Reprinted from
ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS
March, 1981

A PRELIMINARY SOCIOLINGUISTIC COMPARISON OF FOUR INDIGENOUS PIDGIN LANGUAGES OF NORTH AMERICA (WITH NOTES TOWARDS A SOCIOLINGUISTIC TYPOLOGY IN AMERICAN INDIAN LINGUISTICS)[1]

Emanuel J. Drechsel
Northwestern State University of Louisiana

0. A great variety of language contact situations has been reported for native North America just as for other areas of the world. 'Linguistic compromises' have emerged among speakers of diverse indigenous languages as between native populations and recent immigrants (Bright 1973, Silverstein 1973 MS).

Yet the comparative evidence was limited when, some years ago, Michael Silverstein (1973 MS) surveyed pidgins and other contact media based on American Indian languages for the forthcoming volume on languages of the new Handbook of North American Indians. Modern descriptive data existed in any significant amount and detail only for one case, namely Chinook Jargon (Jacobs 1932,

Silverstein 1972), although short vocabularies and some supplementary information had been available for Eskimo Jargon (Stefánsson 1909), for Delaware Jargon (Prince 1912), and — to a lesser extent — for other native American contact languages. In the meantime, two studies have appeared for Mobilian Jargon (Crawford 1978, Drechsel 1979), and the historical data available for Delaware Jargon have been reanalyzed and synthesized (Thomason 1980).

Thus, a systematic comparison has now become possible for four native American contact languages, all of which were genuine pidgins. The current study provides such a systematic, if preliminary, comparison of Eskimo Jargon, Chinook Jargon, Delaware Jargon, and Mobilian Jargon, and may serve as an exploratory framework for a future, in-depth contrast of Chinook Jargon and Mobilian Jargon, for which we have the most detailed descriptions available. Our goal is a deeper understanding of the differences and similarities that existed between these four native American pidgins. In comparing their linguistic and extralinguistic traits, we shall also make suggestions regarding a sociolinguistic typology.

1. The current comparative study is limited to four indigenous pidgins, defined as cases of 'tertiary hybridization' (Whinnom 1971) of primarily native American languages. Eskimo Jargon, Chinook Jargon, Delaware Jargon, and Mobilian Jargon were linguistic compromises that grew out of truly multilingual situations and resulted in reduced speech forms based predominantly on indigenous languages of North America. In adopting the term 'indigenous pidgins'[2] here, we merely refer to their dominant native structure, and do not necessarily imply an exclusive use by indigenous populations or a prehistoric origin prior to contact with Europeans or other recent immigrants to North America (see 2.5). Excluded by definition are two other relatively well known American Indian contact languages, namely Trader Navaho and the various forms of American Indian English that have been collectively called 'American Indian Pidgin English' (AIPE). While the first appears to have grown out of a purely bilingual situation with only the white traders (but not the Navaho themselves) speaking it (Voegelin, Voegelin, and Schutz, Jr. 1967: 442-4; Werner 1963:xi) and thus is not a true pidgin, the latter show features — however questionable their attestations — of other predominantly English-based pidgins and creoles (Dillard 1972: 139-95; cf. Drechsel 1976: 70-4).

Historical relationships are not known, and cannot be reasonably assumed to have existed among these four indigenous pidgins, with the possible exception of indirect connections via outsiders who had contact with speakers of any two contact media (as in the case of CJ and EJ; see Drechsel and Makuakāne 1979 MS). Hence, we are interested primarily in non-historical similarities and differences or typological generalizations.

In aiming at a comprehensive sociolinguistic understanding of the four indigenous pidgins, the comparison below includes both linguistic and extra-

linguistic traits, and focuses on the headings and subheadings of analysis given for 2. It hardly needs to be emphasized that the categories, determined to a great extent by the data available for comparison, are arbitrary, and represent levels of sociolinguistic analysis that are actually interrelated. However, a word of justification appears to be necessary for the separate categories of linguistic variability and extralinguistic aspects. Because the information for the four contact languages is drawn from a variety of sources and is incomplete, an integrated variationist or sociolinguistic approach to the analysis and comparison of these pidgins is not possible. Linguistic variability is also afforded special discussion in order to account for the dynamic nature of pidgins to the extent that is possible in a rather rigid typology such as this and to do justice to the importance of this topic in recent discussions of language contact. And the categories of sociolinguistic environments and sociocultural environments specifically refer to the diversity of native languages in the contact speech community, respectively to the kinds of social situations in which the pidgins were used.

For convenient contrasts, the data are organized according to the above hierarchy of headings and subheadings, and are summarized separately for each pidgin. A comparative discussion follows the listings of information for every major heading.

2.1.1. The basic phonological structures of each pidgin are discussed below.[3]

EJ: no detailed information available; there is some circumstantial evidence that speakers of EJ essentially followed the rules of pronunciation characteristics of their own native tongues; however, the transcription of the examples is based on the pronunciation of the author of the only available study, Vilhjámur Stefánsson (1909:218, 222).

CJ: a system of phonological common denominators, in which the speakers of different primary languages retained their sound inventory and basic phonological rules in simplified form (Silverstein 1972: 382-5; cf. Johnson 1978: 179-213); meaningful syllable lengthening occurred in adjectives and adverbs of intensification; differences in intonation at the utterance level indicated assertions, questions, or imperatives (Grant 1945:230).

DJ: (no information available)

MJ: fundamentally similar to that of Choctaw and Chickasaw (Western Muskogean) with the variable realization of highly marked sounds as less marked counterparts; no phonemically distinct vowel lengthening[4] or suprasegmental features; intonation on the utterance level, however, could indicate differences in meaning, as, e.g., rising intonation occurring in questions (Drechsel 1979: 54-60, 97-101, 176-77).

2.1.2. Syllable structure information is given below.

EJ: (insufficient information available)

CJ: reflection of the syllable structure of the speaker's primary language(s); consonant and vowel clusters however occurred quite frequently (Jacobs 1932:31-2).

DJ: (insufficient information available)

MJ: (C)V((N)C), whereby C stands for any consonant, nasal and non-nasal alike, V for any vowel, and N for any nasal consonant; apparently, there existed a trend towards an alternating consonant-vowel structure (Drechsel 1979:59-60).

