

Introduction: Sociolinguistics and/of Pidgins and Creoles

Joseph Farquarson (UWI, Mona, Jamaica) & Bettina Migge (University College Dublin, Ireland)

There are multiple connections between Pidgins and Creoles (P/Cs) and sociolinguistics. They reflect the very nature of their inception as well as the fact pointed out by Rickford (1988), that many of the early and current researchers who have worked on P/Cs are also sociolinguists and have applied sociolinguistic methods and approaches to the study of P/Cs.¹ Quantitative sociolinguistics research on Creoles and work on implicational scales, for instance, were instrumental in identifying the nature of creole grammars and their relationship to their main lexical input or lexifier, e.g. English. They were also crucial in critically assessing the notion of social class and its applicability to different contexts (Rickford 1986a), the notion of variable rules (Devonish 1989; Winford 1990) and the nature of non-phonological variables (Winford 1984). Research on variation in P/Cs also gave rise to sociolinguistic models such as Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) 'Acts of Identity' model and DeCamp's (1971) Post-Creole Continuum model. Sociolinguists working on other languages, in turn, have often drawn on evidence and concepts from research on P/Cs to explain sociolinguistic and sociohistorical processes, models and assumptions, and to explain the makeup of linguistic contexts (e.g. Cheshire et al. 2011 for a recent example). However, according to Winford (1997b: 304) since the 1990s sociolinguists and Creolists have paid less close attention to each other's work, so that outdated assumptions about P/Cs and variation (as discussed in some early publications on Caribbean English-lexified Creoles) are at times being uncritically rehashed in the sociolinguistics literature, and newer developments in sociolinguistics are not always applied to research on P/Cs .

The Post-Creole Continuum notion had an important impact on early understandings of particularly English-official communities in the Caribbean where English-lexified Creoles function as important community languages coexisting with the official language, English. Coined by DeCamp (1971) based on research on Jamaica and popularized by Bickerton (1975) who relied on data from Guyana, the Post-Creole Continuum model posits that the variation between a Creole and localized varieties of Standard English is part of one system as no boundaries can be established between them (cf. Bailey 1971). Bickerton argued that this situation emerged after Emancipation because Creole speakers were gradually adapting the 'deep' Creole, also called basilect, in the direction of Standard English, also referred to as the acrolect. The adaptation process, referred to as decreolization (Bickerton 1980), was demonstrated to have produced intermediate lects or mesolects. Most researchers take issue with the view that Creole varieties cannot be differentiated and argue that they constitute sociolinguistic continua (see below). Quantitative sociolinguistic research has challenged the view that variation between the different lects posited by the Post-Creole Continuum is

¹For reasons of space, our discussion does not treat the literature on African American (Vernacular) English. The discussion on African American (Vernacular) English has also, in part, proceeded separately.

continuous. Also, despite the fact that both sociohistorical and sociolinguistic research have called into question Bickerton's historical scenario of the emergence of Post-Creole Continua and the notion of decreolization (see Winford (1997b) for a summary overview discussion), both the concept of the Post-Creole continuum and the notion of decreolization still persist. Quantitative sociolinguistic research (e.g. Winford 1972; Young 1973; Escure 1982; Edwards 1983; Rickford 1987, 1991; Migge 1994), for instance, has been instrumental in showing that variation is socially conditioned as in all bilingual and multilingual settings. In P/C communities two or more socially and linguistically distinct language systems co-exist (Devonish 1992), namely varieties of a Creole and varieties of a European language. Each is traditionally associated with a particular type of context - the Creole with informal and the European language with formal contexts; and with particular social groupings - the Creole with rural populations and the European language with urban and professional populations, for instance. But Creole communities do not conform to Ferguson's (1959) notion of diglossia (Winford 1985) because most contexts are not uniquely associated with just one language. Community members code-switch between varieties to negotiate social relationships and social identities (Fenigsen 2005; Migge 2005, 2007; Youssef 1996) as in all linguistically diverse settings and some children also access the European language prior to attending school. In some communities such as Belize (Young 1973; Escure 1982) and Suriname (Migge 2007), code-switching practices are largely responsible for the variation found in such settings. In other contexts (e.g. Guyana, Jamaica), intermediate varieties or mesolects exist as focused systems in their own right (Rickford 1974; Patrick 1999) which are often linked to urbanized working class populations and code-switching takes place among them, the 'deep' Creole and Standard English.

