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### The field of Pidgin-Creole studies: A review article on Loreto Todd's *Pidgins and Creoles*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974

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## THE FIELD OF PIDGIN-CREOLE STUDIES

A REVIEW ARTICLE ON  
LORETO TODD'S PIDGINS AND CREOLES.  
LONDON: ROUTLEDGE AND KEGAN PAUL, 1974.

"Pidgins and creoles," in the author's own words, "have long been the 'poor relations' in the world's language families, relegated to the kitchen or the fields, thought to be devoid of cultural potential, dismissed as hotch-potch languages, undervalued and inadequately understood" (p. 95). This book is important as one of the most recent attempts to erode these common misconceptions, the more so because it comes at a time when questions about the development, scope, and significance of these languages are being more hotly debated than ever before.

Its importance is also increased by the fact that it constitutes only the second book-length introduction to this field. Robert Hall's Pidgin and Creole Languages (Cornell University Press, 1966) has been the classic introduction for a number of years. But much has happened in pidgin-creole studies since Hall's book first appeared, and the need for an updated introduction has long been felt.<sup>1</sup> Todd's book will, I think, fill the bill nicely. Attractively produced, relatively cheap, and immensely readable, it is likely to be quickly adopted for use in relevant introductory courses at the university level. It is also likely to find considerable favour with members of the public who may have heard increasing mention of "pidgins" and "creoles," and have long wanted to find out more about the objects to which these terms refer.

However, the task of summarizing complex and unsettled material for a diverse introductory audience is never easy, and while Pidgins and Creoles succeeds fairly well, it contains inevitable oversimplifications and omissions which readers may want to know about.

After a brief preface by John Spencer, the General Editor of the Language in Society series (of which this is the first volume), and one by the author herself, the book is divided into six chapters: "Introduction" (pp. 1-11); "Language and Name" (pp. 12-27); "Theories of Origin: Pidgins" (pp. 28-49); "The Process of Development: from Pidgin to Creole" (pp. 50-69); "The Scope of Pidgins and Creoles" (pp. 70-86); "Conclusion" (pp. 87-92). These are followed by three appendices and

two bibliographies. All of this is covered in just over one hundred pages, but because its subject matter is so important, the book seems to merit a close and careful reading.

## PREFACES

Spencer's eloquently worded preface (pp. v-vi) indicates the general significance of the languages covered in this book. As the most rapidly developed branch of sociolinguistics, the study of pidgins and creoles has already begun to inform language history, and "may yet have much to tell us about the nature of human interaction through language, and about man's innate communicative competence" (p. vi). At the same time, these languages, like their speakers, are part of the history of European exploitation in the process of overseas expansion, and "their continuing role in changing societies raises practical and often delicate questions of a social and educational nature" (p. v). In addition to reminding us of issues like these (which some people might prefer to forget), Spencer also mentions Todd's qualifications for writing this book. These include several years of direct field experience in pidgin-creole communities--in Cameroon and other parts of Africa, and also in New Guinea and the Caribbean. This kind of first-hand contact with the data is of course an invaluable asset for specialists in pidgin/creole studies; it is one area of Linguistics in which research in the library or the mind is rarely enough.

In her own preface (pp. xi-xii), Todd points out that her attention will be limited to pidgins and creoles which seem to have arisen since the fifteenth century, and within this group, mainly to those which are English-based, or lexically related to English. In this respect, her book is less comprehensive in coverage than Hall's Pidgin and Creole Languages, but this loss is adequately compensated for by the succinctness and clarity with which she covers her more restricted area. The simple phonetic orthography which the author employs throughout the book is also explained in this preface.

## CHAPTER ONE. INTRODUCTION

Chapter one is taken up mainly with definitions. Todd points out that while there is still some debate about the definitions of "pidgin" and "creole," the following represent a compromise which would be widely accepted:

A pidgin is a marginal language which arises to

fulfill certain restricted communication needs among people who have no common language. (p. 1)

A creole arises when a pidgin becomes the mother tongue of a speech-community. (p. 3)

To the extent that these definitions in fact satisfy a wide cross section of pidgin-creole scholars (although there may be more difficulty with the creole definition than the pidgin one in this regard), it will be because they wisely focus on the social and communicative role of these languages rather than their linguistic characteristics.

However, linguistic features cannot be ignored entirely, and following each definition, Todd goes on to discuss the characteristics of pidgins and creoles. A small vocabulary, "drawn almost exclusively from one language" in the contact situation, is characteristic of pidgins. So also is a syntactic structure which is "less complex and less flexible" than the structures of the languages in contact. Both of these characteristics are invariably mentioned when discussions of pidgin languages come up, but as stated and illustrated in this introductory chapter, they require some qualification. The vocabulary is not simply drawn from any one language, but usually from the superordinate or superstrate language in the contact situation, the language of the group with the most economic and political power and the greatest social prestige. It is because the vocabulary of the superordinate language is so dominant in the resultant pidgin that one always talks about the superordinate language (rather than any of the subordinate ones) being "pidginized."

Thus for instance, we talk about "pidgin English" resulting from contacts between English colonials and African slaves, rather than "pidgin Yoruba," "pidgin Twi," or even "pidgin African." The vocabulary of pidgins resulting from contact between "natives" and "colonial Englishmen" (masters, traders, sailors) has always been primarily English, regardless of where such pidgins have emerged. Although this fact becomes clear at least from the second chapter of Todd's book, I would have liked to see her mention it explicitly in chapter one, at the same time that the definitional issues were being taken up. I also think the sociological and sociolinguistic implications deserve mention too. The fact that the main vocabulary of a pidgin is usually that of the "upper" language points to the asymmetrical power relations which tend to exist in pidginizing situations, and suggests that it is usually the "lower" or subordinate group which is required to do the major shifting and accommodation in such situations.

Todd illustrates the tendency of pidgins to "simplify" and discard grammatical inessentials with two examples. The first example is a good one: in several English pidgins, plurality is often indicated only by the numeral--e.g. *di tu big pepa*, while in English, both the numeral and the noun-ending mark plurality: "The two big newspapers." The second example, however, may be a bit more controversial, and less acceptable as an example of "simplification." To illustrate the claim that "English has less verbal inflection than French, but both pidgins (Cameroon Pidgin and Neo-Melanesian, the pidgin English of Papua/New Guinea) have an invariable verb form" (p. 2), Todd cites equivalent verbal paradigms from these languages in her Table 1. A part of this table (the plural forms are omitted) is reproduced below:

TABLE I  
VERBAL INFLECTION IN FRENCH AND ENGLISH, AND  
ITS ABSENCE IN TWO ENGLISH PIDGINS

FRENCH	ENGLISH	NEO-MELANESIAN	CAMEROON PIDGIN
<i>je vais</i>	<i>I go</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>a</i>
<i>tu vas</i>	<i>you go</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>yu</i>
<i>il/elle va</i>	<i>he/she/it goes</i>	<i>em</i>	<i>i</i>

While this example does illustrate Todd's immediate point (French has three different verbal inflections in table one, English has two, and the pidgins use only the invariant verb stem *go*), it raises other questions which erode the concept of "simplification" here. The Neo-Melanesian and Cameroon pidgin examples in table one are presented as present-tense or non-past forms (this is obvious from the corresponding English and French equivalents, though it is not directly stated). But in G. D. Schneider's West African Pidgin English (Athens, Ohio, 1966), there are examples of Cameroon pidgin in which the invariant verb *go* is glossed with a past-tense meaning, e.g. /i gow fi bɪk-king. / "He went to the paramount king" (p. 75). And in F. Mihalic's well-known description of Melanesian pidgin, The Jacaranda Dictionary and Grammar of Melanesian Pidgin (Queensland, Australia: The Jacaranda Press, 1971),

there are similar examples, e.g. /ol i go bambai ol i painim kaikai / "They went to find food" (p. 47). Now, as it turns out, the question of whether the stem-form by itself means past or non-past in these and other pidgins and creoles is a matter of some controversy, discussed in most detail in Derek Bickerton's Dynamics of a Creole System (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 47-54. The analytical issues are complicated, involving the role of adverbial time-marking, the presence or absence of bin in the initial sentence of a narrative, and the stative or non-stative character of the verb under consideration.<sup>2</sup> We clearly are not in any position to elaborate on or settle these issues here, but the fact that an invariant verb form can mean sometimes past, sometimes non-past, means that the verbal system of Neo-Melanesian and Tok Pisin is not as simple as Table 1 might seem to indicate. If speakers of these pidgins have to depend on subtle conditioning factors to determine the tense-meaning of an invariant verb stem, one may well wonder whether the verbal inflections of English and French do not represent a simpler system.<sup>3</sup> The point of this entire discussion is that "simplification" is not always as easy to measure as most discussions of pidginization would suggest, and it is frequently possible to take a given example and treat it as "complication" from a different perspective.

