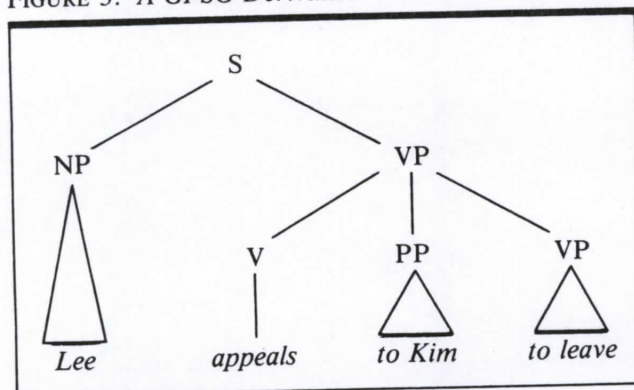


FIGURE 3. A GPSG Derivation



verb, and (ii) the object is on the right of the verb. This forces the order in which V precedes NP, while NP precedes other phrases within VP; it produces *send money to charity*, not **send to charity money*. By contrast, in Japanese, Case is assigned in the other direction, forcing the verb to be phrase-final. These ideas are extended to other phenomena, such as thematic-role assignment, by Koopman 1984.

In summary: by the 1980s there came to be widespread acceptance of the idea that a large part of the syntax of language is to be characterized in terms of tree structures. However, there was a similar acceptance of the idea that the grammar is not stated in terms of objects isomorphic to those structures (i.e. PS rules), but rather in terms of a collection of more abstract and interacting components.

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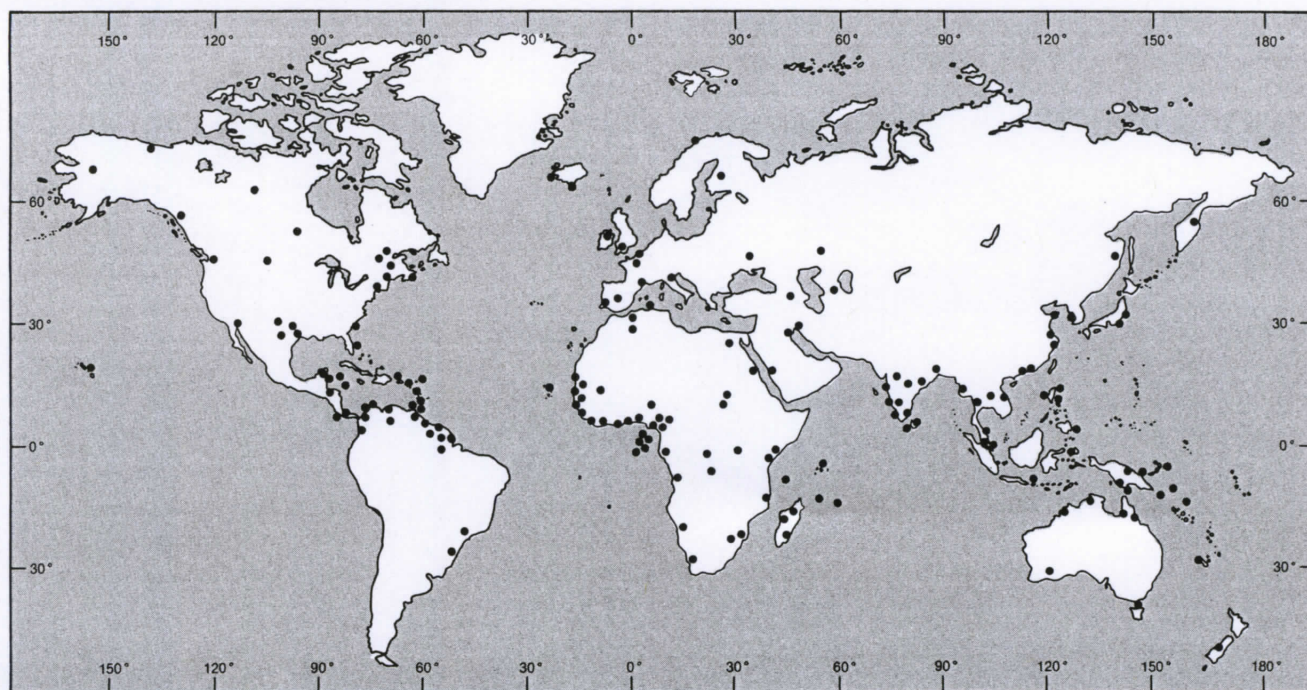
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PIDGINS AND CREOLES, as the linguistic products of trade, plantation life, and other contact situations in which speakers of different languages forge common means of communication, are theoretically significant to linguistics in general, but particularly so to students of language change. The usual focus in historical/comparative linguistics is on very old languages, assumed to have descended genetically from a smaller number of proto-languages by gradual linguistic divergence; by contrast, extant pidgins and creoles are relatively young languages (at most three or four centuries old) in which change has been rapid and primarily convergent, particularly in their formative periods. Pidgin and creole languages challenge some of the basic assumptions of historical/comparative linguistics—e.g., that all languages can be genetically classified, or that language mixture is limited and rare. Their youth and dynamism also offer us excellent opportunities to study change in progress, to assess the relative contributions of internal and external factors, and to develop and test general models of sociolinguistic variation and change. [See also Bilingualism; Borrowing.]

