Language Contact in the Arctic

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Language Contact in the Arctic

Northern Pidgins and Contact Languages

edited by

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Preface

The majority of the papers included in this volume were first presented and discussed at a symposium held at the University of Tromsø, 4–6 June 1992: "The Ninth International Tromsø Symposium on Language: Arctic Pidgins". (The papers by Louis-Jacques Dorais and Stephen A. Wurm were not presented in Tromsø.) The symposium was organized by Ernst Håkon Jahr and Ingvild Broch, and supported financially by the University of Tromsø, the School of Languages and Literature (University of Tromsø), and the Norwegian Research Council.

Tromsø, 27 June 1994   Ernst Håkon Jahr and Ingvild Broch

Contents

Introduction

This collection of papers aims at drawing the attention of scholars in pidgin and creole linguistics and in language development to the special conditions and features exhibited by the pidgins and contact languages of the Arctic and northern regions of the globe. Till now, most attention in creolistics has been directed towards the pidgin and creole languages we find more or less close to the equator. From the Arctic region, only the pidgin Russenorsk has so far been taken into account in the more general discussion.

Thus, most of the theoretical insights derived from pidgin and creole studies have been based on pidgins and creoles found in southern regions. However, by widening the geographical area of study to include pidgins and contact languages of the far north it is possible to gain valuable new insights into the different mechanisms involved in pidgin origin and development. The papers presented here, most of which were first presented and discussed at a conference in Tromsø in 1992, show that this opening up of the geographical scope has already provided a lot of new data as well as novel theoretical knowledge. In a summing-up statement at the Tromsø conference, Ian Hancock underlined this aspect:

> I feel the sensation that one gets after sitting for some time in a carriage of a train that has come to a stop somewhere along the line which suddenly jerks back into motion as it begins to move again. I truly feel that we have covered a lot of new ground in the past three days, particularly in the presentation of new data. We have also been forced to reexamine the theoretical criteria for selecting these languages for special attention, and it has been made clear that our existing terminology is inadequate and is in serious need of revision.

The papers included in the present volume discuss theoretical questions as well as give empirical descriptions of important pidgins and contact languages of the northern regions. Together, these papers cover the whole vast circumpolar area. Peter Trudgill discusses theoretical issues especially connected with the important question of dual-source pidgins. Ian Hancock gives an overview over all known pidgins and contact languages of the northern area. The Siberian far east is covered by Bernard Comrie and by Willem J. de Reuse who describe the Chukotka area. The special case of Copper Island Aleut is discussed by Evgenij V. Golovko. Stephen A. Wurm gives an account of Taimyr pidgin. Northwest Russia

and north Scandinavia are represented by Solombala-English, which was used in Archangel in the nineteenth century (Ingvild Broch); by Vardø reduced Russian, also a nineteenth-century phenomenon (Siri Sverdrup Lunden); and by Russenorsk in north Norway (Ernst Håkon Jahr, Ulla-Britt Kotsinas). Hein van der Voort gives an extensive description of Eskimo pidgin in Greenland, while Peter Bakker, Louis-Jacques Dorais, and William J. Samarin cover various contact languages of the far north of the American continent.

It is the hope of the editors that this volume will stimulate more extensive studies into the fascinating features of the pidgins and contact languages of the Arctic and northern regions. We are confident that such investigations will yield results which will lead to important modifications in, and necessary redefinitions of, the theoretical models employed in pidgin and creole studies.

Northern pidgins

Dual-source pidgins and reverse creoloids: Northern perspectives on language contact

Peter Trudgill

Most often, language contact does not lead to the development of new (pidgin or creole) languages. In those cases where new varieties do form, however, there appear to be two fundamental mechanisms which are instrumental in their formation:

1. the inability of post-adolescent humans to learn new languages perfectly (see Trudgill 1989a); and
2. the process of focusing (see Le Page − Tabouret-Keller 1985), which may occur in certain social and linguistic circumstances.

What we might perhaps refer to as the classical model of pidgin and creole formation, which many creolists, particularly those who have worked with the Atlantic creoles, appear to subscribe to, although none of them, as far as I know, have actually formulated it in precisely these terms, can be presented as follows. (Naturally, none of the complexities and subtleties associated with what actually happens in real-life language contact situations can be accurately portrayed in any such model − see Hancock 1986).

Pidginization

Whenever adults and post-adolescents learn a new language, pidginization takes place (Trudgill 1989b). Pidginization consists of three related but distinct processes: reduction, admixture, and simplification. Reduction, or impoverishment as it is sometimes, less happily, called, refers to the fact that, in pidginized form, there is simply less of a language as compared to the form in which it is spoken by native speakers: the vocabulary is smaller, and there are fewer syntactic structures, a narrower range of styles, and so on.

Admixture refers to interference − the transfer of features of pronunciation and grammatical and semantic structure from the native language to the new language, an obvious feature of adult second-language

acquisition. Simplification, as is well known (see Mühlhäusler 1977), is a rather complex phenomenon, but it refers crucially to regularization of irregularities, to loss of redundancy (such as grammatical gender), and to an increase in analytic structures and transparent forms. Reduction can be considered as being due to incomplete learning and restriction in sociolinguistic function, while admixture and simplification are the result of imperfect learning.

Pidgins and pre-pidgins

In some cases, where exposure to the new language is minimal, such pidginization may be extreme, and remain extreme. In certain cases, moreover (see Whinnom 1971), such extremely pidginized forms of language may, in the absence of native speakers of the original language, become important as a lingua franca, a means of communication between two or more groups who have acquired the pidginized forms and who have no native or other language in common. In these cases, focusing may well occur: the pidginized forms of the original language may acquire stability, with widely shared norms of usage, and a new language variety, a pidgin, will have come into being.

Typically, then, a pidgin is a stable language, without native speakers, which is the outcome of reduction, admixture, and simplification of some source language, and where, also typically, pidginization has occurred to such a degree that mutual intelligibility with the source language is no longer possible. We know of at least one such variety from northern latitudes (see below).