About the linguistic characteristics of a creole Todd has little to say in chapter one beyond mentioning that the lexicon or vocabulary is expanded as a pidgin develops into a creole, and the syntax or grammar elaborated. Illustrations are kept for chapter four, which is devoted entirely to this subject. But it may be appropriate to return at this point to Todd's definition of creole, reprinted above. I mentioned in passing that it might not be readily accepted by all pidgin-creole scholars today. The reason is that it maintains the traditional association between creolization and the adoption of a pidgin as a mother tongue or first language. More recent formulations simply stress the promotion of a pidgin to the role of primary language in a speech community. Both acquisition as a first language and increased use as a second language represent extensions in role, and both could conceivably lead to the expansion and complication of linguistic resources associated with creolization.<sup>4</sup> This theoretical reformulation is also supported by some preliminary evidence on ongoing expansion and complication in New Guinea Tok Pisin ("Neo-Melanesian"). Gillian Sankoff, Suzanne Laberge, and Penelope Brown have reported recently that while there are some minor differences between native speakers and fluent second-language users of this "pidgin/creole," both groups appear to be involved in the process of elaborating and extending its syntactic machinery.<sup>5</sup>

Todd does not view first language acquisition as the only means by which a pidgin can expand. This is clear from her discussion of Cameroon pidgin on page 4, in which it is claimed that "even where it is not a mother tongue, "this "pidgin" is used for a wide variety of functions, is the most frequently heard language in the area, and is as capable as Krio, the English creole of Sierra Leone, of serving all the linguistic requirements of its speakers. But she prefers to reserve the traditional definition of creole for expansion by acquisition as a mother tongue, and to draw a new distinction between "restricted" and "extended" pidgins to cover expansion by increased use as a second language:

A restricted pidgin is one which arises as a result of marginal contact such as for minimal training, which serves only this limited purpose, and which tends to die out as soon as the contact which gave rise to it is withdrawn. . . . An extended pidgin is one which, although it may not become a mother tongue, proves vitally important in a multi-lingual area, and . . . is extended and used beyond the original limited function which caused it to come into being.

[p. 5, emphasis mine]

However, since extension in function and use is clearly the primary difference between a "restricted" and an "elaborated" pidgin, it would seem that Todd could simply have used the more recent formulations of creolization, and described her extended "pidgins" as emerging "creoles."

There may be good reasons for sticking to the old definitions. In the first place, the introductory student might have difficulty in reconciling a revised definition of creolization with the more traditional one which he would encounter in Hall's Pidgin and Creole Languages (pp. xli-xiv), and elsewhere in the published literature. He might also be confused by the apparent contradiction in terms involved in the description of Cameroon "pidgin" as a "creole." On the other hand, even in chapter one, one gets the impression that Todd is straining to reconcile the old definition and the new. And in chapter four, ostensibly covering the process of development from pidgin to creole, she seems to be dealing with "extended pidgins" rather than "creoles" in the traditional sense. In the circumstances, it might not have been a bad idea for her to have followed the innovations of other pidgin-creolists, and to have allowed newcomers to the field to cut their teeth on the most recent definitions. Potential confusions could perhaps have been minimized by pointing out the ways in which these differ from the traditional ones, and by discuss-

ing the rationale for revising the traditional definitions in the first place.

The final terminological distinction which Todd draws in chapter one is between pidgins and creoles on the one hand, and "dialects" on the other. Dialects of English are described as differing from pidgins and creoles on the following points:

1. Dialects do not usually result from contact with another language.
2. Dialects are usually mutually intelligible with each other and with standard English.
3. Dialects do not usually exhibit the extensive grammatical restructuring of English characteristic of pidgins and creoles.

The last feature is seen as central, relating to the fact that dialects usually result from temporal, social, or historical distance, while pidgins and creoles involve linguistic distance as well--contact and syncretism between "structurally very different languages" (p. 9).

While Todd tries to maintain the distinction between dialects and pidgins and creoles,<sup>6</sup> she does mention borderline cases, like the decreolized varieties which one finds in the "post-creole continuum" of Jamaica,<sup>7</sup> and like Anglo-Irish. The more highly decreolized varieties in Jamaica are like dialects insofar as they are mutually intelligible with standard English, and share many of its linguistic features. Anglo-Irish, on the other hand, is similar to pidgins and creoles in that it involves another language, in this case Gaelic. However, in order to maintain the dialect and pidgin-creole dichotomy, Todd points out that while Anglo-Irish involves one other language besides English, pidgins and creoles frequently involve several more. More recently, at the 1975 pidgin-creole conference in Hawaii, she has suggested the term "creoloid" for a variety of Anglo-Irish, the new term distinguishing it simultaneously from the usual English dialects, and from pidgins and creoles.<sup>8</sup>

One final feature of chapter one worth mentioning (though not directly related to definitions) is a brief discussion it contains on the widespread nature of the pidgin-creole phenomenon (pp. 6-8). Todd cites examples from every continent--Russenorsk in Europe, China Coast Pidgin English in Asia, Police Motu in New Guinea, Chinook Jargon in North America, Sranan in South America, Krio and Sango in Africa. The geographical location of these languages is shown in Map 1 (p. 8). This brief survey will serve two useful functions. It will give the reader at



least a hint of some of the non-English pidgins and creoles (Russenorsk, for instance, is a "mixture" of Russian and Norwegian). And it may also help people who live in pidgin-creole communities to realize that their languages are not the unique aberrations of standard languages which they are often made out to be, but part of a universal, and "legitimate" process of linguistic development.

## CHAPTER TWO. LANGUAGE AND NAME.

The curious title of chapter two subsumes two very different topics: the typological similarities between differently named pidgins and creoles, and the etymological origins of the terms "pidgin" and "creole." The etymological questions are lively and interesting, but the typological discussion will probably be more valuable to the introductory student because it so nicely supplements the definitions given in chapter one. In a sense, the concrete illustration of pidgin-creole features in chapter two is an integral part of the attempt to explain what these languages are, this time by showing what they look (or sound) like.

Todd begins by explaining the rationale for classifying pidgins and creoles as linguistic types in their own right, without regard to the different names (pidgin "English," creole "French") by which they happen to be called. As she points out, different pidgins and creoles sometimes resemble each other more closely than the standard languages to which they are lexically related. For instance, Cameroon pidgin English i big pas yu and Haitian creole li gROPas u are both more similar to each other than to their standard equivalents in English and French: "he/she is bigger than you" and "il/elle est plus gros que vous." Similarities and differences of this type complicate the task of classification by traditional means. From the point of view of their vocabulary, English pidgins and creoles should be classified as Indo-European, in the same genetic family as English; but from the point of view of their structure (and their "social role," as Dell Hymes would add<sup>9</sup>), they seem to require classification as a separate group, along with other pidgins and creoles.

Todd goes on to illustrate the structural similarities between pidgins and creoles with a number of examples, most of them indicating that grammatical distinctions and devices characteristic of Standard English have been reduced or eliminated. To facilitate the discussion of pidgin-creole features, she divides the English pidgins and creoles into two major sub-groups: an Atlantic group, including Gullah and the West Indian varieties on one side, and the West African varieties on the other, and a Pacific group, including Neo-Melanesian and the China Coast

varieties on one side, and those of Hawaii and Pitcairn Island on the other. Two maps, each showing the member-languages in each subgroup, are also provided.

The pidgin-creole features discussed form a long and varied list. They include the loss of case and gender distinctions in pronouns (em in Neo-Melanesian is used where English would distinguish "he," "him," "his," "she," "her," "hers," "it," and "its"); the introduction of some new distinctions in the pronouns (wuna in Cameroon for "you plural"; yumi and mipela for "we" in Neo-Melanesian, the former meaning "you and me," the latter meaning "me and others not including you"); the absence of plural inflection in nouns (Cameroon pidgin wan man = "one man" and ten man = "ten men"); and the absence of tense inflections in the verbs--tense distinctions being understood from context or indicated either by adverbials, or by a set of invariant pre-verbal morphemes (Cameroon pidgin yestadei a bin chap meaning "I ate yesterday" but tu-moro a go chap meaning "I'll eat tomorrow"). Todd also discusses the prevalence in pidgins and creoles of serial verb constructions ("that chief he woman he go start begin teach he. . ." meaning, in Cameroon pidgin, "that chief's wife set out to teach her") and reduplication (Pitcairnese drai = "dry" but draidrai = "unpalatable" (of food); Krio was = "wash" but waswas = "wasp"). However, she omits the point that, in the Atlantic pidgins at least, both of these features probably derive in part from the influence of West African languages.<sup>10</sup>

Minor criticisms could be made about Todd's presentation of pidgin-creole features in this chapter, mainly in terms of what it omits (like the fact that some pidgins--for instance, pidgin Sango in the Central African Republic--retain some of the verbal inflections of their source languages and do not contain reduplications), or simplifies (we have already suggested above how complex the system of marking tense and aspect in English pidgins and creoles might be). But bearing in mind that a more substantive analysis would require more linguistic terminology and know-how than an introductory reader might be expected to have, these potential weaknesses can perhaps be overlooked. Todd's discussion will at least give her readers a more concrete impression of pidgins and creoles than most of them have ever had before. If it does this much, it will have done enough, for there is no point in going on to the "deeper" issues about the origin and significance of these languages if readers have no clear idea of what these languages are.

The etymological discussion is, as mentioned before, a lively one. I will leave the reader to savour the evidence and counter-evidence

on his own, and simply list the possible sources suggested. For "pidgin" these include English business, Portuguese ocupação, Yayo (South American) pidian, Portuguese pequeno, Hebrew pidjom and English pigeon. "Creole" seems to be most immediately related to French creole, itself derived from Portuguese crioulo and Spanish criollo. In a nit-picking kind of way, one small slip in Todd's presentation of the pidgin etymologies might be mentioned; Hancock's pequeno etymology is described as a "third" possibility (p. 22), but it is clearly the "fourth," business, ocupação, and pidjom having come before.

The chapter closes with an interesting discussion of the pejorative overtones which the term "creole" has tended to have, and the ambivalent attitudes which native creole speakers tend to have towards their language, and in general to things "creole."<sup>11</sup> The points made in this section of the chapter are important ones, but the attitudes associated with other terms like "pidgin," "taki-taki," and "broken English" are equally revealing, and could perhaps have been discussed at the same time.

