all forms of human social and cognitive behavior? If, as he suggested (and as further amplified by Green 1990) CP is generalizable to such non-communicative activities as automobile repairing, then this is more evidence that the linguistic aspects of human cognition are not independent of other mental functions.

As already suggested, CP has been incorporated into many fields, and so its literature is scattered. Useful summaries are to be found in Levinson (1983), Leech (1983) and Green (1989); collections of papers on Gricean topics include Hall et al. (eds.) (1990) and H.P. Grice (1989).

While there is much we still need to know about CL, and much of its ultimate statement is still unclear, it is evident that this is a vigorous and central aspect of pragmatic theory.


[See also: Generative semantics; Philosophy of language; Relevance theory]

CREOLE LINGUISTICS

Pieter Muysken

Creole languages are languages of which we know more or less precisely when they emerged. Contrary to other languages, which tend to arise through a very gradual process of dialect differentiation in an uninterrupted linguistic tradition, creoles result from interruptions in the ordinary transmission of language from generation to generation. When we say that the moment of emergence is known, we are talking about a fifty year period. Sranan, for instance, the creole of coastal Surinam, emerged between 1650 and 1700.

It is often assumed, though not uncontroversial, that creoles emerge out of pidgins, more or less unstable communicative systems with a reduced grammar and without native speakers. As the pidgin becomes the principal language of a community (to use a social-functional term) or a native language (to use a mentalist term), it expands and stabilizes further, becoming more 'adequate'.

What makes the field of creole linguistics exciting for non-specialists is the fact that many of
the processes in the genesis of pidgins and in the development from pidgin to creole appear to be universal in character. There is a large literature on universals in language genesis, which I will not try to summarize here, referring the reader to such recent introductions to the field as Holm (1988), Mühlhäuser (1986), and particularly Romaine (1988).

One of the general issues raised by the development of creole languages is how to define what makes a language an adequate vehicle of communication. To what extent must adequacy be defined as pragmatic adequacy, and what other types of adequacy may be envisaged? I will discuss five rather different perspectives on this issue, roughly in chronological order.

1. William Labov

One of the first scholars to raise this issue explicitly was Labov (1990 [1971]), who dwelt upon the origin of the pre-verbal tense, mood, and aspect particles in creoles. Some are illustrated in (1)-(4) below:

(1) *Tok Pisin:*

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{wanpela} & \text{man} & i & \text{bin} & \text{skulim mi long} & \text{Tok Pisin} \\
\text{one} & \text{man} & \text{PR} & \text{ANT} & \text{teach me} & \text{in} \\
\text{‘A man was teaching me Tok Pisin’}
\end{array}
\]

(2) *Senegal Crioulo:*

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{so} & \text{mõ} & \text{ka} & \text{ta} \\
\text{one hand} & \text{NEG} & \text{HAB} & \text{touch} \\
\text{‘One hand can’t touch its palm’}
\end{array}
\]

(3) *Haitian:*

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{m} & \text{te} & \text{pu} & \text{bay lajan} \\
\text{I} & \text{ANT} & \text{MD} & \text{give} \\
\text{‘I had to give the money’}
\end{array}
\]

(4) *Berbice Dutch:*

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Ek} & \text{wa} & \text{jefi-a} & \text{kali kali} \\
\text{I} & \text{ANT} & \text{eat-DUR} & \text{little little} \\
\text{‘I was eating very little’}
\end{array}
\]

What these examples illustrate is a very general phenomenon in creoles: a set of particles that generally occur between the subject and the verb, and mark the tense, the mood, and the aspectual nature of the predicate, as well as negation. In *Tok Pisin,* as well as in some other pidgins and creoles of the Indian and Pacific Oceans there is also a pre-verbal predicate marker, illustrated with *i* in (1). More on this *i* below.

A typical tense in creoles is the anterior (past with respect to a reference point rather than to the moment of speech), typical aspects the durative, the habitual, and the perfective. A typical mood marked on the predicate is the mood of as yet unrealized action or obligation. The occurrence of a post-verbal aspect marker, as in (4), is exceptional in creoles.

