DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 250 935 FL 014 692

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TITLE A Children's Pidgin: The Case of a Spontaneous Pidgin for Two. Sociolinguistic Working Paper Number 64.
INSTITUTION Southwest Educational Development Lab., Austin, Tex.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE Jul 79
NOTE 39p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Child Language; English; *Intercultural Communication; *Language Acquisition; Language Proficiency; *Language Universals; Language Variation; Peer Influence; Peer Relationship; *Pidgins; *Second Language Learning; Swahili; Young Children

ABSTRACT

The study of the spontaneous generation of a pidgin by two children, five and six years old, to accommodate their communication needs when neither had fully acquired his native language, is described. The children were an African native of a Swahili-speaking family and an American child living in the African village. The new language created was a mixture of Swahili and English but distinct from both, unintelligible to any but the two, and the primary language for both children for most of their daylight hours for a period of fifteen months. The pidgin is analyzed from the American child's comments on and translations of tape recordings of a variety of interactions. Directions of linguistic change and elaboration typical of creolization were found. The language is described in terms of its elements from Swahili and English, lexical content and development, an ethnographic view of the social context of the pidgin, the village speech community, children's speech community, and functions and uses of the pidgin. Comments are made on verbal play and the process of invention in language, and on the universal characteristics of both children's language and pidgin language. Transcribed conversations and data on specific word use and utterances are used as illustrations. (MSE)

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A CHILDREN'S PIDGIN: THE CASE OF A SPONTANEOUS PIDGIN FOR TWO

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Sociolinguistic Working Paper

NUMBER 64

July 1979

Southwest Educational Development Laboratory

211 East Seventh Street

Austin, Texas

FL014 692

ERIC

A CHILDREN'S PIDGIN: THE CASE OF A SPONTANEOUS PIDGIN FOR TWO[1]

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OVERVIEW

The research presented in this paper documents the case of a spontaneous pidgin generated by two young children, five and six years old. The new language they created was an admixture of English and Swahili yet was distinct from both. The children spoke primarily in their pidgin for a period of fifteen months while the two were neighbors and friends on an isolated hillside in the Kenya bush.

BACKGROUND

For a period of fifteen months I lived with my husband and son, Colin (5.5-6.9 years), in Kenya, East Africa, where we conducted research on a troop of wild baboons. The headquarters for the research project was located on a sprawling 48,000 acre cattle ranch in the Kenya "bush."

About 50 yards from the headquarters were two small stone dwellings where several ranch employees and their families lived. One of the subjects of this study, a boy named Sadiki (about 6-7 years during the study), lived in one of the houses with his family. Sadiki's family was Samburu. Their language in the home was Samburu.

The cluster of individuals living on the hill was multilingual, with four different tribes being represented. All interactions between neighbors were conducted in Swahili, the official language of Kenya. The Swahili spoken in the "bush" is not to be confused with standard East Coast Swahili (Polomé, 1971). Often called Up-Country Swahili or Kisetta (see Hymes, p. 519, 1971; Le Breton, 1968), this somewhat pidginized version of Swahili is a second language for people living in up-country Kenya.

Though Sadiki certainly knew some Swahili, his competence in the language was limited. It is doubtful that he was fluent since most of his interactions were with his young sisters, as no other children lived permanently on the hillside. The nearest neighbors were miles away and most times Sadiki's family interacted with other "friends" they were usually Samburu also.

From the fourth day after Colin arrived at the research station, he and Sadiki spent all their days together. With the patient encouragement of the project's loyal field assistant, Joab, Colin began to learn some Swahili, and the two children struggled to communicate in Swahili with many gestures and charades.

After several months, it became apparent that something was a little "different" about the "Swahili" Colin and Sadiki spoke to one another. They spoke rapidly and seemed to a naive observer to be competent Swahili speakers. However, if one listened closely it was soon clear that a Swahili speaker could not follow or comprehend what the two children were saying to one another.

On one occasion the children were jumping up and down pointing at an airplane overhead shouting "Uweryumachini" over and over. The Swahili word for airplane is ndege. They were asked to repeat waht they were calling the airplane. When repeated slowly it became clear that what they were saying was "Who are you machini."

Visitors would comment initially on how impressed they were with Colin's Swahili only to remark a few minutes later "That's not Swahili, is it?" Sadiki's older brother offered, "The language that they speak is a very complicated one. Nobody understands it but the two of them."

Though my husband and I spoke to Sadiki and all other Africans in Swahili, we spoke in English to one another and to Colin. Sadiki was present much of the time. Thus, as time passed, Sadiki became quite competent in English, though he rarely spoke it. Colin, too, became more competent in Swahili and spoke to neighbors easily. Both children spoke to Joab, and all other Africans who came to visit, in Swahili. However, all interactions with one another were in what they called "our language."

For the last four months of the stay in Kenya, both children attended an English-speaking school five mornings a week. In school Colin and Sadiki did not use their private language, but as soon as they got into the car to go home they would begin to speak their language again.

From the description of the circumstances within which the children invented their language several things became clear. First, due to the fact that the two continually played in isolation with only a minimum competence shared in Swahili initially, they generated spontaneously a pidgin which would serve their communicative needs. As time passed, however,

when other linguistic options were available to them, namely English and/or Swahili, they continued to use and expand their private language and to maintain the boundaries of their tiny speech community. Thus, for fifteen months this unique children's pidgin was the primary language of both children for most of their daylight hours.

A CHILDREN'S PIDGIN

The use of the term "children's pidgin" will need some discussion at the outset of this paper. First, the distinction must be made between children learning a pidgin that already is in use in their speech community, and children inventing an original pidgin. It is the latter circumstance that is being investigated in this case. The spontaneous generation of the pidgin reported here resembles some documented cases of twin idioglosses (e.g. Hale, 1886; Jesperson, 1921; Luria and Yudovitch, 1956; and more recently the case of the Kennedy twins in San Diego, The New York Times, Sunday, September 11, 1977). However, the present discussion will not attempt to address specific comparisons between the two types of phenomena. One important difference that should be mentioned though, is that in most cases of documented twin idiglosses the individauls are not competent in any other language. However, in the case of the children's pidgin both native speakers were not only competent in a first language before ever generating the pidgin, but afterwards they were continually able to demonstrate their code-switching abilities bi- and trilingually.

In order to answer some of the basic psychological and linguistic questions about why and how two children could invent a distinct language, it will be necessary to view the phenomenon not only within the framework of the pidginization-creolization process, but also from a developmental perspective. A child's level of language competence, as well as his or her "playful" nature, will have an important effect on the pidgin created.

In recent years the processes of pidginization and creolization have received considerable scholarly attention. Through studies of pidgin and creole, questions concerning language change and language universals have been finding fertile grounds for investigation.

Pidginization occurs in culture contact situations where a minimum of linguistic competence is shared by the potential speakers. Out of communicative necessity, the speakers in such situations reduce and simplify the linguistic make-up of their exchanges. The result is a pidgin that has

certain classic features regardless of the specific language sources or geographical location of its ontogeny. Hymes has described the features of a true pidgin in this way:

> Here is a variety of speech whose vocabulary is mostly from one language, its sentence structures often from another, and yet distinct from both; restricted in function, and used by a community for none of whose members is it a first language. (1971)

Pidginization is characterized by a discarding of many of the inessential features of standard language (Todd, 1974). Some of the features often absent in pidgins include markers, inflections, and copula. The lexical stock is limited and usually reflects the restricted communicative needs of the speakers. Pidgins which arose over trade and business concerns, for example, would contain a lexicon heavy in terms for goods and prices.