### CHAPTER THREE. THEORIES OF ORIGIN: PIDGINS.

Few areas of pidgin-creole studies have generated as much controversy and activity as the question of pidgin origins explored in this chapter. In the past, the wisdom of the baby-talk theory was taken for granted, but over the past two decades, its plausibility has been challenged by new linguistic evidence and by new ideas about the nature of language acquisition and linguistic competence. In what is the longest and most intricate chapter in this book, Todd presents no less than five different pidgin origin theories, along with the arguments for and against each one. On the whole, her presentation is a good and useful one, but it omits and oversimplifies several significant points, and demands a closer and more critical review than any other part of the book. In table 2, I have summarized what Todd has to say about the various pidgin origin theories; this will leave more room for commentary and discussion as we go through each theory in turn.

The presentation of the baby-talk theory is weakened by the fact that it treats together what are in fact two different kinds of baby-talk theory, not one. The first, which we might call "baby-talk I," attributes primary responsibility for the pidginization process to the lower-language speakers in the contact situation, who accidentally reduce and simplify the features of the upper language as they try (unsuccessfully) to learn it. The role of the upper-language speakers in this process is

TABLE 2  
SUMMARY OF PIDGIN-ORIGIN THEORIES, AND ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST  
EACH ONE, AS PRESENTED IN TODD'S PIDGINS AND CREOLES

PIDGIN-ORIGIN THEORY	ARGUMENTS FOR	ARGUMENTS AGAINST
1. <b>BABY-TALK:</b> Pidgins arise from imperfect upper-language learning on the part of the lower-language speakers in a contact situation. This may be reinforced by "imitation-of-error" on the part of upper-language speakers, or may actually result from "deliberate simplifications" introduced by upper-language speakers.	(1) Pidgins and creoles are similar to child-language in having less inflectional morphology, fewer pronominal contrasts, higher proportion of content to function words than the corresponding standard languages used by adults.	(1) No evidence of deliberate simplification in a 17th century text. (2) Does not explain why pidgins are often not mutually intelligible with their lexically-related standard lgs. (3) Does not explain why pidgins and creoles lexically related to different European languages are structurally more similar to each other than to their respective European standards.
2. <b>INDEPENDENT PARALLEL DEVELOPMENT:</b> Pidgins and creoles arose independently, but developed in parallel ways, because used common linguistic material (Indo-European and West African) and were formed in similar physical and social conditions.	None cited.	(1) English pidgins have features not found in standard English (e.g. <u>toomuch</u> = 'very'). (2) Dangerous to over-stress similarity of African background, since slaves came from different linguistic groups and areas.
3. <b>NAUTICAL JARGON:</b> A nautical jargon used on ships for communication among sailors from different nationalities, was passed on by them to Africans, Asians and others, and formed the basis of the pidgins and creoles which these latter groups developed.	(1) Neatly accounts for pidgin-creole similarities (due to their common nautical core) and dissimilarities (due to the influence of their different mother tongues). (2) Textual references to the "unusual nature" of sailors' speech from the 17th century onwards. (3) Nautical lexicon in many pidgins and creoles.	(1) Does not account for structural similarities among pidgins and creoles lexically related to different European languages (e.g. similarities between French and English creoles).

TABLE 2  
(Continued)

PIDGIN-ORIGIN THEORY	ARGUMENTS FOR	ARGUMENTS AGAINST
<p>4. MONOGENETIC/RELEXIFICATION: European-based pidgins and creoles are relexified versions of a fifteenth century Portuguese pidgin (itself related to Sabir, the Mediterranean Lingua Franca) first used along the African coast and later carried to India and the Far East.</p>	<p>(1) Structure of Sabir (on evidence of 17th and 19th century texts) is similar to that of modern pidgins and creoles in some respects.</p> <p>(2) Textual references to use of a Portuguese trade language along the African coast and in the East.</p> <p>(3) Present-day Portuguese pidgins and creoles share features with those related to other European languages (e.g. preposition <i>na</i> 'at, in' and verb <i>savi/sabi</i> 'understand, know.').</p> <p>(4) Relexification is independently attested in Sranan, Beach-la-Mar.</p>	<p>(1) Difficult to explain why people would relexify, i.e. give up one satisfactory core vocabulary (like Portuguese) in favour of another (like English).</p> <p>(2) Does not account for the similarities between European-based pidgins and creoles, and non-European ones like Ewondo Populaire in Africa, which could not have been "relexifications" of a Portuguese proto-pidgin.</p>
<p>5. LANGUAGE UNIVERSALS (A SYNTHESIS): Pidgins and creoles originate in genetically inherent language faculty which includes knowledge of language universals and universally shared notions of how to simplify one's language when necessary (as in baby-talk or foreigner-talk).</p>	<p>(1) Generativist and psycholinguistic evidence that humans share language universals and are genetically programmed for language acquisition (e.g. the fact that all languages are "fundamentally alike", and that language acquisition proceeds by a regular series of stages for all children.)</p> <p>(2) Evidence that different speech-communities share common conventions for simplifying speech in certain situations (e.g. baby-talk, foreigner-talk).</p>	<p>None cited.</p>

minimal, limited to reinforcement by imitation-of-error. By contrast, the other kind of baby-talk theory, which we might call "baby-talk II," attributes primary responsibility for the pidginization process to the upper-language speakers, who "deliberately" reduce and simplify their own language in order to help lower-language speakers master it more easily. The role of lower-language speakers in this process is minimal, limited to (presumably successful) acquisition of the simplified model with which they are presented.<sup>12</sup> Now while both of these hypothetical processes could conceivably operate in one and the same contact situation, it seems important to distinguish between them sharply, if only in theory. For while "baby-talk I" and "baby-talk II" might both appear to stand on similar evidence (the presumed similarity between pidgins and "baby-talk"), they happen to fall on very different kinds of evidence, as we shall see.

If we examine the arguments which Todd provides against the baby-talk theory (see table 2), it is clear that they are all directed against "baby-talk II" and not "baby-talk I." The first argument speaks for itself: in a seventeenth-century text from Dominica cited by Todd (p. 30), there is no evidence for deliberate simplification on the part of upper-language speakers. The second argument is also a minus against "baby-talk II" because it is difficult to understand how upper-language speakers could deliberately simplify their own language to the point where they themselves could not understand it. But the lack of intelligibility between pidgins and their respective standards is not as disturbing for "baby-talk I" because it is quite conceivable that the cumulative effect of the errors made by the lower-language speakers might be something almost unrecognizable to upper-language speakers. (We may all have had the experience of talking to a foreigner whose mastery of English was so limited that he could scarcely be understood.) The third argument again affects "baby-talk II," but not "baby-talk I." If a Frenchman deliberately simplified his language, and an Englishman deliberately simplified his own, one would not normally expect the results to be similar, since the starting point is different in each case. But if a Yoruba speaker were trying to learn French, and another Yoruba speaker were trying to learn English, one might well expect the results to be similar, influenced in similar ways by a common native language background.

Apart from the arguments listed in table 2 (i.e., those which Todd mentions herself), other arguments could be levelled against "baby-talk II." There is evidence that pidgins are developed and used for communication primarily among different groups of lower-language speakers, and not between upper- and lower-language speakers (Todd herself

suggests this much in chapter two, pp. 5-6, and chapter four, pp. 54-58). If one goes further, to suggest that pidgins are actually created among lower-language speakers, then the role of upper-language speakers would be minimal, regardless of whether they deliberately simplified or not. This much has been suggested by Keith Whinnom in a recent paper entitled "Linguistic Hybridization and the 'Special Case' of Pidgins and Creoles" (in Pidginization and Creolization, pp. 91-115).

On another point--the question of whether deliberate simplification could have produced the linguistic characteristics of pidgins and creoles--note the following remarks made by Douglas Taylor in 1963:

. . . the predicative systems of these three creole languages [Martinican Creole, Haitian Creole and Sranan] cannot be explained as reduced or corrupt versions of those found in French or English of whatever variety or period. . . . these characteristics, though shared by many West African and other non-creole languages, would hardly suggest themselves to a Western European seeking to simplify his own speech.<sup>13</sup>

Taylor's remarks do not only weaken the plausibility of "baby-talk II," but also suggest that it may be misleading to liken pidgins and creoles to "baby-talk" at all.

Up to this point we have been dealing exclusively with "baby-talk II," demonstrating that all of Todd's arguments are essentially against this version of the baby-talk theory and that other arguments could be made out against it. But what of "baby-talk I"--does this mean that it is flawless? Todd doesn't seem to have anything negative to say against this version (remember that it is not separated from the other one in her presentation), but it is weakened by other arguments and evidence not mentioned in the book. Whinnom's suggestion (mentioned above)--that pidgins are crystallized in a process of "tertiary hybridization" among substrate speakers--also argues against "imitation-of-error" by superstrate speakers; in fact it argues against attaching any significance to the role of superstrate speakers at all. More recently, at the 1975 pidgin-creole conference in Hawaii, Anthony Naro has introduced textual evidence which is earlier than the textual evidence cited by Todd, and argues the complete opposite: that the Portuguese did "deliberately simplify" their language for use in trading contacts along the West African coast and did not imitate the "errors" of West Africans

learning Portuguese.<sup>14</sup> This is another minus for "baby-talk I," and a plus for "baby-talk II." Naro's paper contains some other novel points which will undoubtedly enliven discussions of both baby-talk theories when it becomes better-known: the suggestion, for instance, that pidginization took place in Portugal rather than along the West African coast.<sup>15</sup> Under the impetus of new hypotheses and arguments like these, the baby-talk theory is being steadily revised and complicated, coming back in vogue in more sophisticated forms.