As far as the basic phonological and syllabic structure of all four pidgins is concerned, a generalization is impossible due to the lack of comparative information for EJ and DJ in particular. Yet a preliminary comparison may be made for CJ and MJ. Clearly, either phonological system reflected a compromise between its target or superstrate language, however far removed, and its substrate languages. While Chinook proper or some other indigenous language of the Northwest Coast may have provided the phonological frame for CJ, just as some Western Moskogean language(s) presumably did for MJ, there existed in both cases more or less substrate interference from the speakers' diverse first languages; and highly marked sounds converged with less marked counterparts across language boundaries, thus forming systems of underlying 'interlingual archiphonemes'. In spite of these similarities in overall form, there were substantive differences between the phonological systems of CJ and MJ. The first apparently revealed a greater amount of variation than the latter. Moreover, CJ and MJ exhibited different patterns of interlingual convergences, as expected. These substantive differences can be illustrated for the highly marked lateral fricative ɬ, alternating with its affricate counterpart tɬ, which could be variably realized as l, s, c, tl, or kl in the CJ speech of Europeans (Johnson 1978:202, 205, 210); non-Indian speakers of MJ rendered ɬ as š, sl, or šl (Drechsel 1979:97-8).

Both CJ and MJ did not exhibit any phonemically distinct suprasegmental features; however, differences in intonation played an important role at the sentence or utterance level, as they expressed various grammatical modes such as assertion, question, and imperative. Noteworthy, moreover, are the rather straightforward syllable structure and its apparent trend towards a sequence of alternating consonants and vowels in MJ. In comparison, CJ exhibited greater variability in its canonic pattern as it did in its overall phonological system.

Some of the above generalizations could conceivably be extended to the other two pidgins, and would apply to EJ in particular, for which some circumstantial evidence is available. But in view of the substantive differences that existed between CJ and MJ, such conclusions would obviously not be justifiable.

2.2.1. The nature of the lexicon is outlined below.

EJ: semantically and grammatically ambiguous entries with polysemy due to use in different linguistic and extralinguistic contexts and/or metaphorical extension; parts of speech ('words') shifted between the grammatical categories of verb, noun, and/or adjective; expansion of a limited vocabulary through compounding (Stefánsson 1909).

CJ: parsimonious vocabulary of semantically and grammatically ambiguous, generically defined entries (core lexicon); polysemy due to their functions

in different linguistic and extralinguistic contexts and/or metaphorical extension; parts of speech ('words') shifted between the grammatical categories of verb, noun, adverb, and/or adjective; the lexicon of individual speakers was limited to an active vocabulary of approximately 500 lexemes, but compounding made an expansion of the lexicon possible to cover various lexico-semantic domains (Johnson 1978: especially 215-21, 532).

DJ: generically defined lexical entries; polysemy due to use in different linguistic and extralinguistic contexts and/or metaphorical extension; expansion of limited vocabulary through compounding (Prince 1912).

MJ: parsimonious vocabulary of semantically and grammatically ambiguous, generically defined entries (core lexicon); polysemy due to their function in different linguistic and extralinguistic contexts and/or metaphorical extension; parts of speech ('words') shifted between the grammatical categories of verb, noun, and/or adjective; the active vocabulary of individual speakers is estimated to have consisted of 500 to 1000 lexemes; compounding however made an expansion of the lexicon possible to cover a great variety of lexico-semantic domains (Drechsel 1979:64-72, 199-239).

2.2.2. Sources of origin of the lexicon are listed below.

EJ: Eskimo languages and dialects, especially Western Inuit (Mackenzie Eskimo), Central Yupik, and perhaps Greenlandic Inuit, with loanwords from Kutchin (Athapaskan), Hawaiian (Polynesian), English, and possibly Danish (Stefánsson 1909).

CJ: Lower Chinook (Chinookan), Nootka (Wakashan), Chehalis (Salishan), English, French, and unidentified sources, plus loanwords from various Nadene, other Penutian, and Algonquian languages as well as from Hawaiian and possibly Chinese (Kaufman 1971:275; Johnson 1978).

DJ: Eastern Algonquian languages, especially Delaware or its dialects of Unami, Munsee, and Unalachtigo (?), plus loanwords from Massachusett (Natick), Dutch, English, and Spanish (Goddard 1971:15-16; Prince 1912; Thomason 1980: 167, 189).

MJ: Choctaw-Chickasaw (Western Muskogean), Koasati, Alabama, and perhaps other Eastern Muskogean languages, and unidentified sources, plus loanwords from some Algonquian language(s), Spanish, French, and English (Crawford 1978:63-80; Drechsel 1979:65-66, 72-81, 240-347).

In terms of the overall nature of the lexicon, all four pidgins showed striking similarities. Their vocabularies were parsimonious inventories consisting of lexical entries that were generally defined, semantically and grammatically ambiguous, and polysemous. The lexicon of each pidgin, although limited in its number of core entries, could be easily expanded through metaphorical extension and compounding as well as through the borrowing of words from the speakers' own or foreign languages.

In terms of the sources of origin, the data, however, indicate note worthy differences. While lexically CJ was primarily based on many and diverse Northwest Coast languages, EJ and DJ apparently relied predominantly on Eskimo and Delaware, respectively on closely related Eastern Algonquian

and Eskimo languages for lexical resources. In drawing on various Muskogean and perhaps other Southeastern Indian languages, MJ would then have occupied an intermediate position between the two opposite types of lexical composition.

2.3.1. Morphosyntactic structure is treated below.

EJ: typologically rather analytic; but there existed a limited number of phonologically bound affixations and inflections, including a productive negative suffix and inflection to indicate questions (Stefánsson 1909:217-22).

CJ: typologically analytic;[5] allophonic and morphosyntactic alternations, i.e. bound morphemes, were absent (Silverstein 1972:605-16, 620).

DJ: typologically rather analytic; 'poverty' in inflectional and derivational morphology; allomorphy occurred but rarely (Prince 1912; Thomason 1980).

MJ: typologically analytic; no phonologically bound inflections or derivations; allomorphy is not known to have occurred; the only instance of an apparently bound morpheme was the negative marker -(e)kšo that functioned as a suffix in antonym constructions,[6] as determined on the basis of their exceptionally regular stress patterns and on semantic grounds (Drechsel 1979: 64-5, 69-71, 81).

2.3.2. Word order:

EJ: apparently variable word order; but SOV dominated (Stefánsson 1909:222-31).

CJ: SVO (Jacobs 1932:44; Silverstein 1972:619).

DJ: relatively free word order that varied between SVO and SOV (Thomason 1980: 174-9).