Labov (1990 [1971]) argues for *stylistic adequacy* as the primary motor for the development of the preverbal tense particles, on the basis of the following reasoning. In the pidgin phase, Hawaiian English had the characteristics exemplified in:

(5) *Hawaiian Pidgin English* (1930):
My husband house kau-kau no good — cheap kind and too li-li. I kau-kau junk kind den keep good kind kau-kau for my mada-in-law and all da man... By-'m-bye my husband he go Honolulu. Sometime he send letta, sometime he send money....

However, in the creole phase, it has changed its character:

... And that thing was coming and something black on top the horse, riding, never have head. So she wen go hug him like that. Horse wen go pass them, eh. ...

On the basis of texts such as these, Labov distinguishes several phases — from (a) to (e) — in the development of Hawaiian English Creole:

(a) jargon: no tense marking
(b) pidgin: tense marking with adverbs and temporal expressions on the discourse-level;
(c) \textit{wen} preterite / \textit{gon} future auxiliary
(d) \textit{wen go} preterite
(c’)-(d’) rules of phonological contraction (compare: Eng. \textit{will} \rightarrow \textit{be going to})

To explain this sequence, and particularly the transition from (b) to (c) Labov (1990 [1971]: 44-45) writes with respect to the development in Hawaiian English:

There is no basis for arguing that tense markers express the concepts of temporal relations more clearly than adverbs of time. What then is the advantage that they offer to native speakers, the advantage that native speakers seem to demand? The most important property which tense markers possess, which adverbs of time do not, is their stylistic flexibility. They can be expanded or contracted to fit in with the prosodic requirements of allegro or lento style. Because tense markers are not assigned stress in the normal cycles, their vowels are reduced and contracted [...].

One might say that a developing grammar serves the need of stylistic variation. But it would be more accurate to say that grammar \textit{is} style. The deep and complex apparatus that has developed in English syntax and morphophonemics does not necessarily make the speakers wiser, more logical, or more analytical in their ways of talking.

2. Gillian Sankoff

Another researcher who has tried to approach the issue of the motor for development is Gillian Sankoff e.g. 1980a). She works extensively on Tok Pisin, the pidgin/creole of New Guinea. In a well-known article written jointly with Suzanne Laberge (1980), the future-oriented particle \textit{bai} is focussed on, as in (7):

(7) suga bilong mi klostu bai finis nau
   'My sugar cane is almost finished now'

Their claim is that \textit{bai} underwent the sequence in (8):

(8) bye and bye → baimbai → bai → b♂

Its emergence involved four separate dimensions:

(9) a. phonological reduction
b. no stress  
c. in later stages: co-occurrence with adverbs  
d. in later stages: a shift from clause-initial or clause-final position to the position  
   between subject and verb

In a subsequent article Sankoff (1980b) looks at the cyclical grammaticalization of subject  
pronouns as resumptive elements and subsequently as predicate markers. Thus he in (10a) is  
weakened to i in (10b), and subsequently the full subject pronoun em in (10b) is weakened to a  
resumptive element in (10c), combinable with a lexical subject:

(10)  a. Pappa belong me he go finish yes’erday (1900).  
     b. na em i no laik askim tufela (1930)  
        ‘Now he did not want to ask the two of them’  
     c. na narapela em i putim blakfela (1970)  
        ‘And the other guy wore a black one’

To explain this development Sankoff writes:

I think that a way out of some of the traps of overly mechanistic functionalism involves a clear recognition  
of both the multifunctionality of language as stressed by Hymes, and some of what Hockett [...] has called  
the ‘design features’ of language, which seem to be structurally important and enduring. As an example I  
will examine a case of dynamic tension between a discourse function — foregrounding or topicalization —  

These factors interact in grammaticalization processes, according to Sankoff:

The progressive grammaticalization has involved loss of the original pragmatic or semantic force, along  
with greater interaction with other syntactic rules, until such time as the pronoun-clitic loses all force and  
is subject to the grim reaper, phonological deletion. (1980b: 269)

Gillian Sankoff’s model attributes the dynamism of language to the interaction of two entirely  
separate clusters of factors, in this case functional adequacy and structural regularity.