This simplification process that occurs in pidginization is strikingly similar to the linguistic simplification and accomodation that occurs in a number of other naturally occurring linguistic phenomena such as early childhood language (Brown and Bellugi, 1964; Slobin, 1975; Smith, 1972), motherese (Newport, Gleitman and Gleitman, 1975), baby talk, lover talk, talk to foreigners and to the deaf (Ferguson, 1971; Jakobson, 1968) and second language acquisition (Schumann, 1975). These situations often produce a linguistic shift to what has been called a "simple register" (Ferguson, 1971). Such a register will characteristically discard inflections, markers, and copulas, considerably reduce lexicon and be restrictive in function, thus sharing many of the features described above for pidgins (Todd, 1974).

It has been suggested that not only may there be innate competence for language (Chomsky, 1968) but additionally that competence might include an innate ability to "simplify" one's own linguistic performance (Clark and Clark, 1977; Todd, 1974). In this way when individuals who do not share the same linguistic competence come into contact they are able to facilitate their communication by simplifying their language and thus minimizing the efforts of the coding and encoding responsibilities of the speaker and hearer (Ferguson, 1971). The process of pidginization relies on these abilities to reduce and simplify language structure.

Creolization, on the other hand, is a process that involves elaboration of form, expansion of function and complication of language structure. Where pidgin functions to serve limited contact needs (e.g., trade, temporary interaction), creole serves as a primary language in a speech community. As

the creolization process progresses, the original pidgin will undergo change. The change will arise in response to the growing needs of its speakers to communicate about the full range of human experience with a richer lexicon and more grammatical complexity (Labov, 1971; Sankoff and Laberge, 1973). Hymes has noted that it is the nature of a pidgin "to either develop into a fuller language or to disappear." In the pidgin-creole continuum one would therefore find the constant interplay of the two processes of reduction and simplification, as well as expansion and complication (Hymes, 1971).

One purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that the language used by the two children was, in fact, a true pidgin and that it shared the characteristics of other pidgin languages. Additionally, the discussion will illustrate that when the private language was no longer necessary as an exclusive means of communication between the two speakers, they continued to use and elaborate it. The discussion of the children's pidgin will focus on those features of the language that are illustrative of both simplification and reduction on the one hand and complication and elaboration on the other.

A DISCUSSION OF THE LANGUAGE

Several hours of tape recordings were made of Sadiki and Colin interacting in a variety of activities, including dialogues at mealtime, indoor and outdoor play sessions. Colin was asked to translate both from the tapes and in daily interactions. The discussion of the language is based on the transcribed data from the tapes as well as Colin's comments, translations, and in some cases, etymologies.

The data indicate clearly that the Children's Pidgin is, like other pidgins, an admixture of both source languages (English and Swahili) and yet distinct from both. It reflects the simplication of forms such as unmarking, absence of copula, articles and inflection, typical of pidgins all over the world. The lexicon is limited, as is the function of the language. In Colin's own words, "Well, you <u>can't</u> say <u>everything</u> in our language."

Yet, as might be suspected, due to the constant use the children made of the pidgin, it indicates directions of linguistic change and elaboration typical of early creolization processes at work. With the expansion of the function of the language to express more fully all the communicative

needs two close friends have (beyond limited play contact), the data reveal expansion of the language form as well. A continually building lexicon, the reappearance of articles and possibly markers in the Children's Pidgin (CP) indicate the nascent forms of creolization.

The description of CP lexicon and syntax that follows will attempt to illustrate only the more salient characteristics of the language, especially as they might shed light on the theoretical issues raised above.

Lexicon

There were several classes of classic pidgin relexification in CP. There were many Swahili words (taken directly from Swahili, the dominant language in the pidgin), modified Swahili words (including morphophonemic and/or syllable reductions and calquing), English words (taken directly from the language), modified English words (including a variety of phonological adaptations and, lastly, newly invented words (reflecting reduplication and onomatapoeia). A closer look at each class follows.

Swahili words

Though much of the lexicon was borrowed from Swahili directly, it is interesting that a number of Swahili words that were known and used by both children with considerable regularity when speaking to others, never appeared in the taped dialogues between the children. As in most pidgins, it is not surprising that many of the things indigenous to the environment were frequently named in Swahili. For example, all of the species of wildlife in the area were among the first Swahili words that Colin learned. The English equivalents were the first to be forgotten. This type of memory loss and obsolescence is common to pidgin situations (Samarin, 1971). Food names also were exclusively borrowed from Swahili (e.g., bread/mkati,* tea/chai, water/maji, et al.). Most of the loan words from Swahili were used

* The following pronunciation guide will indicate the pronunciation of Swahili. CP will be represented in Swahili spelling with the exception of some English loan words.

A as in Ha	I as in He	U as in Who
E as in Hay	O as in Hoe	

The letters C, X, and Q have no individual sound are not used. G is always hard.

to represent exactly the same meaning in CP as they did in Swahili. However there were several loan words which altered their meaning and function. For example, hacuna is the Swahili word for nothing. The children used the word to negate or mean no as in Hacuna tegid mimi mkati, Bwana Hugh.

(No take me bread, Mister Hugh.)

(Don't take my bread, Bwana Hugh.)

Another example in change of meaning was the use of -enda in CP. -enda or go in Swahili, was used in two ways. The first was identical to Swahili. It was used to say for example

Naenda wapi?

(Where are you going?)

But an innovation in CP was to use the word in an auxiliary capacity, such a

English	Swahili	CP
He died.	Na Kufia	Nawenda ded.
		(Go dead, die.)

Modified Swahili Words

Various modifications of Swahili words occurred in CP. Certain phoneti changes were consistent. For example, velar stops shifted from voiceless to voiced as in Africa → Afriga. These phonetic rules were consistent when modifying English words as well. Phonemes were sometimes added to words. The Swahili naenda (go) becomes nawenda, adding the w. Quite common and often inconsistently used are a variety of morphophonemic reductions. The following examples are illustrative:

English	Swahili	CP
I, me	mimi	mimi (or) mi
you	wewe	wewe (or) we
trip	safari	safare (or) fari
car	motakaa	motaga (or) ga

Another type of modification of Swahili was calquing or compounding. The sun, for example, was kubwa moto in CP.

(big fire)

Kubwa and moto are Swahili loan words. The Swahili word for sun is jua. These types of lexical inventiveness commonly found in pidgins are full of

metaphor and imagery and provide an indication of the elaborative process at work in addition to the reduction principle described above. Another more mundane, but nonetheless creative, example of calquing (again combining two Swahili words) was maji choo. This meant urine in CP. Though in Swahili
(water faces)
choo can mean latrine, feces, or urine, there was need in CP apparently to elaborate and further specify the lexicon for toilet activities. One could consider this a developmental concern of five and six year olds. A third example of compounding was offered by Colin when we told hime the Swahili word for train was traini. "Oh, we call it motoga moto," he responded.
(car fire)

English Words

Many English words appeared in CP with no modifications (e.g., stop, outside, run). Often used were "comic book" words like pow and bang. Huh
(crash) (bang) (What)
and uhuh would not be found in a standard English dictionary yet I include
(no)
them in this category for obvious reasons.