MJ: X/OSV that varied with SVO/X[7] on rare occasions (Drechsel 1979:92-4).

2.3.3. Structure of utterances and discourse:

EJ: short utterances and sentences; some subordinate constructions (Stefánsson 1909:222-31).

CJ: short utterances and sentences; coordination of two or more arguments by parataxis (Jacobs 1932:33-45; Silverstein 1972: 605-17).

DJ: short utterances and sentences (Prince 1912; Thomason 1980: 174-9).

MJ: short utterances and sentences; combination of two or more arguments by parataxis or subordinate constructions (Drechsel 1979:82-94).

Hand in hand with their semantactically ambiguous lexical entries, all four pidgins displayed little, if any, allophonic or morphosyntactic alternation in the form of inflections or affixations. Since the elements of an utterance could appear in different syntactic contexts as verbs, nouns, adverbs, adjectives, and perhaps in still other grammatical functions, but the syntactic categories could not be formally identified except in rare cases, the grammatical functions of words were primarily determined by their position in the sentence and by their sociolinguistic context. As a result of the typologically analytic structure, the speakers relied on a rather strict word order, which however differed from pidgin to pidgin. Only EJ and DJ, which also appeared to display some limited inflectional and derivational morphology, allowed greater variation in word order. In spite of differences and variations in word order, the four pidgins shared, with respect to their overall form, more similarities with each other than with their related target or base languages, most of which were of the synthetic or even polysynthetic type (cf. Sapir 1921:120-46, Sherzer 1976).

As for the structure of utterances and discourse, little comparative evidence is available for the four pidgins. While probably most utterances were short, some subordination apparently was possible at least in EJ and MJ.

2.4. Linguistic variability:

EJ: pronunciation was influenced by the speakers' primary languages; little lexical uniformity; a 'more highly developed' (possibly non-pidginized) variety with an expanded vocabulary was apparently spoken with Loucheux Kutchin (Athapaskan) Indians (Stefánsson 1909:218-22), which suggests a possible relexification[8] with Kutchin and other Athapaskan languages.

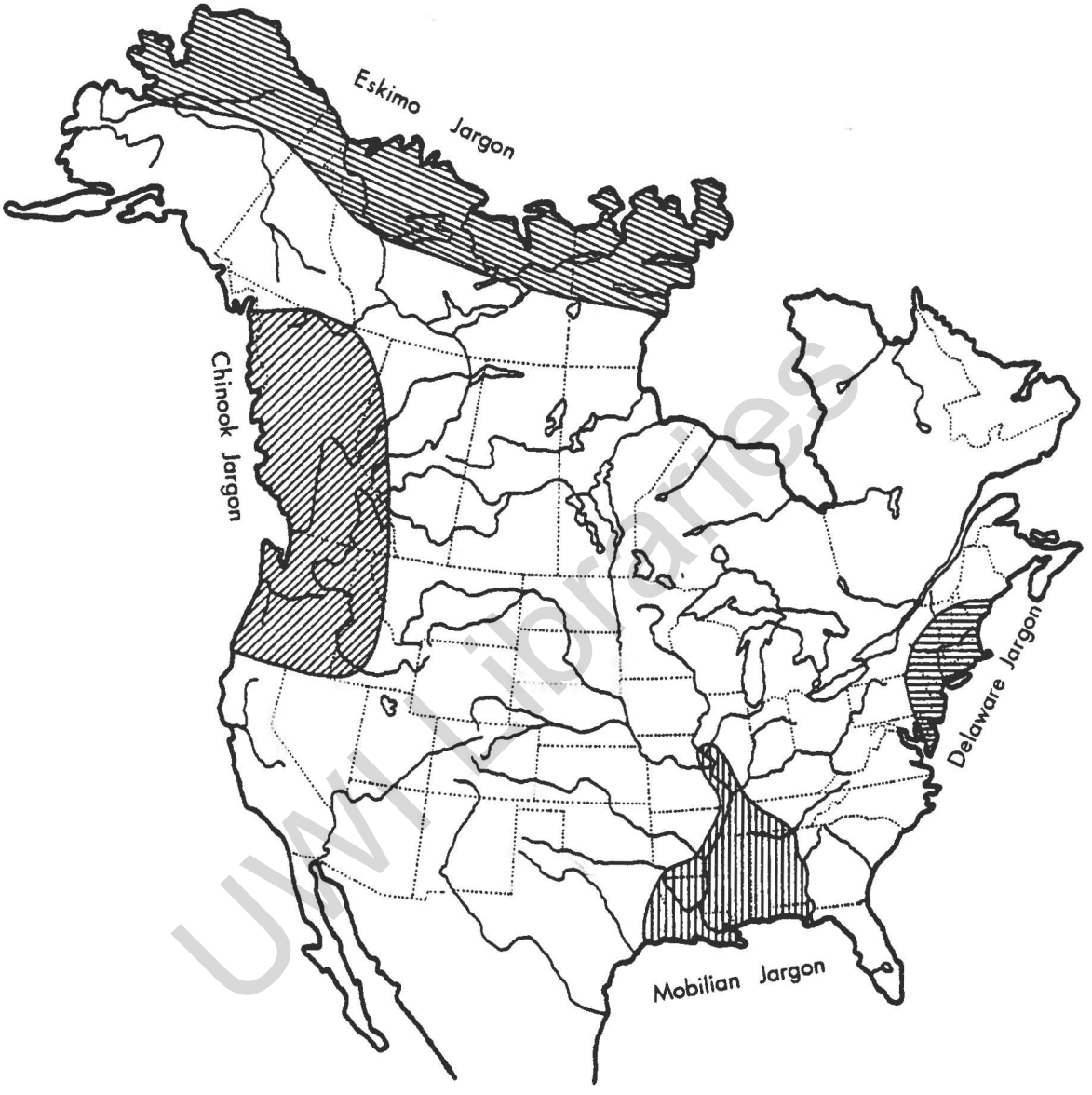
CJ: considerable phonological and lexical variations due to the influence from the speakers' first languages (Johnson 1978); relexification with various indigenous languages of the Northwest Coast and eventually with English (Kaufman 1971); variable, superficially similar and ambiguous sentences on the surface structure that were generated by the highly divergent underlying grammars of the speakers' native languages; much understanding depended on the extralinguistic context, including the speakers' tone of voice, looks, gestures, and other body language as well as the particular speech situations (Silverstein 1972; cf. Hale 1890:18-9).

