Koines and koineization

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ABSTRACT

The term "koine" has been applied to a variety of languages, only some of which are analagous in form and function to the original Greek *koinē*. The term "koineization" has more recently been applied to the process of levelling which may result in a koine. This article examines various definitions and usages of these terms in the literature and proposes a more precise utilization in the context of contact and resultant mixing between linguistic subsystems. (Languages in contact, language mixing, pidgin and creole studies, social psychology)

INTRODUCTION

Progress in the study of languages in contact has been hindered by terminology often as unfixed as some of the languages it is used to describe. For example, in pidgin and creole studies the term "creolization" has a continuum of usage ranging from nativization of a pidgin (Sankoff 1980:198) to general language mixing or hybridization (Bailey 1974:88). Givón (1979:2) even asks, "Can terms such as 'Creole' and 'contact language' be adequately defined?" With regard to language mixing in particular, Mühlhäusler (1982:4) concludes, "Having read most of what was published in this area over the last twenty years . . . I am left with the feeling that it comprises a conceptual mess aggravated by a terminological mess."

In this article, I will attempt to clarify some of the terminology used to describe language contact and mixing, following Mühlhäusler (1982:4), whose own attempt at clarification of these terms is: "I would like to restrict the term 'language contact' to the description of external social processes such as second language learning, language shift, language imposition, bilingualism, and multilingualism. Mixing, on the other hand, refers to the linguistic consequences of such contacts."

In the past, most studies of language mixing have dealt with the consequences of contact between distinct languages or linguistic systems. However, recently there has been some interest in the results of contact between linguistic subsystems such as regional dialects (Mühlhäusler 1982:6). The term "koine," which is sometimes applied to the result of such mixing, has been in use for a

long time and is in need of clarification. The term "koineization," however, has only recently been applied to the process of subsystem mixing and is not yet part of the "terminological mess." This article surveys the use of both these terms in the literature published in English (a good deal has also been published in French and German) and makes proposals for stabilization of their usage in studies of language mixing.

KOINES

The term "koine" comes from the Greek *koiné* 'common'. It originally referred to a particular variety of the Greek language but has since been applied to other language varieties. This section looks at the original koine, other languages which have been labelled koines, and various definitions of the term.

The original koine

The term koine was originally applied to the variety of Greek that became the lingua franca of the eastern Mediterranean during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Thomson (1960:34) describes the development of "the Koine" during the time of the Athenian empire as follows:

> the Attic dialect spread rapidly as an official language throughout the Aegean, and it was spoken generally by educated Greeks, though they still used their local dialect among themselves. Among the common people, one of the main centres for the growth of a mixed vernacular was the Peiraieus, the seaport of Athens, inhabited by Greeks from all parts of the Mediterranean. We hear complaints about the "impurity" of spoken Attic as early as the fifth century B.C. In this way the conditions were created for the formation of the Hellenistic Koine, which was mainly Attic but included many elements drawn from Ionic and some from other dialects.

Thomson goes on to say that the Koine later became the official language of the Macedonian Empire. It was spoken mostly as a second language, but in some cities it did replace the native language (1960:35). In addition, the Koine was written to some extent; it was used mainly in correspondence, but also in writing the New Testament.

The linguistic features of the Koine as described by Thomson (1960:35–36) show both reduction and simplification in comparison to earlier varieties. Here I am using Mühlhäusler's definitions of reduction as "those processes that lead to a decrease in the referential or non-referential potential of a language" and simplification as either an increase in regularity or a decrease in markedness (1980:21).

To sum up: Linguistically, the original koine comprised features of several regional varieties, although it was based primarily on one of them. However, it was reduced and simplified in comparison. Functionally, the original koine was a

regional lingua franca which became a regional standard. It was spoken mostly as a second language but did become the first language of some.

Other languages labelled koines

Each of the following diverse languages has also been called a koine:
1. Literary Italian (Pei 1966:139)
2. Church Kikongo [Congo] (Nida & Fehderau 1970:152)
3. Standard Yoruba (Bamgboṣe 1966:2)
4. Bahasa Indonesian (Pei 1966:139)
5. High German (*Germanic Review* 1(4):297 [1926])
6. Bühnenaussprache [Stage German] (Dillard 1972:302)
7. Hindi (Hartmann & Stork 1973:123; Hill 1975:444)
8. Latin in the Roman Empire (Hill 1958:444)
9. Belgrade-based Serbo-Croatian (Bidwell 1964:532n)
10. Mid-Atlantic koine [England] (*Times* Literary Supplement, 22 April 1965)
11. Network Standard English [U.S.A.] (Dillard 1972:302)
12. Melanesian Pidgin (Ervin-Tripp 1968:197)
13. Fourteenth-century Italian of Naples (Samarin 1971:134)
14. Town Bemba (Samarin 1971:135)
15. Fogny [Senegal] (Manessy 1977:130)
16. Kasa [Senegal] (Manessy 1977:130)
17. Congo Swahili (Nida & Fehderau 1970:152)
18. Lingala [Congo] (Nida & Fehderau 1970:153)
19. "Interdialects" of Macedonian (Lunt 1959:23)
20. Koineized colloquial Arabic (Samarin 1971:134)
21. Ancestor of modern Arabic dialects (Ferguson 1959:616)
22. Vernacular of north China, seventh to tenth centuries (Karlgren 1949:45)
23. Calcutta Bazaar Hindustani (Gambhir 1983)
24. Israeli Hebrew (Blanc 1968:237–51)
25. Eighteenth-century American English (Traugott 1977:89)
26. Fiji Hindustani (Siegel 1975:136; Moag 1979:116)
27. Trinidad Bhojpuri (Mohan 1976, 1978)
28. Guyanese Bhojpuri (Gambhir 1981)
29. Surinam Bhojpuri (Gambhir 1981:184)
30. Mauritian Bhojpuri (Gambhir 1981:184)
31. Slavish [U.S.A.] (Bailey 1980:156)
32. Italian-American (Haller 1981:184)
33. Slave languages [Caribbean] (Dillard 1964:38)
34. English-based nautical jargon (Hancock 1971:290n)
35. Black Vernacular English (Mühlhäusler 1982:8)
36. Canadian French (Gambhir 1981:184)

