TOPIC CHAINS AS FORM AND FUNCTION: A "KITCHEN PIDGIN" CASE STUDY

by

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(Under the Direction of Don McCreary)

ABSTRACT

Topic prominent constructions by non-native speakers of English are basic and non-derived due to problem-solving strategies. In this case study, natural kitchen pidgin data is collected and transcribed in order to document the features of this working pidgin and re-interpret them as functional topic chains. The underlying pragmatic functions of the topic chains produce topic prominent forms. The definition of the kitchen speech as a "kitchen pidgin" is challenged when the kitchen workers in this study are re-evaluated as successful language learners despite the restricted usage of this mixed language in the workplace.

INDEX WORDS: Case Study, Topic Prominent, Kitchen Pidgin,
           Language Learners, Mixed Language, Working Pidgin.

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Arashi naka

Wazuka ni sakite

Bara no hana

Born out of the storm

Blooms even for one moment

Solitary rose

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<u>Introduction</u>

<u>1.1 Topicalization: Language, Learners, and Learning Language</u>

In the study of language, what does it mean when we talk about the topic of a sentence? In very general terms, the topic of a sentence is what the sentence is about (Kuno, 1972). For example, in the following sentence, *John went to school today*, the topic of the sentence is *John*, as the sentence is about John. However, this initial definition is at best vague, as Reinhart (1982:5) argues that the expression, *All crows are black* can be about the class of crows, the class of black things, and even the class of things which are not crows. Furthermore, the sentence can also be about the class of non-black things and about the class of things which are not crows since it can also be interpreted though its alternative philosophical equivalent, *All non-black things are non-crows*. So in this sense, the topic of sentence is at best a very vague concept, and cannot be constrained to just mean only what the sentence is about.

The Principle of Relevance states that the upcoming discourse must be related to previous discourse in that it makes use of what is presumed to be known and intends to contribute information to what is of current concern (Strawson, 1964: 96). This at best provides a very general guideline as to how conversation should be conducted. However, it does not reveal explicitly as to how the appropriate information is to be conveyed, or related to ongoing speech. The main question to ask is that how are topics related to the rest of the sentence, and holistically, how are sentential topics related to the larger frame of discourse, or conversation as

it is conducted by the speakers. How do speakers determine what topics are, and how relevant these topics are during speech?

In the field of language learning, studies have shown that pidgin Englishes and non-native English speakers display topic prominent features (Escure, 1988; Schumann, 1986). The topic is fronted, for example, *My mother, good woman.* What is the reason behind the topic prominent features found in the speech of non-native English speakers? So far, topic prominence at this very basic level is just simply categorized as a syntactic notion, as it can be identified and analyzed at the surface level. This raises the next important question, even though we can identify and study these surface level structures, what is the motivation for such topic-fronting strategies?

A majority of studies have the tendency to classify the topicalization phenomena as strictly syntactic in nature. The underlying assumption is that the canonical structure is that of the subject-predicate, and not one of topic-comment. Since English is a subject-predicate ordered language, any movement to front the topic will indicate emphasis of certain constituents or some pragmatic stylistic variation in speech. For example, *John went to school* might be preposed into *To school, John went.* This would signify that the preposed constituent becomes marked, as it is moved from its canonical word order. The pragmatic reading would be that it was to school that John went, and not to the bookstore.

However, in non-native varieties of English, the speakers would most likely not have any overt knowledge of such movement rules. Therefore, the existence of topic prominent features would not be due to the result of conscious movement rules, but that topic prominent constructions are non-derived structures. This means that the topic prominent structures would be the most basic form, as they cannot be said to be derived from the application of syntactic

transformations that the learners have acquired. For example, *Chicken here* (topic-comment) would be the most basic form possible, rather than derived from the canonical *There is chicken here* (subject-predicate order).

Strategies which front the topic can be classified into many syntactic types. Before launching into further discussion on topic fronting, it is imperative that we examine the syntactic labels commonly used to describe this particular phenomenon.

Left dislocation involves the inserting of a topic in the front followed by a pronoun which refers back to the initial topic. For example, *The young boy, he sees the fish*. In the example sentence, the topic, *the young boy*, is co-referential which the upcoming pronoun, *he*, which refers back to the same young boy evoked in the earlier portion of the sentence.

Topicalization is technically a syntactic term to describe left dislocation without the pronominal copy, for example, *The young boy, sees the fish*. In this dissertation, I will use topicalization as a cover term to refer to *any* topic fronting constructions. The assumption is that underlying topic function is the same, whether the surface syntactic form is a preposing, left dislocation, or left dislocation without the pronominal copy.

The main issue this study addresses is the topic prominent features found in the speech of migrant workers in a restaurant kitchen. The topic-comment features are by no means simple as they have a more complex underlying function and are governed by the function of the topic within the sentence. The topic and the rest of the sentence elements are related in a series of feature relations. Superficial classification of the elements in the sentence into the topic and comment portion do not account for the connections between the topic and the comment. The topic-comment sections in the sentence will be reworked as functions of the topic interacting with rest of the elements in the utterance as a topic chain.

The study attempts to explore the three following questions. Firstly, why are there topic prominent features in pidgin languages? The implications of asking this question point to a possible *universal stage* in second language learning or language mixing in which the participants do not share a common language. The topic prominent features are possibly the eventual product of the strategies of interaction. We have to determine if they are *universal language strategies* or are they simply *language universals* common to individual native speakers (Chomsky, 1965: 4).

Secondly, the question of how accurately these topic prominent features are *represented* in the field of linguistics is also shaping how we view them as mistakes or as a strategy to facilitate communication. Are they topic prominent due to movement or are they the most basic form available as a cognitive strategy? What is the best way to represent topic prominent structures used by non-native speakers of English?

Thirdly, the issue of the immediate contact environment also plays a part in the *shaping* of topic prominent strategies. If the pidgins show topic prominent features then we have to explore the processes in which the learners engage to try to communicate in order to understand why these particular features show up. The question to ask is how far the contact environment shapes the pidgin features.

 In this study, I will proceed in the following order and manner to present my research and findings. In Chapter One, I will explain the scope of my study, explaining why and how I embarked on the study of this kitchen pidgin, the methodology I chose, and the participants involved. In Chapter Two, a discussion of the literature will be done in order to assess the inadequacies and issues not addressed by previous studies and theories. In Chapter Three, features of the kitchen pidgin with respect to its unique sociolinguistic environment and

linguistic features will be discussed. In Chapter Four, the topic chaining theory will be presented in order to explain the topic-comment phenomenon in the kitchen pidgin. In Chapter Five, language acquisition ability of the the migrant worker in the restaurant kitchen will be examined. In Chapter Six, the kitchen speech is interpreted through Darwinist theories of evolution and survival strategies. As the conclusion, Chapter Seven pronounces the final verdict on the whether the definition "kitchen pidgin" is an appropriate label for the kitchen talk.

1.2 The Ethnographer: Entering the Field

My first foray into the realm of the restaurant kitchen was via my sister-in-law's business because she was the owner of a Chinese restaurant. I did not expect to embark on a full-blown dissertation at that time when I visited her business, but the speech of the kitchen staff fascinated me. It was almost like a linguistic bazaar coming to life in which different groups of people came together for the main purpose of working in the restaurant. It was like a mini Tower of Babel where no one shared a common native language, and where English, the supposed neutral lingua franca was not even a language spoken fluently by any of the groups of workers. I knew instantly that I had stumbled upon a rare opportunity to observe a dynamic language contact situation. I had found myself in the midst of an exciting, continually evolving, and unstable kitchen pidgin.

I initially befriended the kitchen staff casually, as my family often ate at the restaurant during the communal meal times. Soon the workers also got used to my presence, and often enjoyed my visits, especially when I brought along my first son, then a two-year-old toddler whom they often played with. I found it useful to be accepted as no stranger to the restaurant as I also often waited for my husband while he helped with restaurant deliveries when the restaurant was very busy. It was an excellent opportunity for me to document the pidgin speech because it

is a unique contact situation that very few people have access to. By this, I mean that though kitchen pidgins are by no means rare, and are of course possibly quite numerous as immigrants interact and work in manual labor jobs with minimal English proficiency, this valuable access to this linguistic community is certainly not available to every linguist.

While still maintaining cordial relations, I started to tape-record their speech while they were working. There was initially a difficult period when they started to notice that they were being monitored and most of them just kept quiet. However, when they got used to the fact that I was a regular visitor in the restaurant, they grew less conscious and wary, and began to lower their guard. I also took notes of the contextual situation in order to add to the richness of the descriptive data. I realized that not only did I have to document the sociolinguistic dynamics of the contact situation, I also had to add in quantitative data concerning the type of linguistic features found in their pidgin speech.

