduction". His concern for human rights and the relevance of linguistics to that concern is inspirational. Fortunately, many pidgin and creole languages are no longer a social handicap stigmatising their speakers. Following in the tradition begun by scholars such as Reinecke pidgin-creolist have been able to contribute to world-wide recognition of the importance of these languages. "As an academician

and an activist, John made a difference in the lives of the people of Hawaii. Our own efforts must go beyond research and teaching if we are also to make a difference in our communities” (Charles J. Sato and Aiko T. Reinecke, p.20).

Reinecke’s paper on William Greenfield is also included (pp.23-33). A major point in the paper is that scholars can have profound impact on the lives of the people who speak pidgin and creole languages. Maligning of these languages by influential scholars disadvantages the speakers. His message is that linguists have the heavy task to overcoming their own prejudices so that they may contribute to the dignification of “minority languages” and their speakers through making them the subjects of serious enquiry. Fortunately, we have come a long way since Greenfield was ridiculed for his defence of “Surinam Negro-English”.

Central to “Theoretical perspectives” is Carrington’s searching reappraisal of creole studies (pp.77-92). He cautions against mainstreaming of the discipline into general linguistics and its theoretical concerns at the expense of data oriented enquiry. His emphases on the need (1) for more cooperation between social historians and creolists and (2) on the development of comparative studies of change are very valid. I can testify from my own research into the history of the development of *New South Wales Pidgin* that there is a great wealth of historical knowledge about and documentation of pidgin and creole languages which needs to be analysed and incorporated within the corpus of information available to pidgin-creolists. Peter Mühlhäusler’s ongoing “Oxford Concordance” project is addressing this problem. He hopes to compile all known data on pidgin and creole languages onto one database.

Bender’s paper provides a provocative enquiry into the existence of “non-European-based Creoles” (pp.37-60) in Africa using “Bickertonian” criteria for analysis. Reinecke was “a pioneer” in the study of creoles that exhibit no input from European languages and Bender claims inspiration from “his spirit of inquiry”. Bickerton and Wilson (pp.61-76) “round out” Reinecke’s *Language and dialect in Hawaii* (1969) by providing a discussion of the role of Hawaiian in the sociolinguistic history of pidgins and creoles in Hawaii. Bickerton’s bioprogram is the theoretical issue examined in Corne’s analysis of verb fronting in *Isle de France Creole* and Atlantic creole languages (pp.93-112). He leans towards a substratum explanation in this paper but sees the whole as indicating areas for research rather

than conclusively demonstrating any position. Le Page (pp.113-129) champions a multidimensional model for the description of language contact situations, marrying sociological with “purely linguistic” constraints on language variation. Rickford (pp.130-138) examines decreolisation using *Guyanese* pronouns and concludes with the provocative remark that “decreolization appears to begin as an additive rather than replacive process”. Schuman (139-160) offers that “basilang” (the early stage of second-language acquisition) represents “early pidginization”, developing the ideas of Givón (1979). He examines the utterance structure of basilang speech in order to gain insight into the incipient stage of pidginisation and as a means of overcoming the paucity of data for early pidginisation.

Leaving the papers dealing with theoretical perspectives the book moves on to the data oriented sections beginning with the “Pacific area”. This area is represented by a paper from Day and one from Mühlhäusler. Day has been concentrating his academic research on *Hawaiian creole English* and presents a valuable paper (pp.163-176) on early pidginisation in Hawaii. A welcome addition to the small body of publications focussing on the early stages in the history of specific pidgins. As one who has been “trying to build a substantive case for a language which no longer exists” (in Troy 1985 and ongoing research) I sympathise with Day’s concern that this paper may be based too much on speculation and not enough on data. However, speculation provides motivation for further inquiry and I agree with Day that it is to detailed document-based research we must turn to recover the history or even the existence of pidgins and creoles. Day’s paper complements that by Bickerton and Wilson above.

Mühlhäusler is a pioneer in the study of *Tok Pisin* history and his paper (pp.177-209) pursues a similar line to that of Day. He stresses the importance of detailed historical and data oriented research and analysis as the substance from which “high-flying debates” can be productively fuelled. He also makes the important point that in order to use historical materials “one also needs to know the criteria by which earlier data and pronouncements about them should be assessed”. He offers tribute to Reinecke’s attention to these issues. This is a very useful paper covering the motives behind studies of *Tok Pisin*, the history of its description, the social context of studies and the analytical approaches to these

studies. The long bibliography to the article is a valuable primary source for researchers.

I offer now brief comments on select papers from the remainder of the book. Carter (pp.213-263), in "The Atlantic area", makes the interesting suggestion that "English" loans into the African languages *Twi*, *Yoruba*, and *Konga* can often be traced to Pidgin rather than standard English. This is also in New South Wales, Australia, where Aboriginal languages have absorbed English lexicon via *New South Wales Pidgin*. Within this same section, Hancock's paper (pp.264-333) is a refreshing change in pidgin and creole literature. He compares a set of creoles--the "anglophone Atlantic creoles", with each other rather than, as is usually the case, with the European languages which have provided input to them. Hancock also puts a case for a reassessment of decreolisation in relation to those creoles. He posits a high degree of language maintenance in the communities, arguing against the common assumption in creole studies that European languages are always prestige targets for creole speakers.

Ferraz (pp.337-360) in the section on "Portuguese in the New World, West Africa, and Asia" concerns himself with degrees of interrelatedness between *West African* and *Asian Portuguese creoles*. He provides a very interesting paper that enters into the substratum debate by using substratum influence and early contact between groups of speakers in the formative period of the creoles as his bases for explaining interrelatedness.

In the "Amerindian" section there is a very interesting paper by Hymes and Zenk (pp.445-465) on narrative structure in *Chinook Jargon*. Their conclusion is that *Chinook Jargon* developed prior to European contact with the Indians and is therefore a contact language which had its genesis in pre-European contact. Data is offered as evidence that Indian speakers of the Jargon must have acquired it from other Indians for the Amerindian language narrative forms to be so pervasive within the *Jargon*. The final section on "Africa" is represented by a paper by Nicolai on *Songay* (pp.469-484) which is in the same vein as Hymes and Zenk's. This is a most appropriate finale as the book ends with a look at a creole produced without input from European languages--research Reinecke was most interested in promoting.

Each of these papers is by a leader or pioneer in the field and the diversity of topics makes it a most entertaining and useful book with wide appeal even outside pidgin and creole studies. No doubt the collection will promote further research and debates as the authors have not shied away from controversy. A point which comes clearly through all the papers is that this field of linguistics is still very new and while the debates are maturing many issues (even as fundamental as what exactly constitutes a pidgin or creole) are still not completely resolved. The papers seem to predate the publication by a few years as many of the debates have developed even further. Tomes such as Mülhäusler's **Pidgin and creole linguistics** (1986, Oxford: Basil Blackwell) and Holm's **Pidgins and creoles, volume 1. Theory and structure** (1988, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) have helped resolve definitions and major issues. The production is excellent - a well-bound clear text almost free of typos. The index is quite thorough and the brief biographies of the authors are a useful reference. I have no hesitation recommending this book to all linguists.

Bibliography

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