3. Talmy Givon

In a footnote in Givon’s very interesting (but not very often cited) early article (1979: 24), the  
following observation is made. Givon is trying to explain why creoles have a number of features  
in common, all characteristic of an analytic and semantically transparent grammar:

In a ‘normal’ language the syntax reveals a certain compromise between two conflicting requirements: (a)  
the fidelity to the semantic structure of the message and (b) the physiological and neurological constraints  
on speech production and speech perception. One might liken (a) to ‘competence’ and (b) to  
‘performance’. The first requirement will militate in the direction of the ‘less marked’ grammar described  
above. While the second will push it in just the opposite direction, towards increase in potential ambiguity  
and a decrease in redundancy. The claims concerning the Universal Substratum here [i.e. a set of universal  
semantic and syntactic principles] are that it would tend to satisfy the first requirement more than the  
second. The second is obviously just as universal, though it is assumed that under the ‘communicative  
stress’ prevailing at the inception of a Pidgin, the first requirement will exhibit stronger influence.

The idea that communicative stress in the formative stage of a creole functions as a catalyst in  
bringing out more transparent, analytical patterns is also developed in work by Naro and Seuren & Wekker (1986). Anthony Naro (1973) formulated a principle to describe the way speakers of
the dominant languages may have adapted their speech in the language contact situation which runs as follows: 'Express each separately intuited element of meaning by a phonologically separate stress-bearing form'. Such a principle would explain the amount of semantic transparency characteristic of some aspects of pidgin and creole systems.

The semantic transparency theory developed by Seuren & Wekker (1986) is not a full-blown genetic theory, but simply claims that the structure of creole languages directly reflects universal semantic structures. The fact that they are alike, in this view, is due to the fact that the semantic structures are universal. They are simple because the semantic structures involved fairly directly mapping onto surface structures, without a very complex transformational derivation.

4. Derek Bickerton

A rather different perspective on the issue of adequacy is taken by Bickerton (e.g. 1981). The crucial idea here is minimal complexity. Bickerton is well-known for the hypothesis that the development of 'radical' creoles was quite rapid, and spurred on by the bioprogram, a set of pre-wired instructions to the children on the plantations creating the creole. He writes:

... things like tense morphemes and governors, replaced almost as soon as lost, contrast with things like reciprocals and reflexives, which [...] were very slow to be replaced. I think there are profound lessons to be drawn from this differential rate of replacement. There are items that a language cannot survive without, and items which, like reciprocals, are very convenient to have, but which aren't essential. In other languages, there is nothing to tell you which is which; in creoles, there's the rate of reconstruction. (Bickerton 1986: 232)

And later, responding to challenges by Carden & Stewart (1988) and Arends (1989), both of whose works claim that creole development is gradual rather than rapid:

All that bioprogram theory ever claimed was that creolization could, in one generation, produce a language that was structurally equivalent to any other natural language, [...], and that the resultant languages would all follow a similar pattern due to the operation of universal principles in concert with a radically restricted lexicon. It was never claimed that creolization could, in one generation, produce a language that was functionally optimal, or that had all the overt morphemes it would ever have. (Bickerton 1991: 28)

5. The gradualists

In the mid-eighties a new type of research emerges in which the essential insights from the Pacific creolist tradition, e.g. embodied in work by Peter Mühlhäusler and Gillian Sankoff, that creole genesis is a slow and gradual process, are carried over to the Caribbean. Responsible for this are Guy Carden & William A. Stewart (1988), who work primarily on Haitian, and Jacques Arends (1989), who studies Surinam. In their work a notion of typological adequacy is developed. Carden & Stewart claim that in early Haitian there was no overt pronoun/anaphor distinction in the third person: both 'her/him' and 'her/himself' are simply li. This is typologically a marked feature, and in the modern Port-au-Prince variety of Haitian an unmarked structure has emerged, as in:

(11) Emil tuye tet-li
    'Emil killed himself'

In a similar vein, Arends tries to account for the fact that there are several alternative strategies to form comparatives in Sranan, as in sentences (12) to (14):

(12) Kofi bigi pas Kwaku
Kofi tall pass Kwaku
‘Kofi is taller than Kwaku’