Todd's account of the independent parallel development theory does not really do it justice. In a very general way, she says that "one cannot underestimate the validity of some aspects of this theory," but she does not make any specific points in support of it, as table 2 makes clear. At the same time, the two arguments which she makes against this theory do have some validity, but their force is mitigated by other considerations which she does not mention. For instance, the argument that English pidgins and creoles have features which are not characteristic of English becomes less telling when we remember that pidgins and creoles are known to develop innovations of their own.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, if one wishes to use non-English features to deny the influence of a shared linguistic background, one should also show that these features could not represent valid deep-structure readings of English grammar, or rearrangements of English forms according to a common West African linguistic background. Todd's caveat against overstressing the similarity of this background (given that slaves came from widely-separated areas) is well-taken, but again requires qualification. There are similarities and differences among West African languages, but with regard to the specific features found in the Atlantic pidgins and creoles--serial verbs, reduplication, etc.--the similarities are often more striking than the differences.

Even if the particular charges which Todd levels against it turn out to carry less weight than she intended, one must still concede that the linguistic component of the independent parallel development theory is simply not broad enough in scope, for there are similarities between English pidgins and creoles and others which could not be attributed to a common Indo-European/West African base (compare the cases of Chinook Jargon, Russenorsk or Police Motu).

However, the theory also has a sociolinguistic component; the similarities among the world's pidgins and creoles are not to be explained solely by the assumption that they involved similar linguistic material, but also by the assumption that they represent common responses to



"similar physical and social conditions." This sociolinguistic component of the theory is more universally applicable than the purely linguistic one, and also provides the basis for some interesting observations and hypotheses. William Samarin has noted that pidgins tend to be located near a marine expanse.<sup>17</sup> Mervyn Alleyne has pointed out that what happened with language in creolizing situations in the New World was only part of a more general process of acculturation which affected other institutions (religion, the family) as well.<sup>18</sup> Naomi Baron has made the strong hypothesis that "the structure of trade jargons and pidgins can be deduced once we know, first, the objects and activities in each original speech community's experience and second, the relative social and political footing on which the two groups confront each other."<sup>19</sup> These generalizations may not apply equally well to every individual case, but they are intriguing attempts to view pidginization and creolization as adaptive processes, closely linked to the physical and social milieu in which they occur. It is to the credit of the independent parallel development theory that it offers more room for this kind of perspective than any other.

I have never been particularly impressed by the nautical jargon theory because its frame of reference has always seemed too limited and restricted (even more so than the independent parallel development theory) to account for all, or even most, of the world's pidgins and creoles. Sailors, after all, are merely "ships that pass in the night." Even recognizing that they must have played a more important role in colonization and trade three or four hundred years ago than they do now, I find it difficult to believe that either they or their "jargon" would have been influential enough to have shaped the speech patterns of the more than nine million pidgin-creole speakers who exist today.<sup>20</sup> Todd tries to present this theory as "an attractive one," providing three arguments in its favour and only one against (see table 2). But I remain unconvinced. The first argument for the theory is cancelled by the single argument against; it might be nice to account for the similarities among the world's pidgins and creoles in terms of "comparable nautical cores," but these cores apparently leave unexplained the structural similarities among different pidgins and creoles. The second argument is based on evidence that sailor's speech was said to be "unusual" (one textual reference even describes it as "a new confusion"). But surely this is much too vague. We would want to know whether the jargon was unusual in the same ways that pidgins and creoles are said to be unusual, but Todd doesn't give us the necessary details.<sup>21</sup> In fact, the nautical words which she cites from pidgins and creoles as her third supporting argument (e.g., kapsai, hib, manawa, hele, and a few others) seem to constitute too small and limi-

ted a part of the lexicon to be considered particularly significant.

Todd's presentation of the monogenetic/relexification theory is easily the most impressive of the lot. It goes on for eight and a half pages, more than is devoted to all the other theories combined. As table 2 indicates, it is also accompanied by a richer set of "for and against" arguments than any other, and these are backed up with specific examples. This is the kind of detailed attention which I think each of the other theories deserved, even if it meant increasing the length of the book.

One of the interesting aspects of this theory is how radically it urges us to revise our thinking on pidgins and creoles: "one should think in terms of an anglicized pidgin Portuguese or a gallicized pidgin Portuguese rather than a pidgin[ized] English or a pidgin[ized] French" (p. 35). Todd skillfully outlines the general arguments in favour of the theory, but two of these are contradicted on points of detail by other evidence which is not mentioned. Following the established wisdom on this point, Todd suggests that the Portuguese proto-pidgin may itself have been a relic of Sabir, the medieval Lingua Franca. But Anthony Naro (op. cit.) has recently suggested that the role of Sabir may have been overestimated:

. . . the Sabir of which we have any evidence in 15th and 16th century Portugal is simply not destructured enough to provide a direct source for the reconnaissance language [i.e., the Portuguese contact pidgin used along the African coast].

Naro's fifteenth and sixteenth-century texts should probably be considered more authoritative sources of information on the structure of Sabir than the seventeenth and nineteenth century texts which Todd cites (pp. 33-34). However, as far as I know, Naro's evidence was not generally available to pidgin-creole scholars at the time Pidgins and Creoles was written.

As part of her third argument in favour of the theory, Todd points to the use of prepositional na in both a Portuguese and an English creole (Crioulo and Krio), and implies that this usage is derived from Portuguese na which means "in" or "at." In the course of the discussion she refers the reader to a paper by Douglas Taylor in which several structural similarities between different creoles are reviewed.<sup>22</sup> But on the same page of the paper to which she refers, Taylor suggests an African rather than a Portuguese origin for the Creole use of na:

It may be noted that "locative na" and disjunctive ma both occur in Ibo with the same range of functions as in the creoles, whereas neither Ptg. na "in the (fem.)," nor Dutch naar "to; after" has such a wide semantic range; (Taylor, p. 294; emphasis on Ibo and Ptg. mine).<sup>23</sup>

The preceding example raises the larger question of whether one should not allow for more West African influence in the structure of the Portuguese pidgin than Todd seems willing to grant (cf. pp. 38-39). The choice is not simply between a Portuguese pidgin or an African substratum theory, but between a Portuguese pidgin with or without an African component. If the Portuguese pidgin which served as the prototype for other pidgins and creoles was created in the course of contacts along the West African coast, one would expect it to have picked up African features which would have been carried to other parts of the globe as well. This may be why some scholars frequently refer to the monogenetic prototype as an "Afro-Portuguese" and not simply a "Portuguese" pidgin.<sup>24</sup> It does not seem justifiable to leave out the "Afro-" prefix,

Since I have cited evidence against some of Todd's claims and suggestions, let me cite some new and interesting evidence which supports her on another point--the contention that wholesale relexification of a language is a plausible and independently attested process. Here in Guyana (right next door to the Surinamese case of Sranan which she mentions) Ian Robertson has recently discovered that the supposedly non-existent Dutch Creole is alive and well in two separate riverine communities.<sup>25</sup> One implication of this discovery--supported by a number of textual references--is that Dutch Creole may have been spoken much more extensively in Guyana before the Dutch turned the colony over to the British in 1803, after having had control of it for one hundred and thirty-six years. If this is true, only a massive process of relexification could account for the changeover from Dutch to English Creole ("Creolese") which took place after 1803, resulting in the almost complete disappearance of the former from the local scene today.

This example may also be used to counter the first argument which Todd offers against the monogenetic/relexification theory, namely, the difficulty of explaining why people would give up one satisfactory core vocabulary in favour of another. Let us put ourselves in the shoes of the African or creole slaves left in Guyana after their Dutch masters were replaced by English ones. If the new masters had been willing to

accept and use a Dutch-based creole as the basis of communication in their newly-acquired colony, the slaves would undoubtedly have been quite satisfied to follow suit. But it is clear that the English were not prepared to do so,<sup>26</sup> and in these circumstances it is not at all difficult to see why the slaves would have been forced to give up their familiar Dutch vocabulary and begin trying to come to terms with the language of their new masters. (However, vestiges of the Dutch influence remain in numerous place-names and in a few items of general Creolese vocabulary: paalin, koker, etc.).

We can posit a hypothetical chain of events like this one to salvage the monogenetic theory from the first counter-argument, but the second limitation of the theory--the fact that it cannot account for non-Indo-European pidgins and creoles--is simply incontrovertible. And so we turn to a final and even more comprehensive pidgin-origin theory, one which Todd refers to as a "synthesis" of the others.

I have labelled Todd's final "synthesis" a language universals theory, because its central hypothesis is that human beings have the ability to draw on innate language universals (including universal notions of how to simplify) in pidginizing and similar situations. The presentation of the theory itself includes a heavy dose of information from the psycholinguistic and generativist literature; while some readers may enjoy and find much that is interesting in this, others may well remain confused about what it all means, how it relates to the other pidgin-origin theories which have gone before, and how it is to be reconciled with other bits of information which they may have picked up elsewhere.

A few examples will illustrate the kinds of difficulties I foresee. Early on in the presentation of this theory, Todd suggests that "pidgins and creoles are alike because, fundamentally, languages are alike and simplification processes are alike" (p. 42). The general reader may want to know how it could suddenly be claimed that all languages are alike, when the point had frequently been made in discussing the other theories, that some languages are more or less alike than others. The key to this apparent paradox lies in the generativist distinction between "deep" and "surface" structure.<sup>27</sup> When Todd makes the claim that languages are fundamentally alike, she is presumably referring to the kinds of propositions they represent at the more abstract deep-structure level, and the fact that they all employ the same basic machinery: phonology, syntax, semantics (this part she does mention, on p. 45). However, when she is comparing one pidgin or creole with another (or both to a standard language) and notes the similarities or differences in

the forms and constructions they employ, she is dealing most of the time with surface-structure features (like the use of too much for "very"); it is at the surface-structure level that the similarities and differences between languages are more immediately obvious. Some discussion of the distinction between deep and surface structure might have helped to alleviate the apparent paradox in this section.