Research has also critically examined the process of decreolization as it is a central component of Bickerton's conceptualization of the Post-Creole Continuum (Bickerton 1980; Day 1972). Bailey & Maynor (1987), Sato (1991), Mufwene (1994), Aceto (1999) and Schwegler (2001) among others show that this process cannot fully explain the variation found in P/C communities because contact with the European language in the context is only one among several factors responsible for the variation and changes that occur in these communities. Additionally, Mufwene (2001) cautions against conflating decreolization with debasilectalization.² Since the Post-Creole Continuum notion cannot fully explain the contexts for which it was originally devised and is certainly ill-suited for generalization to other contexts, different ways of conceptualizing language and language use in P/C communities have been proposed (cf. Robertson 1982; Carrington 1993; Mufwene 2015).

Research on P/Cs still mostly focuses only on variation between the standard language, often English, and *the* P/C, and this bias in research on variation in P/Cs is also found in other contexts such as the emerging research on varieties of Pidgin Arabic (e.g. Almoaily 2014). Consequently, we still know comparatively little about other dimensions of variation in the sociolinguistic structure of P/C communities, locally used naming practices and their social significance (Léglise & Migge 2006; Migge & Léglise 2013), social and regional varieties, registers, styles, their linguistic nature and how they are deployed (but see

² For Mufwene, debasilectalization involves attrition of basilectal features; a process that is not necessarily synonymous with decreolization, and which is akin to the loss of certain linguistic features across generations also present in non-contact situations.

Reisman 1970; Abrahams 1972; Edwards 1979, 1983; Pollard 1980; Rickford 1986b; Patrick 1993, 1997; Migge 2004). Also, we still know comparatively little about the social and linguistic processes involved in the emergence of these dialects/registers/styles and their change (Garrett 2000; Romaine 1994; Migge 2011), because research mostly focuses on morphosyntactic and phonological features, disregarding lexical and other stylistic features that play an important role in differentiating ways of speaking. In the meantime, approaches such as the Post-Creole Continuum, built on the idea that language practices can be described using three continuous lects, are used to discuss varieties of English such as those in Malaysia (Baskaran 2004) and unfortunately the editors of the *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures* (APiCs; Michaelis et al. 2013a, b) database insisted on this terminology for the sociolinguistic profiles.

More recent sociolinguistic research continues to explore patterns of variation, both from a quantitative and a qualitative perspective. However, there is now a greater interest in identifying the social meanings and functions of linguistic variants. For instance, Sidnell (1999) examines the semantics and pragmatics of personal pronouns, their interaction with gender norms and how they impact on the distribution of Creole and English personal pronouns among men and women in Guyana. Sidnell (2003) and Farquharson (2005) explore male gendered language use. The papers in Mühleisen and Migge (2005) explore the nature of linguistic politeness practices in Caribbean communities and Meyerhoff and Walker (2007) investigate the role of mobility patterns on language variation. The category of social group or class and its linkages with language in P/C communities was examined by several studies such as Edwards (1983), Rickford (1991), Blake (1996) and Jourdan (2008). However, given the rising importance and diversification of research in second and third wave sociolinguistics (cf. Eckert 2012), it is fair to say that we still know comparatively little about the intricate linkages that exist between social categories and language variation and change in communities where P/Cs are spoken. Although Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's Acts of Identity framework and the concept of *focusing* in particular are widely recognized as having made an important contribution to our understanding of language use in Creole communities and more widely, it has to date not been used a great deal to explore language use in Creole communities outside of the authors' own work (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985; Edwards 1983). Rickford (2011) provides an overview of the contribution of the Acts of Identity model and discusses several reasons why it has not been widely applied to date (pp. 264-267): non-Caribbean scholars, who have carried out the bulk of the sociolinguistic studies on the Caribbean in recent years, generally do not know the model while Caribbean scholars generally do not promote quantitative approaches to language through their teaching. Finally, both sets of scholars generally focus too closely only on linguistic matters and lack training in anthropology and social psychology.