Very few, if any, of the languages listed above could be said to have all the formal and functional features of the original koine. This is because various

authors have been using only some of those features as the basis for calling a language a koine. Thus, numbers (1) to (22) on the list are languages which are regional lingua francas, and several sources, in fact, define a koine as such. For example, the *Oxford English Dictionary* supplement defines a koine as "any language or dialect in regular use over a wide area in which different languages or dialects are, or were, in use locally" (Burchfield 1976:541). And Hill (1958: 443) gives this definition: "any tongue, distinct from his own vernacular, that a person shares with the speakers of some other vernaculars."

Other writers restrict a koine to being a regional standard, such as numbers (1) to (11) on the list. For example, one linguistics reference book defines a koine as "a spoken dialect which becomes the common standard language for a politically unified region" (Hartmann & Stork 1973:123).

The majority of sources, however, indicate that several dialects must contribute to the formation of a koine. For example, Graff (1932:xxxvii) defines a koine as "a form of language resulting from a compromise between various dialects and used as a common means of communication over an area covering all the contributing dialects." Dillard (1972:302) says, "Koine is the term for a 'common' dialect which lacks prominent features of the more conventional dialects of a language. It is the end result of dialect levelling." According to Dillard, a koine is frequently considered "good" speech in the language, and it is most often, but not necessarily, a standard dialect.

Pei (1966:139) also defines a koine as "a compromise among several dialects" but restricts it to use "by a unified group in a self-contained area within a larger linguistic area". However, Pei differs from other writers in saying that a koine is a planned language: "a deliberately sought sublimation of the constituent dialects rather than an unconscious and accidental merger."

Another group of writers have used the term koine to describe the language that developed as a result of several dialects being transported to a new environment, for example, numbers (24) to (32). These writers consider only the "dialect compromise" aspect of a koine rather than its use as a regional lingua franca. For example, Haller (1981:184) says only that koines are the result of interference between two or more dialects. Many of these transplanted varieties, for example, numbers (26) to (30), are also the first languages of most of their speakers.

Previous writings on koines

Although many writers have used the term koine to label a language, only a few have described the nature of koines, other than giving short definitions in reference books. Those who have written in detail about koines are Ferguson (1959), Blanc (1968), Nida & Fehderau (1970), Samarin (1971), Hymes (1971), Mohan (1976), and Gambhir (1981). Here I will outline how these writers have defined koines in relation to the original koine, and later I will discuss how they have expanded the use of term.

Ferguson (1959) and Blanc (1968) describe the development of particular koines. Ferguson describes an Arabic koine, which he says is the ancestor of modern Arabic. Although some writers, such as Cohen (1962), may disagree, Ferguson claims that this koine resulted from the mingling of speakers of various Arabic dialects with the large number of speakers of other languages who adapted Arabic with the spread of Islam. He stresses that "the koine came into existence through a complex process of mutual borrowing and levelling among various dialects and not as a result of diffusion from a single source" (1959:619). It is implicit that this koine was eventually nativized. Ferguson also outlines many linguistic features of that koine that differ from those of Classical Arabic and cannot be adequately explained by natural development or "drift." Some of these differences indicate reduction in morphological categories and phonemic inventory.

Blanc is the first writer to use the term koine to refer to the result of the convergence of several transported dialects at a particular point. He gives a detailed account of the development of Israeli Hebrew, which he describes as a koine forged from "a variety of literary dialects, several substrata, and several traditional pronunciations" with no particular dialect "dominant and available" (1968:238–39). He also says that nativization of the koine has been important in its development and that the nativized variety "approximates a *de facto* standard." Phonetically, the General Israeli standard is characterized by loss of certain distinctions found in some of the contributing dialects. However, no other examples of reduction or simplification are reported.

The remaining writers describe koines in general. Nida and Fehderau differ from the others in that they do not mention the contribution of several dialects to the formation of a koine. Rather, they consider koines "dialectal extensions of a regional language" (1970:147). They also say that koines may undergo some "structural simplifications" because of the extension of use over wide areas by bilinguals. On the other hand, Samarin emphasizes mixing of dialects rather than use as a regional language in his definition of koines: "What characterizes them linguistically is the incorporation of features from several regional varieties of a single language." However, he agrees with Nida and Fehderau in that "some simplification can be expected in them" (1971:133). Whether or not koines can become nativized is not specified in either of the two articles.

Hymes (1971:79), however, says that a koine can expand in role, stabilize, and become a primary language. He also emphasizes the admixture in koines, noting that they exhibit one of the main types of process found in pidgins: "confluence of different linguistic traditions, often with simplification, and by definition through the contract of members of different speech communities" (1971:69).

Mohan (1976) also believes that koines result from contact between different varieties, mainly dialects, but she distinguishes between koines based on dialects which are very similar in lexicon and morphology and those based on dialects

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which are not so similar. She gives koineized colloquial Arabic as an example of the first type and Trinidad Bhojpuri as an example of the second. She says that "more drastic levelling" was necessary to arrive at the compromise forms of Trinidad Bhojpuri, and therefore the resulting koine is recognized as a separate dialect, whereas koineized colloquial Arabic is not (1976:5).

