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This excellent collection of papers from 21 creolists with widely varying viewpoints on the nature of creolization commemorates the work of Jacques Arends (1952-2005), linguist and teacher extraordinaire at the University of Amsterdam. Jacques moved from being a high school teacher of Dutch to a meticulous student of structural developments in the Surinamese creoles (a natural locus of interest for a Dutch creolist), and to raising a generation of creole scholars who are dedicated to exploring the understanding of creole language developments using both linguistic and non-linguistic means (the former including both modern and philologically-derived data and the latter including sociohistorical, demographic and other approaches) before leukaemia claimed him in his early fifties.

Bruyn (2007) has provided a nicely-judged obituary of Jacques together with a complete bibliography of Jacques’ work (something which this volume lacks, though there is a nice photo of Jacques in conversation, in addition to two maps indicating the location of the restructured varieties discussed in the collection). Furthermore the opening chapter in this book, “One more cup of coffee” by Margot van der Berg and Rachel Selbach (3-12), pays tribute to Jacques’ many sterling qualities as a scholar, a humanitarian and a human.

Jacques’ major theoretical interest was in gradual or transgenerational creolization, the network of processes by which the structures of creole languages arise and solidify over decades or centuries. Those who believe in abrupt creolization would maintain that creoles can emerge within maybe a generation, but they too would concede that not all the linguistic features of a given creole will be present in this first-generation form of the language. Given his work on Sranan and other Surinamese Creoles, many of which are documented from the 18th century in forms which exhibit the presence and use of creole structural features unmistakably but which at the same time show many structural differences from their modern counterparts, this interest is unsurprising. What this means is that any attempt to write the internal (and external) history of a creole language, providing a source for its structural or typological features, is going to be a complex undertaking—but the intellectual journey is sure to be thrilling. Hugo C. Cardoso’s chapter (13-23) illustrates Jacques’ thinking on gradualism, and points out that Jacques was very much open to the possibility that abrupt and gradual approaches to creolization might just be two different ways of looking at the same phenomena.

The chapters which follow the two introductory ones written by the editors are divided into two sections. Pages 27-241 are linguistic analyses of restructured languages (mostly of creoles but Cape Dutch Pidgin and Ecuadorian Quichua, neither of them creoles *sensu stricto*, are included), while the chapters in pages 245-387 look at sociohistorical contexts affecting various creoles. Philip Baker’s paper (29-53) examines bimorphemic structures (not merely bimorphemic interrogatives) in creole languages, observes the varying patterns of a series of heads and modifiers attested in the materials, and suggests that the perpetuation of patterns from languages which early slave populations would have had as their L1 can be more readily understood if we realize that early generations of L1 creole speakers would also very often have had a command (and would have frequently used) their ancestral language(s), which would have been able to exert influence on a creole as it spread to subsequent generations of native (and second-language) speakers.
After Baker’s crosslinguistic paper we have several papers with a narrower linguistic focus. J. Clancy Clements (55-75) looks at a couple of recent changes in Daman Creole Portuguese of western India, adducing perceptual salience as one of the reasons why earlier ʼi ʼandʼ is increasingly replaced by ǝǝ nəw (originally ‘if not’) when it conjoins sentences, while ǝd ʼofʼ has extended its meaning to ʼonʼ because of its similarity in sound to [nd], the local Indian English pronunciation of in the. Using a wealth of examples Pieter Muysken (77-97) demonstrates the gradual restructuring of verbal and other features of Ecuadorian Quichua inasmuch as it can be demonstrated from philological materials recorded from some time in the 17th century up to 1892, showing that overall the authors (including missionaries seeking to evangelize) wrote in the Quichua they heard around them rather than striving for an archaising (or, one might say, Cuzcoizing) form of Quechua that might be redolent of a mythologized Inca past. Two papers in this section examine French-lexifier creoles: Claire Lefebvre (101-112) looks at double object constructions in Haitian, which require a Recipient and a Theme; this feature is not present in French, but Lefebvre indicates that an examination of this construction in Fonbe and of the verbs which license it allows us to understand more readily why certain verbs in Haitian license this construction. Marie-Christine Hazaël-Massieux (113-128) shows that while Caribbean Creole French varieties have selected reflexes of one or the other of Noun + ǝ + Person Marker or Noun + Person Marker (but not both) to express personal possession, both constructions were available for selection in the 18th and 19th centuries, and that different creole varieties each chose one of these forms.

Surinamese Creoles are well-covered here and treated in four chapters. Bettina Migge and Donald Winford (129-153) discuss the ways in which different Surinamese creoles selected differing means of expressing possibility in their verb complexes, with Sranan adopting a form kan with typological parallels in Dutch while Saramaccan adopted a form sa, which is from English but which has absorbed patterns of usage from Gbe languages. Peter Bakker (153-172) provides a fascinating analysis of the Saramaccan verb lexicon, showing how more of the verbs in this creole with a high proportion of lexical elements from Portuguese and other languages derive from Portuguese (174) than from English (159), and most of the high-frequency verbs in modern English have been preserved in Saramaccan, though the same is true of only 1/3 of the most frequent Portuguese verbs.