The language associated with the chronological stage that occurs before focusing leads to the achievement of stability and the development of shared norms, and where the pidginized forms are still relatively diffuse, can be referred to as a "pre-pidgin".

Creolization and creoles

Again according to this model, a further chronological stage may occur. In some circumstances, a pidgin language, as a lingua franca, may become the most important or indeed only viable shared language of a particular community. The pidgin will therefore be subject to expansion,

in some cases rapidly, in other cases more slowly, so that it can be used in an increasingly wide range of functions, and come to meet the linguistic needs of native speakers. The result is a "creole" language. A creole, then, is indeed a pidgin which has acquired native speakers, but most crucially it is a pidgin which has undergone non-contact-induced expansion, where the expansion process (as Bickerton (1981) has pointed out, one of the most fascinating forms of change) "repairs" the results of the reduction process which occurred during pidginization.

Non-contact-induced expansion is known as "creolization", which is a term which should not be used in a haphazard way for just any form of language mixture (see also Hancock, this volume). Nor, indeed, should it be used for just any kind of expansion: if a pidgin comes into renewed or closer contact with its original source language before creolization occurs, "depidginization" may take place. In this case, however, any expansion which occurs will be contact-induced and will lead in the direction of the source language, rather than being, as with creolization, internally generated.

A creole language is thus a language which, relative to its source, is simplified (i. e., more analytic and regular) and mixed, but not in any way reduced: creoles are perfectly normal languages with an unusual history.

Decreolization and post-creoles

The next possible chronological stage that can be experienced by creoles is decreolization. Like depidginization, decreolization is contact-induced. While depidginization is clearly the reverse of pidginization, decreolization is not the reverse of creolization, and for that reason it may be that we should develop another term for this process. Hancock (cf. Hancock 1988) favors the term "metropolitanization".

If a creole comes into renewed or intensified contact with its source language, it may happen, if the sociolinguistic conditions are right, that it will begin to change in the direction of this source language. Clearly, changes in the direction of the source language will involve processes which reverse the effects of admixture and simplification. We may call these processes "purification" (the removal of words and forms which are not derived from the source language) and "complication" (the reintroduction of irregularity, etc.).

Decreolization may eventually go to completion, so that the creole may become, or become perceived as, a variety of the source language,

as may well have happened with United States Black Vernacular English. Such a variety may be termed a "vestigial post-creole". Various intermediate stages are also of course possible. Such intermediate varieties can be called "post-creoles". A well-known phenomenon involving intermediate stages is the "post-creole continuum", such as that which exists in Jamaica, where a society demonstrates a cline of varieties ranging from a variety of the source language (Jamaican English) at the top of the social scale, to increasingly un-decreolized varieties of Jamaican Creole at the bottom. Post-creoles, or partially decreolized creoles, will therefore demonstrate, relative to the source language, different degrees of simplification and admixture, although of course less than a totally un-decreolized creole such as Sranan.

Creoloids and non-native creoloids

It now becomes necessary to look beyond the traditional pidgin and creole life-cycle model. We notice, first, that, interestingly, there are many varieties of language in the world which look like post-creoles but which actually are not. Such varieties demonstrate relatively undramatic admixture and simplification relative to some source language, but are known to have no pidgin history behind them. Such languages, as I have suggested elsewhere (Trudgill 1983: 102), can be called "creoloids", and the process which leads to their formation "creoloidization".

The process of creoloidization thus consists of admixture and simplification. Unlike creoles, however, creoloids have not experienced a history of reduction followed or "repaired" by expansion. Creoloids were never reduced in the first place. The difference between a creoloid and a partially decreolized creole is thus a historical one. It is not apparent from synchronic inspection. Creoloidization is of course the result of the influence of imperfect learning by relatively large numbers of non-native adult speakers. Creoloids, however, are varieties which have never been reduced because they have maintained a continual native-speaker tradition. A good example of a creoloid is Afrikaans, which is clearly a creoloid relative to Dutch.

Creoloids proper can be distinguished from non-native creoloids, such as Singaporean English (see Platt — Weber 1980). A non-native creoloid may develop when, as in pidgin-formation, a pidginized variety of a source language becomes focused and acquires stability as a result of

being employed as a lingua franca by two or more language groups who are not native speakers of the source language, and who have no other language in common. The difference between a non-native creoloid and a pidgin lies in the degree of pidginization which it has undergone. For example, Singaporean English is a recognizable and rather stable second-language form of English which can be distinguished typologically from foreign-language forms of English such as, say, Japanese English by its institutionalization. Relative to metropolitan forms of English, Singaporean English is somewhat mixed and simplified and, because it is not spoken natively, also somewhat reduced. It is nevertheless still clearly a variety of English: the role of English in, for example, the education system and in Singaporean society generally, has meant that simplification and admixture have never been extreme, and its use as a primary (as opposed to first) language by many speakers in Singapore means that the reduction is also relatively slight. Unlike Afrikaans, however, it has no native speakers and therefore no native-speaker tradition to maintain.

Dual-source pidgins

As we said above, the traditional pidgin/creole life-cycle model has been developed, if not always fully articulated, in connection with colonial, usually tropical, language contact, especially in the Pacific, and even more especially in the Atlantic Ocean areas. As our discussion of creoloids shows, however, this model needs amending if it is to give us a full and useful typological account of mixed and simplified languages. This requirement has become particularly clear as a result of our study of the less well-known Arctic contact varieties. Our examination of language-contact situations, and their outcomes in the Arctic and other northern areas, indicates that the model needs to be supplemented in a number of ways.

In particular, as is illustrated by the case of the best-known Arctic pidgin, Russenorsk, we need to take account of contact varieties that arise from the pidginization not of one source language but of two. As the terms "language contact" and "admixture" indicate, all pidgin formation obviously involves more than one language. However, most Atlantic and Pacific pidgin, creoloid, and post-creole languages have a single main source or lexifier language, so that we have no hesitation at all about

saying that, say, Sranan and Tok Pisin are both English-based varieties, in spite of the considerable minority input of other languages, e. g.; eight percent of Sranan lexis is African in origin. Creoloids like Afrikaans and non-native creoloids are also single-source varieties.