Gambhir (1981) gives both a detailed general discussion of koines and a thorough description of the development of a particular koine, Guyanese Bhojpuri. Like Samarin, Gambhir indicates that koines develop from contact between dialects of the same language and undergo some structural simplification. He also makes some important observations about the nativization of koines. He points out that a koine which is a literary standard can be come a primary language through mass education. And he continues, "There is still another category where a koine, developed through the spoken channel, becomes the mother tongue of its speakers from the very start. Such a situation seems to be characteristic of immigrant communities" (1981:183). Gambhir says that this development can be planned, as with Hebrew in Israel, or "unconsciously developed by the speakers," as in Guyanese Bhojpuri, Trinidad Bhojpuri, Fiji Hindi, Surinam Bhojpuri, and Canadian French (1981:184).

TABLE I. *Comparison of features of original koine and other "koines"*

	1ᵃ	2	3	4	5	6
Original koine	+ᵇ	+	+	+	+	+
Blanc (1968)	−	+			+	+
Burchfield (1976)				+		
Dillard (1972)		+		±	±	
Ferguson (1959)	−	+		+	−	
Gambhir (1981)		+	+		±	±
Graff (1932)		+		+		
Haller (1981)		+				
Hartmann & Stork (1973)	+			+	+	
Hill (1958)				+	±	
Hymes (1971)		+	+		+	+
Mohan (1976)		+	+			
Nida & Fehderau (1970)	+		+	+	±	
Pei (1966)		+		+	+	
Samarin (1971)		+	+	+	±	

ᵃ*Features of the original koine:*
1. based primarily on one dialect
2. has features of several dialects
3. reduced and simplified
4. used as a regional lingua franca
5. is a standard
6. is nativized to some extent
ᵇ+ = feature is described as being present
− = feature is described as being absent
± = feature can be either present or absent
blank = feature is not mentioned

Gambhir also suggests that there is a scale of what he calls "structural elabora-tions" of different koines based on the extent of their use. A koine used primarily for trade would be less elaborate than a koine which is a regional standard. And a koine which has been nativized would be "more elaborate in terms of stylistic and social variation" (1981:184).

Table I summarizes the features of the original koine taken into account by the writers discussed above in their definitions of a koine. A '+' indicates the feature is described by the writer as being present. A '−' indicates that it is mentioned as being absent. A '±' indicates that it can be either present or absent. A blank indicates the feature is not mentioned.

Discussion

For a term such as koine to be useful, it should encapsulate certain linguistic and sociolinguistic concepts. Its definition should not be so broad that the term becomes vacuous or so narrow that it becomes worthless. Thus, the definition of a koine as merely a common language or lingua franca is too broad. Of course, all koines fulfill this role to some extent, but this definition ignores the central concept of dialect mixing. Therefore, Standard Yoruba, Lingala, Swahili, Melanesian Pidgin, and other languages of wider communication should not be labelled koines unless they indicate such mixing.

On the other hand, other definitions of a koine are too narrow. There seems to be no reason to restrict koines to being planned, standard, regional, secondary, or based primarily on one dialect. Thus, unplanned, nativized, or transprorted languages may be koines if they exhibit the mixing of any linguistic subsystems such as regional dialects, literary dialects, and sociolects. However, although a koine may or may not be a formal standard, it is implicit in all definitions that a koine has stabilized enough to be considered at least informally standardized.

Finally, it can be said that most koines are characterized by reduction or simplification to some extent. However, requiring a koine by definition to exhib-it these features would be too restrictive, as the amount of reduction or sim-plification may differ between koines according to both the conditions under which they developed and their current developmental stage. These issues will be discussed below.

Thus, a koine is the stabilized result of mixing of linguistic subsystems such as regional or literary dialects. It usually sevrves as a lingua franca among speakers of the different contributing varieties and is characterized by a mixture of fea-tures of these varieties and most often by reduction or simplification in comparison.

It is necessary to distinguish between two types of koines, depending on where they are spoken. The first is the *regional koine,* which usually results from the contact between regional dialects of what is considered a single language. This type of koine remains in the region where the contributing dialects are spoken, although it may be used outside the region as a trade language with other

linguistic groups. The original Greek koine and koineized colloquial Arabic are examples of regional koines.

The second tpype of koine is the *immigrant koine*. It may also result from contact between regional dialects; however, the contact takes place not in the region where the dialects originate, but in another location where large numbers of speakers of different regional dialedcts have migrated. Furthermore, it often becomes the primary language of the immigrant community and eventually supersedes the contributing dialects. Fiji Hindustani (Siegel 1975, 1983) is an example of such an immigrant koine. Various literary dialects and/or sodcisociolects may also contribute to an immigrant koine; thus, Israeli Hebrew is also an example. What Reinecke (1969:8) calls "colonial dialects," such as Hawaiian Japanese, could also be considered immigrant koines.

KOINEIZATION

Although the term "koine" has a long history, the terms "koineizing" and "koineization" have appeared only recently in the literature. Both refer to a dynamic process, usually of dialect levelling and mixing, of which the formation of a stabilized koine may be one stage.

Previous writings on koineization

One of the first references to a koine as a stage in a dynamic process is by Blanc (1968:3238–39). He writes that Israeli Hebrew was "gradually given a definite shape by a slow 'koineizing" process drawing on several pre-existing sources." He continues, "usage had to be established by a gradual and complex process of selection and accommodation which is, in part, still going on, but which now has reached some degree of stabilization."

Samarin (1971:134) appears to be the first to use the term koineization. He equates the process to "dialect mixing" but illustrates it with examples of what Blanc calls "dialect levelling" in colloquial Arabic. This levelling occurs in "interdialectal contact" situations when speakers "attempt to supress localisms in favor of features which are simply more common, more well known." Samarin implies that the end result of koineization is a koine.