Modified English Words

Morphophonemic reductions were not restricted to Swahili words. Even when speaking English, Colin would often say tend rather than pretend. Tend was a frequently used word in CP as well. Most modifications of loan words from English followed a specific set of phonological rules. Several examples are detailed below:

Dental fricative	ð → e	voiceless → voiced	there → ðer
Labio dental fricative becomes bilabial stop	v → p or b		slave→slep (b)
velar stop	k → g	voiceless → voiced	take it → tegid
alveolar stop	t → d	voiceless → voiced	jacket → jegid

In keeping with the phonetic system take it becomes tegid in CP. Okay becomes oge or ge. Slave becomes slep or sleb. Occasionally the modification adds syllables as in cowboy to kalaboy. Oppositely, reductions in syllables, such as the following, occur.

English	Swahili	CP
like this	namna hi	la thas (or) la:s

This is very similar to reports in children's use of tok pisin by Sankoff and Laberge (1973), where adults will say Mi go long haus, a child will often say Mi go l:aus for "I am going home."

Newly Invented Words

Many of the new words in CP seemed to have grown out of sounds that were made during play, particularly car sounds made while the children played with "Match Box" cars. Tena, diding, and gninginge all meant to go fast, and all sound like the noises made when playing with their racing cars.

When Colin was asked what diding meant he was not only able to give a translation (fast) but he was able to remember the origin of its use. Colin explained that he and Sadiki were playing outside one day when he saw baboons coming toward the house. According to the rules of the household, when the baboons came to the house, Colin and Sadiki had to be inside with Joab, the project's field assistant. Sadiki's back was turned and he did not see the baboons. Colin could not remember the word for fast in Swahili so he decided if he said, "Sadiki nawenda diding," Sadiki would recognize diding from their car play and understand. Apparently he did, and the word was officially added to the lexical stock.

Another type of lexical creativity involved reduplication commonly found in pidgins. Kiki was the word for break or broken. It was often reduced to ki but it did not apparently affect the meaning. Additionally it was sometimes used with nawenda in the same way as described above for nawenda ded (e.g., Road nawenda kiki)
The road is broken.
Although the origin is not known there is some slight suggestion that onomatopoeia may have been the source for the creation of kiki.

Another interesting aspect of the language the two children shared was the fact that the lexical stock was continually growing up until the time the two children were separated. Though there is some indication that more English words were being added as time went on and Sadiki's English vocabulary grew, new word invention was also going on until the end. On the tapes there is the invention of one such word, pupu which meant not suprisingly, fart.

There may be a possibility that the word pu or something similar was known to Colin in English. I do not recall his ever using it and at this time he had been in Africa over a year. I believe it was a new word and not an English loan word, though the influence of similar words in English (e.g., poop, poos) was no doubt operating. The interesting aspect of the sample protocol is the process of agreement between the children.

The following protocol shows the attempt to create and agree on the new word pupu. It is important to keep in mind that all of the lexical and syntactic inventiveness in the development of CP took place within conversational exchanges. I have therefore chosen to present the full text of the dialogue surrounding the agreement on the new lexical item, in order to illustrate the context of the interaction and the rhythmic flow of the communicative process involved.

(The children are eating breads that they have baked in the shape of tires, tractors, balls, etc. Colin's father, Hugh, sits with them at the table recording the interaction. X = inaudible syllable.)

1 Colin: xx na kula. Silly. Silly I. Silly hello. Sema Sadiki hello las ingine.
(xx eat. Silly. Silly I. Silly hello. Sadiki say more like this hello.)

2 Sadiki: Silly bottom. (laughs) Pzzzt. (noise, modified by spelling)

3 Colin: Bottom fanya ninyi?
(Bottom makes what?)

4 Sadiki: Bottom na fanya pzzzt. (noise)
(Bottom makes pzzzt.)

5 Colin: Na fanya paauu.
(It makes paauu.)

6 Sadiki: Ach! Mimi na taka thas mingi. Wewe na taka? Uhuh.
(Ach! Me want this many, You want? No.)
(Ach! I want many of these [breads]. Do you want [them]? No.)

7 Colin: Mimi ndiyo.
(Me yes.)
(Yes I do.)

8 Sadiki: Uh?

9 Colin: Mimi kubwa tire. (Shouting and holding big bread.)
(Me big tire.)
(My big tire [bread].)

10 Sadiki: (laughs)

11 Colin: Mimi hacuna taka kula mimi tire.
(Me no want eat me tire.)
(I don't want to eat my tire.)

12 Sadiki: Huh? (laughing)

13 Colin: Mimi hacuna taka kula moja kubwa tire. (loud comic voice)
(Me no want eat one big tire.)
(I don't want to eat the big tire.)

14 Sadiki: xxx?

[Hugh takes some of the bread.]

15 Colin: (to Hugh) That's Sadiki's. Bread. That bread.

16 (to Sadiki) Tegid wewe mkati.
(Take you bread.)
(He took your bread.)

17 Hugh: Hi mkati yango. (teasingly) (using Swahili to address both children.)
(This bread of mine.)
(This is my bread.)

18 Colin: (to Hugh) Umum. Mkati kwa mimi.
(No. Bread for me.)
(No. That bread is for me.)

19 Sadiki: (to Hugh) Kula thas mimi mkati kwa Colin, yeh?
(Eat this me bread for Colin, yeh?)
(Eat my bread instead of Colin's, yes?)

[Hugh puts the bread back and the boys return to talking to each other.]

20 Colin: Kula thas mingi.
(Eat this many.)
(Eat many of these.)

21 Sadiki: Kula moja tire. Mingi kubwa. Kula moja tire.
(Eat one tire. Many big. Eat one tire.)
(Eat a tire. Many are big. Eat a tire.)

22 Colin: Thas kwa pupu na moja kula moja tire.
(This for "fart" one eat one tire.)
(It was make you fart if you eat the tire.)

23 Sadiki: Thas kwa pupu na moja kula moja tire. xx mimi tire?
[Repeats Colin's utterance with exact intonation.]
(... xx my tire?)

24 Colin: Huh?

25 Sadiki: (laughs)

26 Colin: Ninyi we lathas? Na Fanya ninyi? (looking at one of Sadiki's breads)
(What you like this? Make what?)
(What did you make like this? What did you make?)

27 Sadiki: xxx na kula mimi mkati? (Talks with mouth full)
(xxx eat my bread?)

28 Colin: Kwa kucheza wewe ninyi?
(For play you what?)
(Who will you be for play/pretend?)

29 Sadiki: Oge? xx (bandit?)
(Okay? xx (bandit?))

30 Colin: Kwa kucheza mi xx (bandit?).
(For play I'll be a (bandit?).)

31 Sadiki: xxx

32 Colin: Wewe jua ninyi pupu?
(You know what pupu?)
(Do you know what pupu means?)

33 Sadiki: Pupu? (laughing) xx pupu?

34 Colin: Uhuh, pupu... pupu moja thas, wewe na sidown kwa choo, moja pupu's cumin.
(No, pupu... pupu one this, you sit down for bowel movement one pupu is coming.)
(No, pupu... pupu means this, when you sit down for a bowel movement a pupu comes.)