(13) Kofi moro bigi leki Kwaku
Kofi more tall than Kwaku
‘Kofi is taller than Kwaku’

(14) a law no krabu
he lazy not crab
‘He is lazier than a crab’

Arends notes that there is "a great variety of comparative structures throughout all the documented history of Sranan". He then continues:

[...] From a typological-universal view this is very surprising. If the bioprogram did indeed 'program' one or other type of comparative into the Sranan system, precisely because this type would be biologically determined, then why should this same system, within a few generations, start to escape the program in such a way that it shows a proliferation of types, [...] (1989: 80-1)

Thus there is an appeal to typological adequacy. Arends goes on to argue that indeed the proliferation of types is indicative of an unstable, not yet fully mature system.

6. Prospects for research

I have briefly sketched five perspectives on linguistic adequacy in pidgin and creole development:

Labov: stylistic adequacy (= grammar)
Sankoff: functional requirements interacting with structural regularity
Givón: semantic fidelity or transparency interacting with constraints on production and perception
Bickerton: innate principles of the bioprogram
Arends: typological adequacy in the course of a gradual development

It is clear that these perspectives call for a research program which should focus on creole development, and primarily involve those creoles for which a number of stages have been documented. In this research grammaticalization will be a central issue, but from the pragmatic perspective much more attention should be given to particles that play a role in structuring the discourse, and the way these interact with complementizers, tense markers, and the like.


[See also: Contact linguistics; Historical linguistics; Sociolinguistics]

CRITICAL LINGUISTICS AND CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Ruth Wodak

1. Definitions

Critical linguistics (CL) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) can best be defined as "a shared perspective on doing linguistic, semiotic or discourse analysis" (van Dijk 1993b: 131). This shared perspective relates to the term critical, which in the work of some 'critical linguists' could be traced to the influence of the Frankfurt school (or more specifically to Jürgen Habermas), but which is conventionally used in a broader sense denoting, as Krings argues, the practical linking of "social and political engagement" with "a sociologically informed construction of society" (Krings et al. 1973: 808), while recognizing, in Fairclough's words "that, in human matters, interconnections and chains of cause-and-effect may be distorted out of vision. Hence 'critique' is essentially making visible the interconnectedness of things" (Fairclough 1985: 747). Implicit argumentations, for example, and opaque texts are deconstructed and their underlying meanings made explicit. The critical analysis also relates the analyzed text to other, connected, discourses (intertextuality) and to historical and synchronic contexts. Although CL and CDA are by many linguists seen as quite different in methodology, they can both be said to occupy the same 'paradigmatic space', and the terms will thus be used interchangeably in this paper, unless otherwise indicated.

CL and CDA may be defined as fundamentally interested in analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. In other words, CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signalled, constituted, legitimized etc. by language use (or in discourse). Most critical discourse analysts would thus endorse Habermas' claim that "language is also a medium of domination and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organised power. Insofar as the legitimations of power relations [...] are not articulated [...] language is also ideological" (Habermas 1977: 259).

In contrast to other paradigms in discourse and text analysis, CL and CDA focus not exclusively on spoken or written texts as objects of inquiry. A fully 'critical' account of discourse would require a theorization and description of both the social processes and structures which give rise to the production of a text, and of the social structures and processes within which individuals or groups as social-historical subjects create meanings in their interaction with texts (Fairclough & Kress 1993: 2ff). Consequently, three concepts figure indispensably in all CDA: the concept of power, the concept of history, and the concept of ideology (defined here as belief systems put forward by a group in power; see e.g. van Dijk 1989; Wodak 1989; Fairclough 1989; Fairclough & Kress 1993).

Unlike some of the research in pragmatics and traditional sociolinguistics in which, according to critical linguists, context variables are somewhat naively correlated with an autonomous system of language (eg. Kress & Hodge 1979), CL and CDA try to avoid positing a simple deterministic relation between texts and the social. Taking into account the insights that discourse is structured by dominance; that every discourse is historically produced and interpreted (i.e. is situated in time and space); and that dominance structures are legitimated by ideologies of powerful groups, the complex approach advocated by proponents of CL and CDA makes it possible to analyze