Given that P/Cs are often cast as low status languages due to their association with forced labour, language mixing and popular culture, there is research on language ideologies. Early studies were often descriptive (e.g. Craig 1980) or quantitative in nature and contrasted the attitudes of important gatekeepers such as teachers to P/Cs and English. They showed that English has overt prestige, being considered 'good', 'proper' and 'correct' while P/Cs are seen as the opposite, but fare well in terms of interpersonal solidarity (Rickford 1985). Discussing Winford's (1976) and Mühleisen's (1993) follow-up research, Mühleisen (2001),

for instance, found that teachers' views about Trinidadian English Creole had improved significantly over a 20-year period. In 1993, due to greater linguistic self-confidence, teachers no longer saw it as "bad or incorrect English", but accepted it as a language in its own right. While questionnaire-based studies allow correlations between interviewees' social characteristics, aspirations, and their language attitudes, as well as exploring the important impact of macro-social language attitudes on people's own assessments, they cannot capture intra-personal variation or the interactionally based, context-bound nature of views about language. Only an ethnographic and discourse-based approach that takes into account a range of data types can uncover the different kinds of competing perspectives on language that co-exist and shape each other in a given context and the processes that are in operation (cf. Irvine and Gal 2000). There are a few studies that follow a discourse-based approach to analyzing language ideologies such as Fenigsen (2003) for Barbados, Jourdan and Angeli (2014) for the Solomon Islands, Mühleisen (2002) for Caribbean English-based Creoles, including diaspora varieties, and Migge & Léglise (2013) for French Guiana.

Traditionally, research on P/Cs has predominantly focused on the language practices in the traditional or original communities in the Caribbean, Africa and the Pacific. But P/Cs are no longer - and probably never were - confined to these locations. With their speakers' migration within these different regions and to Europe and North America, P/Cs have become an integral part of societies outside of their traditional homelands where they have attracted the attention of educators and linguists. Early work by Sebba (1993) and Sutcliffe (1982) on what was then called Black British English in the United Kingdom mostly focused on the practices of young, usually British-born children of Caribbean descent (see also Dray & Sebba 2011). They showed that although many were not fully-fledged speakers of Jamaican Creole, they employed it to negotiate distinctive social identities (cf. also Mair 2003). Rampton's (1995) work on what he calls *crossing*, built on the work of Hewitt (1986), which highlighted the fact that these practices were not simply used by youngsters of Caribbean or Jamaican descent but also by those from other ethnic groupings, including Anglo-British youngsters, to perform assertive identities. More recent work on Haitians (Zéphir 1996; Hebblethwaite 2000) and Jamaicans (e.g. Hinrichs 2011, 2014a, b; 2015) focuses on North American urban centers such as Toronto and examines the linguistic nature of practices, their semiotics and the processes of change that they undergo in diaspora communities. It explores the speech of different generational groups and in face-to-face communication and mediated practices (Mair; Mair & Lacoste Moll), as well as issues of authenticity (Akande 2012a, b; 2014; Heyd & Mair 2014; Mair & Lacoste 2012; Moll 2014; Omoniyi 2009). To date, there is very little research on language and recent intra-regional migration, such as the language practices of Haitians in the Dominican Republic, the Bahamas, Suriname and in the French overseas territories (but see Migge & Léglise 2013; Migge & Léglise 2015 and Léglise & Migge 2015 for some research on language and migration in relation to French Guiana and Suriname).

Until quite recently, spoken vernacular language use in informal face-to-face interactions was the main focus of research on P/Cs. However, in recent years, mediated language practices have received greater attention in research on P/Cs. There is a relatively long tradition of research on representations of P/Cs in literature (Lalla 2005, 2014; Lang 2005; Pollard 2014; Winer & Buzelin 2008). Researchers were traditionally interested in

topics such as the orthographic representations of P/Cs in texts otherwise written in European languages, their overall distribution, uses and functions in literary texts such as novels and short stories but also poems and how such representations have changed over time. Mühleisen (2002) shows that such diachronic changes are indicative of the changing status and ideologies surrounding P/Cs. Schneider and Wagner (2006), in contrast, explore the authenticity of patterns of variation in a Jamaican novel and Pollard (2014) explores the encoding of voice.³ More recent research also explores the role of P/Cs in broadcast media such as on radio and TV. Garrett (2000, 2007), for instance, shows that there are two varieties of St Lucia Creole that are used in radio broadcasts: a highly stylized prestige variety that was crafted by local intellectuals and everyday speech. The latter is widely understood but is mainly used for comic effect and information summaries. The former, in contrast, is used for information-based programs but has low levels of intelligibility among the wider population. Migge (2011) discusses how indigenous formal language practices are undergoing change as a result of being used on the air. Shields-Brodber (1992) discusses emerging code-switching patterns on Jamaican call-in radio shows. And finally, Managan (2011) examines the use of Kréyòl in Guadeloupean television broadcasts. In recent years, popular music has also come to function as a source of data for sociolinguistic research on P/Cs. There is research on the linguistic nature of language use in songs, such as the realization of certain vowels (Devonish 2006), identity performance (Herzfeld 2004), and codeswitching (Sarkar & Winer 2006). Additionally, there are works that have examined the meanings and wider social functions of language practices in songs (Devonish 1996; Bremner 2015). Music and mediated data figure centrally in research on diaspora practices (Hinrichs 2015). Finally, in step with research on other bilingual and multilingual contexts, there is also a growing number of studies that explores the use of P/Cs in different electronic media such as emails (Hinrichs 2006), blogs, and internet forums (Moll 2015).