George L Huttar’s chapter (173-188) discusses African lexical sources for Ndyuka vocabulary, pointing out that Gbe lexicon is only slightly more widely represented in Ndyuka than Akan lexicon (while Kikongo and other Bantu languages provide the greatest proportion of African lexicon, namely 118 out of 294 items against Gbe languages’ 39 and Akan’s 33 items, and 28 items from other Kwa languages; for the rest Yoruba provides 14 and Gur languages 8). Marvin Kramer (189-217) searches out Highs in Saramaccan tone spread, and shows that although High tone spreads rightwards in certain serial verb constructions, as it does in Fonbe, the spread of this tone in quantifier phrases in Saramaccan is paralleled in a similar use of tone in Kikongo. Among African languages Kikongo matches the Gbe languages in the degree of its contribution to Saramaccan lexicon; the Gbe contribution to Saramaccan structure was a topic dear to Jacques’ heart (Bruyn 2007:151 mentions Jacques’ role in the research project “The Trans-Atlantic Sprachbund” which explored such connections), and it is rewarding to see Kramer discuss subtle structural influences upon Saramaccan from another African source. Meanwhile, one paper deals with linguistic features of Dutch-lexifier pidgins: Hans den Besten’s careful analysis (219-241) of what we can know about the distinctive phonology of Cape Dutch Pidgin from the evidence of spellings, recordings of Dutch loans in wordlists of Cape Khoekhoe, and the like; these show evidence for, inter alia, a lack of clear distinction between voiced and voiceless stops.

There are seven sociohistorical papers. Christine Jourdan (245-256) explains why Solomons Pijin took a long time to creolize (local multilingualism using languages with limited geographical ranges was already the norm) and suggests that culture change in the Solomons, including
increasing urbanization and the central role of the national capital Honiara, has changed the perception of the role and importance of Solomons Pijin. Two papers deal with Portuguese-lexifier pidgins and creoles. Magnus Huber (257-278) sees the ‘Lingua Franca’ used in Lower Guinea in the late 18th century as a form of Pidgin Portuguese (possibly developing from the Mediterranean Lingua Franca) which was not dissimilar to the West African Pidgin Portuguese used as a trade language further north, with which it may have converged.

John Ladham (279-303) examines the origins of Portuguese-lexifier creoles of Asia and Africa; his conclusions are perforce cautious because of the dearth of pre-19th century linguistic data for many of these languages, but he suggests that their development may be abrupt rather than gradual because these areas lacked the continuous waves of newly-arrived slaves (who might exert ‘adstratal’ influence on the emerging creole, which they would acquire as a second language) which characterized plantation regions in other parts of the world. As to the question raised in his footnote 25 on p. 296 regarding the fact that some treatments of Indo-Portuguese by English Protestant missionaries contained barely modified Standard Portuguese whereas other sources represented a language which was much more different from Standard Portuguese, I would suggest that a study of what we know about literacy and educational policy in the area for speakers of Indo-Portuguese (including the extent to which some kind of ‘church creole’ was felt to be the fitting language for religious discourse) should cast much light on the matter.

Norval Smith (305-326) examines the extent to which English was still spoken in Surinam after its came into Dutch hands; he reckons that perhaps a third of the population of the country (including the slave population) was still English-speaking in 1684. But by examining demographic data he shows that a massive increase in the numbers of slaves being imported (with over half of them subsequently escaping) between 1680 and 1690 could support the idea that English creolized rapidly and that Sranan and Saramacca both emerged rapidly at this time. The following paper, by Silvia Kouwenberg (327-348), sees the last third of the 17th century, with its massive increase in the importation of African slaves speaking a large number of languages, as the crucial period for the genesis and early development of Jamaican Creole. Earlier slaves largely had their origins in the Bight of Biafra, whereas slaves imported after 1675 came largely from the Bight of Benin and the Gold Coast. (Kouwenberg does not say anything in this chapter about the way in which innovations which typified Atlantic English Creoles would have found their way into an emergent Jamaican Creole if such a language had emerged independently, though influence from people from Barbados and Surinam may have played a role to an extent as yet unproven.)

Don E. Walicek (349-372) discusses the early period of the settlement of Anguilla, which emerged in the late 17th century in the first instance as a homestead society which was populated not only by whites from England, Scotland and Ireland but also by Africans, the first of whom had come from St Kitts, and who were slaves in a society which also included many poor white indentured laborers (native speakers of English or in some cases, I speculate, of Scots, or Irish Gaelic and with English as a second language) whose conditions of employment were little better than those of their African coworkers, but who were intermediate players in a sharply stratified society. The final paper, by William Jennings (373-387), examines the early years of Guyanais. This arose in a situation in which the first influx of slaves, who came in 1660, was Gbe-speaking. Some of those slaves who survived into the next decade became overseers or held other key roles on sugar plantations in the colony, giving Gbe-speakers a particular status in the area, and the first generation of slave children in the colony would have learned Gbe languages because they were so widely spoken there, while from 1673 slaves imported to the colony came from a much wider range of African ethnolinguistic backgrounds. (The colony was run by speakers of Portuguese and Dutch from 1654 to 1664, which may explain the presence of a small number of forms of Portuguese origin in the French-lexifier creole Guyanais; thereafter the French took control.) Already by 1677 black slaves comprised some four-fifths of the population of Cayenne, as a census of Cayenne from
that year indicates. The volume finishes with an index of topics and language names.

This book, which is well-produced and remarkably free of typos, covers many languages and many topics, and it coheres because of the authors’ and editors’ evident affection for Jacques’ memory (which is manifested in the consistently high quality of conception and execution of their respective chapters) as well as for their shared interest in discovering, using all the relevant intellectual and other tools at their disposal, how individual creole languages (and creole languages in general) developed. The affection is understandable to me from a personal position: Jacques was generous to me with encouragement and books at a period when I needed and welcomed both, and it is a delight and honor to review this memorial volume. Nobody will agree with everything in this book, but anyone who is interested in language change (especially the processes and speed of rapid acquisition of new structural features) and in the processes of creolization would find much to reward and satisfy them —and much to make them look at old questions in a new light—in the pages of this book.

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