DJ: little information available on linguistic variability; however, the syntax and especially the lexicon appear to have been rather consistent in their structure (Prince 1912; Thomason 1980); DJ seemingly coexisted with a comparable pidgin Massachusett (*cf.* Goddard 1977:41); the possible relexification of either pidgin or both into early varieties of 'American Indian Pidgin English' (AIPE) is controversial (Drechsel 1976:70-4; 1979:35-8).

MJ: variations on the phonological and lexical levels due to the interference from the speakers' native languages, but apparently rather stabilized syntax; some limited evidence suggests, however, that varieties influenced to a greater extent by Eastern Muskogean languages converged with contact languages based on Creek and Apalachee; yet MJ must have been mutually unintelligible with either Western or Eastern Muskogean languages (Drechsel 1979:94-110, 132-5, 175-86, 240-347).

Throughout our discussion above, variability has already been noted at all levels of analysis and for all four pidgins; but systematic data are available only for CJ and MJ. However suggestive the observations on these two contact languages may be for EJ and DJ, an extension of generalizations is of limited value; hence again a focus on CJ and MJ.

Recent recordings suggest greater variability for CJ as compared to MJ or for that matter EJ and DJ. While this generalization also holds true for their pronunciation and lexical make-up, it applies to syntax in particular. Whereas MJ and apparently DJ each displayed a unique and relatively stabilized syntax, speakers of CJ were described as producing ambiguous sentences that were superficially similar in surface structure, but derived from the highly divergent underlying grammars of the speakers' native languages. Because of this ambiguity in CJ a great deal of understanding in conversation depended on its larger sociolinguistic context rather than on its semantactic structure per se.



Map of the estimated cumulative spread of Eskimo Jargon, Chinook Jargon, Delaware Jargon, and Mobilian Jargon

Much of the variation in the four pidgins, especially as far as their pronunciation and lexical make-up are concerned, can be explained in terms of interference from the speakers' diverse native languages. However, the differences in variability between CJ on the one hand and MJ — and possibly EJ and DJ — on the other resulted from a combination of factors. In contrast to any of the other contact communities, there was a greater variety and diversity of primary languages on the Northwest Coast where CJ was spoken. By and large, the Northwest Coast languages among themselves and in comparison with European and any Asian or Pacific languages exhibited more radical differences in their grammars than the Southeastern Indian languages presumably did among themselves or in comparison with the tongues of Europeans and Africans. The same comparison could be extended to the EJ community in the Arctic or the DJ community on the middle Atlantic seaboard, neither of which was as linguistically diverse as the Northwest Coast or even the MJ community of the lower Mississippi Valley and environs. On the other hand, MJ probably existed for a longer period, perhaps as many as a hundred years more, than CJ, and would thus have had greater opportunity to stabilize its grammar. Yet an apparently stabilized MJ could also have resulted from language death;[9] when the last reliable data on MJ could still be gathered, it had survived in only one, though multilingual, community (Drechsel 1979:155-67).

2.5.1. Information on the origin, spread, and decline of these pidgins is given below.

EJ: no information available on its origin, spread, and decline; spoken in the northern parts and off-shore of Alaska, Yukon, and Northwest Territories in an area ranging at least from Kotzebue Sound in northwestern Alaska to Marble Island in the western Hudson Bay around the turn of the century (Stefánsson 1909:218-19; cf. Schuhmacher 1977).

CJ: origin controversial; possibly of pre-European origin as a result of prehistoric slave trade and shell-money commerce (Thomas 1927:379-81; 1935:21-7; cf. Howay 1942); however, the earliest historical attestations of CJ appear to go back to Captain James Cook's explorations at Nootka Sound in 1778 (Johnson 1978:16-8); the cumulative geographic boundaries of the CJ community are estimated to have extended from the northern border of California to the southern portions of Alaska, and from the Pacific Coast to western Montana and eastern British Columbia (Johnson 1978:1); there was a probable maximum use by an estimated number of more than 100,000 speakers in the 1870's (Grant 1945:227; Kaufman 1971:276); possible creolization of CJ occurred in the speech of children who grew up in intertribal or interethnic families in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Hale 1890:20; Hymes and Hymes 1972; cf. Silverstein 1972:380); still in use as a contact language in British Columbia as late as World War II, and as a joking language between oldtimers until today (Johnson 1978:2).

DJ: origin controversial; possibly of pre-European origin as a result of contact between the 'loosely organized Algonquian defense league' (with the Delaware Indians at its head) and the neighboring Iroquoians in the 16th century

(Thomason 1980); or an outgrowth of contact between the Delaware and the Dutch in the early 17th century on the lower Delaware River; eventually picked up by the Swedes and the English (Goddard 1971:15); the comparable pidgin Massachusett was spoken in New England (Goddard 1977:41); DJ probably became extinct by the beginning of the 18th century because of competition with forms of 'American Indian Pidgin English' (Thomason 1980: 179-86).

MJ: origin controversial; possibly of pre-European origin with roots in a (non-pidginized?) contact language based on Western Muskogean (Drechsel 1979: 111-7; cf. Crawford 1978:16-29); however, the earliest reliable attestations of MJ are dated 1699; peak periods of its use in the 18th and at least the first half of the 19th centuries; the cumulative geographic spread is estimated to have been an area covering the lower half of the Mississippi Valley and environs and including Lousiana, eastern Texas, a neck extending along the Mississippi as far north as southern or even central Illinois, probably Alabama and the northwestern Gulf coast of Florida (Crawford 1978: 30-62; Drechsel 1979:117-35); decline since the second half of the 19th century; but MJ was still actively spoken into the 1940's, perhaps 1950's, among the Coushatta Indians and their neighbors in southwestern Louisiana, with a few, mostly older individuals yet remembering a number of words and utterances until today; no evidence for creolization of MJ (Drechsel 1979:155-67; 192-3).

2.5.2. Sociolinguistic environments:

EJ: used by speakers of: Western Inuit (Eskimo), Central Yupik (Eskimo), perhaps Greenlandic Inuit (Eskimo), Kutchin (Athapaskan), Hawaiian (Polynesian), English, Danish, Norwegian, German, and perhaps Portuguese Creole of the Cape Verde Islands (Stefánsson 1909:217-9).

CJ: used by speakers of: hundred or more mutually unintelligible languages of the Pacific Northwest (Athapaskan, Salishan, Penutian, and Wakashan), English, French, Russian, Chinese languages, Japanese, and Hawaiian (Jacob 1932:1; Silverstein 1972:378; cf. Johnson 1978: 530-31).