1. Definitions. A PIDGIN is a lingua franca which arises in order to facilitate communication between speakers of different languages who are in sustained contact with each other, e.g. in trade or plantation situations. Although it is no one's native language, a pidgin usually involves mixture or compromise between the native languages of its users; in comparison with these, it is restricted in social role, and simplified or reduced in linguistic resources. A CREOLE, by contrast, is a native or first language for its speakers, as in the case of children born to pidgin-speaking adults on a plantation. In the process of being acquired and used as

In Oxford International Encyclopedia of Linguistics, ed. by William Bright 1991, vol. 3.

by John R. Lickford



MAP 1. *Known Pidgin-Creole Locations Worldwide.* (Adapted from a map prepared by Ian Hancock, 1981, for *Carrier Pidgin*.)

a native language, the linguistic resources of a pidgin are expanded; but a pidgin which has served as primary language to its users for a long time—like New Guinea Pidgin English (Tok Pisin)—also shows some development and complication. Finally, by a process of DE-CREOLIZATION, a creole that coexists with a standard language, from which it derives most of its lexicon, may evolve towards that standard—yielding a spectrum of intermediate varieties, a (post-)creole continuum.

The definitions in the preceding paragraph represent a compromise, if not a consensus, among creolists; but scholars from the 1880s to the 1980s have emphasized different aspects. Some of them view simplification as primary in the development of these languages, particularly pidgins; others view mixture as equally or more important. Still others see both features as byproducts of language acquisition, produced when access to native-speaker norms is inadequate.

Two minor definitional issues, which no longer command the attention they once did, involve the validity of Hall's (1966) pidginization/creolization life-cycle, and of Whinnom's claim (1971) that stable pidgins require at least three languages—with speakers of A and B using C for intercommunication. Hawaiian Creole English and other creoles show that creolization may be abrupt, when contact vernaculars acquire native speakers before pidgin

norms stabilize; Russenorsk and other pidgins show that the three-language restriction is not absolute.

As shown by Map 1 (based on work by Ian Hancock), pidgins and creoles are located around the world. However, only relatively well established cases are shown (see Reinecke et al. 1975 for references). New cases, announced in *The Carrier Pidgin* and *Gazet Sifon Ble* newsletters, are continually coming to light; furthermore, there is lively debate about whether Middle English, Afrikaans, and other standard languages underwent creolization at earlier stages (Thomason and Kaufmann 1988:251–256, 263–342). [For details on individual pidgin and creole languages, see the *Language List* at the end of this article.]

2. Simplification and pidginization. Despite controversies about its definition and use, linguistic simplification—a limited vocabulary, reduction or elimination of inflectional morphology, avoidance of consonant clusters and marked phonological segments, restriction in syntactic machinery, and limited stylistic range—has been considered a primary characteristic of pidginization for over a century. Early-stage, prestabilization pidgins (sometimes referred to as JARGONS or PREPIDGIN CONTINUA) are reported to have only 50 to 300 words, and to make extensive use of circumlocution, as in Kjachta Chinese Russian *ruka sapogi* 'glove', literally 'hand

boots' (Mühlhäusler 1986:145–147). In more stable pidgins, like Hiri Motu of Papua New Guinea, phrase-like syntactic formulas are also used for new concepts: *kuku ania gauna* 'pipe' (lit. 'smoke eat thing'), *lahi gabua gauna* 'match' (lit. 'fire burn thing'). In Tây Bôi, the pidgin French used in Vietnam between the 1860s and the 1950s, consonant clusters were simplified; elements encoding distinctions of gender, number, status, and tense in standard French and Vietnamese were eliminated (Reinecke 1971). Similar simplifications are found in virtually every pidgin—as they are in cases of language death, and wherever languages become restricted in function and use (Hymes 1971:73, Foley 1988:162–175, Romaine 1988:25).

A major controversy concerning simplification is the extent to which it is considered deliberate, carried out by speakers of the superstratum or more powerful/prestigious language, to facilitate learning by speakers of the substratum or socially subordinate language. [See Areal Linguistics.] This may have been a factor in some cases, but it is clearly not universal: pidgins tend to be used primarily for communication among substratum speakers, are often unintelligible to speakers of the superstratum, and contain features which could not have come from the superstratum. At the same time, to speak of 'simplification' of a superstratum by substratum speakers is to provide a historical metaphor, rather than a description of psychological process; as Thomason & Kaufmann (1988:178), among others, have noted, these speakers do not know the unreduced forms at the pidginizing stage. The relevant strategy, as in first-language acquisition, is ignoring unfamiliar structure—one reason why pidgins typically contain few marked structures, unless these occur in the contact languages.

Some putative instances of simplification may, equally or more plausibly, represent substratum influence. One example is the use of the 3pl. pronoun *dem* after the noun to mark plurality in Jamaican Creole English (*de man dem* 'the men'); this may have come from Ewe or Twi (Alleyne 1980:151, Holm 1988:193).