Sociolinguistics is clearly an important area of research on P/Cs which has expanded significantly since the beginning of modern P/C Studies. However, given that most of it has focused on the Caribbean region and on variation between the Creole and their lexifiers, we still lack a comprehensive understanding of ways in which language interacts with social phenomena in P/C communities.

References

- Abrahams, R. D. 1972. The training of the man of words in talking sweet. *Language in Society* 1: 15-29.
- Aceto, Michael. 1999. Looking beyond decreolization as an explanatory model of language change in creole-speaking communities. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 14(1): 93-44.
- Akande, Akinmade T. 2012a. *Globalization and English in Africa: Evidence from Nigerian hip-hop*. New York: Nova Publishers.
- Akande, Akinmade. 2012b. The appropriation of African American Vernacular English and Jamaican Patois by Nigerian hip hop artists. *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 60(3): 237-254.

³ For more research on authenticity in language use, see Lacoste & Mair (2012) and papers in Lacoste et al (2014).

- Akande, Akinmade T. 2014. Hybridity as authenticity in Nigerian hip-hop lyrics. In *Indexing authority: Sociolinguistic perspectives*. Véronique Lacoste, Jakob Leimgruber & Thiemo Breyer (eds.), 269-286. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Almoaily, Mohammad. 2014. Language variation in Gulf Pidgin Arabic. In *Pidgins and Creoles beyond Africa-Europe Encounters*, Isabelle Buchstaller, Anders Holmberg, Mohammad Almoaily (eds.), 57-84. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bailey, Guy & Maynor, Nathalie. 1987. Decreolization? *Language in Society* 16: 449-474.
- Bailey, Beryl Loftman. 1971. Jamaican Creole: Can dialect boundaries be defined? In *Pidginization and Creolization of languages*, Dell Hymes (ed.), 341-348. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Baskaran, Loga. 2004. Malaysian English: Phonology. In *A handbook of varieties of English: a multimedia reference tool*, Bernd Kortmann and Edgar W. Schneider (eds.), 278-291. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Bickerton, Derek. 1980. Decreolisation and the Creole continuum. In *Theoretical Orientations in Creole Studies*, Albert Valdman and Arnold Highfield (eds.), 109-127. New York: Academic Press.
- Bickerton, Derek. 1975. *Dynamics of a Creole System*. Cambridge University Press.
- Blake, Renee. 1996. Barbadian Creole English: Insights into Class and Race Identity. *Journal of Commonwealth and Postcolonial Studies* 4:1, 37-54.
- Bremner, Natalia. 2015. Keepin' it Real? Engaging with Language Politics in Réunion through the Juxtaposition of English and Réunionese Kreol in Dancehall Music. *Journal of Romance Studies* 15:1, 111-130.
- Carrington, Lawrence. 1993. Images of creole space. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 8: 227-236.
- Carrington (1980)
- Cheshire, Jenny, Kerswill, Paul, Fox, Sue and E. Torgersen. 2011. Contact, the features pool and the speech community: The emergence of Multicultural London English. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 15(2), 151-196.
- Craig, Denis 1980. A creole continuum and the theory of grammar. In *Issues in English creoles* (Varieties of English around the World, G2), R. Day (ed.), 111-31. Heidelberg: Groos.
- Day, Richard R. 1972. Patterns of variation in copula and tense in the Hawaiian Post-Creole Continuum. University of Hawaii.
- DeCamp, David 1971. Towards a generative analysis of a post-Creole speech continuum. In Hymes, Dell (ed.), *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*, 349-70. Cambridge University Press.
- Devonish, Hubert, 2006. On the status of diphthongs in Jamaican: Mr. Vegas pronounces. In *Exploring the Boundaries of Caribbean Creole Languages*. Simmons-McDonald, Hazel; Robertson, Ian (eds.) 72-95. Kingston: UWI Press.
- Devonish, Hubert. 1992. On the existence of autonomous language varieties in 'Creole Continuum Situations'. In *Studies in Caribbean language II*, Pauline Christie, Barbara Lalla, Velma Pollard & Lawrence Carrington (eds.), 1-12. SCL: UWI.
- Devonish, Hubert. 1989. Language variation theory in the light of co-occurrence restriction rules. *York Papers in Linguistics* 13: 129-139.
- Dray, Susan, Mark Sebba. 2011. 'Creole' and youth language in a British inner-city community. In *Variation in the Caribbean: From Creole Continua to Individual Agency*. [Creole Language Library 37] Lars Hinrichs and Joseph T. Farquharson (eds.) 231-250.
- Eckert, Penelope. 2012. Three waves of variation studies: The emergence of meaning in the study of variation. *Annual Review of Anthropology Vol. 41*: 87-100