35 Sadiki: Oh. (laughing)

The full cycle of invention depicted in the above protocol includes several distinct characteristic elements that are possibly typical of the etymologies of many neologisms in CP (e.g. kiki, tena, diding, qninginge). These elements include: (1) onomatopoeia and sound play (line 2: pzzzt); (2) designation of a semantic value to the sound play vocalization (line 4: Bottom na fanya pzzzt.); and (3) adaptation of the play sound to the phonetic system (lines 2,4: pzzzt → line 5: paauu → line 22, 23, 32-5: pupu). Others (e.g. Garvey, 1977; Jakobson, 1971; Jesperson, 1921) have noted elsewhere similar speculations about individual children creating lexical items in these ways.

The three characteristics mentioned above function quite independently of any joint discourse effort or conversation. But as the text above illustrates this particular progression from playful sound to lexical item occurs gradually and is woven through and integrated into the flow of the natural conversation between the two children. When a shared and symmetrical language is developed (as opposed to an individual child's lexical innovation) an additional set of interactive elements must be operating as well. The text illustrates several such conversational devices used for mutually understanding these linguistic inventions. This cooperative process includes (1) repetition (lines 25,35); (2) definition (line 34); and (3) agreement (lines 15, 35) These characteristics provide the communicative resources for developing a shared competence in the emerging language.

Some further discussion of the interaction may be helpful. In line 1 Colin appears to be inviting Sadiki to join him in his verbal play with "silly." Sadiki responds to the game saying "silly bottom" (line 2) and adding the farting sound. Instead of continuing the play with "silly," Colin (probably amused by Sadiki's little joke) responds to Sadiki and asks the question in Line 14 "Bottom fanya ninyi?" The conversation then briefly focuses on the designation of shared meaning for the sound pzzzt. It is possible at this point that Colin may have wanted to stay with this topic and finalize the lexical creation and agreement. But Sadiki changes the topic and they both move on. When "pupu" first appears in line 22, it suggests that Colin has not dropped his original interest and has in fact been further modifying the phonological shape of the original sound. Sadiki's immediate and exact imitation (line 23) in response to Colin's utterance is the only such response in this protocol. I suggest that his precise repetition of the utterance was a spontaneous reaction to the fact that he did not understand what Colin said due to the inclusion of pupu. At this point in the interaction there is no reason to guess that Sadiki recognized pupu as a word. The repetition performed the function of at least briefly keeping the conversation going (see Keenan, 1976) and allowing Sadiki the chance to play with and duplicate the unknown sound and utterance. In developing a shared language repetitions of new vocalizations are probably essential in order to produce equally competent speakers.

In line 32 when Colin directly asks Sadiki if he knows what pupu means, the conversation moves to a meta-linguistic level. The process of defining and agreeing is not unconsciously evolving through sound play and repetitions but is in this particular instance an articulated negotiation, acknowledging the arbitrary nature of language. This ability to agree on and discuss their language in this way is another device for assuring the shared competentce and symmetrical performance of CP.

COMMENT ON LEXICON

As the above discussion indicated, there was much richness and diversity in the lexicon of CP. Some interesting questions can be raised about why certain choices were made over others. For instance, there are co-occurrences, contrasts, and redundancies in the development of the lexicon, many of which seem to have no significant cause. In Swahili, the word for come is kuja. Kuja was used in CP only as a command as in Kuja hapa, slep. Yet the English
(Come here, slave.)

word come was used in CP also. However, it was only used after a noun phrase and with is or 's as in the example in the protocol above, moja pupu's cumin. Other redundancies are interchangeable such as the three words mentioned above, diding, tena, and gninginge all meaning fast or go fast (depending on the word order of the sentence). Similarly, there are a number of ways to say no in CP. Chuh, hapana, no, hacuna, or si + verb all mean no. All can be used in any situation.

Just as there are cases where many words can mean the same thing, there are several interesting cases of one word meaning different things. This will lead us into the topic of syntax, because when such words vary in meaning, the variance is usually dependent on word order placement.

SYNTAX

Fixed word order is one of the common characteristics of a pidgin. The coding and encoding responsibilities of the speaker/hearer are somewhat reduced in this way, since the pidgin usually has little or no inflection. The word order of CP reflects this feature. Up-country Swahili, similarly, is not highly inflected and relies on word order for clarity. There is much of the influence of the pidginized Swahili the children knew in CP. DeCamp (1971) has commented on the stimulus diffusion that takes place when speakers familiar with any form of pidgin participate "in the creation of a new pidgin." The language that results from such a situation will be "influenced by the pattern already known." This is no doubt true in this case as well. However, it is interesting to note the original patterns that emerge within such a setting, for in the variation one can see linguistic flexibility and creativity in operation.

Unlike Swahili, CP followed the English rule for the position of adjectives.

English	Swahili	CP
many cars	motakaa mingi	mingi motaga

The modifier always precedes the noun in CP, it always follows the noun in Swahili.

Another English characteristic of CP is the occasional use of an 's placed after a noun to represent the verb is where there would have been none. Note the following example.

English	Swahili	CP
[illegible]	Motakaa na kuja	Motaga's cumin.

Where this s appears, the feature of copula absence begins to be modified. Though the actual ontogeny of the language was not documented in these data, it would seem logical that elaborations such as the appearance of this 's and the two examples that will follow, were incorporated into CP in the later stages of its development.

The next example of syntactic inventiveness presents a Swahili word for one, moja. The children used this word to represent number just as the Swahili usage indicates. For example, they would count moja (one), mbili (two), tatu (three) in Swahili. Or if asked how many they want of something, they might answer moja. But, as described in the section above on lexicon, some Swahili words in CP took on expanded functions and meanings. Moja was a word like that. It was used very frequently and in a variety of ways. The playful manipulation of the sound, meaning and function of moja will be illustrated in the following discussion

In the sample chosen for analysis the word moja occurred 80 times. The word was used in a variety of contexts and took on a number of functions according to the context in which it was used. (For a full list of the occurrences see Appendix: Uses of Moja. The data provided there further indicate the range and scope of its usage.)

Twenty-eight percent (n=22) of the uses of moja occurred while the children were playing on a rope swing which hung from a tree in the yard. In this context moja was used over and over in a chanted counting sequence (moja, mbili, tatu) (one, two, three). The children counted off their swings as they took turn hanging on to the flying rope. This usage of moja is consistent with the Swahili usage.

During the rope swinging episode there was considerable verbal play wit the counting sequence. A few examples of this play follow.

(taking turns swinging)

Example 1

Sadiki: Tatu. Wapi wewe?
(Three. Where are you?)

Sadiki & Colin: Moja, mbili tatu.

Colin: Silly tatu. Wapi wewe?
(Silly three. Where are you?)

Example 2

Colin: Moja.

Sadiki: Uhuh moja.
(Not one.)

Colin: Ndiyo moja.
(Yes one.)

Sadiki: Moja, mbili, tatu. (laughing)

Example 3

Colin: Redi au uhuh?
(Ready or not?)

Sadiki: Redi, moja.
(Ready, one.)

Colin: Ene.
(Four.)

Sadiki: Mbili. (laughing)

The play with numbers in the counting sequences illustrated here provided an opportunity to use the word moja over and over again. The repetitive structure allowed for playful variations within the framework. It may have been through this type of repetitive use and manipulation that moja originally expanded its function and use.