3. Mixture. Although many linguists have downplayed the role of MIXTURE or CONVERGENCE in pidginization, simplification alone cannot account for some features, especially those that are typologically marked or absent from the superstratum language. An example is the distinction between hearer-inclusive (*jumi*) and exclusive (*mipela*) 1pl. pronouns in New Guinea Tok Pisin, a carry-over from Melanesian languages (Hall 1966:51).

A characteristic feature of pidgins and creoles is that

the lexicon comes primarily from the superstratum language, with substratum influence manifesting itself primarily in the phonology and grammar. Thomason & Kaufmann (1988:201) argue that the extensiveness and nature of language mixture in these varieties—particularly the fact that features from the lexical, grammatical, and phonological subsystems do not derive from a single source language—are reflections of their 'non-genetic development'. Such heavily mixed languages are thus inappropriate for genetic classification or reconstruction. The challenge posed by pidgins and creoles to the genetic model of historical/comparative linguistics is explored more fully by these authors than by anyone else to date.

4. Creolization and expansion. As noted above, the linguistic resources of a pidgin are expanded and developed in the process of CREOLIZATION—its acquisition and use as a native language. For many years, evidence of this point came almost entirely from studies of pidgins in one part of the world, but of creoles in another; thus Hall (1966:73) noted that the noun phrase in Haitian Creole French was more complicated—with richer potential for syntactic variation and semantic expression—than its counterpart in Neo-Melanesian Pidgin English. Valuable though such comparisons were, they were limited as exemplifications of expansion, since there was no documentation of the antecedent pidgin stage from which Haitian and other Caribbean creoles presumably evolved.

Firmer evidence of creolizing expansion came from Bickerton's study (1981:5–42) of the non-native H[awaiian] P[idgin] E[nglish] spoken by surviving Filipino, Japanese, and other immigrants who had arrived in Hawaii prior to 1920, as compared with the H[awaiian] C[reole] E[nglish] spoken natively by their children. In a number of central grammatical areas, HCE contains linguistic resources which HPE does not—resources which give the former greater referential power and flexibility. The list includes movement rules which allow fronting of sentence constituents for focusing or emphasis (*o*, DAET WAN *ai si* 'Oh, I saw THAT ONE'); the use of preverbal auxiliaries (*bin*, *go*, *stei*) to mark tense, modality, and aspect; and the distinction between definite, indefinite, and non-specific NP reference via their co-occurrent articles (*da*, *wan*, and *zero*, respectively).

Finding similar features in other creoles—which, like HCE, seem to have developed from short-lived and relatively undeveloped pidgins—Bickerton 1981 hypothesized that they represent a species-specific BIOPROGRAM for language, which the first creole-speaking children drew on to flesh out their parents' pidgin. The hypothesis

has generated considerable discussion, especially insofar as it attributes creole similarities to universals rather than substratum influences (see Muysken & Smith 1986).

However, grammatical expansion and complication can take place through extended use of a pidgin as a community's primary language, whether or not it also acquires native speakers. Sankoff (1980, chaps. 10–11) shows that some of the newest developments in Tok Pisin—like the emergence of *bai* as a preverbal future marker, and the use of *ia* as a bracketing device to mark relative clauses—are attested both by children who speak it as a first language (creole) and by adults who speak it fluently as a second language (pidgin). Mühlhäusler (1986:176–205) discusses other grammatical, lexical, and phonological features characteristic of such expanded pidgins.

5. Polygenesis and monogenesis. Besides Bickerton's bioprogram hypothesis, there are several older explanations for pidgin-creole similarities; the primary ones are varieties of POLYGENESIS vs. MONOGENESIS.

Polygenetic theories assume that the development of a pidgin in one community or territory is independent of the development of a pidgin in another. Structural similarities between pidgins and many creoles worldwide derive either from the fact that similar languages were involved (European superstratum and West African substrata for many Atlantic varieties); from their reduction to universally shared structures; from the similarities of their social contexts; or from exploitation of universal strategies for simplification, as evident in foreigner talk or motherese (Ferguson 1971).

By contrast, monogenetic theories assume the diffusion of a single pidgin to other areas via migration. The most general monogenetic theory is that a Portuguese pidgin developed in the context of the West African slave trade, perhaps as the descendant of the Mediterranean lingua franca Sabir, and was subsequently the source of pidgins and creoles in the Pacific and Atlantic (DeCamp 1971:21–23). In the case of varieties lexically based on Spanish, English, Dutch, and French, relexification from the original Portuguese source was assumed. Although this wide-scope monogenesis was popular in the 1950s and 1960s, most scholars now accept that it is limited as a general theory of pidgin-creole genesis, since many varieties (e.g. Chinook Jargon in the American Northwest) lie outside its scope.

6. Decreolization and the creole continuum. In many communities where a creole is spoken popularly, but where its lexically related standard language has remained the official language, there is no sharp break

between the BASILECT creole and the ACROLECT standard, but rather a continuum of intermediate varieties or MESOLECTS. The clearest examples are English-based creoles in contact with standard English, as in Guyana, Hawaii, and Jamaica.