Russenorsk, on the other hand, appears to be a pidginized form of Russian and Norwegian in about equal proportions. I suggest here that we need to distinguish such varieties typologically from other pidgins by labelling them "dual-source pidgins". These dual-source pidgins are of course linguistically different because their social genesis was different. Jahr (this volume) shows convincingly that Russenorsk was a stable, focused variety that had norms of usage which had to be learnt. Unlike in the case of those pidgins catered for in the traditional "Atlantic" model, however, it is clear that this focusing did not take place according to the Whinnomian scenario, i. e., in the absence of source-language speakers. Russenorsk, although it was also used by native speakers of Finnish and Sami, was mainly spoken by Russian and Norwegian speakers, and must have undergone focusing as a result of interaction between them. Importantly, also, Russenorsk was formed as a result of interaction between two groups of European trading partners rather than in a colonial or precolonial situation. (This does not mean to say, of course, that traditional pidgins cannot be found in the Arctic: Taimyr Pidgin Russian, spoken in an area of northern Russia colonized relatively late by Russian speakers, seems to be of this type.)

There must, of course, have been a period, perhaps quite a considerable period, before Russenorsk acquired stability and became a relatively focused, named variety. I suggest here that we refer to this diffuse stage of a dual-source pidgin's development as a "jargon". The term "jargon" has had different uses in the pidgin literature (see the discussion in Mühlhäusler 1986), and is often used as being synonymous with "pre-pidgin". If, however, we are making a typological distinction, linguistically and socially, between pidgins proper and dual-source pidgins, it would be useful to be able to distinguish also between their precursors in the same way. A pidgin is therefore preceded chronologically by a pre-pidgin, a dual-source pidgin by a jargon. The Arctic area which gave rise to Russenorsk, perhaps unsurprisingly, seems also to have given rise to a number of relatively unfocused jargons of this type. For example, Solombala-English (Ingvild Broch, this volume), may have been such a jargon, as may have been the Basque-Algonquian "pidgin" (Bakker, this volume), and the Icelandic-Breton "pidgin" (Hancock, this volume).

Dual-source creoles

In the case of single-source varieties, we saw that there was a potential chronological development of the form:

pre-pidgin → pidgin → creole → post-creole → vestigial post-creole

In our discussion of dual-source varieties, we have so far noted only the following language types:

jargon → dual-source pidgin

This raises the question of whether we can find further parallels: are there examples of the creolization and perhaps subsequent "decreolization" of dual-source pidgins? There seem to be none in the Arctic, and the typical social setting for dual-source pidgin formation — trading between equal partners — would seem to suggest that this would be unlikely: it is difficult to conceive of social situations where such a language would become the only viable language of a community.

However, social situations, albeit highly unusual ones, can arise in which dual-source creoles can develop. One language that clearly merits the label "dual-source creole" is Pitcairnese (Ross — Moverley 1964). Pitcairnese is the native language of the Pitcairn islanders, and does not therefore demonstrate reduction. It is, however, a considerably simplified and mixed form of English and Tahitian. Moreover, its close relative, Norfolk, which has been more heavily influenced by English since the arrival of its speakers on Norfolk Island, can be regarded as a dual-source post-creole. (Naturally, decreolization of a dual-source creole has to be in the direction of one of the source languages or the other, not both!)

Dual-source creoloids

Our examination of Arctic contact varieties also shows yet another parallel between single-source and dual-source varieties. Copper Island Aleut (Golovko, this volume) is a language which is clearly the historical outcome of a mixture of Russian and Aleut with, for example, Russian verbal inflection and Aleut nominal inflection. There is, however, no reduction — the language is spoken natively. Unlike Pitcairnese, moreover, Copper Island Aleut demonstrates relatively little simplification. Indeed, one could argue that this is an example of language contact involving

child rather than adult bilingualism which has therefore in some respects led to complication (cf. Trudgill 1989b). The origins of Copper Island Aleut are a matter for dispute and conjecture. It has been argued, for example (see Golovko − Vakhtin 1990), that it was derived from some earlier pidgin. This seems unlikely, however, in view of the vast amounts of synthetic morphology which the language has retained. One possible scenario, therefore, is that there was no prior dual-source pidgin, and that rather the language represents, as it were, a mixture of, and compromise between, two native-speaker traditions. Two communitites, in long and intimate contact (see Samarin, this volume), gradually merged to form a single ethnic group, neither abandoning their native language but approximating it to that of the other. There are, that is, some parallels with the language-maintenance tradition of, say, Afrikaans, but of course it was two separate native-speaker traditions that were (in part) retained. It may be legitimate, therefore, to refer to Copper Island Aleut, and other similar languages such as Metsif, as "dual-source creoloids".

Reverse creoloids

Dual-source pidgins and dual-source creoles are the result of a break in native-speaker tradition followed by new-language formation. Dual-source creoloids, on the other hand, represent a particular kind of result of language contact combined with language maintenance.

There is also, however, a third type of dual-source scenario that we have to consider in this context. There is a type of mixed language, exemplified in northern latitudes but also found elsewhere, which is a particular result of language contact accompanied by language shift.

For example, Shetland Island Scots is clearly a variety of Scots, but one which shows considerable amounts of Scandinavian (Norn) influence, particularly in lexis. Unlike cases such as Afrikaans, where a language maintains its native-speaker tradition but is subject to considerable influence from non-native speakers, Shetland represents the opposite process, in which a community abandons its native language, but takes along with it, as it were, in the process of language shift, a considerable amount of influence from its original pre-shift language. A legitimate term for such varieties might therefore be "reverse creoles". Other similar languages are Yiddish and Ladino.