Initially distressed and frustrated by the lack of data when I first started, I planned a new strategy for data collection. I noted the times when the kitchen staff would be the most productive, for example, food preparation times before the customer dinner rush hours, and also during communal meal times. I had to be patient and also deal with the disappointment when time spent at the restaurant yielded little data. However, when the participants were in the mood for talking, the data collection naturally increased. Eventually, I accumulated some interesting data, and all I had to do was let the data speak for itself. When the data did speak for itself, it spoke volumes. The data presented itself as a complex linguistic tapestry, interwoven with the work, the lives, the joys and the tears that these immigrant workers transmitted through this living kitchen pidgin.

The pidgin speech was every bit as complex and as multi-faceted as the people who have created it. The pidgin speech represents the voice and the struggles of the immigrant worker.

1.3 Natural Data Collection

The data was collected using a small but powerful hand held Olympus tape recorder. When I am conversing directly with the participants within close range, the tape recorder is simply put casually on the table in order to minimize the intrusive effects of its presence, rather than holding it up near the participants.

I would observe them in the kitchen during times when the workload is minimal, such as near closing time, when the crew has time to chat with each other. Sometimes, I would talk casually with the participants during kitchen dinner times, when they would have their dinner break at the table. Collecting data during such times would be more advantageous and productive, because the amount of background noise would be minimized, for example, the sounds of frying and the phone ringing. At times, some of the sessions were extremely frustrating, especially if the restaurant was very busy, and the workers had no time to talk to each other. However, when the workers were linguistically productive, they would joke and talk to one another, contributing to increased data collection. Sometimes, when I brought along my now three year old toddler and infant son to the restaurant, the participants seemed more willing to talk in the presence of the children. This might be due to the fact that the presence of the children also made them less conscious of the data collection that was going on, and also allowed them to be as natural and as spontaneous as they possibly can. It also contributed to the casual, conversational atmosphere that helped to yield valuable natural data that reflected their speech in a real life situation. The less threatening the environment, the less conscious and more spontaneous the speech became. Sometimes it could be quite rowdy.

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In cases where the data strayed into extremely personal and sometimes even explicit details of their private lives, I would take the liberty to keep these confidential and not transcribe that portion, without losing sight of the bulk of the main discourse.

It was easier for me to record data while with two or three workers. The dyad or triad clusters were extremely conducive to data production and collection, as the physical area in which the workers are clustering around is usually confined to one work area of the kitchen, or at a single table during dinner. Attempting to collect mass data from groups of four or more proved to be difficult and chaotic due to acoustic constraints yielding recordings of low quality and hence, unusable data.

The tape-recorded data was transcribed with accompanying glosses, following the actual transcription. When available, the contextual information was added in parentheses to indicate the situation in which they were conversing, and also some of the actions which they are doing concurrently while talking. When possible, I would also add in the explanation on the origin of some of the borrowings from Chinese, Bahasa Indonesia or Spanish. Because of the fact that I was present at the time of the conversations, I was able to provide the contextual information as well as reconstruct the pidgin exchanges into proper English. It was better than leaving the recorder in the kitchen running in my absence, which would cause difficulty in transcription and interpretation of the utterances.

1.4 The Sociolinguistic Interviews

In addition to the natural data, I also conducted casual sociolinguistic interviews on a one-to-one basis or in groups of two. I made a list of questions asking them about their favorite foods, and actors in order to elicit more information. Of course, certain forms like interrogatives and the

imperatives were difficult to obtain from the interview approach, but the interviews proved to be extremely useful in helping the data collection process when the natural data collection process yielded no viable data on some occasions. Of course, I took care to act as if I were interested in the contents of what they had to say, while concealing the fact that I was actually looking at linguistic features of their pidgin speech. The interviews were also conducted in English so that they would be made to use the pidginized speech as much as possible.

<u>1.5 Profiles of Participants</u>

In this section, these profiles will provide more information on the participants and their level of English proficiency. It is important to know their linguistic backgrounds, ages and type of personalities in order to understand how these factors influence their kitchen pidgin speech. Documenting a living pidgin involves not only the speech features and patterns but also describing the linguistic backgrounds and personalities of the speakers who have created it. There are a total of seven participants consisting of restaurant employees in the kitchen and delivery drivers.

<u>1.5.1 COOK A: Mau</u>

Mau is from Malaysia, and speaks Cantonese as his native language. He also speaks the Hakka dialect. He is 53 years old and has been in the United States for about seven years. He rarely speaks English outside his social circle, other than at the restaurant, and only with the other Mexican employees. He has the most senior rank in the kitchen being the head chef. Mau has the power to determine and control inventory in the kitchen and also decide what the staff dinner menu is. He has been working as a chef all his life. He has been with the restaurant for about

seven years. Normally, his personality is quite withdrawn and quiet, but he can occasionally laugh and joke when he has time.

1.5.2 COOK B: Neu

An ethnic Chinese, Neu was born and raised in Vietnam. He does not speak or understand any Vietnamese and his native language is Cantonese. It might seem strange that he does not speak Vietnamese, but due to the Chinese diaspora into Vietnam, ethnic Chinese enclaves have been created in Vietnam whereby the people only communicate in Chinese. Neu also speaks the Cantonese dialect. He is 36 years old. Most of the time he is moody and impatient, but when he has time, he does joke and chat with the other workers in the kitchen. In the middle of the study, he left the workplace under very unpleasant circumstances due to his chronic alcoholism and insubordination to the head chef. He was not able to participate in the sociolinguistic interview.

1.5.3 COOK C: Wha

Wha is an ethnic Chinese whose native language is Cantonese. Like Mau, he is from Malaysia. He is 42 years old. He has been working at the restaurant in this study for about two years. His personality is quite bright and cheery and sometimes he jokes a lot. He is the most outgoing and cheerful of all the three cooks.

1.5.4 DELIVERY DRIVER: Manuel

Manuel, 31, is from Vera Cruz, Mexico, and speaks Spanish and a little English. His English is easy to understand but he does not pay any attention to grammar, especially tenses. He has been in the United States for about ten years. He has been working for the restaurant for about seven

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years. His personality is mild and easy going, and he gets along well with Kim, the other delivery driver from Indonesia.

1.5.5 DISHWASHING: Javy

Javy, 33, is also from Vera Cruz, Mexico and speaks Spanish and a little English. He speaks only Spanish at home. He has been employed at the restaurant for about three years. He is in charge of washing the dishes and also doing some side jobs like food preparation and mopping the floor at closing time. Javy is hardworking, but he does have a temper and can be fiery when provoked or teased by his workmates.

1.5.6 FRYER: Hock

Hock, 40, is an ethnic Chinese from Indonesia and speaks Bahasa Indonesia. He speaks broken English at work. He has been with the restaurant for about two years. His English proficiency is not quite as good as Kim's (see below). He tends to have a lot of Bahasa Indonesia lexical items in his speech. Hock is the unofficial clown in the kitchen because his outgoing nature and sense of humor contribute to the comic elements in the kitchen pidgin discourse. He is also extremely animated when he speaks. Hock and Kim do not know any Mandarin-Chinese or Chinese dialects even though they are ethnically of Chinese descent. Hock and Kim are brothers.

1.5.7 DELIVERY DRIVER: Kim

Kim, 36, is an ethnic Chinese from Indonesia and speaks Bahasa Indonesia and fairly decent English. He has worked in the restaurant for about three years. His English is understandable but simple because he does not pay attention to inflections for tenses.

Because Kim and Manuel work as delivery drivers, they are away on their runs most of the time,

but they do return to have dinner at the restaurant. Kim gets along well best with Manuel.

Table 1.1 Participants' Native Languages and Demographics

Name	Age	Ethnicity	Native Country	Native Language	Other Known Dialects/ Languages	Years in USA
Mau	53	Chinese	Malaysia	Cantonese	Hakka, Mandarin-Chinese	10
Neu	36	Chinese	Vietnam	Cantonese	Mandarin-Chinese	7
Wha	42	Chinese	Malaysia	Cantonese	Hakka, Mandarin-Chinese	6
Javy	33	Mexican	Mexico	Spanish		5
Manuel	31	Mexican	Mexico	Spanish		10
Kim	36	Chinese	Indonesia	Bahasa Indonesia		3
Hock	40	Chinese	Indonesia	Bahasa Indonesia		3

<u>1.6 Summary</u>

In this very brief chapter, I have introduced the main outline and scope for this study, as well

as an introduction to the upcoming linguistic issues at hand. The setting of the research study has

been introduced with participant details providing some idea of what their characters and

language learning behaviors are like. Even though they are individuals with their own different

language learning abilities, they all contribute to the overall kitchen pidgin features in their own

ways. They are all active participants in the linguistic mixing and leveling of the kitchen pidgin

which they speak. At this point of writing, there are a total of seven participants but later one of

the cooks, Neu, left the job.

At the time when the data collection was completed, two new Japanese sushi chefs joined the ranks as the restaurant started a sushi bar inside the same dining area. New Japanese lexicon consisting of terms related to raw fish and Japanese food started to enter the kitchen pidgin when the sushi chefs joined the staff. However, it is beyond the scope of this study to accommodate such changes to the kitchen pidgin as we are only dealing with the current data collected from the original seven participants.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction: Examining Previous Studies

In this first chapter, studies on topic prominence will be reviewed and assessed in terms of how they attempt to define and explain the phenomenon of topic prominence. At the end of this chapter, the inadequacies of previous studies and their conclusions will be evaluated and discussed.