The usual assumption is that these continua derive from earlier situations in which only the creole and standard existed—the former stigmatized and spoken by the masses, the latter prestigious and spoken by a small elite. With the gradual erosion of social barriers, creole speakers have gained increased opportunity and motivation to decreolize or modify their speech towards the standard. To be sure, many scholars now accept Alleyne's argument (1971) that continuum-like variation must have existed virtually from the start of African/European contact, and they feel that there are other reasons to challenge the continuum model of linguistic variation in the Caribbean. However, the model of decreolization appears to be basically defensible (see Rickford 1987). For instance, Alleyne himself observes (1980:189–190) that the contemporary creole in Jamaica and Guyana is closer to standard English than earlier varieties were, and that the mesolectal varieties are spoken by more people now. In this quantitative sense, decreolization is active in Caribbean creole continua, attested in 'apparent time evidence'—contrasts between the recorded usage of different age groups (Rickford 1987:71). However, the creole alternative remains vibrant in these communities. By contrast, US Black English Vernacular is believed to have come about through qualitative decreolization, involving the loss of the creole and lower mesolects.

Creole continua are of theoretical interest because they have been claimed, along with other examples of externally motivated or non-spontaneous language change, to exhibit a pattern in which an existing meaning acquires a new form, instead of an existing form acquiring a new meaning (Bickerton 1980:113). They have also provided testing grounds for the development of two modern dynamic models of linguistic variation, the IMPLICATIONAL model (DeCamp 1971:349–370) and the ACTS OF IDENTITY model (LePage & Tabouret-Keller 1985). Both these have been shown to be applicable to variability and change in non-creole-speaking communities as well.

7. The social context of language change. Pidgin-creole studies show more clearly than most linguistic subfields the importance of social context in language change. The very definitions of pidgin, creole, and creole continuum refer to both linguistic and social

factors. Whether pidginization, creolization, or decreolization takes place, and with what results, depends crucially on factors like the size of the groups in contact, their relative prestige, their social relations, and the functional role played by their languages. Among the works which demonstrate this in detail is Baker & Corne's discussion (1986) of why the colonial contact among French, African, and Indian people in Mauritius resulted in the formation of a stable creole, while similar contact in neighboring Réunion did not. The relevant elements turn out to be the demographics of contact—including the fact that, in Mauritius, the multilingual slave population outnumbered the French settlers within a decade of settlement, while this did not happen in Réunion for half a century. This particular example has helped to refine the bioprogram hypothesis, and to provide a model of the role of demographics in creole genesis. It could also serve as a more general reminder of the importance of social context in language change, particularly since modern linguists have been preoccupied with internal linguistic factors and principles. [See also Sociolinguistics.]

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LANGUAGE LIST

- Afro-Seminole Creole:** spoken in Texas and Oklahoma, USA, and in Mexico. An English-based creole, separated from coastal Sea Islands Creole between 1690 and 1760, but still maintaining 90 percent lexical similarity.
- Arabic, Sudanese Creole:** 20,000 or more first-language speakers and 44,000 second-language speakers reported in 1987, in towns and villages in Equatoria, Bahr el Ghazal, and Upper Nile regions of southern Sudan. Also called Pidgin Arabic, Juba Arabic, Southern Sudan Arabic, or Bahr-El-Ghazal Arabic. Serves as the major language of communication among speakers of different languages in the area. Not mutually intelligible with Kinubi, Sudanese Arabic, or Modern Standard Arabic.
- Aukaans:** an English-based creole of the Guianas, spoken by around 20,000 people along the Marowijne and Tapanahonij rivers in Surinam, in the northeast along the Cottica River. Varieties include Boni along the French Guiana

border and in French Guiana, Paramaccan on the middle Marowijne, and possibly Kwinti along the Coppename River. Also called Djuka or Njuka.

Bahamas Creole English: around 225,000 speakers reported in 1987. Mutual intelligibility with other creoles uncertain. Closest to Sea Islands Creole and Afro-Seminole of the United States.

Belize Creole English: around 114,000 speakers reported in 1987. First-language speakers mainly in urban areas; second-language speakers in rural areas. Also called Kriol. Reported to be very close to Jamaican, Nicaraguan, and Tobago creoles.

Berbice Creole Dutch: 30 speakers reported in 1986, in the Berbice River area of Guyana. Speakers are bilingual in Guyanese Creole English, which has influenced Berbice considerably.

Betawi: a Malay-based creole spoken in Jakarta, Java, Indonesia. Distinct both from standard Indonesian and from other Malay-based creoles.

Bislama: an English-based creole with a few first-language speakers; used mainly as second language by the majority of the 128,000 people in Vanuatu, and by 1,200 immigrants from Vanuatu in Noumea, New Caledonia. Also called Bichelamar. Widely used in commerce, government, internal dealings, and newspapers.