While readers unfamiliar with the transformational-generative literature will be worried about the preceding paradox, those who are familiar with this literature may be worried about another point. Todd quotes Roman Jakobson on the notion that adults might "revert" in certain situations to baby-talk and child-language, but there are other leading generativists (like Morris Halle) who maintain that adult propensities for language change are fundamentally different from those of children, and that they have less access to language-universals and the innate "faculte de langage."<sup>28</sup> If this is so, one might wonder how adults might be able to "reactivate" their language universals in the dramatic and creative ways this final pidgin-origin theory requires them to do (cf. pp. 46-47).<sup>29</sup>

The relation between this language-universals theory and the others discussed in this chapter could also be more fully elucidated. While Todd describes it as a synthesis of the others, it clearly resembles the baby-talk theory, in its "deliberate simplification" version ("baby-talk II"), more closely than any other. Is the universals component just an added frill, or is this final theory essentially different from the baby-talk ones? Charles Ferguson specifically points out that the universal simplification process which he sees as the starting point for pidgins and creoles differs from the "deliberate simplification" hypothesis:

by emphasizing the conventional, culturally given aspect of the linguistic simplification, and by recognising with Bloomfield the interaction "between a foreign speaker's version of a language and a native speaker's version of the foreign language."<sup>30</sup>

Since she treats them separately, Todd clearly considers the language-universals type of simplification to be different from the baby-talk variety. But she does not follow Ferguson in making an explicit distinction between the two, and we remain uncertain about whether the arguments for and against each of these theories should be extended to the other.

This omission is important, for no arguments are actually provided against the language-universals theory (note the blank space in the final column of table 2), and if none were really conceivable, one might well wonder why the whole camp of pidgin-creole scholars had not abandoned their warring ways and thrown their full support behind this theory. However, apart from the criticisms implicit in the preceding paragraphs, at least two other counter-arguments may be briefly stated. It is all well and good to say that this pidgin-origin theory "has the merit of encompassing all the other theories," and "does not insist on the origin of the pidgin phenomena in a particular time or place" (pp. 42-43). But these kinds of questions--when, where, why, and how pidgins and creoles arose--have their own appeal and usefulness, and if the language-universals theory is going to bypass them altogether, we will have to continue to look to the other pidgin-origin theories for possible answers. A final counter-argument to this theory is that simplification--whether it results from language-universals or an innate language faculty or not--does not add up by itself to pidginization. One other vital component is admixture between different languages, a factor which Todd's version of this theory seems to ignore.<sup>31</sup> There is at least this fundamental difference between pidginization and the other phenomena (language acquisition, baby-talk, foreigner-talk, lovers' talk) which are treated together in the discussion of the language-universals theory.

While Todd doesn't quote any specific arguments against her final theory, she does not seem to view it as having any absolute authority, for she concludes: "The exact details of origin and development of pidgins can be guessed at but never known with absolute certainty" (p. 49). In the light of the number of criticisms I have made in discussing this particular chapter, it may seem paradoxical for me to close by saying that I liked it. But what is appealing about this chapter is the way it illustrates--better than any other chapter in the book--the unsolved mysteries and open territories which make the field of pidgin-creole studies so exciting.

#### CHAPTER FOUR: THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT: FROM PIDGIN TO CREOLE.

Once formed, a marginal pidgin may develop into an extended pidgin or creole, and may eventually decreolize into a continuum of post-creole "dialects." In her fourth chapter, Todd goes through five hypothetical phases in this potential process of development. The phases themselves are presented as if they were discrete, and chronologically ordered; for this reason, some may find them too artificially drawn. But

Todd herself points out at the end of this chapter (pp. 68-69) that the phases may co-occur or overlap in reality.

Phase one represents the initial pidgin situation. Out of marginal contacts between speakers of different languages a "marginal pidgin" evolves. This pidgin is "inadequate for more than the most rudimentary forms of communication," and is "largely supplemented by gesture" (p. 53). Todd's sketch of this initial stage leaves some questions unanswered (does every contact situation produce something consistent enough to be called a pidgin, "marginal" though it maybe?). And it perhaps leans more heavily in the direction of a "baby-talk" theory of origin than any other (a pidgin formed by "relexification" from an older proto-pidgin might be more well-formed). However, we have already covered these kinds of questions in our discussions of preceding chapters. The important issue, given some marginal pidgin as a starting point, is what happens after.

In its second phase of development (assuming that it does not die out through under-use, like Beach-la-Mar or Korean Bamboo English), a pidgin may go through a "period of nativization." What this means is that the pidgin is used more for communication between different native or substrate groups than between "natives" and "non-natives." The linguistic effect is less direct borrowing from English or the other superstrate language, and more borrowing, reduplicating, compounding, and calquing based on patterns from the native or substrate languages. Todd's discussion of the lexicon-expanding devices used in this phase is clear and amply illustrated with examples (ngambwa = "spirit" represents a direct borrowing from a native Pacific language, while bigai = "greed" represents a loan-translation into English of a native African compound). What it could benefit from, perhaps, is some indication of the relative proportions of words formed from these various sources, even if these proportions were only approximations, and were based on the present day vocabularies of pidgins and creoles, rather than their eighteenth or nineteenth century ones.<sup>32</sup>

Todd makes the important point at the end of this section (pp. 57-58) that pidgins do not expand by borrowing alone (whether from English or the substrate languages), but also by introducing innovations of their own. She uses a syntactic example to illustrate this point: the Cameroon pidgin sentence na bi na so i dei / "that's not how it is" does not appear to derive from the native Cameroonian languages nor from English.

Phase three represents increasing influence from the dominant language, as interracial contact increases. In situations where the dominant language is English, and the pidgin is also lexically related to English, there is usually extensive borrowing at this stage. This can be seen in Cameroon pidgin English. Different periods of borrowing can be distinguished by the degree of phonological adaptation in the borrowed words (trong = "strong" is earlier, stralk = "strike" is later) and by the existence of lexical doublets (dres = "move" is earlier than muf = "move"). Increasing influence from English can also be seen in the syntax; the traditional Cameroon pidgin expression for "he's better than X" is i gud pas X, but more recently, i beta is also being used.

Where the pidgin is lexically related to a different language from the dominant language, the influence of the latter is less powerful, although still visible. The Surinam English creoles, which have coexisted with Dutch rather than English since 1667, provide the relevant examples. The vocabulary of these languages includes Dutch and English borrowings (for example, "woman" can be rendered in Sranan both by uma, from English woman, or by fro, from Dutch vrou). But a clear dividing line still remains between the creoles and the dominant language in this situation, which is not the case with those pidgins and creoles which have continued to coexist with their lexically-related standards.

The fourth stage of development applies to English pidgins and creoles of the type just mentioned, which begin to "decreolize" as their speakers gain increased exposure to standard English, aided by formal education and increased social mobility. The result is "a wide range of varieties of English, some nearer the creole end of the spectrum, some nearer the standard end" (p. 63). Todd illustrates this with examples from Jamaican English, in which the sentence It's my book can also be rendered by is mai buk, iz mi buk, a mi buk dat, and a fi mi buk dat. One point which she doesn't make about creole continua (perhaps because it might be considered too complex for an introductory audience) are the challenges they pose to formal models of description. In particular, they have become critical testing-sites for evaluating the two major new approaches to the study of variation--the "Quantitative" and "Dynamic" Models.<sup>33</sup>

Negro Non-Standard English (NNE) in the U. S. A. is used as an example of a possible fifth stage--one in which a decreolization process might have gone so far that what remains seems little more than a normal "dialect" of English. Following up on suggestions made earlier by William Stewart in "Continuity and Change in American Negro Dialects"



(Florida Foreign Language Reporter, 6 [1968], 3-14) and Joey Dillard in Black English, Todd explores the possibility that NNE represents a very late stage of decreolization. She cites a few syntactic parallels between NNE and the other Atlantic Creoles to support this point (both NNE and Jamaican creole do not invert the auxiliary in WH questions, e.g., NNE: where he is, JC: we i de), and also shows possible West African influence in the vocabulary.<sup>34</sup>

Since the publication of Todd's book, several new pieces of evidence on the prior creolization of Black English have appeared, and the case seems to be gaining ground. New lexical evidence, in the form of two African-derived calques, is discussed in John and Angela Rickford's paper "Cut-Eye and Suck-Teeth: African Words and Gestures in New World Guise" (Journal of American Folklore, 89, No. 353 [1976], 294-309). New phonological and syntactic evidence of various kinds is provided in Robert Berdan's "Sufficiency Arguments for a Prior Creolization of Black English,"<sup>35</sup> in Derek Bickerton's Dynamics (pp. 85-87, 119-20, 141-42), and in my paper on "The Insights of the Mesolect."<sup>36</sup>

For the introductory student, this chapter will be useful as a straightforward account of one potential series of developments in the evolution of a pidgin language. The sequence of events is simply and clearly presented, the focus mainly on lexical rather than syntactic developments, and the discussion amply illustrated with examples. However, as suggested above (p. 6), the title of this chapter may be misleading, since it does not really deal with the process of development from pidgin to creole (in the sense which Todd seems to accept), but with the process of development from pidgin to extended pidgin. If a creole is a pidgin which has become "the mother tongue of a speech community," then the point at which it begins to be used as a first language, presumably by children born into a pidgin-speaking community, would seem to be crucial.<sup>37</sup> One might even expect this point to be treated as a distinct stage, but Todd does not grant it this status, does not even mention children using the pidgin as their first and only language. (The closest she comes is to suggest, on page 50, that the children of unions between sailors, traders, and settlers and African wives and concubines "would have been bilingual in the mother's language and in the pidgin spoken by the parents to each other.") This is no problem for the most recent definitions of "creolization" which see acquisition as a first language or mother-tongue as only one possible route to expansion of resources. But in terms of the traditional definition which Todd herself espouses, the omission of this phase seems at best paradoxical. This is why, as I suggested before, it might have been better for her to have abandoned the traditional definition in the first place.