In the review of the literature, I will show that the studies have not addressed the following areas adequately.

- The relationship between form and function within topicalization structures has not been sufficiently addressed. The apparent luminous simplicity of topic-comment forms in pidgin languages is shaped by the motivation to communicate meaning.

- The deeper underlying pragmatic motivation and information structures behind topic-comment strategies in pidgin and creoles have not been discussed fully.

- Topic prominence rests on an expanded feature network of relations and is not only confined to scalar values.

2.2 Second Language Acquisition Approaches

The analyses of topic-comment structures in the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) have generally been concerned with interference from native language forms and the issue of topic-comment as a stage in language acquisition.

In Schumann's study of Alberto's Pidgin English speech, he found out that topic-comment structures were characteristic features of pidgin and Creole languages (Schumann, 1978a,1978b). The main topic of the sentence would normally be fronted, for example, *This pencil, no good.* This was originally attributed to errors in transfer, or to the lack of a complete copula system. Perhaps, most importantly, the early research seems to point out to the fact that pidgins are more basic and undeveloped grammatically. This was attributed to the borrowing of skeletal grammatical structures belonging to the substrate language.

In the heydays when error analysis flourished in the 1960s and 1970s, when learner mistakes were listed and studied, in an attempt to understanding second language acquisition, the main goal was to compare and contrast non-native speaker errors. Error analysis pundits looking at topic-comment constructions in learner language would inadvertently relegate them to a secondary position, viewing them as mistakes. All this preceded Selinker's introduction of the concept of *interlanguage,* which is basically the system characterizing non-native speech (Selinker, 1972, 1992) . Instead of looking at topic-comment structures and viewing them as non-standard or non-nativelike constructions, they have to be perceived as features with their own rules and systems, and not any less complex or inferior to target language features.

Selinker's new way of looking at learner language was novel in that it put all non-native speech into a new light. However, it was just a general notion labeling any sentences or utterances produced by non-native speakers, and put *interlanguage* on a continuum on which the learners of a language moved up as they get more target-like in their productions.

According to Selinker's theory, interlanguage has several levels. The different levels can be labeled from the most basic, in other words, the most un-targetlike to levels getting closer, and resembling that of the target language. We can observe that interlanguage is not a static stage but

a dynamic entity, which can be altered depending on external factors. For example, the utterance *Jennifer Lopez, I like* would be a lower interlanguage level (IL 1) compared to the more native-like production, *I like Jennifer Lopez,* which will be on IL 2. Traversing between the different points on the continuum, the second language learner can become more competent as he or she moves up the different levels, or backslide as non-nativelike forms are produced. Backsliding, which is the production of non-nativelike forms cause the learner to lapse into a lower level on the IL continuum. It can be caused by circumstances, for example the learner being nervous when speaking, or by social pressure, as in the example to fit into a particular crowd who uses the non-targetlike form. Backsliding, when permanent is what Selinker calls fossilization, when regardless of how much input or exposure to the target language, the learner does not produce target-like forms.

Even though Selinker's ideas are attractive and provide an attempt to explain and characterize non-native speaker productions, they are still idiosyncratic as they start out with the premise that all interlanguage originates from the second-language learner, as an separate, discrete system working within the second language learner. I would evaluate his interlanguage postulations as being theoretically feasible when applying to a single second language learner, but not feasible when attempting to describe interactive phenomenon in an actual discourse context.

If topic-comment structures are non-targetlike on the IL scale, for example, as in the example I mentioned previously, *Jennifer Lopez, I like*, compared with the more native-like production, *I like Jennifer Lopez* they are only evaluated as a single token, and not evaluated as a discourse phenomenon. If we were to put the topic-comment structure in a larger discourse context, we observe that it is acceptable when we evaluate it as a whole discourse event. With

reference to the exchange below, we do see that the topic-comment structure is grammatical and appropriate. Does this mean that topic-comment could be a potential language universal?

(1) A: Which singer do you like? Jennifer Lopez? Ricky Martin?

     B: Jennifer Lopez, I like. Ricky Martin, no.

Speaker B answers the question by using a topic-comment structure which fronts the topic and focuses on *Jennifer Lopez* as the main important element that he wants to convey. This indicates that there are underlying pragmatic motivations at work behind the production of topic-comment structures. Moreover, in the latter part, Speaker B uses the same topic-comment structure again, this time to show that he means to present a contrast, Jennifer Lopez is the one he likes, and as for Ricky Martin, he indicates otherwise.

In the present study, the natural data collected from non-native speakers of English will be labeled as interlanguage, exhibiting all the different features that Selinker stipulated as characteristic of interlanguage data. However, I will go one step further to explain that instead of the IL being the system within a particular second language learning or speaking individual, it is a dynamic entity interacting as a whole unit, being shared by a particular speech community. It is a synchronic study of language interaction and language contact, not a diachronic study of acquisition stages or an explanation of transfer errors. My goals are not to account for the origins of IL components, as being borrowed from their respective native languages, or part of the learner's own system of rules. I am looking at a natural language contact situation where the participants with their less than perfect command of English attempt to communicate.

Research on second language acquisition interlanguage and creoles have confirmed that there is a universal topic-comment stage (Fuller and Gundel, 1987; Escure, 1988).

Fuller and Gundel's study investigates the role of the topic-comment structure in the interlanguage of adults who are non-native speakers of English, comparing it to the language of native English speakers. The study found that there were no differences in topic prominence in the interlanguage of English learners, regardless of their native languages, whether the respective native languages are topic-prominent or not. The findings support the hypothesis that initial interlanguage is characterized by obvious topic-comment structures. Upon further examination of the data, the oral narratives of the participants who spoke either Chinese, Japanese or Korean as their native language had a larger repertoire of topicalization strategies, compared to the participants whose native languages were Spanish, Farsi or Arabic. Fuller and Gundel (1987) assigned Chinese, Japanese, and Korean participants with value of 3, which indicates a high degree of topic-prominent characteristics, when compared with the value of 1, from native English speakers.

This obviously might be attributed to the fact that these speakers, whose native languages are topic-prominent, would tend to undergo negative transfer and generally result in more topic-prominent interlanguage productions than those speakers whose native languages were less topic-prominent. Nevertheless, even though their native languages exhibit different scales of how topic-prominent they were, the study showed that the non-native English interlanguage data collected was more topic-prominent than native English.narratives.

However we need to qualify some definitions and assumptions with such findings. Are the topicalization strategies overall strategies that all learner employ without reference to their native language structures? What is the relevance of comparing the *degree* of topic prominence between those Chinese, Japanese and Korean speakers whose native languages are topic prominent? This is paradoxical, because it does not qualify the notion of a universal stage in

interlanguage as the researchers still find that this so-called universal is influenced by the native language.

The above study was convincing in proving that topic prominence was a feature of interlanguage, perhaps because it might indeed be a universal stage in SLA, but we need to qualify that this might be due to the fact that pragmatic function drives initial learner language, rather than the attention to surface syntactic structures. It is interesting that the study showed that left dislocation, and zero-NP-anaphora constructions were predominant topic-prominent features among the non-native English interlanguage data.

Let us examine such topic-prominent constructions one at a time. The examples are from the non-native speaker narratives in English in Fuller and Gundel's study when they are asked to retell the story in the video that they have just viewed. The learner's native language is noted in parentheses.

2.2.1   Left Dislocation

In this topic strategy, a phrase referring to the topic is adjoined to the left of a full sentence comment which contains a pronominal copy of that phrase (Fuller and Gundel, 1987). In other words, there is an anaphoric, backward-looking reference denoting the topic mentioned within the same sentence.

(2)   I thought – the cat he want to eat the bird (Arabic)

       The young boy he can get this fish (Arabic)

       But this old man he like this –this fish (Spanish)

       Is a pity that the boy-he didn't see the cat (Chinese)

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<u>2.2.2 Zero-NP Anaphora</u>

This means that certain parts of the topic, such as the agent or the patient is not explicitly referred back to in the discourse. Strictly speaking, such constructions are not found in English. The ∅ indicates a zero anaphor.

(3)   He took the fish and put ∅ in the glass (Spanish)

They show sometime the boy when ∅ go out the school (Spanish)

The boy sad; ∅ think ∅ sad. (Arabic)

so small boy—really ∅ give ∅ a little money (Korean)

He win a golden fish—he is very happy and great. He take ∅ and he put ∅ a glass bowl (Chinese)

Then he bite that fish and put ∅ in the fish bowl (Japanese)

Even though the above surface forms are not native-like, we are able to comprehend the bare bones of the underlying meaning of these minimalist, Zen-like constructions as the main nucleus of the sentence is obvious to us. We are able to tell from the context the semantic relations between the agent, "the boy" and the patient, "that fish".