Cafundo Creole: 40 speakers reported in 1978 in Cafundo, 150 miles from São Paulo, Brazil. A secret language, composed of Bantu lexicon in a Portuguese morphological and syntactic framework. Speakers are all fluent in Portuguese. A similar creole has been discovered recently in Minas Gerais State.

Cameroons Pidgin: spoken by 2,000,000 second-language users, primarily in South West and North West provinces, Cameroon, but also widespread elsewhere. An English-based creole, also called Wes Cos. Similar to Krio of Sierra Leone and to the Pidgin English of various West African countries. There is a growing number of first-language speakers, and dialect variations are evident.

Chavacano: a Spanish-based creole with 280,000 speakers reported in 1981, in and around Zamboanga, Mindanao, Philippines, and in Cavite, Ternate, and Ermita near Manila, as well as in one village in Sabah, Malaysia. Also called Zamboangueño. A creole with predominantly Spanish vocabulary and Philippine grammatical structure.

Chinese Pidgin English: formerly spoken in contact between Chinese and Europeans in China; now spoken only on Nauru.

Chinook Wawa: 10 to 100 older speakers reported in 1962, in British Columbia, Canada, and in the northwestern United States. A pidgin language based on, but distinct from, the Chinook language. Also called Chinook Jargon or Chinook Pidgin.

Crioulo: a Portuguese-based creole of West Africa, with

400,000 speakers reported in 1986, including 100,000 in the Bijagos Islands, Guinea Bissau, and other former Portuguese possessions, plus 50,000 in Senegal at Ziguinchor, 250,000 in the Cape Verde Islands, and some in Gambia. Also called Portuguese Creole.

Crioulo, São Tomé: a Portuguese-based creole of West Africa, with 8,000 speakers reported in 1977, from São Tomé e Príncipe. Possible mutual intelligibility with Crioulo of the Cape Verde Islands and Guinea Bissau.

Cutchi-Swahili: a Swahili-based creole spoken in Kenya by South Asians. Also called Asian Swahili. Possible intelligibility for speakers of standard Swahili. Speakers use English as their second language.

Dutch Creole: a few speakers reported in 1986, in the US Virgin Islands and in Puerto Rico. Also called Negerhollands.

Fa D'ambu: a Portuguese-based creole of Equatorial Guinea, with 2,000 speakers reported in 1978, in Annobon. Also called Pagalu. Different from Fernando Po Krio.

Fanagalo: a Xhosa-based pidgin spoken in South Africa and Zambia. Also called Fanakalo, Fanagolo, Fanekolo, Chilapalapa, Kitchen Kaffir, Mine Kaffir, Piki, Isipiki, Lololo, or Isilololo. Used widely in towns and mining areas. About 70 percent of the vocabulary comes from Xhosa, 24 percent from English, and 6 percent from Afrikaans.

French Guianese: a creole language of French Guiana, with some 50,000 speakers reported in 1977. Also called Patois or Patwa. Speakers' comprehension of Lesser Antillean Creole French is 78 percent, and of Karipuna Creole of Brazil 77 percent. Over one-third of the population in the capital speak Creole as their mother tongue, and it is the most important rural language. Most speakers are bilingual in French.

Guyanese Creole English: 700,000 speakers reported in 1977, with 650,000 in Georgetown and coastal Guyana, and 50,000 in Surinam; perhaps some speakers in French Guiana. Also called Creolese or Guyanese. The first language of many people, but it has no official status. Rupununi may be a separate language.

Haitian Creole French: around 6,070,000 speakers reported in 1982, with 5,740,000 in Haiti, 112,000 in the Dominican Republic, and the remainder in three other countries. Granted legal and educational status in Haiti in 1961. The only language of 95 percent of the population of Haiti.

Hawaii Creole English: around 500,000 speakers reported in 1971, in the Hawaiian Islands, with some on the US mainland. Also called Hawaii Pidgin English, Creole English of Hawaii, Da Kine, Pidgin, or Polynesian English. Some 100,000 to 200,000 speakers do not control standard or near-standard English. The mesolect is barely mutually intelligible with standard English.

Hiri Motu: a Motu-based language of Papua New Guinea, with a few first-language speakers reported in 1987, but

used as a second language by some 250,000, in Central Province, in and around Port Moresby, and throughout Oro, Central, Gulf, part of Milne Bay, and Western provinces. Also called Police Motu, Pidgin Motu, or Hiri.

Indo-Portuguese: a Portuguese-based creole with 2,250 speakers reported in 1971, in Batticaloa District, Sri Lanka, and formerly in India. All speakers are fluent in Tamil; older speakers are also bilingual in English, and some younger ones in Sinhalese. The creole is used at home only.

Kaldosh: a French-based creole of New Caledonia, spoken in Ploum, Mont-Dore, and especially Saint-Louis, near Noumea. Also called Caldoche. Apparently used as a first language by some who are bilingual in French, and as a second language by others.

Karipúna Creole: a French-based creole spoken in Amapá, Brazil, with 672 to 1,026 speakers reported in 1986 on the French Guiana border. Also called Crioulo. The speakers formerly spoke Karipúna, a Tupian language. The creole is apparently distinct from French Guianese and Haitian Creoles.