It is also possible that we could accurately refer to originally second-language varieties such as Irish English as "vestigial reverse creoles."

Ethnolects such as Scandoromani (see Hancock, this volume) and Angloromani represent a special case of reverse creoloids, in that, while they do result from language shift, they are specialized codes rather than native varieties which are used for all purposes from childhood.

Conclusion

The non-tropical contact varieties discussed in this volume demonstrate the importance of contact varieties formed out of interaction between two languages only, as opposed to the three-or-more language contact associated with the traditional Whinnomian Atlantic pidgins and creoles. We have cited instances of jargons (as defined above), dual-source pidgins, dual-source creoloids, and reverse creoloids, all of which seem to have arisen in bilingual rather than multilingual situations. (We also noted the non-Arctic dual-source creole, Pitcairnese.) A typology of these varieties is given in Table 1.

Table 1. Single and dual-source contact varieties

New-language formation		Language shift	Language maintenance	
pre-pidgin	jargon			
	Icelandic-Breton pidgin			
pidgin	dual-source pidgin			
	Russenorsk			
creole	dual-source creole			
	Pitcairn			
post-creole	dual-source post-creole	reverse creoloid	creoloid	dual-source creoloid
	Norfolk	*Shetland*	*Afrikaans*	*Copper Island Aleut*

We can argue that the social situations in which these northern varieties were formed were often significantly different from those which obtained in the more tropical regions more frequently investigated by pidgin and creole scholars. We can also suggest, as always with sociolinguistic work, that it is dangerous to draw linguistic generalizations from only one type of linguistic community. Our further understanding of the range of possible outcomes of language contact can only be enhanced by studies of areas such as the Arctic where such contact has so far been relatively less thoroughly investigated.

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The special case of Arctic pidgins

Ian Hancock

I am going to break the rules a bit and change the map, since the title of our conference, "Arctic pidgins", would strictly only allow me to talk about Russenorsk and Pidgin Inuit.[1] In this chapter, then, I have pushed the limit southwards to the sixtieth latitude, which touches the tip of Greenland and cuts through southern Norway and the southern coast of Alaska, and includes all of Iceland. Before selecting the languages I am going to discuss below, I will give a brief survey of the northern pidgins, some of which fall outside of the sixtieth parallel. All we know about most of these is simply a reference in this or that literary source; their geographical location is indicated on the map on page 16.

1. *Chinook Jargon* or *Wawa* was based lexically upon Chinukan, Nootka, Salish, Kwakiutl, and (later) French and English, with smaller contributions from Hawaiian, Chinese, and other languages. There is some evidence that it existed prior to European contact, although William Samarin (this volume) argues against this. It was originally spoken along the northwestern Pacific coast between the Columbia River and Vancouver Island; during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries its area of use moved gradually northwards, eventually reaching the southern and western coasts of Alaska (Johnson 1978, Shaw 1909, Silverstein 1972, Thomas 1935, Thomason 1983).
2. There is some indication that *a contact language based on Haida* was also spoken at one time, in the Queen Charlotte Islands, though this remains undocumented.
3. *Copper Island Aleut*, spoken as a first language by a small population on Bering Island in the Commander Island group between Siberia and Alaska, is a contact language which derives from both Aleut and Russian. Discussed by Golovko (this volume).
4. *Herschel Island Pidgin Inuit (Eskimo Trade Jargon)*, together with other Inuit-based pidgins used between Yupik and Inupiat Inuit and European seamen, spoken in Kotzebue, Point Hope, Point Barrow, and Marble Island along the northern coast of North America, are discussed by Stefánsson (1909).

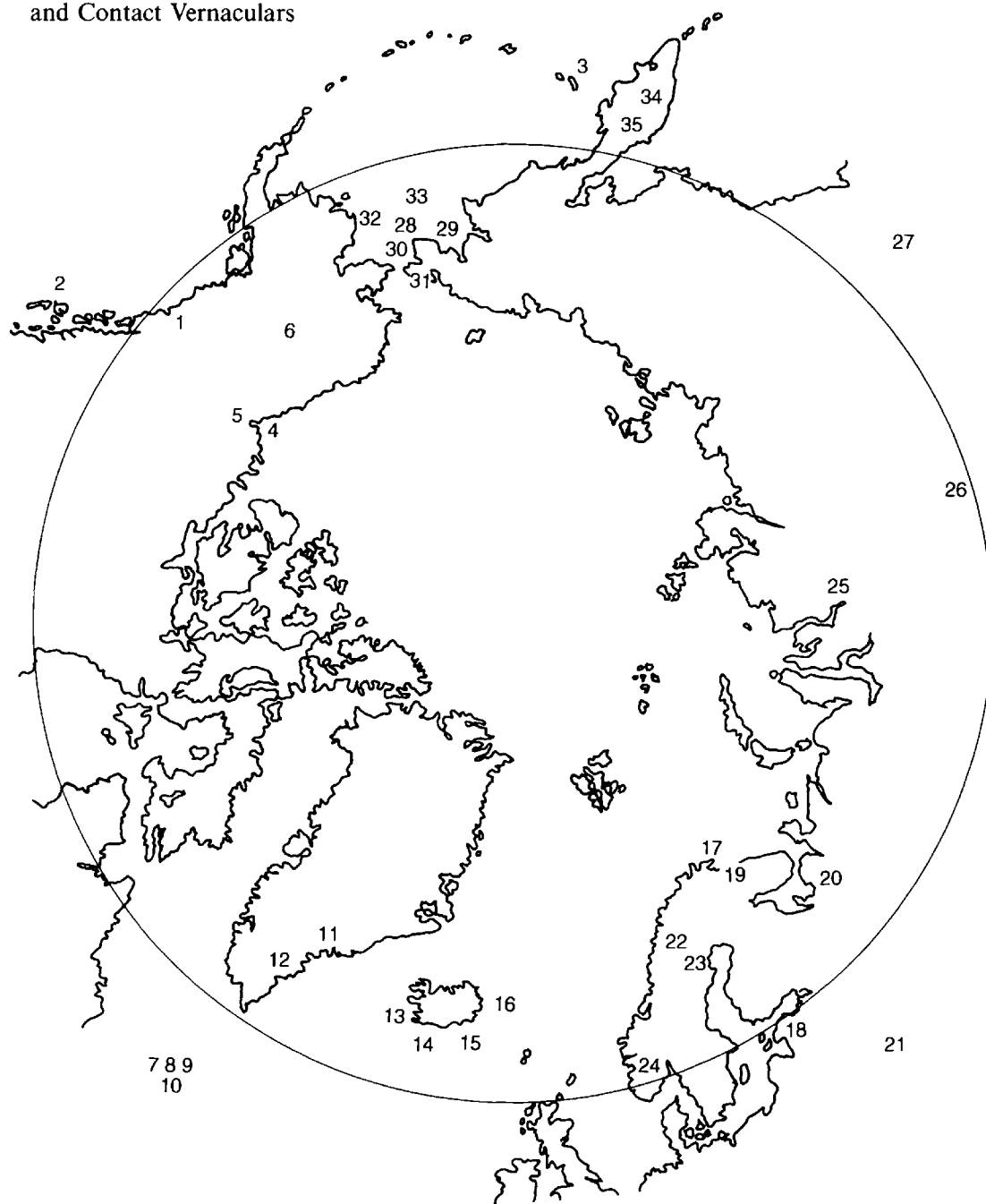Distribution of the Northern Pidgins
and Contact Vernaculars