Matthews and Yip (1995) studied the interlanguage of Chinese speaking learners of English. They concluded that Chinese syntax had mapped onto their English interlanguage writings. The development of topic prominence is seen to be a natural part of initial second language acquisition. The essays of the participants in the study revealed transfer from the Chinese language, which is a topic prominent language. They also showed novel topic prominent constructions not traceable to transfer from Chinese.

However, not all interlanguages exhibit topic prominent features. Jin (1994) studied the interlanguage of Chinese learners and found that the learners with English as their native

language did not have topic-prominent constructions. Contrary to the apparently widely held view that all initial interlanguage possess topic prominent features, Jin's study proved that subject prominence was also a transferable strategy, and contradicted the earlier claims that topic-comment structures were interlanguage universals (Escure, 1988). So up to this point in time, the question we need to answer is simply, whether topic-comment a universal stage all learners go through regardless of the degree of topic-prominence in their native language or just a matter of transfer depending on influence from native language structures. This study is important as it challenges the current accepted mantra of second language acquisition and creolists who maintain that topic-comment is a universal stage that interlanguage stage all learners go through.

I do not deny that topic-comment is a universal stage in interlanguage, but researchers need to qualify what sort of interlanguage it is, whether it is English interlanguage produced by non-native speakers learning it as a second language, or Mandarin-Chinese interlanguage produced by non-native Mandarin-Chinese learners. Looking at interlanguage studies, we have to be extremely cautious as to what sort of interlanguage we are talking about in relation to the nature of the target language in question. Jin's study is personally a paradox because, he has failed to qualify and define interlanguage with relation to what the target language is when he discusses previous studies in general. Topic-comment structures are indeed a universal stage in non-native English interlanguage but not a universal stage in the interlanguage of non-native Mandarin-Chinese speakers. Failure to define such concepts makes Jin's findings paradoxical, if topic-comments are universal stages in non-native Chinese interlanguage, then the data he collected will be target-like by default, since Mandarin Chinese is a topic-prominent language.

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But then, we go back to the disturbing question of whether there are any universals at all, whether topic-prominent or subject prominent universals. Jin's study confirms this paradox, topic prominence is not a language universal at all, since we have to re-word it to mean that topic prominence is not universal stage in native speakers of English learning Mandarin as a second language, even though it might be a stage in other interlanguages.

SLA studies need to re-assess the topic-comment strategies as being pragmatic strategies instead of transfer errors. The use of topic-comment strategies need to be looked at as a system entirely on its own, as an interlanguage system, as defined by
Selinker. It would be ideal to look at the functional and pragmatic aspects behind the motivation for topic-prominence as it would indicate the pragmatic strategy behind communicative modes.

At this point, we are not sure if there is topic-comment is a universal stage at all, and if it is indeed a universal, what sort of universal is it? Is it universals with respect to all language structures, or universals with respect to a stage in interlanguage process or as a product of language learning?

2.3 Pidgin and Creole Studies

Escure's (1988) study confirmed that topic-comment structures are utilized extensively in English-based Caribbean basilects. Her approach was basically to study
the usage of Belizean creole in its natural context and to describe some of the topic strategies which are used in those situations. The study was longitudinal in nature, spanning a total of fifteen years. Escure dealt mainly with syntactic descriptions as she described the different types of topic strategies used, namely, fronting, duplication, dislocation and pseudo-clefts (All these strategies will be discussed in greater detail in a later section). Escure also noted the usage of

topic strategies even in the acrolectal variety, which indicated that even basilectal features are able to move up the ranks to the more socially prestigious variety. In other words, she was studying the variations in creole interlanguage, looking at it moving on the continuum over an extended period of time. Variations were due to changing attitudes and social circumstances, and it appeared that "backsliding" did not point to that much of a stigma as some of the basilectal forms even moved up higher along the continuum. Selinker's interlanguage continuum and the acrolectal-basilectal continuum are actually the same concept, except that they were applicable in different contexts, the former in classroom-based research and the latter in natural pidgins and creoles found in the real world. Givón also noted that the pidgins he had studied, namely Filipino-English and Korean-English pidgins have topic-comment structures.

Up to this point in time, the above studies discussed adopt a largely descriptive approach to the treatment of topicalization strategies. Most of them are like taxonomies mainly typological studies that dealt with the listing of different topic strategies and their relative frequencies of usage, compared with the extent of topicalization in learners' native languages. The data obtained from classroom settings, written compositions, and non-spontaneous narratives were necessary and perhaps sufficient for the sole the purpose of analyzing interlanguage syntax to get into what constitutes system of linguistic rules for the new language in the learner's mind.

Of course, all of the above studies point to the fact that they are actually contrastive analysis and error analysis resurrected with respect to the treatment of topic strategies in SLA. These are not without merits, however, in classroom-based research, where descriptions of non-nativelike topic-comment constructions would be helpful for instructors who want to know the extent of transfer errors in order for the learners to accustom themselves to new forms in the target language.

However, we have to examine the pragmatic motivations for such topic-comment structures and arrive at the conclusion which, instead of labeling topic-comment structures as being primitive, undeveloped features in second-language speech, pidgins or creoles, states that pragmatic motivations are the principle driving forces behind communicative systems produced by non-native speakers.

The SLA approaches seem to concentrate mainly on descriptive accounts and typologies. While such descriptions are useful as providing insights into how non-native interlanguage functions, they do not specifically address the reason *why* topic-prominence occurs in non-native speakers of English, regardless of their respective native languages. Most of the work done is based on listing and categorizing the different topic prominent strategies rather than coming up with pragmatic explanations for why they occur. The previous research has answered the definition of *what* topic prominent strategies are, as we have discussed examples with syntactic descriptions under sub-sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 and *where* they are used, in interlanguage and in creoles. The pressing question to ask and answer now is the *why*, and points to defining the concept topic prominence as a communication strategy. In the determination of the *intention* of the non-native speaker, the motivation behind the usage of topic prominence will be solved.

Topic comment structures are definitely not backward systems that are transferred from the second language learners' native languages. Most research, comparing non-native speaker data tended to generalize that the learners' native languages were to blame for the initial production of topic-comment structures in English.

In fact, upon closer examination, topic-comment structures are also found in English, so it was certainly ironic that topic-comment structures were viewed as non-nativelike productions made by second language learners. Escure (1988) admitted that the pragmatic principles at work

in spontaneous speech also have to be considered when evaluating topic-comment structures. Topic-comment structures do not simply exist as errors or renegade forms. She concluded that it was remarkable that even in casual, spontaneous American English data, topic-comment structures were present, validating the fact that topic-comment strategies are more universally used, and should not be dismissed as a non-standard feature in creoloid speech.

Escure mentions that the use of topicalization strategies in native English speech signals certain pragmatic effects on the part of the speaker's intention, for example, *A lazy person, you are*, indicating sarcasm or irony as in *Very smart, you are.*

In an attempt to reconcile SLA approaches and pragmatics, Givón came up with the *functional-typological syntactic analysis* (FTSA), which is essentially an interactionist theory (Givón, 1981, 1983a) It is functionalist because it states that syntax is derived from the properties of human discourse (Givón, 1981). It is also typological in nature as it draws on diverse body of languages, and not from one particular language or language family. The basis for this theory draws upon human perceptions and information processing, which I understand to be the need for humans, regardless of the level of individual linguistic abilities, to communicate information. This is essentially the same idea as I mentioned earlier on, that the need for information exchange pragmatically drives all syntactic form and function.

Givón explains that the pragmatic mode driving early IL forms, which accounts for the production of topic-comment structures. The underlying motivation was primarily pragmatic in nature, which gave rise to basic topic-comment structures, and it is only much later that the forms would be syntacticizied (Givón, 1985). For a more detailed description on Givón's notion of syntacticization, please refer to the table below.

Table 2.1 Givón's Notion of Syntacticization (Givon, 1985).

PRAGMATIC MODE FEATURES→	SYNTACTIC MODE FEATURES
(a) topic-comment utterances	Subject-predicate utterances
(b) relationships among propositions shown by simple juxtaposition or linking with conjunctions	Relationships among propositions shown by grammatical devices, e.g. use adverbial clauses, complementization, relativization.
(c) slow speech	rapid speech
(d) single intonation contours govern short utterances	Single intonation contours govern long utterances
(e) higher ratio of verbs to nouns, more use of simple verbs	Lower ratio of verbs to nouns, more use of complex verbs
(f) grammatical morphology absent	grammatical morphology present

However, even though it appeared to have integrated pragmatic concerns with syntax, Givón's theory was at best, a very general description of the two different modes and did not really describe real life situations. Most of the time, pragmatics would be the main driving force behind pidgins, rather than syntactic accuracy. One of the main critiques was that the target forms eventually produced when the syntacticization mode took over were more suited to written speech data rather than applied to natural speech data (Sato, 1986, 1988). Also, the basic unit of analysis was the sentence, which again is from written data, rather than an utterance, which is derived from natural speech data. This results in problems with the methodology concerning the quantification of natural data .