Kinubi: 3,000 or more speakers reported in 1987 in Kibera, Nairobi, Kenya, plus a possible 3,000 in West Nile District, Uganda. Also called Nubi. Formerly a soldiers' language which split off from Sudanese Pidgin Arabic about 1900; not now mutually intelligible with it.

Kituba: a Kongo-based creole of Zaïre, with 4,200,000 speakers reported in 1989, in Bas-Zaïre and southern Bandundu regions. Also called Kikongo Ya Leta or Kileta. Kituba is the means of communication among speakers of various Bakongo varieties, and many speakers also have it as their only or principal language.

Korlai Creole Portuguese: spoken near Bombay, India.

Krio: an English-based creole of Sierra Leone, with 350,000 or more first-language speakers reported in 1987, including 247,000 in communities in Freetown and on the Peninsula, the Banana Islands, and York Island, and in Bonthe; used by detribalized Sierra Leoneans and as a lingua franca throughout Sierra Leone. Also spoken by small numbers in Senegal, in Guinea, on Fernando Po Island, Equatorial Guinea, and by 3,000 in Bathurst, Gambia. Also called Creole. As many as 3,230,000 second-language speakers were estimated in 1987.

Kriol: an English-based creole of Australia, with 2,000 or more first-language speakers; used by 30,000 or more people, counting second-language speakers, in the Roper River and Katherine areas, Ngukurr, Northern Territory, and around Hall's Creek, Western Australia, as of 1983. Also called Roper-Bamyili Creole. All speakers are bilingual in English or various aboriginal languages, except perhaps preschool children.

Lesser Antillean Creole English: around 192,000 speakers reported in 1979, with 43,000 in Grenada, 36,000 in

Tobago, 17,500 in the British West Indies, plus some speakers in six other countries.

Lesser Antillean Creole French: around 1,010,000 speakers reported in 1979, with 335,000 in Guadeloupe, 325,000 in Martinique, 121,000 in St. Lucia, 83,700 in Dominica, 150,000 in France, and possibly some in Grenada. Sometimes known as Patwa, Patois, or Kweyol. In islands under French influence, most people speak creole as their mother tongue; under English influence, the creole has less standing. Standard French is understood by no more than 10 percent of the population of St. Lucia.

Liberian English: a pidgin language with 1,500,000 second-language users reported in 1984; used throughout Liberia as a second language for intercommunication among speakers of different languages. Also called Liberian Pidgin English.

Louisiana Creole French: around 40,000 speakers reported in 1980 out of a Black ethnic group of 1,500,000, in Louisiana, in parts of east Texas, and in a small community in Sacramento, California, USA. Different from Standard French and from the Cajun French variety also spoken in Louisiana. May be mutually intelligible with Haitian Creole and other French-based Creoles of the Antilles, but some reports indicate that monolingual speakers cannot understand those other creoles. High degree of bilingualism in English. Speakers over 60 prefer Creole, and those under 30 prefer English. A few (4.6 percent) in the older group are monolingual in Creole.

Macanese: a Portuguese-based creole formerly spoken in Macao; in 1977, 4,000 speakers were reported in Hong Kong, and possibly also in the United States. No longer spoken in Macao as of 1986. Also called Macao Creole Portuguese.

Malaccan Creole Portuguese: around 3,000 speakers reported in 1984, along the Straits of Malacca, Peninsular Malaysia. Related varieties are spoken in parts of Kuala Lumpur and Singapore. Also spoken as a second language by some Chinese shopkeepers in Hilir. The variety formerly spoken in Pulau Tikus, Penang, is now virtually extinct. Also called Malaysian Creole Portuguese, Malaccan, or Papia Kristang.

Matawari: an English-based creole of Surinam, with around 1,000 speakers reported in 1977, along the Saramacca River. Also called Matoewari or Matawai. Some mutual intelligibility with Saramaccan.

Mitchif: a creole with elements from French and from Plains Cree, spoken in North Dakota, USA, and scattered locations in Canada. Also called French Cree. Most speakers are middle-aged or older.

Mobilian: now extinct, formerly spoken in the south central USA. Also called Mobilian Jargon. A pidgin based on Muskogean languages, formerly used as a lingua franca; elements were taken from Choctaw and Chickasaw as well as from Spanish, English, and French.