DJ: used by speakers of: various languages and dialects of Delaware and perhaps Massachusett (Eastern Algonquian), possibly Iroquoian languages, Dutch, Swedish, and English (Goddard 1971:15; 1977:41; Prince 1912; Thomason 1980: 182-6).

MJ: used by speakers of: Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Houma (Western Muskogean); Apalachee, Alabama, and Koasati (Eastern Muskogean); Atakapa, Chitimacha, Natchez, and Tunica (isolates of Gulf); Ofo and Biloxi (Siouan); Caddo and Natchitoches (Caddoan); perhaps Algonquian languages of southern Illinois; various unidentified Indian languages; Spanish, French, French Creole, English, Black English,and German (Drechsel 1979:129-30).

2.5.3. Sociocultural environments included:

EJ: bi- and multilingual contact in situations of trade, whaling, and perhaps interethnic marriages (Stefánsson 1909:217-20; cf. Schuhmacher 1977:227).

CJ: bi- and multilingual contact in situations of: hunting, trapping, and fishing; fur-trading; European explorations, scouting, pioneer settlements,

Christian missionizing of Indian groups (with biblical passages, sermons, hymns, and prayers translated into CJ); anthropological and linguistic field research by, e.g., Franz Boas; intertribal gatherings (with myths, narratives, and songs performed in CJ); likely any employment involving Indians, including hop picking, logging, and jobs on sawmills, in canneries, on ships, at wharves, etc.; the newsheet Kamloops Wawa; prostitution and intertribal or interethnic marriages; there were probably few limitations as to the kinds of speech situations (Grant 1944:271-4; Thomas 1927:378-9).

DJ: bi- and multilingual contact in situations of: possible intertribal political and military alliances, concluding international treaties, gathering of information, and trade (Silverstein 1973 MS:23; Thomason 1980: 182-6).

MJ: bi- and multilingual contact in situations of: intertribal gatherings and ball games (with joke songs performed in MJ); trade; European explorations and settlements; Christian missionizing of Indian groups; Indian and African slavery and servitude; and employment of Indians as scouts, guides, trappers, sharecroppers, and farm hands; there probably were few limitations as to the kinds of speech situations (Crawford 1978:30-62; Drechsel 1979:144-55).

2.5.4. Functions, values, and attitudes:

EJ: functions of a contact language between speakers of mutually unintelligible Eskimo, Athapaskan and/or European languages (Stefánsson 1909).

CJ: functions of a contact language among Northwest Coast Indians of mutually unintelligible language backgrounds as well as between Indians and non-Indians; socially equalizing and preventing a prestige hierarchy of linguistic groups in the contact community; basically of neutral value (Silverstein 1972: especially 380-1); the Haida, however, had only contempt for CJ, just as for their neighbors (Grant 1945:227, footnote 9).

DJ: functions of a contact language between Delaware Indians and Europeans and possibly among Northeastern Indians of mutually unintelligible language backgrounds; some Europeans, speaking DJ, believed they had learned Delaware proper, and were apparently not aware of the structural-functional relationships of DJ to Delaware proper or the other Indian languages of the area (Goddard 1971:15; Thomason 1980: 182-6).

MJ: functions of a contact language among Louisiana Indians of mutually unintelligible language backgrounds as well as between Indians and non-Indians, and occasionally among non-Indians, if they spoke mutually unintelligible primary languages and had no other common medium available; yet functions of a linguistic and cultural boundary marker for outsiders, preventing especially non-Indians from learning an ethnic Indian language and thus helping preserve the Indians' privacy and cultural integrity; perhaps functions of a verbal game; as nobody's language socially equalizing and neutral in value; most non-Indians believed they had learned Choctaw or Chickasaw proper, or some other ethnic Indian language, and occasionally appeared proud about their achievement, but displayed little or no understanding of the structural-functional relationships of MJ to the ethnic Indian languages of the area (Drechsel 1979:136-55).

As in the case of their linguistic structures, the four pidgins exhibited various similarities and differences with respect to their extralinguistic aspects.

The question as to their origins is not resolved, however. Because of the lack of satisfactory evidence, the argument for the prehistoric origin of these pidgins must remain controversial, but is worth considering. In fact, the Europeans and their African, Polynesian, and ~~African~~ Asian companions had acquired the indigenous pidgins before they could successfully use their own (contact) languages in communicating with American Indians or Eskimos. This we would not expect the newcomers to have done, as they undoubtedly preferred to impose their own languages on the native populations. The alternative of adopting an indigenous contact medium, whether or not originally pidginized, must then have been feasible for them only under one condition, namely if there already was a native contact language in use among the linguistically diverse indigenous populations. Such an interpretation of pre-European use might also be supported by the presence of typologically marked features that were common to the pidgin and indigenous languages of the area, but had no equivalent, corresponding forms in the immigrants' languages. Cases in point would be the NEG-subject-predicate and SOV word orders in DJ (Thomason 1980) and the basic X/OSV word order in MJ.

However, the sociolinguistic fact of non-Indians communicating in indigenous pidgins suggests that at least in the early period of their use, the immigrants to the Arctic, the Northwest Coast, the Northeast Coast, and the lower Mississippi Valley were quite dependent on the native populations for survival, likely more so than vice versa, and thus may even have conferred some prestige upon these pidgins. Moreover, these contact languages must have been an equalizing factor in complex social situations and have exerted a stabilizing influence in a time of change.

These Indian pidgins -- with the possible exception of DJ -- were clearly used not only with immigrants, but among indigenous populations of diverse linguistic backgrounds as well, and spread over extensive geographic areas. The contact situations often involved native and foreign people speaking three or more distantly related or unrelated languages, and thus were truly multilingual, resulting in tertiary linguistic hybridization or genuine pidginization. While EJ and DJ were perhaps employed for the primary purpose of interlingual trade, CJ and MJ could apparently be spoken in any sociocultural environment of intertribal or interethnic nature. Undoubtedly, the usages of the four indigenous pidgins were quite varied; but due to the lack of systematic ethnographic information, contrasts between them are difficult to establish. Rather than merely easing communication, MJ also appeared to take distinct extracommunicative functions such as providing protection against outside influences or a verbal game. Whether the other indigenous pidgins were used for similar purposes is not known.