Dillard (1972:300) uses the term dialect levelling rather than koineization, but he makes it clear that "the extreme case of dialect levelling is a koine". His definition is: "Dialect levelling is the process of eliminating prominent stereotypable features of difference between dialects. This process regularly takes place when speakers of different dialects come into contact, such as in migration."

Gambhir (1981:254) also discusses dialect levelling as one result of koineization (which he calls "koinization"), but he does not equate the two terms. In his discussion of the development of Guyanese Bhojpuri from the continuum of Indian dialects brought to Guyana, he describes the initial processes of levelling:

"As a result of continued contact . . . one gathers experience as to which idio-syncracies of one's own dialect are ill-communicative, miscommunicative, or noncommunicative, and accordingly, one starts to shed the hardened localisms in one's speech, allowing one's speech to conform to another's to an ever-growing extent" (1981:191). Later, he says, "Dialect levelling, which was affected in the process of koinization, is the major cause of all simplification in Guyanese Bhojpuri" (1981:254). Gambhir discusses the following as the result of dialect levelling: morphological reduction and simplification, loss of the respect feature, elimination of local features, and analytization (1981:255).

Discussion

The writers described above agree that koineization occurs as the result of con-tact between linguistic subsystems, most often regional dialects. However, there appears to be confusion with the more general term, dialect levelling. In initial stages, the two processes may be the same, but they differ in later stages. Dialect levelling can lead to instances where two or more dialects in contact effect changes in each other, but no compromise dialect develops. Koineization, in contrast, involves the mixing of features of the different dialects, and leads to a new, compromise dialect. This compromise is used as a lingua franca among speakers of the individual contributing dialects, which may or may not be maintained.

Another point is that contact between linguistic subsystems does not always bring about koineization, and it is implied that certain social conditions must apply if it is to take place. To discuss this point it is necessary to clarify what constitute linguistic subsystems. Two or more different linguistic varieties may be considered subsystems of the same linguistic system if they are genetically closely related and thus typologically similar enough to fulfill at least one of two criteria: (1) they are mutually intelligible or (2) they share a superposed, genet-ically related linguistic system, such as a national standard or literary language (see Ferguson & Gumperz 1960).

For example, Baegu, Fataleka, To'abaita, and Baelelea are the indigenous names given to varieties spoken in North Malaita in the Solomon Islands. They are considered distinct varieties by their speakers, but they are mutually intelligi-ble. Thus, they can be considered subsystems of a single linguistic system, North Malaitan. On the other hand, Bihari and Rajesthani are on opposite ends of the Hindustani dialect chain in northern India and are not mutually intelligible. However, they can be considered subsystems of the same linguistic system since they share a superposed system to which they are both related, Standard Hindi.

The terms linguistic system and subsystem do not necessarily correspond with language and dialect. What are different subsystems according to the above definition may be considered different languages by their speakers for political and cultural reasons, for example, Norwegian and Danish.

It is obvious that various subsystems can be in contact for many years without

koineization taking place, as in North Malaita and Scandinavia. As pointed out by Dillard (1972:300), "Speakers of different dialects may be in some stable contact situation, with well-defined social roles, for long periods without appreciable levelling." However, other processes, different from koineization, may occur. "Diffusion," for example, involves the transfer of features over conventional linguistic boundaries (Hudson 1980:47). An example is the transfer of certain Bulgarian verb endings into Meglenite Rumanian (Weinreich 1953:32). "Dialect borrowing" accounts for the features of Classical Arabic in various Arabic dialects (Meiseles 1981:1079) and for the features of various Russian dialects in contemporary Standard Russian (Krysin 1979:145). However, neither of these processes involves the kind of levelling and mixing which results from koineization. What, then, brings about koineization?

The contact status quo may end with certain political, social, economic, or demographic changes which cause either increased interaction among speakers of various linguistic subsystems or decreased inclination to maintain linguistic distinctions. For example, the koineization that led to the Greek koine was brought about by the spread of Panhellenic culture. Thomson (1960:34) writes on the beginnings of the koine: "With the growth of economic and social intercourse there arose within each dialect group a tendency towards unification." A parallel example is the development of the Arabic koine which accompanied the spread of Islam.

The clearest example of what Dillard (1972:300) calls "some new phase of contact" is that of migration. Gambhir (1981:183) describes the situation for immigrant communities: "When speakers of different dialects or even languages, meet together at one geographical point, they tend to form one speech community, as a koine develops that replaces the earlier dialects." Domingue (1981:150) has also described the levelling of dialectal differences resulting from "the need for unification among speakers of different dialects in a new environment."

Two examples from Fiji illustrate how linguistic barriers were broken down in two different immigrant communities. The first was the North Indians, who came to Fiji speaking various dialects of Hindustani, mentioned above. Many of these dialects were previously not in contact, and many were not mutually intelligible, but as a result of koineization, a homogenous compromise developed, Fiji Hindustani (Moag 1979; Siegel 1983). The second group was the North Malaitans, who came to Fiji speaking various dialects/languages mentioned above. Although these mutually intelligible varieties were in contact back on Malaita, linguistic boundaries were maintained there. However, because of immigrant group solidarity which developed in the new environment, these boundaries were erased, and koineization occurred to some extent, observable in a unique variety spoken in Fiji, called Wai (Siegel 1984). A similar elimination of linguistic boundaries, as well as political ones, may have occurred among the

workers of Slavic origin in America and led to the development of Slavish (Bailey 1980:156).