- Morisyen:** a French-based creole of Mauritius, with 600,000 or more speakers reported in 1989. Also called Mauritius Creole French or Kreole. Different from Réunion Creole, and from Seselwa in Seychelles. Has lower prestige than French or English.
- Munukutuba:** a Kongo-based language of Congo, with around 1,160,000 speakers reported in 1987, mainly along roads and railroads westwards from Brazzaville and northwards to Mayoko; the main language of south Congo. Also called Monokutuba. Close to Kituba of Zaïre.
- Naga Pidgin:** spoken in Nagaland, India; based on Assamese. Also known as Nagamese, Nagassamese, or Kachari Bengali. As a creole language, it is the mother tongue of the Kachari people in Dimapur.
- Neo-Nyunga:** an English-based creole of Southwest Australia, with 8,000 speakers reported in 1984. Also called Noonga or Noogar. Speakers are descended from speakers of Nyunga, and use elements of that language.
- Nigerian Pidgin English:** spoken in coastal and urban areas in the southern Nigerian states, and in Sabon Garis of the northern states. Now has some native speakers as well as being used as a pidgin between Africans and Europeans and by Africans who speak different languages. There is no unified standard or orthography. Partial mutual intelligibility with Krio of Sierra Leone and Cameroons Pidgin.
- Oorlans:** an Afrikaans-based creole of South Africa. Spoken as mother tongue by Africans in a large number of small colonies. Vocabulary includes Bantu words.
- Palenquero:** a Spanish-based creole language of Colombia, with around 3,000 speakers reported in 1989, southeast of Cartagena. Also called Palenque or Lengua. Entirely unintelligible to Spanish speakers. Children do not speak Palenquero. Adults are bilingual, but some old people have limited proficiency in Spanish.
- Papiamentu:** some 262,000 speakers reported in 1986, with 227,000 in the Netherlands Antilles (84 percent of the population), 35,000 in the Netherlands, and others in Puerto Rico and the US Virgin Islands. A creole language based on Portuguese, with many elements from Spanish and Dutch. Also called Papiamento, Papiam, Curaçoleño, or Curassese.
- Pijin:** an English-based creole of the Solomon Islands, with 1,300 first-language speakers reported in 1976. Some 100,000 use it as a second language. Also called Solomons Pidgin or Neo-Solomonic.
- Pitcairn-Norfolk:** an English-based language spoken by 545 people, including 500 on Norfolk Island and 45 on Pitcairn Island. Some second-generation Pitcairn Islanders live in Australia and New Zealand. Also called Pitcairn English. Speakers are bilingual in Standard British English.
- Réunion Creole French:** around 555,000 speakers reported in 1987, on Réunion Island. There are two dialects, urban and popular; the former is closer to French, the latter more similar to Bantu and West African languages. Education is in French.
- Rupununi:** an English-based creole language of Guyana, closely related to Guyanese.
- Samaná Creole English:** spoken in the Samaná Bay area, Dominican Republic. A community of descendants of former slaves settled from the United States in 1824. May not be a creole, but rather a regional variety of uncreolized English.
- San Miguel Creole French:** spoken in Panama. The ancestors of these speakers came as laborers in the mid-19th century from St. Lucia.
- Sango:** a creole language based on Ngbandi, with 200,000 mother-tongue speakers reported in 1987, mainly in the Central African Republic, but also in Zaïre, Chad, and Cameroon. Sometimes spelled Sangho. A rapidly spreading language, spoken and written in informal use by 4,900,000 second-language speakers. Used in business and government affairs, and for news in the Central African Republic. More men than women speak it as a second language.
- Saramaccan:** an English-based creole of central Surinam, with 15,000 to 20,000 speakers reported in 1977.
- Sea Islands Creole English:** around 125,000 speakers reported in 1977, from North Carolina to Florida, USA, especially on the Sea Islands off the Georgia coast. Also called Gullah or Geechee, though those names are not preferred by the people. Has 90 percent lexical similarity with Afro-Seminole Creole. Vigorous language use, with 7,000 to 10,000 monolinguals.
- Seselwa:** a French-based creole of islands in the Indian Ocean; around 76,600 speakers were reported in 1987, with 74,600 on Tromelin and Aglega in the Seychelles, and 1,960 in the Chagos Archipelago, British Indian Ocean Territory. Also called Seychellois Creole or Seychelles Creole French. Not mutually intelligible with Réunion Creole. The first four years of education in the Seychelles are in Seselwa, and it is used in some subjects for five additional years.
- Settla:** a Swahili-based pidgin spoken in Zambia. Also called Kisettla. Limited vocabulary and grammar.
- Skepi Creole Dutch:** spoken in the Essequibo River region, Guyana. Speakers claim it is not mutually intelligible with Berbice or Guyanese.
- Sranan:** an English-based creole of Surinam, with 310,000 to 350,000 speakers reported in 1977. Some 130,000 to 170,000 first-language speakers along the Surinam coast (300,000 if second-language speakers are counted), 180,000 in the Netherlands and Netherlands Antilles. Also called Sranan Tongo, Taki-Taki, Surinamese, or Surinam Creole English. The lingua franca of 80 percent of the population of Surinam.
- Sri Lankan Creole Malay:** 50,000 speakers reported in 1986 from the ethnic group, especially in the cities of Sri Lanka. Also called Sri Lankan Malay or Melayu Bahasa. Most or

all speakers also speak Tamil, but the creole is widely used at home and among friends.

Tây Bôi: a French-based creole of Vietnam, now extinct; spoken from 1862 until 1954. Also called Annamite French or Vietnamese Pidgin French.

Ternateño: a now extinct Portuguese-based creole, formerly spoken on Ternate Island, west of Halmahera Island, North Maluku, Indonesia. Also spelled Ternatenyo.

Timor Pidgin: a now extinct Portuguese-based creole, formerly spoken on Timor Island, Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia. Also called Timor Creole Portuguese.