- Edwards, Walter. 1983. Code selection and shifting in Guyana. *Language and Society* 12(3): 295-311.
- Edwards, Walter F. 1979. The sociolinguistic significance of some Guyanese Speech Acts. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* ??? 79-102.
- Escure, Genève. 1982. Contrastive patterns of intra-group and inter-group interaction in the creole continuum of Belize. *Language in Society* 11(2): 239-264.
- Farquharson, Joseph T. 2005. *Faiya-bon*: The socio-pragmatics of homophobia in Jamaican (dancehall) culture. In *Politeness and Face in Caribbean Creoles*. Susanne Mühleisen and Bettina Migge (eds.) [VEAW G34] Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 101-118.
- Fenigsen, Janina. 2005. Meaningful routines: Meaning-making and the face value of Barbadian greetings. In Susanne Mühleisen and Bettina Migge (eds.) *Politeness and Face in Caribbean Creoles*, 169–194. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Fenigsen, Janina (2003) Language ideologies in Barbados: Processes and paradigms. *Journal of Pragmatics* 13(4): 457-481.
- Ferguson, Charles A. 1959. Diglossia. *Word* 15: 325–40.
- Garrett, Paul, 2007. “Say it like you see it”: radio broadcasting and the mass mediation of Creole nationhood in St. Lucia. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 14: 135–160.
- Garrett, Paul. 2000. ‘High’ Kweyol: The emergence of a Formal Creole register in St. Lucia. In *Language change and language contact in pidgins and creoles*, John McWhorter (eds.) 63-102. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Hebblethwaite, Benjamin. 2000. The geo-socio-linguistics of Haitian Creole: The diaspora. In *Semiotics 1999*. Scott Simpkins, C. W. Spinks, John Deely (eds.), 454-473. New York: Peter Lang.
- Hewitt, Roger. 1986. *White talk black talk: Inter-racial friendship and communication amongst adolescents*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heyd, Theresa and Mair, Christian. 2014. From vernacular to digital ethnolinguistic repertoire: The case of Nigerian Pidgin. In *Indexing authority: Sociolinguistic perspectives*. Véronique Lacoste, Jakob Leimgruber & Thiemo Breyer (eds.), 244-268. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Hinrichs, Lars. 2015. Tropes of exile in everyday Caribbean-diasporic speech: The reindexicalization of Dread Talk in the Jamaican diaspora. In J. Hartmann & H. Zapf (eds.), *Censorship and exile*, 65–81. (Internationale Schriftenreihe des Jakob-Fugger-Zentrums 1). Göttingen: V&R unipress.
- Hinrichs, Lars. 2014a. Diaspora and Sociolinguistic Space: The Jamaican Community in Toronto. In J. Misrahi-Barak & C. Raynaud (eds.), *Diasporas and Cultures of Mobility*, (Horizons Anglophones). Montpellier.
- Hinrichs, Lars. 2014b. Diasporic mixing of World Englishes: The Case of Jamaican Creole in Toronto. In E. Green & C. Meyer (eds.), *Faces of English*. (Topics in English Linguistics). Berlin.
- Hinrichs, Lars. 2011. The sociolinguistics of diaspora: Language in the Jamaican Canadian community. In *Texas Linguistics Forum 54*, J. Ryan Sullivant (ed.), 1-22. Austin TX: University of Texas.
- Hinrichs, Lars. 2006. *Codeswitching on the Web: English and Jamaican Creole in E-mail Communication*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Irvine, Judith T. and Gal, Susan 2000. Language ideology and linguistic differentiation. In *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, politics, and identities*, Paul V. Kroskrity (ed.), 35–84. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Jourdan, Christine and Angeli, Johanne. 2014. Pijin and shifting language ideologies in urban Solomon Islands. *Language in Society* 43(3): 265-285.