Figure 1. Distribution of the Northern Pidgins and Contact Vernaculars

5. Stefánsson also refers to a "more highly developed" contact language spoken between *Inuit (Inupiat) and Athabascan-speaking Loucheux Indians* in Mackenzie at Fort Arctic, Fort Macpherson, and the Red River Settlement.

6. An *Athabascan (Slavé) pidgin* once spoken on the Yukon and Tanana Rivers in central Alaska is reported by Dall (1870) and Whymper ("a broken Slavee", 1868: 226). Discussed by Bakker (this volume).

   Numbers of contact languages of different European bases emerged on the Atlantic coast of Canada during the early colonial period. Peter Bakker (1988) has listed the following (7–10):

7. A *Portuguese-Algonkian* from the Gaspé Peninsula.

8. A seventeenth-century *Basque pidgin* from Nova Scotia and Tadoussac.

9. A sixteenth-century *Inuit-French pidgin* from the Straits of Belle Isle.

10. A *Newfoundland Pidgin English.*

11. A variety of *Greenland Contact Inuit* is discussed by Van der Voort in this volume.

12. Van der Voort also discusses a *Greenland Pidgin Danish*, mentioned by Nielsen (n. d.: 79).

13. A *French-Icelandic pidgin* used by fishermen is reported in the 1911 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; see also Bakker (1989).

14. Hualde (1991) discusses an *Icelandic-Basque pidgin* once employed by fishermen in the north Atlantic.

15. Dr. S. Sanderson of the University of Leeds reports (in personal communication) an *Icelandic-Breton pidgin* in use in former times by fishermen in the northern Atlantic. See also Sizaire (1976).

16. He also reports the earlier use of an *Icelandic-English pidgin.*

17. *Russenorsk (Russonorsk, Moja på Tvoja)*, deriving mainly from Russian and Norwegian, and used between speakers of those languages as well as others (Sami, Finnish), was in extensive use in northern Scandinavia and the Barents Sea in the nineteenth century, and survived into the 1920s (Broch – Jahr 1984a, 1984b).

18. A *Baltic Maritime pidgin*, called "Scandinavian" by its speakers, is still in use, according to Jan Furst, a Canadian marine consultant familiar with it. It is spoken by Estonian and other sailors, and contains elements from Scandinavian, English, German, and other sources (contact with Mr. Furst thanks to William Samarin).

19. A *reduced variety of Russian* was documented in Vardø in the middle of the nineteenth century, and is discussed by Lunden (this volume).

20. An *English-Russian pidgin* was used in the port of Solombala at Archangel on the White Sea during the second half of the eighteenth century, and is discussed by Ingvild Broch (this volume).

21. Lunden (1978) mentions the possible existence of a *Russian-English pidgin* spoken in Moscow during the seventeenth century, also mentioned in Broch — Jahr (1984a: 30).

22. Jahr (this volume) also mentions a possible *Norwegian-Sami pidgin*.

23. Broch and Jahr mention a *Swedish-Sami pidgin* (1984b: 70).

24. Iversen (1950) has described a *Norwegian-Romani* cryptolect. Varieties of Romani-lexifier varieties of Scandinavian are also dealt with by Hancock (1992a).

25. A *Pidgin Samoyed* is spoken in the southwestern part of the Taymyr Peninsula, according to Evgenij Xelimskij (1987).

26. A *Chinese-Russian pidgin* spoken in the Mongolian Russian border region around Kjaxta (Kyakhta) from the 1720s is described by Neumann (1966).

27. A similar *Chinese-Russian pidgin*, which also contains elements from Polish, spoken in northeastern China around Harbin and Tang-Pei, has been described by Jabłońska (1957), and was still in use at the time of her writing.

28. A *Chukchi-Russian pidgin* spoken in the Chukotka Peninsula at the end of the nineteenth century has been discussed by De Reuse (this volume) and by Comrie (this volume).

29. Comrie (this volume) refers to a *Yupik-Chukchi* contact variety spoken in the Chukchi Peninsula.

30. Comrie also mentions a (Siberian) *Yupik-Russian* contact variety from the same area.

31. He also mentions an *Aleut-Russian* contact variety from the same area.

32. De Reuse (this volume) and Comrie (this volume) report on an *Inuit pidgin*.

33. Comrie also reports the existence of an *English pidgin* spoken in the same area.

34. Bogoras (1922) writes of a *Kamchadal-Russian pidgin* from the Kamchatka Peninsula in eastern Siberia. A "*Russian Kamchadal Jargon*" spoken in the village of Sedanka on the Tighil River is also mentioned by Jochelson (1928: 49). Comrie (this volume) also discusses this.