Nevertheless, Givón's table is useful as a guide to looking at the different modes that learners of a new language go through in general, but it fails to account for real life data, in cases

where learners still stay stagnant within the pragmatic mode. If the speakers could communicate their intentions and meanings with simple topic-comment structures, why would they even attempt to change into the linguistically accurate syntactic mode, since the basic communicate function has been fulfilled?

The studies on topic-comment structures have been quite religiously prescriptive in their approach, by maintaining that the syntactically correct forms for target-like English speech are subject-predicate structures. However, this is only realistic if all the conditions were optimal, for example, adequate input, motivation and practicing the correct forms.

Most of the research on topic-comment structures seemed to view them as being syntactically simple, or undeveloped as being errors, or as non-targetlike productions (Schumann, 1982, 1986, 1987a; Stauble and Schumann, 1983; Givón, 1984). Topic-comment structures such as

(4)   *Los Angeles, it big city.*

were not grammatical even though others were able to comprehend the meaning, as opposed to accurate subject-predicate forms like

(5)   *Los Angeles is a big city.*

Lack of apparent grammatical morphology does not presuppose that a language, specifically, a pidgin, is any less complex than languages with more complicated and developed morphology. We should look at pidgins as whole systems in their own right, rather than keep on comparing them to how different they are from the superstrate languages. Second language researchers tended to look at IL systems as belonging to one particular person, instead of evaluating it as a group phenomenon.

We need a synthesis of SLA research with pragmatics research. The SLA camp looks at topic-comment structures in isolation and labels them as being non-target like. The use of a

certain form does not mean that the pragmatic function has not been fulfilled. We need to look more into the pragmatic motivation, as well as look at aspects like topic and focus to see how topic-comment structures work in actual discourse. Most of the research dealt with classroom situations, using planned compositions and narratives as data elicitation tasks.

Of course, we have to admit that syntax is not separate from pragmatics, but that the discourse pragmatics actually drives the communication and manifests itself in the form of topic-comment units. Givón's model is not totally inaccurate but he fails to take into account that pragmatics and syntax do interact, and that the relation is not a linear, progressive one in which a learner unilaterally moves towards a syntactic mode, producing correct subject-predicate constructions as the ideal stage of eventually successful language acquisition. The assumption that the syntactic mode is superior as it is more "evolved" than pragmatic modes is highly inaccurate. Both the pragmatic mode and syntactic mode can co-exist interacting with each other, and not be categorized into two mutually exclusive sets.

Instead of looking at topic-comment units as strictly linear forms where constituents are identified, we should look at them holistically as topic chains. Topic chains are series of topic-comment sequences. We are actually looking at more fluid constituents beyond just simple, self-contained, linear units. Topic-comment units also do not just appear in a single stream, with a rigid NP-VP structure. Other additional utterances in the conversation also contribute to the exchange of information and elaboration of the introduced topic. For example, consider the following exchange below.

(6)   Mau: Today, very hot!
       Javy: Yeah, *mucho caliente*, today. No like so hot.
       Mau: You very stupid, stupid man! You, *sabes no sabes?*
       Javy: You, you *loco*!

Gloss:
Mau: Today, it's very hot !
Javy: Yes, it is very hot today. I don't like it so hot.
Mau: Yes you are really stupid, really stupid. You, do you understand or not?
Javy: You, you are the one that's mad.

We observe that the topic has to be analyzed holistically within conversation. Just looking at a single line and identifying the topic-comment structure is not sufficient to see how the topic-comment structure contributes to the definition of topic and connection between the topic and its related components. Even though most pidgin English speakers make use of topic-comment structures, we need to see how pragmatic meaning is realized with such topic chains.

2.4 Topic-based Theories

2.4.1 Pragmatic Aboutness

In the field of pragmatics, topics are defined according to what the utterance is about. Strawson initially attempts to defines topics in terms of the two following basic principles.

The Principle of the Presumption of Knowledge states that "assertions are not self-sufficient units", but rather "commonly depend for their effect upon knowledge assumed to be already in the audience's possession" (Strawson, 1964). The second principle, the Principal of Relevance states that discourse does not proceed arbitrarily but rather relates itself to and makes use of what is presumed to be known and "intends, in general, to give or add information about what is a matter of standing or current interest or concern".

Strawson views topichood as a relation between an argument and a proposition relative to a context. In other words, speakers do not organize their discourse in a random fashion but they take into account what is common knowledge and assumed to be known between

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both speaker and addressee. For his first principle, he assumes that we will expect the sentence to be related to the previous discourse. In addition, an expression will be understood as representing the topic if the assertion is understood as intending to expand our knowledge of the topic, in accordance with his second principle (Reinhart, 1982: 5).

Using Strawson's principles about topichood in the following example, *As for Felix, he invited Rosa to dance with him*, it is assumed to be known to both speaker and addressee that Felix is the person under discussion, and that the addition of the proposition *he invited Rosa to dance with him*, is the additional information provided in relation to expanding our understanding of the topic, which is about Felix.

However, this notion of relevance and pragmatic aboutness is still rather vague as we do not fully know what governs the fact that things are assumed to be common knowledge between the speaker and addressee within a certain context.

2.4.2 Old and New Information

In contrast to Strawson's approach to the notion of what constitutes topic, defining it as what the sentence is about, other linguists represent topic in terms of what is old or given information of the sentence. In the old versus new information approach, topic is viewed as a property of the referents denoted by linguistic expressions in a given context (Reinhart, 1982: 7). Halliday rejects the notion of the term "topic" because he maintains that there are two types of topics, what is called the "given" and "theme" (Halliday, 1967:212). "Given" information is in short what the speaker is talking about *before*, while "theme" is defined as what the speaker is going to talk about *now*. This is in other words, old (what is already mutually known and understood between speaker and addressee) versus new (additional knowledge) information respectively.

In other words, pragmatically speaking, the notion of old and new information centers on the concept of what is assumed to be known or presupposed as common ground to the hearer and speaker. The notion of presupposition is explained as what is taken for granted and assumed to be accepted and unquestioned as they are acknowledged facts (Levinson, 1983: 205). For example, the sentence, *The blind man cannot see,* seems strange as the presented initial phrase, *the blind man*, contains the inherent presupposition that obviously a blind man is not sighted.

Halliday's theme (old information) and rheme (new information) distinctions are based on which one of the constituents come first. However, the order-based distinction is not necessarily true because of some examples in which the rheme is presented first. It is observed that Halliday's analysis is not applicable to non-native varieties of English discussed later because they do not operate on the old versus new information distinction. The theme and rheme is also not a word order bound concept. Consider the following non-nativelike examples in English:

(7)   His name, Juan.
        Theme   Rheme

        Juan,   his name.
        Rheme   Theme

 The second expression has rheme-initial and theme-final positions. The rheme-initial constructions have new information in the front, followed by old, background information. In contrast, the theme-initial constructions have the commonly accepted

background knowledge in the front and then the new information following in the later part, or in the rheme position. The issue is, can the rheme be the topic, based on the fact that it is in the commonly accepted sentence initial position even though it contains the new information, preceding the background information which is introduced later.

In addition, the distinction between the old and new information is totally arbitrary and dependent on the speaker and addressee's assessment of what each other already knows or

determines to be new information. Topics can be either new or old information, regardless of their position in the sentence. For example, consider the following exchange.

(8)   A: Who is this?
         B: <u>Juan Contreras</u>, his name.
            (new information)

The topic is Juan, and this is new information provided as the answer to the question, *Who is this?* The name Juan is assumed to be unknown to the addressee. The topic can also refer to old information already evoked in the previous discourse, as in the following.

The preposed topic functions as an act of proposition affirmation of what was already evoked in the previous discourse (Ward, 1988:112).

(9)   A: Is this Juan Contreras?
         B: <u>Juan Contreras</u>, his name.
            (old information)

2.4.3 Ward's Theory of Preposing

The theory of preposing theory centers on scalar values in a graded set of related concepts and ideas. Ward defines preposing as the fronting of a proposition (Ward, 1988:51) in which the proposition is related to a previous reference via a scalar value. For example, consider the following exchange.

(10)   Customer: I like the <u>blue fabric with flowers on it</u>
         Salesperson: <u>The floral print</u>, I like but not in blue.

The preposed constituent, *the floral print*, is related to the previously mentioned *blue fabric with flowers* in a scalar relation as it represents a lower value. The floral print is a subset of the blue fabric with flowers on it, as it is part of the blue floral print being talked about, but only the floral pattern meaning part of it is preposed, not the blue color.

Ward assigns a range of scalar values in which the preposed constituent is related to a previously mentioned entity in the discourse. He proposes a range of possible values as noted in the following examples.

(11)   Lower Value
          A: Do you like this album?
          B: Yes, this song I really like.

(12)   Higher Value
          C: Have you filled out the Summary Sheet?
          B: Yeah, both the Summary Sheet and the Recording Sheet, I've done.

(13)   Alternate Value
          G: Did you get any more clues to the crossword puzzle?
          S: No. The cryptogram I can do like that. The crossword puzzle is hard.