The theory of "speech accommodation" from social psychology (Giles 1977; Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor 1977; Giles & Smith 1979) may support the idea that koineization is a result of unification between previously distinct groups. According to this theory, people can modify their speech either by adapting to the speech of others to reduce differences (called "convergence" or by accentuating differences (called "divergence"). Giles (1977;:34) points out that divergent or nonconvergent language "can be used by ethnic groups as a symbolic tactic for maintaining their identity and cultural distinctiveness." On the other hand, convergent language can be a reflection "of a speaker's need for social integration with another" (1977:28). The process of convergence appears to be very much like the process of levelling, as described by Gambhir: "allowing one's speech to conform to another's" (see discussion of previous writings on koineization above).

EXTENSION OF THE SCOPE OF KOINEIZATION

Several authors have attempted to extend the scope of the terms koine and koineization to include the results of not only contact between linguistic subsystems, but also contact between distinct systems. This section reviews and discusses the wider use of these terms.

Background

Mühlhäusler (1982:8) mentions koines in the context of the result of contact between pidgins or creoles which are typologically closely related, such as the various Pidgin English traditions in the Pacific and various creoles of the West Indies. He suggests that koine is "a good term for this phenomenon in spite of its other connotations."

Mohan (1976, 1978) defines koineization as a process occurring in contact situations of which a koine is only one possible result. She extends the scope of the term to include contact between varieties which are not genetically related but happen to be typologically similar. Her definition of koineization is:

> a convergence and levelling between language varieties which are either closely related genetically or typologically very much alike. Koineization is identified as a process which need not lead to a single koine product, as in cases where despite a high degree of structural congruence between the varieties in contact there is no common lexicon. This definition allows as an output of koineization of a hybrid variety which, pidgin-like, adopts the lexicon of one of the contact varieties, or even, as in Gumperz and Wilson (1971), in which all the contact lexes have been retained (1978:21).

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Mohan also believes that there can be both multidialectal koines, such as Arabic and Trinidad Bhojpuri, and multilingual koines, such as Koine Swahili (1976:11). For multidialectal koines, the levelling is at both the lexical level and morphosyntactic level, but for multilingual koines, levelling is only morphosyntactic, with the acceptance of the lexicon of one of the contact varieties.

It appears to some authors, for example, Gambhir (1981) and Gibbons (1979), that Hymes (1971) also extends the scope of koineization by referring to Blanc (1968) and comparing the development of English to that of Israeli Hebrew. Hymes (1971:79) writes that the expansion of function of Hebrew "led to a compromise form of speech based on several literary dialects and the speech of various communities immigrant to Israel." In the same paragraph, he says that as English expanded in function, "it expanded in inner and outer form as well with considerable mixture of sources, both of English dialects and of other languages, notably Latin and French, quite as Neo-Melanesian now draws on English."

Referring to these statements by Hymes, Gambhir (1981:180) gives what he says is a similar example: "Standard Hindi has assimilated a number of vocabulary items and phrasal structures from other languages like Sanskrit, Arabic, Panjabi, and English." He also gives another example: "the formation of a koine out of the confluence of two distinct languages," colloquial urban Hindi arising from bilingualism in Hindi and English. Gambhir also suggests that Puerto Rican Spanish, which arose from contact between English and Spanish, may be a koine (1981:186).

Also referring to Hymes and Blanc, Gibbons (1979) suggests that U-gay-wa, a mixture of English and Cantonese spoken by university students in Hong Kong, is undergoing a koineizing process. He points out, "In using the term 'koineizing' to refer to the fusion of languages, Hymes is extending its meaning, since it referred originally to a fusion of dialects." He suggests that it was Blanc (1968) who "first extended the use of the term koine when he referred as such to modern Hebrew, which has fused different earlier forms of the language with elements from European languages particularly Yiddish and English" (1979: 119). However, Gibbons concludes that U-gay-wa should not be regarded as a koine "since it has not stabilized sufficiently yet" (1979:120).

Discussion

A major question concerning the terms koine and koineization is whether they should be restricted to dialect mixing or extended to other kinds of language mixing. First, I would like to suggest that misinterpretation of Blanc's (1968) article on the Israeli Koine and of Hymes's reference to it has led to some authors using these terms to describe more general language mixing.

As mentioned above, Gibbons claims that Blanc first extended the use of the term koine to refer to mixing of distinct linguistic systems rather than only subsystems. However, what Blanc (1968:248) says is that Israeli Hebrew was "based on a number of literary dialects, a compromise between several tradi-

tional pronunciations, and on the linguistic habits of various immigrant communities." He also refers to these "linguistic habits" as "substrata" (1968: 237, 238). It is most likely, then, that Blanc was referring to the ways that various immigrant communities spoke Hebrew. The immigrants' versions of Hebrew were, of course, influenced by their first languages, the substrata, but these versions would have to be considered subsystems of Hebrew rather than distinct languages, as they were mutually intelligible and all had Hebrew (in various literary forms) as the superposed variety. Thus, Blanc is still in the domain of mixing of linguistic subsystems.

Both Gibbons (1979) and Gambhir (1981:180) also maintain that Hymes extended the meaning of "koineizing" by allowing the participation of distinct languages. But what Hymes says is that the Israeli koine was based on several literary dialects of Hebrew and on the "speech," not on the languages, of various immigrant communities (1971:79). Therefore, like Blanc, he is referring to varieties of Hebrew, not to non-Hebrew varieties. Furthermore, Hymes does not say that English is a koine. He merely discusses the development of English in the context of expansion in content, admixture, and expansion in role without a pidgin starting point.

Although Israeli Hebrew and English are similar in this context, the situations that led to their development are not parallel in several ways. Hebrew in Israel was never subordinate to any language of the immigrants as the Anglo-Saxon dialects were to French after the Norman conquest. Hebrew was the language of wider communication in Israel and immigrants were, or soon became, bilinguals. The Norman conquerors most probably did not become bilingual in any Anglo-Saxon dialect. Rather, French was used as the language of administration, and Latin as the language of education, and Anglo-Saxons had to learn them. As Yiddish and other immigrant languages were substrata in the development of Israeli Hebrew, French and Latin were superstrata in the development of English.