35. Bogoras (1922) also reports on a *Koryak-Russian pidgin* from the same area.

Of the thirty-five contact languages listed here, only a few are actually spoken above the sixtieth parallel, and we cannot be sure which of them were, or are, stable linguistic systems, or simply reported xenolectal ("foreigner-talk") varieties. Bakker rightly states that "[i]t is often hard to distinguish pidgins, which should involve larger numbers of people in contact, and an individual's imperfect learning of a second language" (Bakker 1988: 11).

It would be useful to incorporate into the discussion the terms "jargon" and "pidgin" as distinguished by Samarin (1986: 23), viz.

> A *jargon* is an unsystematic form of speech that characterizes either a given speaker or a group of speakers, or both; a *pidgin* is a stabilized form of speech, the consequence of pidginization in a language contact situation. A pidgin can therefore be the object or goal of one's attempt at learning to communicate; a jargon, by contrast, does not provide such a grammatical model.

There is a tendency, especially among nonspecialists, to use the terms "pidgin" and "creole" rather loosely to refer to any mixed or contact variety; there is, for example, González' 1967 article on a southwestern US Spanish sociolect which he entitled "Pachuco: The birth of a creole language", and contact varieties of Romani are increasingly being referred to as "creolized Romani" (although the term "Pararomani" has been more recently introduced: Bakker − Cortiade 1991). Even the term "jargon" is used differently by the linguist; *Chinook Jargon* for example, does not meet Samarin's definition − an argument perhaps for instituting its alternative name, *Wawa*. The term "creole" when applied to people is similarly vague; in New Orleans, for example, some white Franco-Louisianans and some Afro-Louisianans both claim the label, while denying the legitimacy of the others' use of it. The Copper Island population in the northern Pacific refers to itself as "creole", while the mixed German-Hungarian population in central Europe is also called "creoles", according to Sárosi (1971: 81).

A second widespread misassumption also, though not exclusively, attributable to the nonspecialist is that the linguistic result of the contact of two languages will produce a pidgin. Thus Schultze (1933: 418) regarded pidgins as being "composed of corrupt fragments of at least, as a rule, two languages", and Black English specialist Geneva Smitherman (1980: 32) stated that "a pidgin is a mixture of two languages". In these definitions we find a third and a fourth misassumption, viz., that pidgins are "corruptions" of languages, and that they are "mixtures" of languages. Languages can certainly be corrupted, and they can certainly be mixed;

a sample of the latter, an English-Spanish mixture, is provided as an appendix by way of example. But neither process is essential to the formation of a pidgin. "Corruption", of course, is a subjective term, meaning different things to different people, while language mixing is a universal characteristic of language contact, and therefore has no value as a criterion of distinctiveness. The lexicon of English is extensively "mixed", so much so in fact, that it retains little more than a quarter of its native word stock. Such "mixed" systems as "Spanglish", "Yinglish", "Finglish", "Lunfardo", "Cocoliche", and so on do not count as "pidgins" in the conventional sense; nor, probably, do most of those included on the accompanying map. Neither are such diglossic systems as Shelta or Angloromani or Scandoromani pidgins or creoles. In the case of Russenorsk, however, Arnbjörndottír and Smith (1985) call that language the result of "the straightforward process of two-language pidginization" and conclude that "just two languages can suffice for the formation of a pidgin". Obviously, statements of this type cry out for a more rigorous definition of pidgin and pidginization.

To start with, and social factors for the moment aside, fundamental to pidginization are, following Humboldt (1836) and Hymes (1971), the processes of reduction of inner form (phonology, morphology) and the expansion of outer form (syntax, lexicon), innovation and restructuring, and structural stabilization. The Bloomfieldian definition, variations of which are still the most widely cited, states that the nativization of a pidgin is a process called creolization, and that a nativized pidgin is a creole; but it has been argued, by, e. g., Valdman (1977), that a creole need not pass through a pidgin stage, and it might be argued that stabilization is equally as legitimate a factor in defining a creole as is nativization.

The notion that any kind of language contact qualifies a speech variety as a pidgin is traceable to nineteenth-century scholars such as Schuchardt, Coelho, and others who dealt with contact phenomena in a very broad way. Schuchardt did come gradually to acknowledge that there are different kinds of contact situation and that they yielded different linguistic outcomes; but it was Reinecke, in his 1937 doctoral dissertation, who identified and listed them. Of his ten different kinds of "contact" or "marginal"' languages (summarized in Hancock 1990), however, only the first, his "plantation creoles", would qualify today as pidgins or creoles by the criteria being discussed here.

While all of the categories Reinecke established involved reduction, i. e., the loss, to a greater or lesser extent, of surface rules and narrower

lexical distinctions (and compensationally, by the expansion of syntactic function and the semantic range of individual lexical items), only his "plantation creole" category involves actual innovation and the creation of "new" or restructured grammars. I refer to a "new" grammar as that which has no model in any of the source languages. For example, it can be argued that both the past and the future constructions in, e. g., Sierra Leone Krio or in Sranan are wholly English in their derivational histories:

(1)   English: *They are going to walk*
          Krio: *Dɛn go waka*
          Sranan: *Den 'o waka* (*'o* historically < *go*)

In English, both *be*-support ("are") and *-ing* are derived from "go" by intermediate transformations; likewise, the infinitivizer "to" is derived by a series of transformations from "walk". Similarly, a case transformation is necessary to generate subject "they". At the deepest level, the subject is **them go them walk.*

None of these English transformations was transferred with the lexical items into (or is even possible in) Krio or Sranan grammar, although all three languages share the identical noun phrase deletion transformation, resulting in their respective surface forms.