However, not all preposings are related via scalar values. Scalar values represent only a select portion of the possible relations between previous discourse entities and preposings. In the following chapter, the shortcomings of Ward's scalar values and set relations will be discussed in detail.

2.5 Information Structure Model

The information structure approach model proposed by Lambrecht attempts to integrate syntax and pragmatics in the explanation of topic and focus relations. Lambrecht pioneered the information structure approach which attempted to explain how topic and focus are correlated with the structural properties of the sentence. Lambrecht goes beyond simple descriptions of topic and focus structures to discuss how these relations influence syntactic organization. His main hypothesis is that beyond the outward syntactic structure, the inner workings of pragmatics cannot be ignored in the holistic interpretation of an utterance. Syntax might be an autonomous domain, but it must be interpreted by principles that determine its functions in discourse (1994:

11). He arranges all the possible combinations of topics and focus structures into three main types, namely, predicate-focus structure, argument-focus structure, and subject-focus structure.

Lambrecht defines pragmatic presupposition as the set of propositions lexico-grammatically evoked in a sentence which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or is ready to take for granted at the time the sentence is uttered (1994:55). This definition of pragmatic presupposition relates to the feature of relevance proposed by Strawson (1964). Speakers do not simply mention a totally unrelated entity out of context. Presupposition centers on mutual knowledge and also the speaker's assumption of what the hearer knows.

On the other hand, a pragmatic assertion is the proposition expressed by a sentence which the hearer is expected to know or take for granted as a result of hearing the sentence uttered (1994: 52). While presupposition is based on what the speaker assumes the hearer already knows, the assertion reflects the hearer's knowledge at the time the utterance is heard. For example, *My mother died*, has the inherent presupposition contained in the topic, *My mother*, that the speaker assumes the hearer knows that he has a mother, and that the topic has a comment portion X. The assertion would be that X is equivalent to *died*. In other words, the proposition and the assertion are not the same because of the different assumptions behind what is taken for granted by the speaker and what the hearer is expected to know after the utterance. This is actually the old versus new concept discussed in Halliday (1967:212) where the topic containing the presupposition that the speaker classifies as old knowledge is about the topic, *My mother*. The assertion which marks a departure from the previously mentioned topic, *the mother*, provides new information, that is, *she died.*

The notion of topic centers on what is presupposed and most salient to the speaker and hearer. It is usually placed in the front of the utterance. However, the focus of an utterance is not

presupposed by the interlocuters and is usually defined as the comment because it brings in new elements which are not covered by the presupposition in the topic. The definition of *focus* provided by Lambrecht is that focus is the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion *differs* from the presupposition (1994:213). In other words, the presupposition is inherently present in the topic component while the assertion is found in the focus portion. The basis for the focus distinction is that of newness, that the focus section presents new information about the topic under discussion. Lambrecht's model is based on the differentiation between the topic and the focus within the utterance. A discussion of the separation of the sentence into the topic and focus according to Lambrecht's model will be carried out below.

(14)

Predicate-focus structure

Sentence:	*My car BROKE DOWN*
Presupposition:	"speaker's car is a topic for comment x "
Assertion:	"x=broke down"
Focus:	"broke down"
Focus domain:	VP

Argument-focus structure

Sentence:	*My CAR broke down*
Presupposition:	"speaker's x broke down"
Assertion:	"x=car"
Focus:	"car"
Focus domain:	NP

<u>Sentence-focus structure</u>

Sentence: *MY CAR broke down*
Presupposition: —
Assertion: "speaker's car broke down"
Focus: "speaker's car broke down"
Focus domain: S

With reference to the above three structures, Lambrecht explains that they have different focus, even though they appear to have the same surface structure. The above three structures are subject-predicate constructions, but they have different functions according to their relative presuppositions and assertions.

In the predicate-focus structure, the VP *broke down* is in focus while the argument-focus structure has the NP, the subject, *the car* in focus. The subject is an argument of the verb. The focus structure of the sentence is also expressed by the fact that the subject is marked as a topic, therefore it is not included in the focus domain. He maintains that the predicate-focus structure is the unmarked pragmatic articulation in contrast to the more marked pragmatic articulation in the other two structures, the argument-focus structure and the subject-focus structure.

In the argument-focus schema, the relevant knowledge presupposition evoked in the expression is that something belonging to the speaker broke down. The assertion is that this thing is the speaker's car and the focus is *car*. It can be said that the argument-focus structure is actually a reversal of the predicate-focus structure, now that the focus is on the argument, *my car*, rather than the predicate *broke down*.

In the third type, the sentence–focus structure, no pragmatic presupposition is evoked, the subject is not a topic, nor is the proposition "X broke down" pragmatically presupposed.

Lambrecht's categorization scheme is useful but it works on the premise that the topic is usually the subject of the sentence. There is separation of the topic and focus components based on what is presupposed to be old information and what is new information contained in the

assertion, which determines focus. It becomes more complicated as pidgin English examples do not function in a similar manner. In the three examples, *My car* is the sentence subject in the topic position, even though the focus might be different elements such as the following VP, broke down or NP itself, my car. All of the above three examples are allo-sentences according to Lambrecht because they all have the same sentence structure but different pragmatic presuppositions which are distinguished via intonation.

2.6 Communicative Dynamism

Firbas' model concentrates on the amount of communicative dynamism topicalization provides in contrast to normal canonical forms. The notion of communicative dynamism (CD) was proposed by Firbas in an attempt to explain the pragmatic-driven motivations for discourse structure. It is meaning driven rather than structure driven. Communicative dynamism is defined as the driving force behind pragmatic discourse and that it can be measured in terms of contributing to the furthering of new elements in the discourse (1992:16). For example, a high degree of CD would be the introduction of new topics such as full new noun phrases, while a low degree of CD generates no new information, or simply refer back to old information already introduced in the discourse. In other words highly context dependent-elements that are already established in the discourse will have a lower level of CD, while context-independent elements will have a higher CD level.

Firbas provides crosslinguistic comparisons in English and Czech to show that the amount of force the CD conveys is different, based on what the topic is about (1992 :125). Consider the following examples Firbas provides to illustrate the different forces conveyed by the level of CD.

(15)   Group (1)
        An utter fool she made me feel.
        Really good meals they serve at the hotel.

(16)   Group (2)
        That much the jury had thoroughly appreciated.
        Most of the problems a computer could take in its stride.
        This latter topic we have examined in chapter 3 and need not reconsider.
        To this list may be added ten further items of importance.

    Firbas claims that the items in the first group are focused towards the information conveyed

by their initial elements, while the sentences in the second group are focused towards the

information conveyed by their final elements. He maintains that the first group has rheme initial

elements, with the new information as the topic, while the second group has old information,

theme initial positions. In the appropriate Czech translated versions, Firbas remarks that the word

order of the Czech sentence representing the first group is marked, while the word order of the

Czech sentence represting the second group is unmarked.

(17)   Skutečně dobrá jídla   podávají   v tom hotelu.
        (Really   good meals they-serve in that hotel)

(18)   S   většinou problémů by   si   počítač   hravě   poradil.
        (With most   problems it-would *refl. pr.*   computer   with great ease it-cope)

    This means that the Czech sentence behaves like English when the rheme is fronted,

making it a more special and marked construction while the fronting effect produced by placing

the theme first in Czech is unmarked, unlike English. Therefore, it would be logical to conclude

that the Czech translated versions of the sentences in the second group would be equivalent to

the English unmarked versions, since fronting the theme has no effect on the force of the

sentence in Czech. In other words, the Czech translation for *Most of the problems a computer*

could take in its stride would have the same effect as the canonical version, *A computer could*

take in its stride most of the problems.

It is not clear what Firbas means by a sentence being focused towards certain elements. But it is clear that he places importance on whether some component contributes new or old information. In English, topicalization, or fronting of the topic entails that the construction is more marked than the canonical order, regardless of whether the topic contributes new or old information. However, in Czech, the topicalization is marked only when the topicalized portion is contributing new information. How would the concepts of markedness and degrees of CD apply to contact languages where conflicting elements seem to exist? How do non-native speakers of English reconcile topic marking as a movement with their native languages who do not mark topics by movement?

It seems that the notions of the theme-rheme and concepts of CD is based on the perspective of what is new and old in order to determine the level of topic-hood. And this would in turn contribute to the judgement of what is marked or unmarked with reference to the topic.

2.7 Summary of Previous Studies

Apparently, most of the studies on topicalization and topic prominence in the SLA field are largely descriptive, dealing with the categorization of different types of topic-prominent strategies within the interlanguage system.

In the pragmatic topic-based studies, the majority of the studies assume that the topic is almost always the NP. This is true for the data collected in which the speakers are native English speakers. The subject–verb-object (SVO) word order is assumed to be the canonical grammatical template on which movement rules operate to front the topic.

Any movement or shifting of the syntactic constituents, for example, preposing or left dislocation has pragmatic stylistic effects. Ward treats all of these stylistic differences having pragmatic reasons such as proposition affirmation, as in the following example.

The customer preposes the proposition, in an attempt to affirm and display solidarity with the salesperson's choice of the blue tie (Ward, 1988: 180).