The functional pervasiveness of CJ and MJ in particular is indicated moreover by their survival into the 20th century, and led in the case of CJ to isolated instances of creolization in the speech of children in intertribal or interethnic families. Yet there is no evidence that any of the four pidgins became the first

language of a community. Indeed, creolization of indigenous American pidgins could not have happened frequently or on any significant scale. The very fact that most Indians and Eskimos have remained economically marginal and among the most autonomous ethnic groups in North America until today relates to the importance of their native languages in their past and present struggle for political and cultural independence. Having kept contact intimacy with outsiders at a minimum, the Indians and Eskimos did not experience great pressures to adopt the four pidgins as their first language.[10] EJ, CJ, DJ, and MJ primarily served the functions of contact languages, only to be eventually replaced by European (contact) languages.

3. Preliminary in nature, the above comparison perhaps raises more questions than it can answer, and calls for further comparative analysis. Nevertheless, a number of conclusions can be drawn here; some of them new, others have been previously suggested, yet can now be confirmed with comparative and more detailed data.

Noteworthy first are the many and substantive differences in structure and probably function that existed between EJ, CJ, DJ, and MJ. As a case in point, the nature and extent of linguistic variability differed fundamentally in the two best attested indigenous pidgins, CJ and MJ. Thus, Silverstein's ingenious model of pidginization, developed for highly variable CJ, would not appear to be applicable to relatively stable MJ with its own unique syntax and dominant marked word order of X/OSV, but perhaps to its earlier, unrecoverable stages of development. CJ and MJ would rather be American Indian case examples in support of the contrast made between variable, macaronic and stable, relatively homogenous pidgins (cf. Bickerton 1977:54-6).

Yet the four indigenous American pidgins also shared a number of formal similarities. Their typologically analytic morphosyntactic structure and the concomitant flexible and open nature of their lexica are conspicuous in consideration of the fact that most of the contributing languages, especially the indigenous ones, were of the synthetic or even polysynthetic type. Since no direct historical relationships are known, or can be reasonably assumed to have existed between the four pidgins, these formal resemblances cannot be explained in terms of 'diffusional cumulation or archaic residue' (Swadesh 1951). Instead, the shared traits may be understood either as the result of pan-native-American strategies of interlingual communication or in terms of linguistic universals. The latter explanation seems to be more convincing. For the many non-relatable indigenous languages of North America were historically and structurally too divergent among themselves (cf. Cambell and Mithun 1979), as well as in comparison with the languages of the recent immigrants, to produce linguistic compromises that were characteristically native American in nature. Actually, these similarities are not unique to EJ, CJ, DJ, and MJ, but have also been attested for pidgins elsewhere (cf. Hymes 1971). Any such linguistic universals would however have been of the formal, implicational type rather than substantive ones (cf. Kay and Sankoff 1974, Silverstein 1972:618-20).

The dominant linguistic influences of indigenous languages in EJ, CJ, and MJ as well as their early and extensive use by European and other recent

immigrants suggest the hypothesis that these pidgins were of prehistoric origin. If conclusively demonstrated, the pre-European existence of any of these indigenous pidgins would challenge the (consequently ethnocentric) notion that pidginization of languages was limited to, and characteristic of, Western colonialism; and perhaps, pidginization and other processes of linguistic convergence would also be accorded greater theoretical significance in historical linguistics and the history of native American languages in particular.

Whether or not the recent immigrants to North America contributed to the original processes of pidginization, the early and extensive use of these indigenous pidgins by Europeans in particular conferred much functional significance and perhaps even some prestige upon these contact languages. The Indians and Eskimos have thus played a more important role in the modern history of North America than they have been generally credited with or their present sociopolitical and economic marginality indicates.

Pidginization of native American languages, certainly not a haphazard linguistic and social event, occurred repeatedly and under largely identifiable linguistic and social-cultural conditions, however led to creolization only in exceptional circumstances. Therefore, American Indian linguistics need to take into account linguistic convergence, including pidginization as a significant process of language change. Although hardly novel, this conclusion gains in importance in the light of a recent historical and comparative assessment of native American languages (Campbell and Mithun 1979) that essentially ignores the question of linguistic convergence and its various manifestations, even as a negative source of evidence for linguistic divergence.

4. Decidedly typological in nature, our comparison of EJ, CJ, DJ, and MJ is of methodological consequence, and offers in addition to the above observations a few suggestions regarding a sociolinguistic typology in American Indian linguistics.

The study of native American languages has never been entirely without a typological concern (Darnell and Sherzer 1971). But rarely have typologies of American Indian languages received much systematic attention beyond phonological and morphological traits to include syntactic, semantic, and sociolinguistic data. A recent example is Joel Sherzer's An Areal-Typological Study of American Indian Languages North of Mexico. The author focuses on phonology and morphology, but adds a chapter comparing the culture and linguistic areas of native North America. In discussing their communicative characteristics, Sherzer touches upon bi- and multilingualism as well as attitudes towards one's own and others' languages in addition to various sociocultural conditions; yet he does not develop a broad sociolinguistically oriented typology, let alone specifically explore the role of indigenous contact languages in the distribution of areal traits (Sherzer 1976:219-55).

One reason for this neglect must evidently be sought in the lack of systematic comparative information for native American languages beyond phonology and morphology (Sherzer 1976:13), another in the lack of a typological framework consisting of linguistic and related extralinguistic categories.

With comparative sociolinguistic data on indigenous American pidgins now available, we are in a position to explore such a sociolinguistic typology in American Indian linguistics. Phenomena of language contact in fact provide an ideal focus for such a comprehensive typology because of their obvious social nature. However, since the four indigenous pidgins are typologically so similar, the above comparison does not allow us to develop a contrastive scheme of different types of sociolinguistic phenomena; at this point it only gives us the opportunity to examine the validity of the linguistic and extra-linguistic categories on the basis of controllable data.

Although a priori in nature and conditioned to a large extent by the available data, the above categories of comparison have proved to be quite useful in describing, defining, and contrasting the four indigenous pidgins of North America. Beyond providing a framework for the presentation of basic data for all levels of analysis, the headings and subheadings indicate relationships among each other that are important in our understanding of the four pidgins.

The categories of basic phonological and syllable structures reveal relationships of the pidgins to their target and substrate languages as well as the extent of their variability. The information under 'nature of lexicon' relates to the overall semantactic structure of a pidgin, whereas the heading on the lexical sources of origin gives clues to the diversity of the pidgin speakers' first languages and again to its variability. And the categories of morphosyntactic structure, word order, and the structure of utterances and discourse primarily serve to identify the structural characteristics of a pidgin in contrast to its target and substrate languages.