(2)   THEM GO   THEM WALK
          they BE -ING they   walk
          they are going they   walk
          they are going ∅   to walk

The past constructions (Krio *dɛn bin waka*, Sranan *den ben waka*) can likewise be similarly derived from English "they have been walking". The fact that the semantic functions of the English sentences do not match those of the Krio and Sranan sentences does not argue against this; shift of semantic function is a fundamental characteristic distinguishing creoles from their metropolitan congeners. Similar possibilities are evident in Gòmbo (Louisiana Creole French), cf. *y'a maše* (< *eux va marcher*) 'they will walk', *ye te maše* (< *eux était* [*en train de*] *marcher*) 'they walked'.

To recapitulate, the argument is being presented that forms such as these do not involve restructuring or innovation but merely reduction, a property common to all types of contact language, differing only in de-

gree from the way in which "he go", for example, differs as a reduced development from "he goes". We are dealing with the nontransferrence of transformational rules, whether just one or several.

On the other hand, both Krio and Sranan, as well as Gòmbo, form their past-conditional constructions by combining the past and future markers with the verb, thus Krio *dɛn bin go waka*, Sranan *den ben 'o waka*, Gòmbo *ye t'a maše* (*t'a < te va*). This now is an example of an innovative generative rule, since it has no exterior model in English or French, nor is it a calque upon any other language. It has been generated solely by using the internal resources of creole grammar, and is therefore an example of true creolization. Similar examples of true creolization would include for example the development of the *wh*-adverbs as noun-based complexes, e. g., "what place" for *where*, "what time" for *when*, "what person" for *who*, "what fashion" for *how* and so on. English provides only the morphemes, not the words (lexemes). Also to be considered as innovative pidginization or creolization is the stabilization of syntactic patterns not part of the grammars of the source languages, thus in contact language number 27, Chinese Russian Pidgin *tvaya shenma chifan iu?* 'what are you eating' (lit. 'you what eat' + Q) corresponds neither to Russian nor Chinese syntax, cf. Russian *čto vy kušaete* 'what you eat', and Chinese *ni ch'ih shen-me?* 'you eat what'.

Regarding innovation as one fundamental criterion for definition, we should then examine such systems as Russenorsk, Chinese Russian Pidgin, Chinook Wawa, Pidgin Inuit, etc., to determine the extent to which their grammatical rules are the result of the reduction, or freezing, of rules or structures in any of the source languages, and the extent to which they are structural innovations. On this basis, it should be possible to set up a typologically determined categorization of contact languages. Essential also to the processes of pidginization and creolization are the social factors, and these should be acknowledged in determining this typology. Whether, for instance, the emerging contact language acquires an independent, stabilizing existence, and becomes a target distinct from any of the other languages present in the matrix, or whether it remains, in Samarin's terms, simply a jargon. The structural dimension of this approach incorporates elements of the componential hypothesis, which I have discussed elsewhere (see in particular Hancock 1986, 1992b, 1992c). Briefly, it attempts to account for differences among related creoles not solely by different rates of metropolitanization, but by different componential ratios in the formative matrix of the individual creole. The components in the case of the Atlantic anglophone creoles, for examples,

were varieties of English, African languages, and the dialects of Guinea Coast Creole English. These were differently represented in different places, and influenced each other under different circumstances. In the case of Chinook Wawa, the components were Chinukan, Salish, Nootka, Kwakiutl, French, English, and one or two other languages (see, e. g., Drechsel — Makuakāne 1982); in the case of Russeneorsk, they were Russian, Norwegian, Low German, Dutch, Sami, and some others. The componential approach also examines the lexicosemantic, demographic, topographic, and sociohistorical aspects of the formation of the individual languages. It is these latter which are of more relevance in examining those languages being discussed in the present study.

There have been several surveys codifying the salient features of pidgins and creoles, beginning with Taylor (1971: 294—295, but see also Bickerton 1981, and especially Holm 1987: 14), and attempts have been made to set up scales which rank related creoles along a continuum of "creoleness". With the Atlantic anglophone creoles we are dealing with a large number of distinct, but historically related, languages, which is not the case with Chinook Wawa, Pidgin Inuit, Chinese Russian Pidgin, or Russenorsk. Nevertheless, the same principles apply, viz., do they possess more or fewer of the characteristics of pidginization, and at what point might they be better classified simply as jargonized ("interlanguage", "xenolectal", or "foreigner-talk") varieties of the metropolitan language.

When surface morphology (the inner form) of any of the donor languages is lost in the pidgin, a large part of the internal grammatical relationship is lost also, and must be compensated for. This loss happens in at least two ways: transmission of the rules generating them can be blocked entirely, as in the examples given above from Krio, Sranan, and Gòmbo, or else the forms are transmitted but not the grammatical information they carry. This is exemplifed especially well in Stefánsson's examples from (contact language number 4) Herschel Island Pidgin Inuit where, for example, the word for "hungry" means in the source language "I am hungry" (Stefánsson 1909: 218), so that "he is hungry" in the pidgin sounds like "he I am hungry" in Inuit. Similarly, in language number 1, Chinook Wawa, the personal pronouns, which in that language remain the same whether subject, oblique, or possessive, derive in fact from emphatic relative forms in ethnic Chinook, so that *maika* can mean "I", "me", or "my" in Wawa, but only "it is I who ..." in the lexifier language. In language number 27, Chinese Russian Pidgin, *xoču* means only 'want', but the Russian source form means 'I want'. This would have to be *maja xoču* in Pidgin (Jabłońska 1957 [1969: 143]).