The following protocol will demonstrate some of the expanded uses the children made of moja in CP beyond its original Swahili meaning.

The children are playing with rocks pretending they are cars. They are pretending that Batman (Sadiki) and Action man (Colin) are saving slaves from being captured by robbers. All this takes place in a modern day setting of the African Safari Rally. Sadiki has asked Colin for one of the cars. Colin refuses saying the one Sadiki has is the same.

Colin: Uhuh. Na moja sem lathas.
(No, That one is the same as this.)

Sadiki: Thas uhuh. Thas uhuh.
(This isn't. This isn't.)

Colin: Uhuh. (car noises) Thas ga na moja tena motaga.
(No. That car is a fast car.)

Sadiki: Mimi na taka xx. Na mi nawenda. Ah, hacuna moja.
(I want xx. So I can go Ah, this isn't one.)

Moja thas kwa kuwenda. Mi mawe's hacuna kabisa. Ah thas sem.
(One of these for going. My rock is gone. Ah, this is the same.)

[Sadiki finds one that pleases him and they continue to play.]

Moja thas slep. Moja thas sema, "Wewe diding nyumbani?"
(This is a slave. This one says, "Are you going to your house?")

"Jua moja road?"
("Do you know the road?")

Colin: Wewe diding moja nyumbani? Wapi na fanya moja road?
(You're going to the house? Where will you make the road?)

Sadiki: No enda.
(I can't go.)

Colin: Oge. Fanya moja road, kwisha thas road nawenda kiki. Ge?
(Okay. Make a road, this road has broken. Okay?)

Sadiki: Ya. Mimi na fanya.
(Yes. I will make one.)

[The boys begin to build a road on the floor.]

Listening to the sound of the repetitions of moja in the above protocol one cannot avoid the conclusion that there is a special rhythm, meter, and sound that is being played with, in addition to the semantic and syntactic play.

Let us examine the use a little more closely. It seems that moja can represent an article as in the following examples:

(1) moja road
(a road)

(2) moja nyumbani
(the house)

(moja + noun)

It apparently can also have pronoun status either used alone or with thas. Consider the following:

(1) Ah, hacuna moja.
(Ah, that's not one.)

(2) Moja thas kwa kuwenda.
(One of these for going.)

Moja was also frequently used with na. Na is a special case in itself and will be discussed below. Na can be a tense marker accompanying all verbs in CP. For example, even when English verbs are used, na will precede them as in nastop, or narun. Na also means and, in CP and in Swahili. The following example illustrates several uses of the na moja occurrence.

(1) Thas qa na moja tena motaqa.
(This car is a fast car.)

(2) Na taka na moja chai?
(Do you want some tea?)

(3) We we diding au na moja motaga?
(Will you go fast or will the car?)

It seems that, as with the co-occurrence with thas, the general effect is to emphasize the determiner (e.g., article pronoun) quality of the word. Yet there seem to be some verb overtones in its use with na. For example, is there an absence of copula in example #1 above, or is the na moja an attempt to fill the void of a verb? Consider these sentences taken from a different session.

(1) Mimi moja pow.
(I went crash. (or) Me a crash.)

(2) Moja diding.
(He goes fast. (or) One fast.)

The use of moja with verbs (moja + verb, na + moja) suggests that it might be in the process of change in the direction of some auxiliary function similar to that discussed above for -enda (e.g., nawenda ded).

All of these examples demonstrate that indeed moja has considerably elaborated its meaning and its syntactic function far beyond its origianl use in Swahili. It is clearly being mainpulated and experimented with by both children.

The final example of syntactic elaboration in CP is the use of na. Na, as was stated above, can mean and, also, by or with in Swahili. In CP only and and also are represented by na. The other most common use of na in Swahili is a tense marker, for the present tense. -li- is used for past tense and -ta- for future. In CP no past or future tenses are expressed. Present tense only na is used with verbs. Here are two examples of those common uses of na in CP that are standard in Swahili as well.

(1) Wewe na taka wenda swing? — na + verb
(Do you want to go swing?)

(2) Wewe majinga na mimi silly. — na = and
(You are a fool and I am silly.)

There are, however, several occurrences in the data that indicate the use of na in quite a different way. Consider these two examples:

(1) Mimi ju na mimi boot nawenda kiki sasa.
(I know that my boot broke now.)

(2) We jua na mingi polisman na sema?
(Do you know that many policemen talked.)

The first example was said by Colin in early April. The second by Sadik in late May. Though these are the only two instances occurring in the data o na used in this way, it is the author's feeling that the occurrence is not haphazard. The indication is that na, a word which is redundant and obligatory in CP sentences to begin with, shows the possibility of becoming a marker for clausal embeddings in sentences. In both cases the use of na follows the verb to know. In both cases it is followed by a noun phrase plus a verb phrase. It is easy to see that a marker in such a position can help to clarify the message for the listener.

In both the use of moja and na on-going syntactic change is demonstratec in CP. Labov (1971) has said that "when pidgins acquire native speakers, they change." These data provide evidence to support this theory. In spite of the fact that CP had only two native speakers and those speakers were in fact young children, the pidgin held true to what scholars would have predicted for a large adult-dominated population. This is indeed an impressive discovery. When one further considers that these occurrences of development and change happened not over several hundred years and across generations but over a fifteen month time period, it is necessary to question the notion that language change is gradual.

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE CHILDREN'S PIDGIN: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC VIEW

Though pidgin languages do not ordinarily serve as vehicles for persona friendships (Gumperz, 1972), one such case is documented in this paper - the Children's Pidgin. Why did such a language develop and persist? What socia contexts gave rise to this linguistic invention and provided for its surviva In what circumstances did the children use their language? How did it function? The following discussion will explore these questions.

THE SETTING

As mentioned above, the hillside on which the children lived was multilingual. All of the Africans who lived there worked for the white Kenyan

owners of the cattle ranch. Most of the employees were cattle herds and represented nomadic herding tribes such as Masai, Samburu, Turkana, and Boran. The field assistants who worked for the research project and other servant employees on the ranch were often of different tribal groups, often more agricultural, such as Luo and Abaluya. Night guards who patrolled the ranch to prevent poaching were usually Somali. Ranch employees earned very meager wages (20 to 40 dollars a month, depending on position).

Our family lived a life style which dramatically contrasted with our neighbors, culturally and economically. The children could move with apparent ease between the two worlds in ways their parents could not. The children would play at each other's houses, eat each other's food, and frequently interact with both families.

THE HILLSIDE SPEECH COMMUNITY

The range of linguistic repertoires on the hill included Samburu, Masai, Luo, Abaluya, English and Swahili. Occasional use of Turkana, Boran and Somali was found depending on the presence of transient employees who lived temporarily on the hill. No one in the community knew Swahili as a first language (as might be found on the coast of Kenya). All communication, as I have mentioned earlier, with members of other tribes, or with wazungu (Swahili for whites or Europeans) was conducted in Swahili.

Swahili, the language shared by the community was generally the language associated with work, school, business, politics and media (newspaper, radio). English is also spoken by many Kenyans. English is a language learned in school, however, and most of the rurual Africans did not have an education and therefore did not speak English

Gumperz (1972) has distinguished between "fluid" verbal repertoires and compartmentalized repertoires in speech communities. He describes fluid repertoires as having gradual transitions between adjoining vernaculars. Compartmentalized repertoires, on the other hand, exist where special parlances are sharply distinct and set off from other speech styles.