Tok Pisin: an English-based pidgin of Papua New Guinea, with 50,000 first-language speakers and 2,000,000 second-language speakers reported in 1982. Also called Pisin, Pidgin, Neo-Melanesian, or New Guinea Pidgin English. The native language of a growing number of people in urban areas. It is the main means of communication between speakers of different languages, and the language most frequently used in Parliament and for commerce.

Torres Strait Pidgin: an English-based pidgin with possibly 15,000 speakers, including all second-language speakers, reported in 1983 from the Torres Strait Islands, Queensland, Australia. Also called Torres Strait Creole. It is based on Tok Pisin of Papua New Guinea and Kala Yagaw Ya, an aboriginal language.

Trinidad Creole French: spoken in villages of the Northern Range and coastal settlements on Trinidad, Trinidad and Tobago. Also known as Patois or Trinidadien. Around Dragon Mouths, children under ten speak the language; elsewhere speakers are middle-aged and older. Contact with other French creoles contributes to language maintenance.

Unserdeutsch: a German-based creole, with 100 or fewer fluent speakers reported in West New Britain, Papua New Guinea, and in southeastern Queensland, Australia. Also called Rabaul Creole German. The descendant of a pidginized form of Standard German which originated on the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain during German colonial times among the Catholic mixed-race ('Vunapope') community. With increased mobility and intermarriage, it has been disappearing in recent decades. Most speakers are middle-aged or older. All speakers are fluent in Standard German, English, Tok Pisin, or Tolai.

Western Caribbean Creole English: 2,220,000 or more speakers reported in 1986, including 1,670,000 in Jamaica, 498,000 in five Central American countries, and 12,000 to 18,000 on San Andrés and Providencia Islands, Colombia. Creole is the language of the home for 70 percent of the population of Jamaica. Reported to be very close to Lesser Antillean creole English of Grenada and St. Vincent.

PLATOID LANGUAGES are a group spoken predominantly in north central and northeastern Nigeria, and forming a top-level constituent of the Benue-Congo

branch of the Niger-Congo languages [qq.v.]. The classification of the Platoid languages given in Figure 1 is based on Ludwig Gerhardt, 'Kainji and Platoid', in *The Niger-Congo languages*, ed. by John Bendor-Samuel (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1989), pp. 359-376.

LANGUAGE LIST

Ake: 300 or fewer speakers reported in 1973, in Assaikio District, Lafia Division, Plateau State, Nigeria. Also called Aike or Akye.

Arum-Chessu: spoken in Mama District, Akwanga Division, Plateau State, Nigeria.

Aten: 4,000 speakers reported in 1976, in Jal District, Jos Division, Plateau State, and in Moroa District, Jema'a Division, Kaduna State, Nigeria. Also called Ganawuri, Etien, Jal, Ten, or Niten.

Ayu: 4,000 speakers reported in 1976, in Jema'a District and Division, Kaduna State, Nigeria. Also called Aya.

Bandawa-Minda-Kunini: 10,000 speakers reported in 1973, in Wurkum and Lau districts, Muri Division, Gongola State, Nigeria. Also called Jinleri.

Bashar: 20,000 speakers reported in 1977, in Wase District, Langtang Division, Plateau State, Nigeria. Also called Basharawa, Bashiri, Borrom, Burrum, or Bogh.

Birom: 200,000 speakers reported in 1985, in Jos Division, Plateau State, and in Jema'a District and Division, Kaduna State, Nigeria. Also called Berom, Berum, Gbang, Kibo, Kibun, Kibyen, Aboro, Boro-Aboro, or Afango. Shosho is an offensive name.

Chara: 735 speakers reported in 1936, in Buji District, Jos Division, Plateau State, Nigeria. Also called Nfachara, Fakara, Pakara, Tera, Teria, Terri, or Tariya.

Chomo Karim: spoken in Jalingo, Lau, Gassol, Wurkum, and Muri Districts, Muri Division, Gongola State, Nigeria. Also called Chomo, Shomong, Shomoh, Nuadhu, Karim, Kirim, or Kiyu.

Doka: spoken in Kajura District, Kachia Division, Kaduna State, Nigeria. Different from Duka.

Eggon: 80,000 speakers reported in 1972, in Eggon District, Akwanga Division, and in Assaikio District, Lafia Division, Plateau State, Nigeria. Also called Egon, Megong, or Mada Eggon.

Fyam: 14,000 speakers reported in 1973, in Gindiri, North Sura, and Kadun Districts, Pankshin Division, Plateau State, Nigeria. Also called Pyam, Pyem, Paiem, Gyem, Fem, or Pem.

Horom: 500 speakers reported in 1973, in Richa and Tof Districts, Pankshin Division, Plateau State, Nigeria. Kaleri is an incorrect name.

Hyam: 60,000 speakers reported in Jema'a and Kwoi Districts, Jema'a Division, and in Kachia and Zangon Katab Districts, Kachia Division, Kaduna State, Nigeria. Also called Jaba, Jeba, Ham, or Hum.