Todd's discussion of decreolization is also clear, but perhaps does not stress enough the number of open questions which remain. For instance, we still don't know enough about the role of social factors in decreolization. Todd links decreolization to the spread of literacy and formal education, and even suggests that decreolization is further advanced in the West Indies than in West Africa or New Guinea because education in English was made compulsory there at an earlier date. But to date, no one has (to my knowledge) made any systematic correlation between degree of decreolization and amount of education, so we are still speculating on the relation between the two to a considerable extent. Correlations with socio-economic class, sex, age, psychological orientation, and other factors have also been very rare,<sup>38</sup> and there is still no satisfactory answer as to why decreolization occurs in some areas and not others.

Most of the new hypotheses about the linguistic steps by which decreolization proceeds have appeared since Todd's book was published, so the author clearly cannot be faulted for not including them. One of the new suggestions is that decreolization proceeds by a series of successive relexifications--in which non-standard words and morphemes are replaced by more standard "looking" ones, but with the latter being slotted into the syntactic and semantic functions of the former.<sup>39</sup> The replacement of bin + V by did + V, had + V, and V-ed in "Gullah" as well as Guyana Creole provides one good illustration of this process.<sup>40</sup> If it is in fact very general (as Dennis Solomon had suggested in 1972<sup>41</sup>), then Todd's possible phase six--"complete coalescence with the standard language"--might never be realized, since there would always be subtle semantic and syntactic differences between the outputs of decreolization and the standard languages to which the decreolization process is directed. These and other intriguing possibilities offer fertile fields for research.

#### CHAPTER FIVE: THE SCOPE OF PIDGINS AND CREOLES

In her fifth chapter, Todd switches from the academic issues to the more pragmatic ones, exploring the possibilities for more extensive use of pidgins and creoles in literature and education. Non-linguists are likely to be every bit as interested in these questions as linguists, if not more so. And because the discussion involves very little linguistic terminology or argumentation, they will probably find the shift in orientation refreshing.

Todd begins by noting that pidgins and creoles have success-

fully transmitted oral literature for centuries, in the form of proverbs, workchants, songs, and folktales. She then reviews past and current attempts to use them in written literature. These attempts are divided into two categories: works written almost entirely in pidgin or creole, and works in English including shorter snippets of pidgin or creole.

The former category includes numerous translations of ecclesiastical material (prayers, catechisms, portions of the Bible). There are a few nineteenth-century examples, but translations by missionaries into pidgins and creoles really begin to proliferate from the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>42</sup> Nonecclesiastical works include the well-known "Uncle Remus" tales of Joel Chandler Harris, and a number of other nineteenth-century texts from China, West Africa, and the U.S.A. More recently, writers like Amos Tutuola (West Africa) and Samuel Selvon (Caribbean) have also been using dialectal forms in their works, but as Todd points out, the varieties which these writers employ is closer to standard English than to the hard-core pidgins and creoles of their respective areas. (At the same time, it should be noted that the approximation to English in the works of these novelists increases their readability for a general audience without sacrificing their local "tone" and "feeling.")

Daniel Defoe's Colonel Jacques (1722) provides one of the earliest examples in the second category.<sup>43</sup> Todd suggests that Defoe's passages in "Virginian pidgin" might have been more of a literary convention than a literal rendering of the dialect as it existed at that time. This criticism is based partly on the observation that Defoe's -ee endings (as in muchee, speakee) seem to be more characteristic of China Coast pidgin than of the Atlantic varieties. Note however, that in J. L. Dillard's Black English (pp. 88-89) the same -ee ending is attested in citations from a number of eighteenth-century American texts.

Todd makes the important observation in this section that, until the twentieth century, it was mainly white writers who experimented with pidgin-creole forms. To my mind, this dearth of native pidgin-creole writing must be attributed as much to the limited publishing opportunities open to "natives" in the past as to any inherent timidity to use their local forms.<sup>44</sup> In any case, the situation has changed in recent times. Todd points out that modern West Indian and West African writers have "realised the imaginative and humorous potential of pidgins and creoles" (p. 78), and have begun to use them more extensively in their work. She cites examples from the Nigerian novelist Chinua Achebe, and the Surinam poet Trefossa, but the literature and criticism of the Caribbean Artists' Movement--as exemplified in its Savacou journal and

publications--would perhaps illustrate her point even more clearly. The members of this movement, including the Barbadian poet Edward Braithwaite, frequently use the term "nation-language" in preference to "dialect" or "creole," and seek to proselytize the integrity of their native language patterns in other ways.

While changes are taking place, however, they may not be doing so with the speed and enthusiastic support which Todd seems to suggest. For instance, several established West Indian writers still avoid and resist the use of creole languages in literature. And in the newspapers of the region, local observers often inveigh very heavily against any suggestion that creole should be used more extensively in literature or education.

With respect to the use of pidgins and creoles in education, Todd takes a moderate position. She comes out in favour of the use of pidgins and creoles in the classroom, but against their use in textbooks and other written work. Her position is reasonably argued, but will inevitably be found wanting by those who hold more extreme viewpoints on either side.

The basic argument for allowing the oral use of pidgins and creoles in the classroom is that this is the only realistic approach. Pupils usually begin school with their greatest competence in these languages, and even if teachers could successfully sustain a teaching program entirely in Standard English (there is the valid suggestion that not all of them can), they might fail to reach many of their pupils. Todd is careful to qualify this proposal to satisfy potential critics. The oral use of pidgins and creoles is advocated only for the first year of primary education or the initial stages of adult literacy campaigns, and "this does not mean that a teacher can disregard language standards." The aim is "to facilitate the pupil's manipulation of a wider range of varieties, ultimately resulting in his ability to control standard English" (p. 83).

Despite Todd's cautious qualifications, die-hard conservatives will still see red at the suggestion that pidgins and creoles should be "sanctioned" in the classroom--in any form. And those who are more radically partial to pidgins and creoles will want to see even more extensive use in the classroom than Todd suggests. While the schools are teaching the child to manipulate a wider range of varieties, for instance, why should the sole aim be control of standard English? A broader aim might be the effective control of all existing varieties, including increased competence in the expressive genres of the native pidgin or creole. This

could be aided, for instance, by studying the techniques of the best native storytellers or songwriters in the area, bearing in mind that pidgins and creoles have standards of greater and lesser excellence too.

Todd's main arguments against the use of pidgins and creoles as written media in the classroom revolve around the problem of an appropriate orthography. She suggests that the conventions of English spelling might make the pidgin or creole appear "at best dialectal, at worst inferior." However, the adoption of a special tailor-made orthography might be financially prohibitive, and might interfere with subsequent attempts to acquire "the more useful conventions of Standard English spelling" (p. 84). I tend to agree with Todd's arguments against the use of any special phonemic orthography, but her arguments against representing pidgins and creoles in the usual conventions of Standard English spelling are not very convincing. It can be done, with very little orthographic modification, and very little loss of authenticity, as Samuel Selvon's *The Lonely Londoners* (London: Mayflower-Dell, 1966) and other works have shown. Furthermore, as Todd herself points out, the international English orthography is only very tenuously connected with pronunciation, and "the fact that 'three' may be pronounced 'free' by a cockney child and 'tree' by a Jamaican need not, necessarily, affect their written performance" (p. 85). If this is so, very little would seem to be lost by representing pidgins and creoles in an English orthography.

At the same time, much may well be gained, as William Stewart ("On the Use of Negro Dialect in the Teaching of Reading") and Walt Wolfram and Ralph Fasold ("Toward Reading Materials for Speakers of Black English: Three Linguistically Appropriate Passages") have pointed out.<sup>45</sup> These linguists have already prepared sample reading materials in American Black English; the orthography is English, but the grammar and lexicon of their materials conform to the non-standard patterns of Black English. The argument in favour of such texts is that the non-standard speakers of this variety will not have to learn to read and learn a new dialect at the same time. Like Standard English speakers using Standard English texts, they will begin with a single task: learning to read. Once acquired with material in their native dialect, this skill could later be transferred to reading and writing in Standard English.

Other theoretical arguments could be advanced against Todd's suggestion that pidgins and creoles be disallowed in writing. It is difficult to see how this could be done without conveying the psychologically damaging impression to the child that his native language and culture are not good enough. When he can only read the "growing literature" in pidg-

ins and creoles outside of the classroom, and when his own pidgin-creole "lapses" are repeatedly scarred by the teacher's corrections, no amount of double-talk about all dialects being equal will prevent him from being confused and stifled by the paradoxes of the school system. One likely result of any program of this sort (which is not very different from the educational programs which have been followed for decades with little success), is that the children whose native competence is greatest in the pidgins and creoles will continue to "fail." And their more privileged counterparts, who come to school already equipped with good standard English skills, will continue to "succeed."