Furthermore, one of the central sociolinguistic conditions that lead to koineization has been ignored by the writers applying the term to the result of contact between distinct languages. This is the idea of a new compromise variety resulting from integration or unification of the speakers of the varieties in contact. Colloquial Urban Hindi, Puerto Rican Spanish, and U-gay-wa resulted not from increased interaction between different speech communities, but from Hindi, Spanish, and Cantonese speakers' bilingualism in English. Koine Swahili most probably resulted from Bantu speakers' bilingualism in Swahili.

Givón (1979) suggests that the apparent language mixture in English (and other languages such as Swahili and Yiddish that have been labelled pidgins or creoles) is a result of extensive borrowing from other languages, most probably as a result of bilingualism. Such borrowing rather than koineization may have led to the development of Colloquial Urban Hindi, Puerto Rican Spanish, and U-gay-wa. Or they may be the result of what Mühlhäusler (1982:17) calls "fu-

sion," the combination of two languages which do not have to be closely related. It also may be that no existing term accurately describes the kind of mixing observable in these varieties. But applying a term previously used for a different kind of mixing, such as koineization, does nothing to clarify things; rather it reduces the descriptive efficacy of the term and contributes to the "terminological mess."

In addition, it does not help to extend the use of a term to an area which could adequately be described by another term. Thus, I disagree with Mohan's use koinezation to refer to the syntactic levelling described by Gumperz and Wilson (1971) for the three languages in contact in Kupwar, India. Such levelling is usually called "convergence" (different from the term as used in social psychology), and the process is very different from koineization as it is usually defined. Koineization leads to the development of a new compromise variety with features of the contributing varieties, whereas convergence leads to changes in the contributing varieties themselves without development of a new variety. However, Mohan has collapsed the two terms by saying (as quoted above) that koineization "need not lead to a single koine product."

There is one case, however, in which the use of the terms koine and koineization can be extended without changing their substance. This is to the result of contact between closely related pidgins and creoles, mentioned above as discussed by Mühlhäusler (1982:7–8). Such pidgins or creoles may or may not be mutually intelligible, but they do share the same superposed language, the "lexifier" language from which they derive most of their vocabulary. Thus, they could be considered linguistic subsystems. Torres Strait Pidgin (which later became creolized) may be an example of a "koine pidgin" which arose out of contact between speakers of various English-based pidgins such as Australian aboriginals, Queensland Melanesians, and Polynesians (Mühlhäusler 1982:7). Black Vernacular English may be an example of a "koine creole" based on contact between different groups of creole-speaking slaves (Bailey 1980:156).

KOINEIZATION AND PIDGINIZATION

Because of the mixing and simplification often observed in koines, there has been some discussion of the relationship between koines and pidgins, and between koineization and pidginization and creolization. This section reviews and discusses the different views on these relationships found in the literature.

Background

The first writers to address the issue of koines versus pidgins are Nida and Fehderau (1970). The main purpose of their article is to distinguish koines from pidgins, both of which may be trade languages or lingua francas, and both of which are characterized by "structural simplifications." They conclude that the

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simplification in koines, however, is minor compared to that in pidgins. The authors point out that there is a "structural break" between a pidgin and its source language, but this is not true of koines, which "are always mutually intelligible with at least some forms of the standard language" (1970:152).

Samarin (1971) also differentiates between koines and pidgins. He says that koines have never been considered pidgins, and that "unlike pidgins, koines are not drastically reduced frorms of language in spite of the fact that some simplification can be expected in them" (1971:133). But he does not discount the possibility that the process of pidginization plays some role in the formation of koines: "What kinds and degrees of pidginization occur in koines still remain to be determined" (1971:135).

Hymes (1971), however, places koines firmly in the realm of pidginization and creolization. As pointed out in the section on previous writings on koines above, he says that koines exhibit one of the main types of process found in pidgins: admixture and simplification resulting from language contact. On the subject of the starting points for creolization, he states, "The most important point in this regard is perhaps the relation between creolization and the processes by which standard languages and koines are sometimes formed. Expansion in content, admixture, and expansion in role as a primary language are found in both" (1971:78–79). After going on to describe the development of Israeli Hebrew and English, he concludes that the essential difference between the processes by which they developed and the process of creolization is that "the starting point of the expansion and admixture was not a pidgin" (1971:79). Whether or not this difference is significant is a question Hymes leaves open for debate.

Mohan (1976) agrees with Nida and Fehderau and with Samarin that koines and pidgins differ in the degree of simplification. She says that because of the typological similarity between varieties involved in koineization, "the common syntactic core and similar morphological categories and contrasts make the drastic levelling of pidginization unnecessary" (1976:11). Mohan also points out that in pidginization, "the super-strate speakers do not themselves change their language, nor do they actively fraternize with the sub-strate speakers" (1976:2). On the other hand, in koineization, the speakers of each of the contributing varieties do fraternize and in some way change their language.

Gambhir also agrees with other writers that even though koines become "structurally simplified" (1981:181), they "exhibit structural continuity with the language from which they issue," whereas pidgins are "structurally discontinuous from their linguistic parents" (1981:185). Unlike Hymes, however, he discounts the possibility that koines, such as Guyanese Bhojpuri, have undergone pidginization (1981:186). And since he takes the strict view that creolization is depidginization, he states that Guyanese Bhojpuri (and by implication, any other koine) cannot be considered a creole or creolized variety (1981:187).