Linguistic variability, however, is a central concept unifying aspects of all the above typological categories, and confirms the typological distinction between variable and stable pidgins. Moreover, the heading of variability serves as an ideal connecting link between linguistic and extralinguistic categories, and in fact is expressed in terms, or as a function, of both linguistic and extralinguistic features.

The extralinguistic headings are comparatively less clear-cut than the linguistic ones. The categories of origin, spread, and decline and that of sociolinguistic environment again relate to linguistic variability, but also introduce questions of functions. These are addressed directly under the subheading of sociocultural environments and that of functions, values, and attitudes, the latter of which makes up perhaps the most diffuse category.

Obviously, the above headings and subheadings, tentative as they are, need to be examined and refined in an expanded sociolinguistic typology. This would be possible on the basis of CJ and MJ in particular, for which we have more detailed data available.

Yet a sociolinguistic typology should not remain limited to pidgins, but include other sociolinguistic phenomena such as non-pidginized contact languages, bi- and multilingualism, diglossia, and social dialects (including men's and women's speech and baby talk). Likely not all categories employed in the comparison above will then retain their significance. However, the category of linguistic variability including its extralinguistic implications could

constitute a major dimension along which an expanded sociolinguistic typology might be developed. Just as the nature and extent of linguistic variability apparently distinguish CJ and MJ, it may serve as the basis for further sociolinguistic typological distinctions.

A comprehensive sociolinguistic typology, moreover, ought to expand beyond linguistic phenomena of a distinctly social nature to include speaking as a social event in general. An ideal guide for such an endeavor is obviously the ethnography of speaking (Hymes 1974). Finally, a sociolinguistic typology is not to remain limited to general, non-historical concerns, but should be integrated with earlier areal-typological studies. An examplary topic of investigation would be the geographic distribution of sociolinguistic phenomena and their relationships to culture areas or the role of contact languages in the retention, diffusion, and innovative development of sociolinguistic areal traits.[11]

Ultimately, such a broadly conceived sociolinguistic typology could also provide the necessary framework for the integration of linguistic divergence and convergence into a unified theory of language change that includes its extralinguistic environment, i.e., the sociocultural factors or conditions resulting in the differential processes of language change.

WORKS CITED

Bickerton, Derek. 1977. Pidginization and Creolization: Language Acquisition and Language Universals in Pidgin and Creole Linguistics, Albert Valdman, ed., 49-69. Ploomington: Indiana University Press.

Bright, William. 1973. North American Indian Language Contact in Current Trends in Linguistics, vol. 10 (Linguistics in North America), Thomas A. Sebeok, ed., Part 1, 713-26. The Hague: Mouton.

Campbell, Lyle, and Marianne Mithun (eds.). 1979. The Languages of Native America: Historical and Comparative Assessment. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Crawford, James M. 1978. The Mobilian Trade Language. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Darnell, Regna, and Joel Sherzer. 1971. Areal Linguistic Studies in North America: A Historical Perspective, IJAL 37. 20-8.

Dillard, J. L. 1972. Black English, Its History and Usage in the United States. New York: Random House.

Drechsel, Emanuel J. 1976. 'Ha, now me stomany that!' A Summary of Pidginization and Creolization of North American Indian Languages in Sociohistorical Factors in the Formation of Creoles (International Journal of the Sociology of Language 7), J. L. Dillard, ed., 63-81. The Hague: Mouton.

Drechsel, Emanuel J. 1977. Historical Problems and Issues in the Study of North American Indian Marginal Languages in Studies in Southwestern Indian English (Papers in Southwestern English 3), William L. Leap, ed., 131-40. San Antonio: Trinity University.

_____ 1979. Mobilian Jargon: Linguistic, Sociocultural, and Historical Aspects of an American Indian lingua franca. (Doctoral dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Wisconsin.) Ann Arbor: University Microfilms.

_____ and T. Haunani Makuakāne. 1979 MS. Hawaiian Loanwords in Chinook Jargon and Eskimo Jargon. Manuscript.

Goddard, Ives. 1971. The Ethnohistorical Implications of Early Delaware Linguistic Materials, Man in the Northeast 1. 14-26.

_____ 1977. Some Early Examples of American Indian Pidgin English from New England, IJAL 43. 37-41.

Grant, Rena V. 1944. The Chinook Jargon, Past and Present, California Folklore Quarterly 3. 259-76.

_____ 1945. Chinook Jargon, IJAL 11. 225-33.

Hale, Horatio. 1890. An International Idiom, A Manual of the Oregon Trade Language or 'Chinook Jargon'. London: Whittaker and Co.

Hancock, Ian F. 1975. Creole Features in the Afro-Seminole Speech of Brackettville, Texas. Occasional Paper, Society for Caribbean Linguistics.

_____ 1977. Further Observations on Afro-Seminole Creole. Occasional Paper, Society for Caribbean Linguistics.

Howay, F. W. 1942. Origin of the Chinook Jargon on the North West Coast, British Columbia Historical Quarterly 6. 225-50.

Hymes, Dell (ed.). 1971. Pidginization and Creolization of Languages. (Proceedings of a conference held at the University of West Indies, Mona, Jamaica, April 1968.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hymes, Dell. 1974. Foundations in Sociolinguistics, An Ethnographic Approach. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

_____ and Virginia Hymes. 1972. Chinook Jargon as 'Mother's Tongue', IJAL 38. 207.

Jacobs, Melville. 1932. Notes on the Structure of Chinook Jargon, LG 8. 27-50.

Johnson, Samuel V. 1978. Chinook Jargon: A Computer Assisted Analysis of Variation in an American Indian Pidgin. (Doctoral dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Kansas.) Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International.

Kaufman, Terrence S. 1971. A Report on Chinook Jargon in Pidginization and Creolization of Languages (Proceedings of a conference held at the University of West Indies, Mona, Jamaica, April 1968.), Dell Hymes, ed., 275-8. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kay, Paul and Gillian Sankoff. 1974. A Language Universals Approach to Pidgins and Creoles in Pidgins and Creoles: Current Trends and Prospects, David DeCamp and Ian F. Hancock, eds., 61-72. Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Prince, J. Dyneley. 1912. An Ancient New Jersey Indian Jargon, AA (n. s.) 14. 508-24.