- Jourdan, Christine. 2008. Language repertoires and the middle class in urban Solomon Islands. In *Social Lives in Language - sociolinguistics and multilingual speech communities*, Miriam Meyerhoff and Naomi Nagy (eds.), 43-68. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Lacoste, Véronique, Leimgruber, Jacob & Thimo Breyer (2014). *Indexing Authenticity: Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Lacoste, Véronique & Mair, Christian eds. (2012) Authenticity in Creole-speaking Contexts. *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik: A Quarterly of Language, Literature and Culture* 60, 3. Königshausen & Neumann.
- Laëthier, Maud. 2015. 2015. The role of Suriname in Haitian Migration to French Guiana: Identities on the Move and Border Crossing. In *In and Out of Suriname: Language, mobility and identity*, Eithne B. Carlin, Isabelle Leglise, Bettina Migge, Paul B. Tjon Sie Fat (eds.), 229-251. Leiden: Brill.
- Lalla, Barbara. 2005. Creole and respect' in the development of Jamaican literary discourse. *JPCL* 20(1), 53-84.
- Lalla, Barbara. 2014. Black Wholes: Phases in the development of Jamaican literary discourse. In *Caribbean Literary Discourse: Voice and Cultural Identity in the Anglophone Caribbean*. Barbara Lalla, Jean D'Costa, & Velma Pollard (eds.). 42-67. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press.
- Lang, George. 2005. Basilects in Creole Literatures: Examples from Sranan, Capeverdean Crioulo and Antillean Kréyol. *JPCL* 20:1, 85-99.
- Léglise, Isabelle & Migge, Bettina. 2006. Language-naming practices, ideologies, and linguistic practices: Toward a comprehensive description of language varieties. *Language in Society* 35:3, 313-339.
- Migge, Bettina & Léglise, Isabelle. 2015. Assessing the sociolinguistic situation of the Maroon Creoles. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 30(1): 63-115.
- LePage, Robert B. and Tabouret-Keller, Andrée. 1985. *Acts of Identity: Creole-based approaches to language and ethnicity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Managan, Kathe. 2011. Koud Zyé: A glimpse into linguistic enregisterment on Kréyòl television in Guadeloupe. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 15(3): 299-322.
- Mair, Christian and Lacoste, Véronique. 2012. Authenticity in Creole-speaking contexts: An introduction. *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 60(3): 211-215.
- Michaelis, Susanne Maria & Maurer, Philippe & Haspelmath, Martin & Huber, Magnus (eds.) 2013a. Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures Online. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. (Available online at <http://apics-online.info>, Accessed on 2016-05-17.)
- Michaelis, Susanne, Maurer, Philippe, Haspelmath, Martin and Magnus Huber (eds). 2013b. *The Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Migge, Bettina. 2011. Negotiating Social Identities on an Eastern Maroon Radio Show. *Journal of Pragmatics* 43(6): 1495-1511.
- Migge, Bettina. 2007. Code-switching and social identities in the Eastern Maroon Community of Suriname and French Guiana. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 11(1): 53-72.
- Migge, Bettina. 2005. Greeting and social change. In Susanne Mühleisen and Bettina Migge (eds.) *Politeness and Face in Caribbean Creoles*, 121-144. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Migge, Bettina. 2004. The speech event *kuutu* in the Eastern Maroon community. In *Creoles, Contact and Language Change: Linguistic and Social Implications*, Genèvive Escure and Armin Schwegler (eds.), 285-306. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Migge, Bettina. 1994. Copula variability in the Belize continuum and the notion of the creole continuum. In *Sociolinguistic Variation: Data, Theory, and Analysis*. Selected papers from