Discussion

Although there are some striking similarities between pidgins and koines and between the processes of pidginization and koineization, there are important, basic differences. Mohan has shown that the social context of koineization differs from that of pidginization in the requirement of continued social interaction between speakers of the contributing varieties. This follows the idea of integration of the contributing groups as described in the discussion section of "Koineization" above.

Another way in which the two processes differ is in the time they take to occur. Pidginization is most often considered to be a rapid process in which pidginized forms of speech are created for immediate and practical communication between people who have no other common language. In contrast, koineization is a gradual process which occurs only after prolonged contact between speakers who can most often understand each other to some extent, as described by Blanc and Gambhir (see "Previous writings on koineization" above).

But to say that pidginization and koineization are different is not to say that pidginization cannot play a part in koineization. For example, pidginization may occur with speakers of one dialect trying to learn another very different dialect. Even more likely, it may occur with speakers of other languages becoming part of the koineizing community and learning the koineizing language. These pidginized varieties can also be thrown into the koineization melting pot, and they may be responsible for certain pidginlike features of the resultant koine. For example, Fiji Hindustani, described above as a koine of North Indian Hindustani dialects, has certain features of a pidginized form of Hindustani used by South Indian speakers of Dravidian languages after they arrived in Fiji. As the South Indians became integrated into the Fiji Indian community, it is likely that some aspects of their pidginized Hindustani also became integrated into the Fiji Hindustani koine (Siegel 1983:36–37).

Creolization is more difficult to deal with because of its wide range of usage, as mentioned in the introduction to this article. However, there are striking parallels between creolization as described by Hymes (1971:78–79, quoted above) and what happens in the later stages of koineization. A wider definition of creolization might be applicable to both pidgins and koines in their later stages of development: expansion of content, admixture, extension of use, and nativization of a new, reduced, mixed variety of language which resulted form from language contact. But like Hymes, I will leave this question open to debate.

STAGES IN KOINEIZATION

One similarity between koines and pidgins not mentioned above is that they are both actually stages in a process of development. In this section, I again review

what other writers have said about this topic and go on to propose my own outline of the stages of koine development.

Background

Gambhir (1981) divides the linguistic development of Guyanese Bhojpuri into three stages: (1) "multidialectalism," (2) "linguistic adjustment and dialect-leveling," and (3) "the rise of Guyanese Bhojpuri – the end-process of dialect leveling" (1981:189). However, he later states that levelling began in the first stage, and that in the second stage, a particular dialect, Bhojpuri, became the lingua franca "which everyone acquired to some extent and became a bidialectal" (1981:193). He continues, "Hand-in-hand with the second stage came the third stage where the dialects were mixed freely. Out of this mixing arose the koine Guyanese Bhojpuri" (1981:193).

Moag (1979:120) discusses "two major stages to the dialect levelling process" in Fiji Hindustani: "the ferment stage and the standardization stage." In the ferment stage, "forms from several regional dialects and social dialects [were] in use simultaneously." The standardization stage refers to standardization in the informal sense, "where one of several conflicting forms of a language becomes the norm by consensus and usage."

Discussion

Here, I would like to propose various stages in the developmental continuum of koines. First is what I call the *prekoine* stage (Gambhir's "linguistic adjustment" stage and Moag's "ferment" stage). This is the unstabilized stage at the beginning of koineization. A continuum exists in which various forms of the varieties in contact are used concurrently and inconsistently. Levelling and some mixing has begun to occur, and there may be various degrees of reduction, but few forms have emerged as the accepted compromise. For example, Hancock (1971:290n) notes that the English used among crews of English sailing ships in the sixteenth century was "in part something of a koine." The contact of the various English dialects spoken by the crew members probably did lead to koineization, but as the result was a "flexible compromise," it probably had not passed the prekoine stage.

The next stage is the result of stabilization (Moag's informal standardization), the development of a *stabilized koine*. Lexical, phonological, and morphological norms have been distilled from the various subsystems in contact, and a new compromise subsystem has emerged. The result, however, is often reduced in morphological complexity compared to the contributing subsystems. Examples of stabilized koines may be koineized colloquial Arabic (Samarin 1971:134) and the "interdialects" of Macedonian used in market centres (Lunt 1959:23).

Use of a stabilized koine may be extended to other areas besides intergroup communication. For example, it may become a literary language or the standard

TABLE 2. *Developmental continua of pidgins and koines*

Process	Stage of development	
	Pidginization	*Koineization*
Initial contact	prepidgin (jargon)	prekoine
Stabilization	Stablized pidgin	stabilized koine
Expansion	expanded pidgin	expanded koine
Nativization	creole	nativized koine

language of a country. This extension of use is often accompanied by linguistic expansion, for example, in greater morphological complexity and stylistic options, the "elaborations" mentioned by Gambhir (see "Previous writings on koines" above). Most of these can be traced back to the original koineized varieties. This stage of development is the *expanded koine*. A possible example is Belgrade-based Serbo-Croatian (Bidwell 1964:532).

Finally, a koine may become the first language for a group of speakers, or a *nativized koine*. This stage may also be characterized by further linguistic expansion (or elaboration), but here some of it may be the result of innovations which cannot be traced back to the original koineized varieties. An example of a nativized koine is the original Greek Koine.

The stages of the developmental continuum of koines are analogous to those of pidgins as described by Mühlhäusler (for example, in 1981:37). They are presented in Table 2.