In a bilingual group, e.g. French Canadian, all share the same culture and language and there is mutually understood code switching regularly taking place. On the hillside community where Colin and Sadiki lived this was not the case. This community, instead, was compartmentalized around several overlapping speech communities within the broader community. Here, Swahili - the

shared language-had more formal use, since it was not the language of communication between close family and friends.

Another point that must be made concerning both the attitudes and the use of English and Swahili was that there were vestiges of colonialism in conveying roles and status when using these languages. Use of the different languages conveyed different messages and were used to address different audiences. For example, when English speaking visitors came to the hillside they would address the two children standing together by saying, "Hello Colin" and "Jambo Sadiki" using English to address Colin and Swahili to address Sadiki. This distinction, though considered polite, carried certain class and race messages.

Consider another example. I once observed a well-dressed and apparently well-educated, middle class African stop to have his car checked at an up-country gas station which was owned by an Asian. The Asian was fluent in English and Swahili in addition to his own Indian languages, Hindi and Gujurati. When the African spoke to the Asian he spoke in English. When the Asian answered the African he spoke only in Swahili. The conversation continued this way until its conclusion some ten minutes later. If the same Asian had been speaking to an American or European who was fluent in Swahili and English, he would have spoken in English. Yet because this was an African he refused to converse with him in English, thus conveying a social judgment not only to the African with whom he was speaking but to all who overheard the interaction.

THE CHILDREN'S SPEECH COMMUNITY

There were four languages which overlapped in the speech community to which only Colin and Sadiki belonged. These included English, Swahili, Samburu and CP. The children's competence in each of these varied markedly (except in the case of Samburu which remained almost exclusively in Sadiki's domain) over the fifteen month period they were together.

Colin began the year with competence in English and gradually built a degree of competence in Swahili over the course of the period. At the end of the fourth month I felt comfortable leaving him alone in the care of Joab with whom he communicated only in Swahili. That is not to say that Colin's Swahili was fluent at that point, but that he could communicate his needs and generally feel confident communicatively. Colin's competence in Swahili was limited, however. He never needed a degree of proficiency

beyond a certain level because his conversation with adults was limited (as the tradition goes) and he did not often or regularly play with predominantly Swahili-speaking children.

Sadiki began the year with competence in Samburu and limited competence in Swahili. It is difficult to assess accurately just exactly what Swahili competence Sadiki had. I suspect it was significantly more than he demonstrated. In keeping with the cultural rule, Sadiki would not talk freely or engage in lengthy conversations or initiate talk with adults. As a child this would be seen as disrespectful. Since there were rarely other Swahili-speaking children visiting the hillside, there were rarely opportunities to observe Sadiki demonstrate his competence in Swahili. What is clear is that he had more proficiency in Swahili than did Colin. The following dialogue will illustrate this point. This protocol is taken from a tape recording made in December ten months after our arrival.

(Tape from a voice letter which Colin was sending to his grandmother. Colin had asked Sadiki to say something in Samburu to his grandmother. Sadiki does so. Colin asks him what he has said in order to translate.)

Colin: Ninya wewe na sema?
(What did you say?)

Sadiki: Uh, (pause) mm, mm.

Colin: Ninyi wewe na sema? Sadiki?

Sadiki: ... (inaudible)... mpira kila siku na Colin. (Swahili)

Colin: Ninyi wewe na sema, Sadiki?

Sadiki: (laughs) Mi nawenda kwa mingi melano piga mpira kwa mingi. (CP)

Colin: He said that every time we kick

Colin Sadiki: the ball

Colin: every d - d um day! (silly, playful voice)

Sadiki used the expression kila siku which is Swahili for every day. Colin clearly did not respond to this and most likely did not, in fact, understand the idiom. Colin's immediate response to and translation of the Swahili statement is self explanatory. Sadiki demonstrates his competence in Swahili, English and CP in this interaction.

For the same reasons as described above for Swahili, it is also difficult to assess accurately Sadiki's competence in English. He did not participate English dialogue but seemed to have a good understanding of it

from his school teacher's accounts at the end of the year when he began to attend an English-speaking school.

Both children demonstrated equal proficiency in one language, the pidgin they created together. They used CP exclusively when speaking to each other. They also switched codes with apparent rule consistency. For instance, they would both speak to Joab in Swahili and when in each other's company would speak to Sadiki's family in Swahili (as opposed to Samburu). They regularly demonstrated that they had alternations and co-occurrences in language use. Words, quite familiar to them both in Swahili e.g., pesi pesi (fast), namna hi (like this), viatu (shoe), teari (ready) were used when speaking to Joab and others. While in CP those same lexical items would be expressed to one another in the following way: tena (fast), la thas or las (like this), boot (shoe or boot), redi-with a trilled "r" (ready). Syntax shifts were executed as well. In swahili the children would say mpira yango.
(my ball, the ball of mine)

In CP they would say mimi mpira, shifting the placement of the possessive.
(my ball)

FUNCTION AND USES OF THE PIDGIN

In/Out. The language the children shared seemed to bond them as much as it reflected their bonds. CP helped create an in/out group distinction in many situations, similar to the function of a play language or disguised speech. Consider the following excerpt taken from an earlier tape. Colin's father, Hugh, was tape recording the children playing on the rope swing.

Colin: Enda mimi boot nawenda kiki sasa, hacuna mbaya.
(My boot fell down now, it's not bad though.)

Hugh: What did you say?

Colin: Sema kwa mimi boot.
(I was talking about my boot.)

[Colin and Sadiki swing on the rope singing, moja, mbili, tatu.]
(one, two, three)

Hugh: (again) What's that mean?

Colin: What mean?

Hugh: What you said about your boots?

Colin: Mimi boot nawenda... my boot ran away, silly.

Sadiki: (laughing)

Colin: (to Sadiki, laughing also) Bwana Hugh hacuna ju ninyi.
(Hugh doesn't know anything.)

[Colin and Sadiki gigle.]

The children enjoy the laugh on Colin's father. They are "in the know." He is left out.

Public/Private. Another distinction can be made about the public and private aspects of the language. When called on to translate for each other in public, the two would stand up very close, faces almot touching, and whisper in CP. These private translations took place for example when English or Swahili speaking children came to visit. These speech events usually involved directions for soccer games, races and the like. Whether in all cases they actually needed one another to translate is unclear. Nonetheless, the ritual of translation persisted to the end. This behavior essentially threw up boundary markers to the others present and reinforced the special intimacy of the two close friends.

Formal/Informal. A final distinction in the function of CP will be discussed, that of the formal/informal uses of the language. CP evolved as a language of play and secrecy. It was not used in formal settings. Until our interest in the unique aspects of CP was expressed, CP was always spoken privately and only overheard by outsiders. Formal interactions, with adults in most cases were either in Swahili or English. Once they were convinced that our interest in the language was genuine, the children were willing to demonstrate their competence to us. I suspect that initially Colin though we might be disappointed in him if we discovered that he was not really speaking Swahili. But our scientific curiosity seemed to make them both proud of their accomplishment and sanctioned their use of it. Many of the Africans similarly sanctioned the phenomenon by indicating that Mangu (God) had obviously blessed the friendship for such a tongue to be spoken. Yet in spite of the positive feedback in the community, the children maintained delight in their rapid proficiency and in our ignorance.