(19)   Customer: Which of these ties do you like best?
        Salesperson: I like the blue one.
        Customer: <u>Blue it is.</u>

A new theory of topicalization based on a more elaborate expanded feature network is in order as the range of scalar relations do not cover all the possible relations between the preposed or topicalized constituent and the rest of the sentence. Also how is the new theory relevant to language learners with restricted input? Are these preposing constructions non-canonical in non-native speakers of English who do not know the rules and constraints for such movement?

The previous studies have not addressed the issue of representation of topic prominent features in pidgin languages from the point of view of it being a language strategy in non-native speakers. We have seen descriptions and categorization of usage in non-native English speakers in second language learning environments and topic promimence being used as a preposing strategy by native speakers of English who know the rules of movement as they have full access to UG. What we need is a theory to explain why topic prominence is a strategy for non-native speakers of English, since the universals of topic prominence as a feature is not applicable to all interlanguages.

In the next chapter, we will examine the kitchen pidgin, its features and its sociolinguistic environment. The discussion of the language acquisition with impoverished input in the kitchen with their respective features will point to the fact that they are using strategies of some sort in order to communicate. It is necessary to look at the kitchen pidgin features and the nature of the interaction between the participants to lay the groundwork for the assumption that everyone is

involved in a communication strategy when using language. In Chapter Four, we will go back to address the issue of topic prominence in this particular kitchen pidgin as shown by the topic chain theory.

Chapter Three

The Anatomy of a Kitchen Pidgin (KP)

3.1 Introduction: Exposing the Bare Facts

  After the discussion of the literature concerning the topic-prominent constructions in

Chapter Two, we will examine the sociolinguistic environment and the specific linguistic

features of the kitchen pidgin in this study. There are two main criteria for determining whether a

language is a pidgin, namely, the sociolinguistic environment in which it is spoken, and also the

grammatical features associated with the type of pidginized speech, for example, simple skeletal

grammar, unstable word order, reduced prepositions, lack of the copula verb *to be*, and limited

inflectional morphology.

 These have to be evaluated together to account for pidgin phenomena because examining

grammatical features alone will not prove pidginization is at work. For example, Mandarin

Chinese is grammatically simple, and does not have tense inflections, but it is a fully developed

language and not a pidgin despite its apparent simplicity because it is not restricted to a contact

language situation via trade or work where the speakers do not share a common language.

 The aim of this chapter is not only to describe and give an accurate account of the features of

the kitchen speech, but also through the description of the features, provide

possible sources as to where the pidgin speech features could have come from. This could be due

to transfer, active simplification and also due to language learning strategies such as

phonological approximations. This would have important implications for the eventual

determination of such features as being the product of language learning universals or whether they are pre-existent as language universals available to all.

3.2 Pidgins and Creoles: Definitions and Diagnosis

In this study, the English used by the migrant workers in the kitchen can be defined as a kitchen pidgin because of the extremely narrow and specific linguistic environment in which it is used. But before narrowing down the discussion to the kitchen pidgin in this particular study, let us examine the definitions of pidgins and creoles by various linguists.

The origin of the word pidgin actually is quite controversial. Some linguists attribute it to the Hebrew word for barter, *pidjom*, while others maintain that it originates from the Cantonese phrase, *pei tsin*, which means to pay money (Shi, 2003). Even though we cannot exactly retrieve the very early origins of the meaning of the word *pidgin*, the etymology of the word leads us to believe that it was a contact language developed spontaneously for the purpose of commercial transactions like trade at sea ports, and in the workplace where there is no common native language shared between the workers, for example plantations in Hawaii where immigrant workers first arrived from Japan and China as laborers.

Usually the circumstances propagating the creation of pidgins are due to colonization, for example, in the southeast Asian region of Singapore and Malaysia by the British, giving rise to local pidginized varieties of Singapore English (Singlish) or Malaysian English. Immigrant labor imported into new colonies like Guyana, Haiti and Jamaica also gave rise to respective pidgins and then creoles in contact language situations. Pidgin languages consist of elements from the superstrate language which is the language of the dominant class, for example, the Chinese

Pidgin English (CPE) spoken in the Chinese ports have English as the superstrate language. On the other hand, Mandarin Chinese is the substrate, as it is of lower prestige.

Andersen (1983:8) defines pidginization as the process of language acquisition under conditions of restricted input due to socio-affective factors, time constraints or linguistic complexity. He is looking at it from a language acquisition point of view, and this might seem a little negative compared to views held by language creationists who view that pidgin speakers are creating their own dynamic language out of whatever little linguistic input they have. However, the situation whereby input is impoverished is a necessary condition for the existence of a pidgin.

Pidgins arise out of the need to communicate between groups of people who do not share a common language. This is different from bilingual mixed languages, where speakers are fluent in two or more languages and they tend to mix words from those languages they already know (Thomason, 1997: 80). Pidgins are initially created out of impoverished or inadequate input, and the speakers of pidgins do already have their own native languages. The workers in the kitchen have their own respective native languages, Mandarin-Chinese, Cantonese, Spanish and Bahasa Indonesia. They are also exposed to very little target-like input from others as they work in the kitchen restaurant interacting mostly with each other. The kitchen is a separate space from the common dining area, and the workers inside the kitchen have restricted mobility with the outside world.

On the other hand, speakers of creoles grow up speaking it as their native language, unlike pidgins which have no native speakers. Creoles also often have expanded grammatical and lexical systems and are utilized in unrestricted contexts, unlike pidgins which are confined to a basic contact situation only.

3.2.1 Types of Pidgins

There are four main types of pidgins, namely, maritime pidgins, trade pidgins, interethnic contact languages and work force pidgins (Bakker, 1995). Maritime pidgins take place mainly in ports of call, between sailors on board ships communicating with people from other ports. One example is Russenorsk spoken by Russian and Norwegian sailors around the North Cape in the 19th and 20th century (Broch and Jahr, 1984).

The trade pidgins developed between the Eskimos and the American whaling ships, creating the birth of Pidgin Eskimo of the Arctic Ocean. Chinese Pidgin English spoken from 1715 on the China coast in contacts between the Chinese and Europeans was exclusively spoken in ports.

Interethnic contact languages developed in domains other than trade, for example, the spread of religion, political negotiations or ceremonies involving people with no common language. Bakker (1995) mentions Chinook Jargon as an example of the pidgin used for negotiations between the white population and the Chinook people. This type of contact pidgin might also include intermarriage situations when different groups of people intermarry and start their families, speaking a mixed language which is a product of the two different language groups, for example, Baba Malay spoken by Straits Chinese families in Singapore and Malaya. In colonial Singapore, many of the ethnic Chinese immigrants from China married local Malay women, and this contact situation gave rise to a contact pidgin which eventually became a Creole, when their offspring grew up speaking a mixture of Malay and Chinese.

The last type of pidgin is the work force pidgins which came about via work situations. These are pidgins which came into existence due to contacts between colonial people and local people in the household such as Butler English and Bamboo English in India (Hosali and Aitchinson, 1986). This "kitchen pidgin" is also a similar work-force pidgin.

3.3 What is a Kitchen Pidgin?

In summary, the language used by the speakers in this study qualifies as a pidgin based on the sociolinguistic environment in which it is used. There are four main striking features of the contact situation in which this particular pidgin is found. In this section, we will examine them each in turn, based on the language contact environment, restricted usage, lack of incentive to learn native languages of others, and impoverished input.

3.3.1 Language Contact Environment

Firstly, it occurs in a language contact environment, where speakers of different native languages come together for a specific purpose, for example, work or trade. English is forced to be the common language of communication for the kitchen workers who do not share a common native language. The speakers of this kitchen pidgin are in a situation where each speaker has his own native language and most importantly, they do not speak English as their home language. Upon closer examination of the participant profiles, we are observing essentially three different linguistic groups in contact. One group would be the Mandarin-Chinese or Mandarin dialect-speaking group represented by the three cooks. The second group would be the Spanish-speaking Mexicans, the dishwasher and the delivery driver. The third group is the Bahasa-Indonesian-speaking ethnic Chinese fryer and delivery driver. There have to be two or more language groups who use the pidgin.

There is the inherent suspicion that the pidgin might be a form of foreigner talk. For example, if a form of broken language is used only by group A in their contacts with B, and not by B in their contacts with A, it is probably not a pidgin but a form of foreigner talk (Bakker, 1995). In this study all three groups use the same pidgin for communication to members. The only exception is that if the workers were part of a dyad consisting of only two members who have the

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same native language, they will use their own native language, for example, Mau speaking to Wha. In this study, the focus is not on those dyad conversations exclusively conducted in one particular native language, but the general conversations between two or more members of the group who speak in the pidgin.