Another significant aspect of the this developmental continuum is that nativization can occur after any of the first three stages. For example, nativization can occur immediately after the prekoine stage without prior stabilization or expansion. But as in creolization, these processes are part of nativization if they have not occurred already. This is what took place to some extent in the development of some immigrant koines such as Fiji Hindustani (Siegel 1983:28) and Trinidad Bhojpuri (Mohan 1978:13). Both developed after a severe break in linguistic tradition, when groups of Indians speaking various dialects of Hindustani were sent to foreign plantations as indentured labourers. Although some levelling must have taken place, these dialects remained in an unstabilized prekoine continuum until children were born in the new environment. Thus, Mohan (1978:13) says, "the Bhojpuri of the first generation Trinidad Indians is much more homogeneous than that brought by the immigrant generation, to the extent that it constitutes a single system incorporating residual dialectal variation rather than persisting as a series of distinct dialects."

This development is very similar to that of a creole, such as Hawaiian Creole, from an unstabilized prepidgin continuum (Bickerton 1981:5). Mühlhäusler (1980:32) has also shown that creolization can take place at any stage of the developmental continuum, as illustrated in Figure 1.

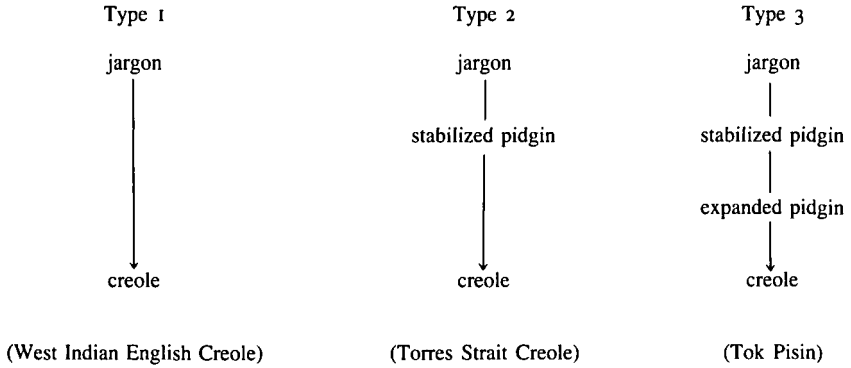| Type 1	Type 2	Type 3
jargon	jargon	jargon
	stabilized pidgin	stabilized pidgin
		expanded pidgin
creole	creole	creole
(West Indian English Creole)	(Torres Strait Creole)	(Tok Pisin)

FIGURE 1: Developmental continua of a creole.

A parallel illustration can be made for the koineization developmental continuum, as shown in Figure 2.

It should be stressed that the developmental continuum of a koine is not necessarily linear. At any stage, for example, "rekoineization" can take place if there is continued contact with the original closely related varieties, or additional contact with different ones. Furthermore, a koine may be at different stages along the continuum for different speakers. For example, Greek Koine was nativized only for speakers of some urban areas; otherwise it was an expanded koine. For immigrant koines, recent immigrants may speak varieties at the pre-koine stage while the majority of the long-term immigrants speak a stabilized version and their children a nativized one.

CONCLUSION

Koineization is the process which leads to mixing of linguistic subsystems, that is, of language varieties which either are mutually intelligible or share the same
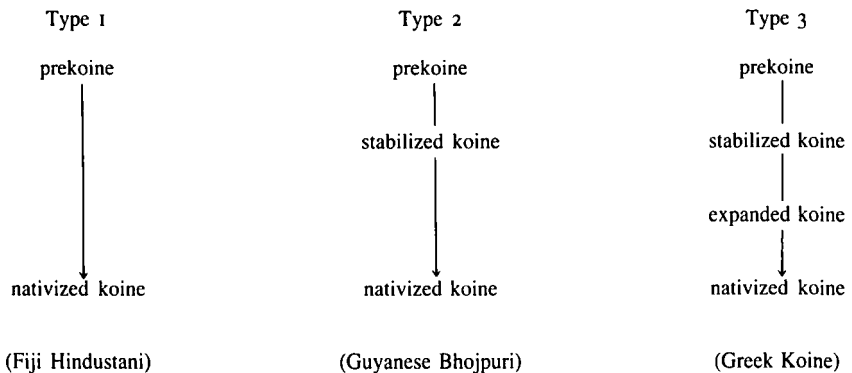
Type 1	Type 2	Type 3
prekoine	prekoine	prekoine
	stabilized koine	stabilized koine
		expanded koine
nativized koine	nativized koine	nativized koine
(Fiji Hindustani)	(Guyanese Bhojpuri)	(Greek Koine)

FIGURE 2: Developmental continua of a nativized koine.

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genetically related superposed language. It occurs in the context of increased interaction or integration among speakers of these varieties. A koine is the stabilized composite variety which results from this process. Formally, a koine is characterized by a mixture of features from the contributing varieties, and at an early stage of development, it is often reduced or simplified in comparison to any of these varieties. Functionally, a koine serves as a lingua franca among speakers of the different varieties. It also may become the primary language of amalgamated communities of these speakers.

A regional koine usually develops as the lingua franca of a geographical area in which different regional dialects are spoken. It often becomes expanded in form and function to become a regional standard or a literary language. An immigrant koine develops in an amalgamated immigrant community and often is the primary language of the first generation born in this community.

Koineization is similar to pidginization in that both processes arise from contact between speakers of different linguistic varieties and may result in a new variety, which usually shows features of the varieties in contact and is reduced and simplified in comparison. However, the two processes are fundamentally different in other ways. The varieties in contact which lead to koineization are more typologically similar than those which lead to pidginization. Furthermore, koineization is a slow, gradual process which requires continued contact and integration among the speakers of the different varieties, whereas pidginization is a rapid process not requiring such integration. The expansion of function and form, and nativization characteristic of creolization are analogous to what may occur in koineization after the initial stage.

Some linguists have extended the use of the term koineization to include pidginization and other types of language mixing, such as fusion and convergence. However, it would seem more profitable to restrict its use to the mixing of linguistic subsystems.

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