Logical though the arguments on either side may seem however, what we really need before deciding how pidgins and creoles should be used in education is some hard experimental evidence. Stewart, summarizing the evidence of Tore Osterberg's research in Sweden,<sup>46</sup> points out that "the teaching of basic reading skills in the non-standard dialect of the school children increased proficiency, not only in beginning reading of the non-standard dialect, but also in later reading of the standard language" (p. 170, emphasis mine). There have been no comparable experiments in the pidgin-creole areas. All of us--linguists, psychologists, educators, politicians, and parents--continue to wrangle on this issue on the basis of philosophical belief, emotional feeling, or logical argument alone.

Todd makes the telling observation at the end of this chapter that "Education is meant to open doors, not to barricade them from within" (p. 86). I agree with her one hundred per cent, but with respect to the use of pidgins and creoles in the classroom, I am not sure that anybody knows at present what are the barricades, and what the keys. Only carefully controlled experimentation can reveal this, and we should all be prepared to be guided by its results, regardless of our own pet theories on this subject.

## CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

In a brief concluding chapter, Todd makes her final remarks on the value of pidgins and creoles--to their speakers, and to linguistic theory. Responding to a recent statement by Keith Whinnom that "linguists have been dangerously sentimental about Creole languages," she takes particular issue with his claim that these languages "may . . . constitute a handicap to the creole speaker's personal intellectual development."<sup>47</sup> This may be true of restricted pidgins, Todd suggests, but expanded creoles do not appear to limit the communicative or intellec-

tual powers of their speakers. In support of this claim, she refers to John J. Thomas' 1869 description of Trinidadian French Creole as "a dialect fully capable of expressing all ordinary thoughts, providing the speaker is master of, and understands how to manage, its resources."<sup>48</sup>

Here she lets the matter rest. But I would have liked to see her go on at this point to demonstrate how the creole speaker handles abstract thought and philosophical argument with his language, how the person who is truly master of its resources can use creole with a poetic and narrative power rarely recognised, and how "speech-situations" in creole communities require verbal fluency and skill in several different types of "speech-events."<sup>49</sup> Earlier on in the book (pp. 78-81), Todd does discuss some of the ways in which pidgins and creoles are effectively used by modern creative writers. And John Figueroa, in a brief review of two poems by Evan Jones and Derek Walcott, also pursues a similar theme.<sup>50</sup> But if we are really going to counter the usual disparaging claims about pidgins and creoles, and if we are to do so without appearing to be "dangerously sentimental," we need to provide more detailed and concrete evidence of how ordinary everyday speakers marshal and exploit the resources of these languages. The failure to do so is not Todd's alone; this is an almost completely neglected area in the field of pidgin creole studies as a whole. Of course, this in turn may be due to the fact that the field has been dominated mainly by linguists, and until very recently, most linguists paid little systematic attention to stylistic and expressive uses of language. But this situation is changing in Linguistics now, and with some of the traditional divisions between Linguistics, Literature, Folklore, Anthropology, and other disciplines beginning to bend a little, one can only hope that the lacunae referred to in this paragraph will soon be filled.

About the significance of pidgins and creoles for linguistic theory, Todd, like other scholars in the field,<sup>51</sup> has much more to say. She uses the example of Afrikaans--only recently recognised as having developed from a pidginized version of Dutch<sup>52</sup>--to raise the question of whether other "standard" languages like English and French might not have undergone pidginization and creolization in their past history. This intriguing hypothesis has been raised by other scholars more recently,<sup>53</sup> and new attempts to resolve the problems of detecting prior pidginization and creolization have also appeared.<sup>54</sup> Todd also suggests that pidgins and creoles may reveal new linguistic universals; for instance, that languages with relatively rigid word-order might once have been used as lingua-francas. The evidence of pidgins and creoles might also be valuable for our approach to language history, in cautioning us against the

traditional assumption that language change proceeds by gradual, continuous, and regular steps.

As for the future of pidgins and creoles, Todd wisely attempts no crystal gazing. Whether they will go on from strength to strength or simply become extinct is difficult to prophesy. The eventual outcome will depend less on the inherent linguistic properties of pidgins and creoles, and more on socio-economic factors and the extent to which they continue to prove useful. "In this, as in so many other respects, they are like all other languages" (p. 92).

#### APPENDICES AND BIBLIOGRAPHIES

The book closes with three useful appendices and two bibliographies. The first two appendices list the pidgins, creoles, and less familiar languages listed in the text, along with the main areas in which they are used (for example, Bemba is a language in the Rhodesian cop-perbelt). Together with the three maps included in the text, these appendices help the student to get his geographical bearings straight. The third appendix provides a word-by-word translation of the proverbs--from Cameroon pidgin and Sierra Leone Krio--which were used as epigraphs to each chapter. These allow for a final brief discussion of a few pidgin-creole features.

The first bibliography is briefly annotated, providing suggestions for further reading. The second bibliography contains the references cited in the text. It is divided into three sections: 1. "Works published before 1900, and other source books"; 2. "Dictionaries"; 3. "Modern writing related to the study of pidgins and creoles."

Technically, the book is virtually flawless. In addition to its neat size and attractive appearance, it contains no obvious typographical errors. At some points, as I have tried to indicate above, Todd omits alternative arguments and evidence, and fails to emphasize sufficiently the tentative nature of knowledge in the field. This may be a deliberate pedagogical decision, designed to minimize the confusion which introductory students often feel when presented with too many loose ends, too many possibilities and counter-possibilities. Such, however, is the nature (and appeal!) of this particular field; for me, one of the most exciting aspects about pidgins and creoles is how much still remains to be discovered and decided about them, and I think that an introduction to these languages should stress this point repeatedly.

Another possible shortcoming of the book--inevitable this time



because of the speed with which new developments are taking place in the field--is that it is updated only to 1973 or thereabouts.<sup>55</sup> In this review, I have attempted to refer the reader to some of the new material which has appeared since then, but a book of this nature should perhaps appear in updated revisions every four or five years. Few people could be better suited for this task than Loreto Todd. Despite the preceding criticisms, her present book is succinct, clear, and readable--undeniable merits in an introductory text, and ones which will make it an indispensable asset for the newcomer to this field.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>David De Camp's "Introduction: The Study of Pidgin and Creole Languages," in Pidginization and Creolization of Languages, ed. Dell Hymes (London: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 13-39, has been serving as an updated introduction in the interim, but a book-length introduction was still needed.

<sup>2</sup>In addition to Bickerton's Dynamics, see the following for further discussion: Rebecca N. Agheyisi, "West African Pidgin English: Simplification and Simplicity," Ph.D. diss. Stanford University 1971, pp. 133-34; Loreto Todd, "Review of Gilbert N. Schneider's West African Pidgin English," Lingua 28 (1971), 185-97.

<sup>3</sup>It should be pointed out that Todd uses the verb forms discussed above as an example of "discarding grammatical inessentials" and not of "simplification" as such. However, she does describe pidgins as "simple" or "simplified" in other parts of chapter one (and throughout the book), and reduction of redundancy is usually treated as a simplifying process in the study of linguistic change.

<sup>4</sup>For further discussion, see Dell Hymes's "Introduction" to Section III: "General Conceptions of Process," in Pidginization and Creolization of Languages, pp. 77-80. In particular, note the concluding definitions, on page 84, which make no reference to acquisition as a native language: "Creolization is that complex process of sociolinguistic change comprising expansion in inner form, with convergence, in the context of extension in use. A creole is the result of such a process that has achieved autonomy as a norm."

<sup>5</sup>Gillian Sankoff and Suzanne Laberge, "On the Acquisition of Native Speakers by a Language," in Pidgins and Creoles: Current Trends and Prospects, ed. David De Camp and Ian F. Hancock (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1974), pp. 73-84; Gillian Sankoff and Penelope Brown, "The Origins of Syntax in Discourse: A Case-Study of Tok-Pisin Relatives," Language 52, 3 (1976), 631-66.

<sup>6</sup>The distinction perhaps needs to be maintained fairly clearly for the benefit of the introductory student, but within the field of pidgin-creole studies, there are often controversies about whether a particular variety should be classified as "dialect" or "pidgin-creole." See for instance, John J. Gumperz and Robert Wilson, "Convergence and Creolization: a Case from the Indo-Aryan/Dravidian Border," in Pidginization and Creolization, pp. 151-68; Ian F. Hancock, "Is Anglo-Romanes a Creole?" (MS., 1976).

<sup>7</sup>See David De Camp, "Toward a Generative Analysis of a Post-Creole Speech Continuum," in Pidginization and Creolization, pp. 349-70.

<sup>8</sup>Loreto Todd, "Pidgins and Creoles: The Case for the Creoloid" (Paper presented at the International Conference on Pidgins and Creoles, Honolulu, Hawaii, Jan. 1976; referred to hereafter as the Hawaii Pidgin-Creole Conference. Proceedings to appear in a book edited by Derek Bickerton and Richard Day, and published by U. of Hawaii Press).

<sup>9</sup>See Pidginization and Creolization, p. 82.

<sup>10</sup>For an early view, emphasizing the "African-ness" of these devices, see Lorenzo Dow Turner, Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect (1949, rpt. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1974), pp. 209-13 and 220-22; for more recent views, which still attach considerable importance to the African influence but suggest other sources for reduplication and serial verbs as well, see: George L. Huttar, "Some Kwa-like Features of Djuka Syntax" (Paper presented at the Hawaii Pidgin-Creole Conference, 1975); Dell Hymes, Pidginization and Creolization, p. 72.

<sup>11</sup>For an insightful analysis of this ambivalence, see Karl Reisman, "Cultural and Linguistic Ambiguity in a West Indian Village," in Afro-American Anthropology: Contemporary Perspectives, ed. Norman E. Whitten and John F. Szew (New York: The Free Press, 1970), pp. 129-44.