- NWAV 23 at Stanford, Jennifer Arnold, Renée Blake, Brad Davidson, Scott Schwenter & Julie Solomon (eds.), 129-150. CSLI.
- Migge, Bettina & Léglise, Isabelle. 2013. *Exploring Language in a Multilingual Context: Variation, Interaction and Ideology in Language Documentation*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Migge, Bettina & Léglise, Isabelle. 2015. Assessing the sociolinguistic situation of the Maroon Creoles. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 30(1): 63-115.
- Moll, Andrea. 2014. Authenticity in dialect performance?: A case study of “Cyber-Jamaican”. In *Indexing authority: Sociolinguistic perspectives*. Véronique Lacoste, Jakob Leimgruber & Thiemo Breyer (eds.), 209-243. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Moll, Andrea. 2015. *Jamaican Creole Goes Web: Sociolinguistic styling and authenticity in a digital ‘Yaad’*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Mufwene, Salikoko. 1994. On decreolization: the case of Gullah. In *Language and the social construction of identity in creole situations*, Marcellina Morgan (ed.), 63-99. Center for Afro-American Studies: University of California at Los Angeles.
- Meyerhoff, Miriam and Walker, James A. 2007. The persistence of variation in individual grammars: Copula absence in ‘urban sojourners’ and their stay-at-home peers, Bequia (St Vincent and the Grenadines). *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 11(3): 446-66.
- Mufwene, Salikoko S. 2001. *The ecology of language evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mufwene, Salikoko S. 2015. Race, racialism, and the study of language evolution in America. In *New perspectives on language variety in the South: Historical and contemporary approaches*. Michael D. Picone and Catherine Evans Davies (eds.), 449-477. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press.
- Mühleisen, Susanne. 2002. *Creole Discourse: Exploring Prestige Formation and Change Across Caribbean English-lexicon Creoles*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Mühleisen, Susanne. 2001. Is 'bad English' dying out? A comparative diachronic study on attitudes towards Creole versus Standard English in Trinidad. *Philologie im Netz* 15: 43-78.
- Mühleisen, Susanne. 1993. *Attitudes towards Language Varieties in Trinidad*. Unpublished MA-thesis, FU Berlin.
- Mühleisen, Susanne & Migge, Bettina (eds.). 2005. *Politeness and face in Caribbean creoles*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Patrick, Peter L. 1999. *Urban Jamaican Creole: Variation in the Mesolect*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Omoniyi, Tope. 2009. ‘So I choose to do am naija style’: Hip hop, language, and postcolonial identities. In *Global linguistic flows*. H. S. Alim, A. Ibrahim and A. Pennycook (eds.), 113-135. New York: Routledge.
- Patrick, Peter. 1997. Style and register in Jamaican Patwa. In *Englishes Around the World 2, Caribbean, Africa, Asia, Australasia*, Edgar W. Schneider (ed.), 41–55. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Patrick, Peter L. 1993. Speakin' and Spokin' in Jamaica: Conflict and Consensus in Sociolinguistics. In *Proceedings of the 19th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, Guenter, Joshua, Barbara Kaiser, Cheryl Zoll (eds.), 280-290. Berkeley CA: University of California at Berkeley.
- Patrick, Peter L. 1999. *Urban Jamaican Creole: Variation in the Mesolect*. (Varieties of English Around the World, No. G17.) Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishers.
- Pollard, Velma. 2014. Mixing codes and mixing voices: Language in Earl Lovelace’s *Salt*. In *Caribbean Literary Discourse: Voice and Cultural Identity in the Anglophone Caribbean*.