They maintained the use of their pidgin in only informal contexts. For example, when both children went to school in the final months they spoke no CP. It was a traditional classroom situation and most communication was teacher-to-student rather than student-to-student. Therefore little opportunity for dialogue between Colin and Sadiki existed. However, given the opportunity, the unspoken rule for the children was not to use CP at school. Once out of the formal environment of school and in the car with me, they immediately proceeded to converse in CP. Apparently all school interactions that took place were in English. The school environment

and the status of English in a school setting clearly sent a message of the inappropriateness of any other language to the students who went there (i.e., Dutch, Hungarian, French, Swahili, Kikuyu, Samburu, English and Hindi speakers).

SUMMARY OF THE ETHNOGRAPHIC DISCUSSION

The ethnographic discussion above shows that on this particular hillside languages such as English (with the exception of our family and Swahili were reserved for formal, public and non-intimate interactions. Close kin and good friends (i.e., members of the same tribe), did not use those languages with one another ordinarily. The creation of a separate and distinct language on the part of the two children was consistent with the community practice. In the compartmentalized linguistic community in which linguistic borders were sharply defined, all intimates had a special language in which they communicated with each other and expressed their closeness. For Colin and Sadiki their Children's Pidgin performed that social function as well.

Play languages, sometimes referred to as pig-latins, disguised speech and secret languages, are a type of speech play, in which a linguistic code is created by means of a few simple rules (see Sherzer, 1976). Though the Children's Pidgin is clearly not as simple as a pig-latin, it does, however, perform a similar function for its speakers. It is secret. And it is fun. The children's Pidgin set up and maintained boundaries (Whinnom, 1971) around their tiny speech community just as play languages do.

In conclusion there are several questions that remain to be addressed. Why did Colin simply not learn Swahili only? Why did the pidgin contain so little influence from Samburu? I have indicated that the compartmentalized nature of the multilingual community was conducive to intimates having a private language. I suggest that there are several other factors operating as well.

First, it is clear that if the children had not been in isolation as much as they were, the pidgin would probably not have been created. If adults had been closely supervising, the "errors" in word placement or vocabulary would have been corrected.

But one might ask why, in spite of the isolation, Sadiki, who certainly had more competence in Swahili than Colin, did not take a more leading and instructive role in teaching Colin Swahili or Samburu. The answer here I

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suspect has much to do with the socio-economic and cultural factors discussed earlier. Because of Colin's status-American, wealthy, etc.-there was clearly an asymetrical relationship in socio-economic status between the two children. Colin was a bit magical with his cars and toys and privileged life style. Sadiki clearly deferred to this status. It was therefore in his own social framework, not feasible to take an instructive role in those first months of their friendship. He was overwhelmed by all the newness.

As the language developed along with the friednship, the two children managed to create for themselves a world that overcame those imbalances. Neither English nor Swahili had priority in CP. The children had together found a way to escape the biases of language and culture by creating for themselves a separate universe.

VERBAL PLAY AND THE PROCESS OF INVENTION

Sadiki's mother once told me as we watched our children playing together, "Kucheza kasi ya watoto." which means, "To play is the work of children." Much work was accomplished by the children through playful acts in order to invent their shared language.

Children typically enjoy using language as a resource for play, manipulating all of its dimensions (sound, meaning, syntax and lexicon) for the sake of doing just that (Cazden, 1972; Garvey, 1977a; Sanches and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1976). Fascination with phonological elements of language continues far beyond the acquisition of proficiency with sound. Children play with sounds and noises and controlled articulation of rasping, devoicing nasalization, constriction, etc. They enjoy motor noises for which cars, bombs, airplanes and the like are given often elaborate sound effects (see Garvey, 1977b).

Colin and Sadiki engaged in long and continuous hours of such verbal play, "in which the shape of the message (became) the focus of attention, perhaps exploited for its own sake" (Hymes 1964 as quoted by Sanches and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1976). Due to their initial communicative limitations with one another they may have had to rely more heavily on sound play and repetition in their conversational exchanges. Sutton-Smith (1976) has suggested that play and fantasy provide "the breeding ground for an overproductive stock of ideas which may subsequently be called into adaptive action." In CP this was the case as verbal play brought about linguistic invention and mutual agreement.

Keenan (1976) has demonstrated that repetition, so predominant in early language and verbal play, can perform a wide variety of functions in conversation (e.g., agreeing, self-informing, displaying knowledge and generally keeping the discourse going). CP offers further examples of the function of repetition. In the case of CP, repetition in verbal play became a means of teaching and learning together, a strategy for sharing. Repetitions were a way of agreeing, memorizing and building a shared dictionary and set of grammatical rules. Playful repetitions assured the symmetrical performance of the language by both children.

Play has often been explained away as merely a preparation for adult life, practice for the future. The "play" that created CP seems in this context to be wasted energy. For it was not aimed at accomplishing acculturation into the adult community, but it was aimed at the creation of a new community, a child community. This demonstration of creative competence is but one example of the valuable insights into the development of communicative competence which can be found in the study of improvised spontaneous speech play used by children.

CONCLUSION

It was the goal of this paper to describe a unique case of a children's pidgin with regard to its "childrenness" and its "pidginness." The discussion of the features of the children's pidgin has illustrated that indeed the language shared "universal" characteristics of both children's language and pidgin language. The subtle interplay of the pidginization-creolization process was documented with co-occurrences in the data of both simplification and elaboration of the form and function of the language.

It has been said by Chukovsky (1963) that "only those ideas can become toys for him whose proper relation to reality is firmly known to him." It can be suggested, therefore, that the kinds of manipulation of language at all levels from morphophonemic to sociolinguistic that were done by the "native speakers" of CP provide insight into the psychological reality of the linguistic elements "played with." This type of meta-linguistic awareness is part of the on-going development of the child.

The Children's Pidgin described in this paper reveals not only information about the psychological reality of Colin and Sadiki, but about the linguistic competence of five and six year olds in general. It is the position of the author that it was the situation and not the children

that was unique in this case. The pidgin could have been generated by any other children. Given the need and the circumstances, the performance would have been demonstrated.

It has been shown by Gelman and Shatz (1977) that four year olds can appropriately simplify their speech when talking to two year olds. The case of the spontaneous pidgin described in this paper suggests that the same simplification metric may have been operating when the two children came into contact. This process would account for the ability of young children to originate (as opposed to learn) a pidgin.

But what accounts for the expansion and complication process that is also apparent in the language? The discussion above suggests that linguistic playfulness and creativity, characteristic of language development, contribute the momentum for such a creolization process.

Jakobson (1968) has noted that the "poetic function" of children's speech play displays manipulation for its own sake. Features common to the interactions between Colin and Sadiki, such as alliteration, repetition, rhyme, metaphor, and imagery are illustrative of linguistic expressiveness (Sanches and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1976). It is evident from this case that these features can provide fertile ground for significant language invention as well as language development.

Feldman, Goldin-Meadow and Gleitman (1977) have studied the invention of "home sign" language of deaf children in order to gain further understanding of "what the child contributes to language learning from his own internal resources and dispositions." The case of the Children's Pidgin provides additional insight into the active contribution the child makes in the language "learning" process. Such phenomena suggest that we view all language learning as inseparable from language invention.