<sup>12</sup>For other differences between simplification by upper and lower-language speakers, see William Samarin, "Salient and Substantive Simplification," in Pidginization and Creolization, pp. 117-40.

<sup>13</sup>Douglas Taylor, "The Origin of West Indian Creole Languages: Evidence from Grammatical Categories," American Anthropologist 65, 4 (1963), 810.

<sup>14</sup>"The Origin of Pidgin Portuguese" (Hawaii Pidgin-Creole Conference, 1975).

<sup>15</sup>A suggestion which, as Naro points out, counts as a minus for Keith Whinnom's "tertiary hybridization" as well.

<sup>16</sup>See Todd, Chapter four, pp. 56-58; Samarin, "Salient and Substantive Pidginization," p. 125; Whinnom, "Linguistic Hybridization," p. 96.

<sup>17</sup>William Samarin, "Lingua Francas, with Special Reference to Africa," in Study of the Role of Second Languages in Asia, Africa and Latin America, ed. Frank A. Rice (Washington, D.C.: 1962), pp. 54-64.

<sup>18</sup>Mervyn Alleyne, "Acculturation and the Cultural Matrix of Creolization," in Pidginization and Creolization, pp. 169-86.

<sup>19</sup>Naomi S. Baron, "Trade Jargons and Pidgins: a Functional-ist Approach" (Presented at the Hawaii Pidgin-Creole Conference, 1975).

<sup>20</sup>The estimate is David De Camp's, in "Introduction" (op. cit., see n. 1), p. 17.

<sup>21</sup>Todd is probably not to be faulted for not providing the point by point comparisons which are needed, since most statements of the nautical jargon theory are defective in the same respect; for one exception, see Ian F. Hancock, "A Domestic Origin for the English-Derived Atlantic Créoles," Florida FL Reporter 10, 1-2 (1972), 7-8, 52.

<sup>22</sup>Douglas Taylor, "Grammatical and Lexical Affinities of Créoles" in Pidginization and Creolization, pp. 293-96.

<sup>23</sup>For a more detailed statement on na, see Douglas Taylor, "Language Shift or Changing Relationship?" Journal of American Linguistics, 26 (1960), p. 157.

<sup>24</sup>Cf. Douglas Taylor, "The Origin of West Indian Creole Languages: Evidence from Grammatical Categories," American Anthropologist, 65, 4 (1963), p. 813.

<sup>25</sup>Ian Robertson, "Dutch Creole in Guyana--Some Missing Links," Society for Caribbean Linguistics Occasional Paper no. 2 (1974); Ian Robertson and D. Jagannauth, "Dutch Creole in Guyana, with Comparative Word-Lists from Essequibo and Berbice."

<sup>26</sup>Ian Robertson has drawn my attention to the fact that in 1807, only four years after they assumed control, the British Government refused to accept any petitions written in Dutch unless these were accompanied by an English translation. See Henry Bolingbroke, A Voyage to Demerara, 1799-1806 (Norwich: Stevenson and Matchett, 1807), p. 43.

<sup>27</sup>See Noam Chomsky, Aspects of the Theory of Syntax (Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press, 1965); or for simpler discussions of the distinction: Marina K. Burt, From Deep to Surface Structure: an Introduction to Transformational Syntax (New York: Harper and Row, 1971); Peter W. Culicover, Syntax (New York: Academic Press, 1976), or similar introductions.

<sup>28</sup>Morris Halle, "Phonology in a Generative Grammar," Word 18 (1962), 54-72.

<sup>29</sup>Note that this problem does not arise with the kind of language-universals theory of creole origins which Derek Bickerton proposes in "Natural Universals and Creole Genesis" (Presented at the Ha-

wail Pidgin-Creole Conference, 1975), because in theory, children--presumably the primary innovators in creolizing situations--have easier access to language-universals than adults.

<sup>30</sup>Charles A. Ferguson, "Absence of Copula and the Notion of Simplicity: a Study of Normal Speech, Baby Talk, Foreigner Talk, and Pidgins," in Pidginization and Creolization, pp. 141-50.

<sup>31</sup>For a language-universals theory which does not depend on the assumption that "simplification" was involved, and which does consider the role of contact between different languages, see Paul Kay and Gillian Sankoff, "A Language-Universals Approach to Pidgins and Creoles," in Pidgins and Creoles: Current Trends and Prospects, pp. 61-72.

<sup>32</sup>Approximate proportions of this type are provided in the following two papers presented at the Hawaii Pidgin-Creole Conference, 1975: Frederic Cassidy, "The Place of Gullah"; Ian F. Hancock, "Gullah in its Place" (a rejoinder to "The Place of Gullah").

<sup>33</sup>For further discussion, see Bickerton, Dynamics, Chapters one and five, and John R. Rickford, "The Structure of Variation in a Creole Continuum," Ph.D. diss. University of Pennsylvania 1977, chapter two.

<sup>34</sup>Most of the lexical examples cited are from David Dalby's "Jazz, Jitter and Jam," The New York Times, 10 Nov. 1970, p. 47.

<sup>35</sup>Presented at the Hawaii Pidgin-Creole Conference, 1975.

<sup>36</sup>In Pidgins and Creoles: Current Trends and Prospects, pp. 92-117.

<sup>37</sup>Cf. Robert Hall, Pidgin and Creole Languages, p. xlii.

<sup>38</sup>One exception is Walter F. Edward's "Sociolinguistic Behaviour in Rural and Urban Circumstances in Guyana," Ph.D. diss. University of York 1975, which provides correlations with race, age, and urbanization.

<sup>39</sup>Bickerton, Dynamics, p. 69.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 70-73, 102-11, 128-29; John R. Rickford, "The Question of Prior Creolization in Black English," in Pidgin and Creole Linguistics, ed. Albert Valdman (Indiana University Press, 1977).

<sup>41</sup>Dennis Solomon, "Form, Content, and the Post-Creole Continuum" (Presented at the Conference on Creole Languages and Educational Development, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad, July 1972).

<sup>42</sup>See for instance Jean Plissoneau's Catechisme (Metz: Louis Hellenbrand, 1926).

<sup>43</sup>Daniel Defoe, The History and Truly Remarkable Life of the Truly Honourable Colonel Jacque, ed. Samuel Holt Monk (1722; rpt. Lon-

don: Oxford University Press, 1965).

<sup>44</sup>One native West Indian who not only translated portions of the Bible and European Literature into creole, but also published one of the earliest book-length grammars of a creole language, was John Jacob Thomas, The Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar (Port-of-Spain, Trinidad: The Chronicle Publishing Office, 1869; rpt. with an introduction by Gertrud Buscher, London and Port-of-Spain: Beacon Books, 1969). Thomas' achievement is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that his parents were former slaves, emancipated in Trinidad only two years before he was born; he himself was twenty-nine years old when his Creole Grammar first appeared.

<sup>45</sup>William Stewart, "On the Use of Negro Dialect" in Teaching Black Children to Read, ed. Joan C. Baratz and Roger W. Shuy (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969), pp. 156-219; Walt Wolfram and Ralph Fasold, "Toward Reading Materials" in Teaching Black Children to Read, pp. 138-55.

<sup>46</sup>Tore Österberg, Bilingualism and the First School Language--An Educational Problem Illustrated by Results from a Swedish Dialect Area (Umeå, Sweden: Västerbottens Tryckeri AB, 1961).

<sup>47</sup>Keith Whinnom, "Linguistic Hybridization," p. 110.

<sup>48</sup>Thomas, Creole Grammar, p. 105.

<sup>49</sup>For discussion of these terms, see Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication, ed. John J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973):

<sup>50</sup>John J. Figueroa, "Our Complex Language Situation," in Caribbean Voices, ed. John J. Figueroa (London: Evans Brothers, 1970); see also World Literature Written in English, 15, 1 (April 1976), 225-28.

<sup>51</sup>For other recent statements about the value of pidgin-creole studies to Linguistics, see William Labov, "On the Adequacy of Natural Languages: The Development of Tense," Unpublished MS, University of Pennsylvania, February 1971; Dell Hymes, "Preface," Pidginization and Creolization, pp. 3-11; David M. Smith, "Some Implications for the Social Status of Pidgin Languages," in Sociolinguistics in Cross-Cultural Analysis, ed. David M. Smith and Roger W. Shuy (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1972), pp. 47-56; Bickerton, Dynamics, esp. pp. 164-200.

<sup>52</sup>Marius F. Valkhoff, New Light on Afrikaans and Malayo-Portuguese (Louvain, Editions Pieters Imprimerie Orientaliste, 1972). But as David De Camp points out (in "Introduction," Pidginization and Creolization, p. 13), Christian Hesseling had suggested a similar theory since 1899, in Het Afrikaans.

<sup>53</sup>See, for instance, Nicholas Z. Domingue, "Another English Creole: Middle English" (Presented at the Hawaii Pidgin-Creole Con-

ference, 1975).

<sup>54</sup>Franklin C. Southworth, "Detecting Prior Creolization: An Analysis of the Historical Origins of Marathi," in Pidginization and Creolization, pp. 255-74; Gumperz and Wilson, "Convergence and Creolization"; Robert Berdan, "Sufficiency Conditions for a Prior Creolization of Black English" (Presented at the Hawaii Pidgin-Creole Conference, 1975); Rickford, "Question of Prior Creolization."

<sup>55</sup>For a comprehensive coverage of materials up to 1971 (some entries even later), the following recently completed bibliography is invaluable, even though it, too, is already in need of updating: John E. Reinecke, Stanley Tsuzaki, David DeCamp, Ian Hancock, and Richard E. Wood, A Bibliography of Pidgin and Creole Languages (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1975).

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