- Barbara Lalla, Jean D'Costa, & Velma Pollard (eds.). 203-212. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press.
- Pollard, Velma (1980). Dread Talk: The speech of the Rastafarian in Jamaica. *Caribbean Quarterly* 26(4):32-41.
- Rampton, Ben. 1995. *Crossing: Language & Ethnicity among adolescents*. Manchester: St Jerome Publishers.
- Reisman, Karl. 1970. Cultural and linguistic ambiguity in a West Indian village. In *Afro-American Anthropology*, N. E. Whitten & F. Szwed (eds.), 129-144. New York: The Free Press.
- Rickford, John. 2011. Le Page's theoretical and applied legacy in sociolinguistics and creole studies. In *Variation in the Caribbean: From creole continua to individual agency*, Lars Hinrichs and Joseph T. Farquharson (eds.), 251-272. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Rickford, John. 1991. Sociolinguistic Variation in Cane Walk: A Quantitative Case Study. In *English Around The World: Sociolinguistic Perspectives*, Jenny Cheshire (ed.), 609-616. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rickford, John R. 1988. Connections between sociolinguistics and pidgin-creole studies. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 71, 51-57.
- Rickford, John 1987. *Dimensions of a Creole Continuum*. Stanford University Press.
- Rickford, John R. 1986a. The need for new approaches to social class analysis in sociolinguistics. *Language and Communication* 6(3):215-212.
- Rickford, John. 1986b. Riddling and Lying: Participation and Performance. In *The Fergusonian Impact*, vol. 2, J. A. Fishman (ed.), 89-106. The Hague: Mouton.
- Rickford, John R. 1985. Standard and non-Standard language attitudes in a creole continuum. In *Language of Inequality*, Nassa Wolfson and Joan Manes (eds.), 145-160. Berlin: Mouton Publishers.
- Rickford, John. 1974. The insights of the mesolect. In *Pidgins and creoles: Current trends and perspectives*, David DeCamp & Ian Hancock (eds.) 92-117. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Robertson, Ian. 1982. Redefining the post-creole continuum. *Amsterdam Creole Studies* 4: 62:-78.
- Romaine, Suzanne. 1994. On the creation and expansion of registers: sports reporting in Tok Pisin. In *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register*, Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan (eds.), 59-81. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sato, Charlene J. 1991. Language change in a creole medium: Decreolization? *University of Hawai'i Working Papers in ESL* 10: 127-147.
- Schneider, Edgar and Wagner, Christian. 2006. The variability of literary dialect in Jamaican Creole: Thelwell's *The Harder They Come*. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 21(1): 45-96.
- Schwegler, Armin. 2001. The myth of decreolization: The anomalous case of Palenquero. In *Degrees of Restructuring in Creole Languages*, Ingrid Neumann-Holzschuh & Edgar W. Schneider (eds.), 409-236. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Sebba, Mark. 1993 *London Jamaican: language systems in interaction*. London: Longman.
- Shields-Brodber, Kathryn. 1992. Dynamism and assertiveness in Public Voice: Turn-Taking and Code-Switching in Radio Shows in Jamaica. *Pragmatics* 2 (4): 487-504.
- Siegel, Jeff. 1997. Pidgin and English in Melanesia: Is There a Continuum? In *English to Pidgin Continua* [Special Issue] *World Englishes* 16(2): 185-204.
- Sidnell, Jack. 2003. Constructing and managing male exclusivity in talk-in-interaction. In Holmes, Janet & Meyerhoff, Miriam (eds.), *Handbook of language and gender*, 327-352. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Sidnell, Jack. 1999. 'Gender and pronominal variation in an Indo-Guyanese Creole speaking community', *Language in Society* 28: 367–99.
- Sutcliffe, David. 1982. *British Black English*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Winer, Lise & H el ene Buzelin. 2008. Literary Representations of Creole Languages: Cross-Linguistic Perspectives from the Caribbean. In *The Handbook of Pidgin and Creole Studies*. Silvia Kouwenberg & John Victor Singler (eds.), 637-665. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Winford, Donald. 1997a. Column: Creole studies and sociolinguistics. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 12(2): 303-318.
- Winford, Donald. 1997b. 'Re-examining Caribbean English Creole continua' *World Englishes* 16(2), 233–79.
- Winford, Donald. 1990. Copula variability, accountability and the concept of 'polylectal' grammars. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 5(2): 223-252.
- Winford, Donald. 1985. The Concept of 'Diglossia' in Caribbean Creole Situations" *Language in Society* 14:3, pp. 345-356.
- Winford, Donald. 1984. The linguistic variable and syntactic variation in creole continua. *Lingua* 6: 267-288.
- Winford, Donald. 1976. Teacher attitudes toward language variation in a Creole community", in: *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 8, 45–75.
- Winford, Donald. 1972. A Sociolinguistic Description of Two Communities in Trinidad. Unpublished D.Phil. Thesis, University of York, England, 1972.
- Young, Colville. 1973. Belize Creole: A study of the creolized English Spoken in the City of Belize, in its cultural and social setting. D Phil. Dissertation, University of York.
- Youssef, Valerie. 1996. Varilingualism: The Competence behind Code-Mixing in Trinidad and Tobago. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 11(1): 1-22.
- Z ephir, Flore. 1996. *Haitian immigrants in Black America: A sociological and sociolinguistic portrait*. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.