Sapir, Edward. 1921. Language, An Introduction to the Study of Speech. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World.

Schuhmacher, W. W. 1977. Eskimo Trade Jargon: Of Danish or German Origin?, IJAL 43. 226-7.

Sherzer, Joel. 1976. An Areal-typological Study of American Indian Languages North of Mexico. (North Holland Linguistic Series 20.) Amsterdam: North Holland.

Silverstein, Michael. 1972. Chinook Jargon: Language Contact and the Problem of Multi-level Generative Systems, Parts I and II, LG 48. 378-406, 596-625.

_____ 1973 MS. Dynamics of Recent Linguistic Contact. Manuscript.

Stefánsson, V. 1909. The Eskimo Trade Jargon of Herschel Island, AA (n. s.) 11: 217-32.

Swadesh, Morris. 1951. Diffusional Cumulation and Archaic Residue as Historical Explanations, SJA 7. 1-21.

Thomas, Edward Harper. 1927. The Chinook Jargon, American Speech 2. 377-84.

_____ 1935. Chinook, A History and Dictionary of the Northwest Coast Trade Jargon. Portland, Oregon: Metropolitan Press.

Thomason, Sarah G. 1980. On Interpreting 'The Indian Interpreter', Language in Society 9. 167-93.

Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1977. Pidginization, Creolization, and Language Change in Pidgin and Creole Linguistics, Albert Valdman, ed., 70-98. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Voegelin, C. F., F. M. Voegelin, and Noel W. Schutz, Jr. 1967. The Language Situation in Arizona as Part ot the Southwest Culture Area in Studies in Southwestern Ethnolinguistics, Dell Hymes and William Bittle, eds., 403-51. The Hague: Mouton.

Werner, Oswald. 1963. A Typological Comparison of Four Trader Navaho Speakers. Doctoral dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Indiana University.

Whinnom, Keith. 1971. Linguistic Hybridization and the 'Special Case' of Pidgins and Creoles in Pidginization and Creolization of Languages (Proceedings of a conference held at the University of West Indies, Mona, Jamaica, April 1968.), Dell Hymes, ed., 91-115. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

NOTES

1. My appreciation for their helpful comments is extended to an anonymous referee, Ben Blount, Dell Hymes, Stephen Kowalewski, my wife Haunani Makuakāne, Nancy McKee, and Sarah Thomason. Grateful acknowledgement for the financial support of my research on Mobilian Jargon is also made to the Newberry Library, Chicago, and the National Institute of Mental Health, the latter of which provided funding with the National Research Service Award 5F31 MHO5926-01/02. As a matter of course, none of these individuals or institutions are to be held responsible for either the content or form of this study.

2. For the sake of convenience, these names will be maintained throughout this study, but are abbreviated in the following with their corresponding initials as EJ, CJ, DJ, and MJ.

No fundamental typological difference is here assumed to exist between (trade) jargons and pidgins (cf. Silverstein 1972:621-22; Traugott 1977:84). Yet there apparently were differences in the nature and extent of linguistic variability at least between two indigenous pidgins; CJ and MJ would support the distinction made between variable, macaronic and relatively stable, homogeneous pidgins, which however were earlier and later stages of the same overall process of pidginization (Bickerton 1977:54-6; see 2.4 below).

3. A recent study of CJ continues using the concept of phoneme, although the extensive phonological variations of CJ speakers criss-cross its presumed phonemic system. It thus appears futile to apply the mono-systemic concept of phoneme to variable, multi-systemic contact languages — such as CJ in particular — and to speak by extension of their phonemic structures. Instead the term of 'basic sound' or 'basic phonological structure' is prefered here, and refers to phonological convergences or neutralizations across language boundaries in contact situations. Such underlying phonological common denominators have also been called interlingual archiphonemes (Silverstein 1972: 382-5; cf. Drechsel 1979:62-3).

4. The only known exception of meaningful syllable lengthening is the emphatic of the intensifying adverb fena [fe:na] very, really, especially. As in the case of adjectives and adverbs of intensification in CJ, some MJ speakers drew out the first vowel about twice the length of a regular vowel or even longer (Drechsel 1979:61-2).

5. Melville Jacobs (1932:38) however observed that CJ, although of apparently analytic origin, seemed to shift towards polysynthesis, as shown in a variety of agglomerates and rather firm compounds.

6. Yet (e)kšo can also occur as an independent syntactic element, simply meaning no or not (Drechsel 1979:352).

7. X stands for a category of sentence part that is more general than O(bject) and includes constituents other than direct objects such as indirect objects, verb-independent adverbials, and even whole subordinate clauses, all of which appeared to behave in many ways like a direct object.

This peculiar word order involved absolutely no topicalization, focusing, or any other structural means of emphasis, and seems to have derived from constructions with a so-called active actor echo for the fist person plural and the second person singular as well as plural, as they occurred in Choctaw, other Muskogean and possibly Gulf languages. This structural characteristic provides an argument in support of the hypothesis of MJ's pre-European origin (Drechsel 1979:85-94, 186-9; see 2.5 below).

8. As a matter of course, an association of the term 'relexification' with the monogenetic hypothesis of the origin of pidgins is not assumed here (cf. Drechsel 1976: 70-4).

9. It is thus assumed that the reduced use of a variable contact language in fewer and fewer communities or different first-language backgrounds results in less linguistic variation.

10. The only known case of creolization to which North American Indian languages could have significantly contributed is Afro-Seminole Creole, spoken today by people of African and Seminole descent in isolated communities of the Texas-Mexico border areas and perhaps Oklahoma (Hancock 1975, 1977). Although comparable to English-based creoles of the Caribbean, Afro-Seminole Creole may in fact have had some of its roots in a contact language based on Creek, which in turn was comparable and perhaps related to MJ. However, the ancestral Seminole pidgin, whatever its form, creolized precisely because of its close association with the former African runaway slaves and their growing influence in Seminole social and political affairs, thus leaving but few linguistic elements that can today be attributed to Creek or any other Southeastern Indian language (Drechsel 1979:47-50).

11. The areal-typological relationships between MJ and Southeastern Indian languages have already been explored in a preliminary comparison of their shared features. MJ clearly was not limited to the diffusion of lexical items. However, the conclusions regarding the nature of the relationships are still tentative due to the lack of systematic descriptions and inventories of Southeastern Indian languages in particular (see Drechsel 1979:76-81, 168-75).