(3)   ChW *maika* 'I, me, my', ECh 'it is I who ...'
        CRP *xoču* 'want', RUS 'I want'
        CRP *maja xoču* 'I want', *tvaja xoču* 'you want', etc.
        ChW *maika łátawa* 'you go', *maika na łátawa?* 'are you going?
        CRP *tvaja xaži* 'you go', *tvaja xaži iu* 'are you going?
        RN *tvoja spaserom po stova* 'you go home'
        RN *tvoja spaserom po stova li* 'are you going home?'
        RN *moja po skaffom* 'I am eating'
        RN *moja po moja stova* 'I am at my house'
        ChW *naika miłait kaba haus* 'I am at home'
        ChW *naika miłait makmak* 'I am eating'

Compensation for this loss also occurs in two ways. Either new syntactic rules are generated, or new functions are assigned to old morphemes. Usually, a pidgin makes use of both. For example, one widespread innovative feature in pidgin languages is the insertion of an interrogative marker, thus in Chinook Wawa *maika łátawa* 'you go', *maika na łátawa?* 'are you going?', in Chinese Russian Pidgin *tvaja xaži* 'you go', *tvaja xaži iu?* 'are you going?', Russenorsk *tvoja spaserom po stova* 'you go home', *tvoja spaserom po stova li?* 'are you going home?'. Aspect to indicate progressive or ongoing action can be innovatively incorporated into pidgin grammar, as with the Russenorsk use of *po* (*moja po skaffom* 'I am eating'), which as a universal feature of the pidginization process appears to be related to the locative construction. An example from Russenorsk is *moja po moja stova* 'I'm at my house', with which the Chinook Wawa equivalents with *miłait* may be compared: *naika miłait kaba haus* 'I'm at home', *naika miłait makmak* 'I'm eating'.

Another universal feature of pidgin languages is the innovative expansion of the lexicon. There are many processes accomplishing this (discussed in Hancock 1980), and while they are not unique to pidgins and creoles, they are much more commonly found in those languages. In-coined forms (i. e., the creation of new words from already existing morphemes in innovative combinations) include from Russenorsk *kua-skjorta* 'hide', lit. 'cow' + 'shirt' (cf. Russian *škura*, Norwegian *dyrehud*, both 'hide'); from Chinese Russian Pidgin *čuska-mjasa* 'pork', lit. 'pig' + 'meat' (cf. Russian *svinina*, Chinese *chu-jou*, both 'pork'), or *tolkai-tolkai* 'sled', lit. 'push-push' (cf. Russian *sani*, Chinese *shuə-ii*, both 'sled'). From Chinook Wawa are *yułqat-kwəlan* 'rabbit', lit. 'long' + 'ears', *həm-oputs* 'skunk', lit. 'stink' + 'tail', and *hayas-hulhul* 'rat', lit. 'big' + 'mouse' (in ethnic Chinook, these are *ske'epxoa*, *opənpən* and *qa'lapas* respectively).

From Pidgin Inuit we have *anuni-anyanini* 'storm', lit. 'wind' + 'big', *igni-ravik* 'oven', lit. 'fire' + 'place', and *ilwane-kamik* 'sock', lit. 'inside' + 'boots' (in Inuit, these words are *perksertok, igak,* and *pinnerak* respectively).

Lastly, a comment bears making upon the oft-repeated statement that speakers of pidgin languages are frequently under the impression that they are speaking the other person's language or, put another way, that the pidgin is itself the actual metropolitan language. Thus for Russenorsk, Brun (1878) claimed that "the interesting thing about such conversation [i. e., between Russians and Norwegians in Russenorsk] is that both partners believe they are speaking each other's language", while Stefánsson (1909: 217) writes of a government publication "of a book said to be on the Eskimo language, but which is in reality a study in ship's trade jargon". Such statements may hold true for some individuals, or from one side of the contact community, but it is hard to imagine that Native Americans believed Chinook Wawa to be the Europeans' mother tongue, for example, and it must have been clear to all involved in whatever situation, that members of the other community spoke differently, and unintelligibly, to each other when compared with how they spoke to their opposite numbers. To return to William Samarin's distinction, viz., that a pidgin can be a discrete linguistic goal in itself while a jargon is perceived by its speakers to be an imperfect attempt to speak an established, existing metropolitan language, it might be suggested that this awareness on the part of the speakers is also an important factor in the social definition of a pidgin.

To conclude, one should accept that not all of the languages listed in the present survey qualify as pidgins, either by linguistic or by social criteria, and that not all of those which meet any such criteria do so equally. It is a mistake to typologize pidgins too rigidly, or to view them as constituting a monolithic category; rather, each contact language should be regarded componentially, in terms of its having incorporated more or fewer features of pidginization. The process of pidginization involves reduction through loss, in different degrees, of lexicon, phonology, and morphology in the metropolitan or source languages, and the compensational generation of innovative rules, especially syntactic and semantic rules, which tend to stabilize in the contact situation and which themselves come to constitute the learner's model or target, and which new system is then perceived to be such a target by its learners in the contact situation.

Appendix

Sample of a mixed language

The following is a lexically mixed (English and Spanish) register, consciously illustrating the speech of English-dominant Hispanic Americans particularly in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. Such varieties have been referred to as pidgins or creoles (cf., for example, González 1967), but are representative of neither.

'Tis the night before Christmas, and all through the *casa*	'house'
Not a creature is stirring; Caramba? *Que pasa?*	'what's happening?'
The stockings are hanging *con mucho cuidado*	'with much care'
In hopes that Saint Nicholas will feel *obligado*	'obliged'
To leave a few *cosas aqui* and *alli*	'things here; there'
For *chico y chica* (*y* something *por mi!*)	'boy and girl; and for me'
Los niños are snuggled all safe in their *camas*	'the children; beds'
Some in *camisas y* some in pajamas	'shirts; and'
Their little *cabezas* are full of good things,	'heads'
Todos esperan que Santa will bring!	'all waiting for what'
Santa is down at the corner saloon	
(*Muy borracho* since mid-afternoon!)	'very drunk'
Mama is sitting beside the *ventana*	'window'
Shining her rolling-pin *para mañana*	'for tomorrow'
When Santa will come *en un* manner *extraño*	'in a; strange'
Lit up like the star on the mountain, *cantando*	'singing'
Y mama lo manda to bed with a right	'and mama will send him'
Merry Christmas *a todos*	'to all'
Y a todos good night!	'and to all'

Note

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