APPENDIX: USES OF MOJA

The 80 cases listed below were taken sequentially as they occurred on two tape recordings (4/7/76, 5/18/76) representing a total of 2 1/2 hours of interaction.

Occurances #1-22 were chanted during a counting sequence on the rope swing. In each case moja functions as a cardinal number and is consistent with the Swahili use as a cardinal number occur (#72). The innovative uses of moja are demonstrated in the remaining 57 cases.

C = Colin
S = Sadiki
x = inaudible syllable

#	Speaker	Utterance
1	C and S:	Moja, mbili, tatu. (One, two, three)
2	S:	Moja.
3	C and S:	Moja, mbili, tatu.
4	C and S:	Moja, mbili, tatu.
5	C and S:	Moja, mbili, tatu.
6	C:	Moja.
7	S:	Uhuh moja. (Not one.)
8	C:	Ndiyo moja. (Yes one.)
9	S:	Moja, mbili, tatu (laughing)
10	S:	Moja, mbili, tatu.
11	C and S:	" " "
12	C and S:	" " "
13	C and S:	" " "
14	S:	Nyow. Pow moja.
15	S:	Moja, mbili, tatu.
16	C:	Moja, mbili, silly.
17	S:	Moja.

#	Speaker	Utterance
18	C and S:	Moja, mbili, tatu.
19	C and S:	Moja, mbili, tatu.
20	C:	Moja.
21	C:	Moja, mbili, tatu, bas. (enough)
22	S:	Redi, moja. (Ready one)
23	C:	Wewe na taka na moja chai? (Do you want some tea?)
24	S:	Moja finish. Hapa mingi. (eating breads) (One's finished. Here are many.)
25	C:	Mimi hacuna taka kula moja hubwa tire. (I don't want to eat the big bread .)
26,27	S:	Kula moja tire. Kula moja tire. (Eat the tire bread . 2 times)
28	C:	Pupu moja thas ... (Pupu is one of these/means this...)
29	C:	... moja pupu's cumin. (... a fart comes.)
30	C:	xx moja kwa steering. (xx one for steering.)
31	C:	... sa na moja steering kwa head. (... so this is steering for your head.)
32	S:	Moja racing, ge? (One's racing, okay?)
33	S:	Na taka racing na moja siagi, oge? (I want to race the butter, okay?) pushing butter dish across the table
34	C:	Racing moja ninyi? (Racing the what?)
35	S:	Na moja siagi, mimi sema. (The butter, I said)
36	C:	Wewe diding au na moja motage? (Are you racing or is the car?)
37	S:	Slep moja racing car slep. (The slave is a racing car slave.)
38	C:	Oge kuja uhuh kabisa, oge? Thas moja ninyi ingine. (Okay don't come at all, okay? This one will come again.)
39	C:	Oge. Kwa kucheza moja kwa shooting hapa... (Okay. For play/pretend this one's for shooting here...)
40	C:	Sadiki moja kubwa mawe uko road. (Sadiki there's a big rock on the road there.)

#	Speaker	Utterance
41	C:	(We?)... diding moja fari. (You go real fast in the safari (car rally).
42	S:	Moja xx fari. (This one xx safari.)
43	C:	Uhuh. Si na moja sem lathas. (No. See this one is the same as this.)
44	C:	Uhuh (car noises). Thas ga na moja tena motaga. (No. This car is a fast car.)
45	S:	Oh. Hacuna moja. (Oh. This isn't one.)
46	S:	Moja thas kwa kuenda an mi mawe's hacuna kabisa. (I need) one of these (rocks) to go and my rock's gone.)
47	S:	Moja thas sleps. (These are slaves.)
48	S:	Moja thas sema "Wewe diding nymbani." (This one says "You speed to the house.")
49	S:	"Jua moja road?" (Do you know (where the) road is?)
50	C:	Wewe diding moja nymbani. (You speed to the house.)
51	S:	Wapi na fanya moja road? (Where should I make the road?)
52	S:	Oge. Fanya moja road, road kwisha thas. (Okay. Make a road, this road is finished/no good.)
53	C:	We fanya kubwa xx, motoga moja nawenda. xx kubwa ona like thas. (You make a big xx, this car is going xx big and look like this.)
54	S:	XX moja thas sleps. (These are slaves.)
55	S:	Moja thas like racing x slep? (Are these like the racing x slave?)
56	C:	Moja gninginge. (car sounds) (This one speeds. (or) A speeding car.)
57	C:	Moja malango kwa uko. (This door is for over there.)

#	Speaker	Utterance
58	C:	Y na mingi robber na kuja sasa, moja kill mingi robber. (And many robbers come now, this one kills them)
59	C:	Mbaya moja mbaya uko nawenda xx. (This very bad one goes over there xx.)
60	C:	Ona bas au moja kwisha. (Don't look or this one's finished/dead.)
61	C:	Moja do thas sasa. (This one does this now.)
62	C:	"Kwa heri." Tend moja uko, oge? ("Good-bye." Pretend one/he goes over there, okay?)
63	C:	Kwa kucheza moja wapi? (For play where should this one go?)
64	S:	Oge, moja Africa xxx kwa tegid. (Okay, one (ship) to Africa xxx for taking.)
65	C:	Kwisha moja. (This one's finished.)
66	C:	(Chanting) Mimi kujuko, lete kuja game, kuju na gema, na moja moto kwa uko kuja... (the fire for over there comes...)
67	C and S:	(Chanting together)... mimi moja pow. (... I went crash.)
68	C:	(chanting) Kuja moja uko, (This one comes here,)
69		kwa na moja game... (for the game)
70		we mimi las moja kumi, (you and I are like these ten)
71		moja diding mi game... (one is racing in my game)
72	S:	We na taka moja? (Do you want one?) [offering sweets to Colin]
73	S:	xx moja...
74	S.	.. uh moja we nymbani, oh thas mi nymbani. (... uh this is your house, oh this is my house.)
75	C:	Mi nawenda lathas moja mawe kwa hapa kwa tape. (I'm going to do this, this rock here is for the tape recorder.)

#	Speaker	Utterance
75	C:	[Colin puts the tape recorder on a flat rock while it continues to record and he swings on the rope with Saʼiki]
76	S:	xx mrefu ingene moja. (I swing) far once again.) [swinging on the rope]
77,78	S:	Mimi na jua moja run moja tree na swing. (I know how to run to that tree and swing.)
79	S:	Na run na moja tree kwa uko swing. (I run to the tree to swing there.)
80	C:	Sema moja las. (What I said was like this.)

FOOTNOTE

1 This paper has benefited strongly from the scholarship and tutelage of Lila Gleitman and Dell Hymes and from helpful comments made on an earlier draft by William Labov, Virginia Hymes, Maryilyn Shatz, and Charles Ferguson. I wish to thank the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, Working Paper Project for a grant-in-aid which supported the completion of this work. I am grateful to Janet Theophano for her insights about ethnography, folklore and speech play which contributed to the merits of this paper and to Hugh A. Gilmore for a valuable exchange of ideas throughout the course of this study.

Finally I wish to thank Sadiki Elim and Colin Gilmore for generously sharing with me their creativity, humor and playfulness. They have taught me much about language and even more about friendship.

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