3.3.2 Restricted Purpose

The pidgin English used by the kitchen workers is in an extremely restricted environment, namely, at the workplace. It is only used for the purpose of working and therefore mainly task-oriented. The pidgin is not a social communicative tool because it is meant only to facilitate work such as giving directions to other fellow workers in the area of food preparation, filling out orders and the daily task of keeping the kitchen in running order. This narrow and restricted usage of English in the workplace is contrasted with the use of their respective native languages at home. Although the workers do engage in some amount of small talk and exchanges, it is not meant for social interaction because they are using the pidgin mainly for work purposes. They do not have time to get to know each other better through personal conversations or gossip as the social function of the kitchen pidgin is extremely limited. However, they do apparently engage in some limited humorous or sarcastic exchanges from time to time when they have a short break from work. For example, consider the humorous exchange below.

(20)   Wha: Hey this one basura, ah
         Javy: Hey, comer amigo, no basura
                No comer para mi.
       Javy: Pollo la caca
             (laughter)

       Gloss:
       Wha: Throw this into the trash.
       Javy: Eat, my friend, don't throw the rice into the trash.
             If you' re not eating, give it to me.
       Javy: Chicken. Shit.

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Once the workers go back home, the usage of the pidgin ceases. I would assume that the prognosis for this type of kitchen pidgin lasting beyond the workplace to be extremely poor. If they should seek employment elsewhere, this particular kitchen pidgin might disappear, leaving no trace, as all contact would have ceased. This is due to the fact that the pidgin would not be serving its basic purpose for communication in the kitchen any longer. Pidgins tend to be transient and can disappear entirely once their basic communicative functions have been met. Pidgins can also cease to function once the speakers acquire complete bilingualism. In this respect, the kitchen pidgin is a transient and ephemeral pidgin as it is only used at the workplace, and not as a vernacular in the participants' homes.

3.3.3 No Incentive to Learn Language of Other Groups

Thirdly, there is no incentive for the workers to learn each other's native languages in the kitchen. The Mandarin-Chinese-speaking cooks apparently have no motivation to learn Spanish or Bahasa Indonesia because these languages are not needed outside the workplace. It might be necessary to learn some basic words or jargon from Spanish, Chinese dialects, or Bahasa Indonesia for example, *mamasita* (sexy Mexican lady), *hakkwai* (black devil, derogatory term for African-Americans in Cantonese) and *mabuk* (drunk) from Bahasa Indonesia, but the learning and complete mastery of the above mentioned languages is totally unnecessary. Beyond the workplace, they absolutely have no usage for the kitchen pidgin, or the other group's native languages.

3.3.4 Impoverished Input

Lastly, the kitchen staff is exposed to extremely impoverished input because there is no native English speaker at the workplace. Even though most of the workers have been in the

United States for quite some time, for example, the head chef Mau, and Manuel the delivery driver have been in the United States for up to ten years, their level of English proficiency is not native-like. It is not surprising why they have not mastered the English language completely and proficiently. They simply do not have adequate exposure to native English speakers or situations in which they would come into contact with them and use proper English.

3.3.5 Linguistic Autonomy in the Kitchen

Based on the detailed examination of the sociolinguistic environment in which this kitchen pidgin occurs, it can be classified as a work pidgin. In summary, the situation it occurs in is similar to the early plantation workforce pidgins such as Hawaiian Pidgin English and Tok Pisin from Papua New Guinea. In the light of the above four sociolinguistic observations, the kitchen pidgin and its speakers can be said to exist in a completely autonomous arena linguistically. This means that the participants operate in an extremely self-contained linguistic community in which the main purpose for the use of the pidgin is restricted to the workplace. There is also very little contact with the Americans outside the workplace who speak English as their native language. Not only do the kitchen workers have impoverished input, there is also no feedback and correction available for them from an external source, unlike a classroom setting with formal instruction where the teacher would correct any non-targetlike output from students.
At this point in time, however, it is important to clarify that this kitchen pidgin is not a product of bilingualism or diglossia.

This is definitely not a bilingual situation as the workers do not have complete mastery and proficiency of the English language or any of the native languages belonging to the other workers. For example, any usage of words from the other group's language is almost restricted to

one-word expressions that is more an act of borrowing, rather than code-mixing. Code-mixing entails that the bilingual speaker knows the two languages sufficiently enough for them to code-mix (Nicoladis and Genesee, 1998).

Furthermore, bilingual mixed languages differ from pidgins in that they are created in two-language contact situations. Bilingual mixtures also involve widespread bilingualism on the part of at least one of the two speaker groups (Thomason, 1997). Even those kitchen crew members who understand some limited English are not totally fluent in it. Even if there is bilingualism, for example, on the part of the cooks as they are fluent in Mandarin-Chinese and the Cantonese dialect, this bilingualism does not involve English because they do not have sufficient fluency in English.

This is also not a diglossic situation where two distinct varieties of English are spoken, based on different functions and situations. A diglossic situation occurs where there are two different varieties of the same language spoken based on specific social environments. For example, the H (prestigious version) is used in television broadcasts and in schools while the L version, which is the less prestigious version, is used in casual conversations (Fishman, 1967). Singapore English exhibits diglossia with the colloquial Singlish version used in casual speech and the standard Singapore English used in professional and academic situations. The kitchen pidgin is the only variety known to the workers, because they do not switch between the pidginized form and a more target-like version of English.

3.4 Linguistic Features of Kitchen Pidgin Speech

In this section, the linguistic features of kitchen pidgin English will be discussed. This is intended to be an attempt to list and describe features only, and brief references will be made as

to why such features exist. The native languages are discussed with reference to the type of strategies which involve either transfer or accommodation that contribute to the eventual features in the KP.

3.4.1 Phonological/Phonetic Observations

The kitchen pidgin speech is influenced by the phonology of the native languages of the speakers. For example, Kim pronounces *delivery* as *delipery* because there is no /v/ phoneme in Bahasa Indonesia, unless it is for borrowed words for example, *universitas* (loan word from the English *university*). The Chinese cooks also pronounce *dinero* (money) as *dinelo*. Similarly, *para casa* (going back home) is pronounced *pala casa* by the cooks. This might be due to the fact that the Chinese cooks speak the Cantonese dialect which contains only /l/ to represent liquid consonants. The lack of certain phonemes in the respective native languages results in phonological approximation in the kitchen pidgin.

The cooks also pronounce the Spanish verb *sabe* (to know) as *sawei* as they probably have heard it sounding like save. Since there is no/v/ in Chinese or Cantonese, they approximate it to /w/ which is a velar approximant. As an aside, Spanish does not differentiate between the /b/ and /v/ as different phonemes.

Cantonese words are basically monosyllabic, and some of the word-final consonants do not coincide with Spanish patterns. Cantonese permits /p/, /t/ and /k/ in the coda, and is often realized as unreleased stops. This results in Javy approximating the pronunciation of *Lat Kai Yik* in Cantonese to *la calle* in Spanish. There are no word final [k] sounds in Spanish clusters.

Mau's mention of *gambaron* to mean *camarón* in Spanish is also interesting as it is a possible hybrid of *gamba* (prawn) and *camarón* (shrimp). It is possible he could have heard both versions and then coined a hybrid out of the two terms.

Table 3.1 Showing Phonological Approximations in KP

Key:
/ / indicates phonemes
[ ] indicate actual sounds

NL OF SPEAKER	FEATURES IN NL PHONOLOGY/PHONETICS	FEATURES IN KP
Chinese/Cantonese	Lack of /r/ phoneme Lack of /v/ phoneme	All /r/ become [l] eg. *dinelo* (dinero) All /v/ become [w] eg. *sawei* (sabe)
Bahasa Indonesia	Lack of /v/ except in borrowed words eg. *universitas* (university)	All /v/ become [p] eg.*delipery* (delivery)
Spanish	Lack of [k] in final consonant clusters	[k] in final consonants become vowels eg. *la calle* (*lat kai yik* = Spicy Hot Wings in Cantonese)

3.4.2 Morphology

   Pidgins have reduced inflectional and derivational morphology, compared to the source

languages. In cases of the pidginization of languages with little inflectional marking, inflection

will totally be absent as in Chinese Pidgin English (CPE):

(21)   (Chinese Pidgin English)
        Boy! makee pay   my that two   piece   book.
        Boy make   give ISG that two CLASS   book
        Give me those two books, boy!

(1860; cited in Baker and Mühlhäusler, 1990:90)

The kitchen pidgin produced by the Chinese cooks has very few inflectional markings. However, this might be due to direct transfer from Mandarin-Chinese which does not have inflectional morphology. The Indonesian workers could also have transferred the lack of inflections from Bahasa Indonesia into their speech. Also, the Spanish verbs have also lost their inflections for person and tenses.

(22)   Mau: Come(r), come (r).
               Eat   Eat
               Let us eat !

Instead of the inflected first person plural verb *comemos*, the Chinese cook uses the root form, *comer*, as he has probably heard it from the Mexican staff. The Spanish workers do not use reduced forms when they are talking among themselves.

The reduplication occurs possibly with the pragmatic intention to show the imperative reading.

The Indonesian fryer, Hock also makes use of reduplication as a resource to create the imperative, for example in the exchange below:

(23)   (teasing Javy in a high-pitched voice)
        Hock: Cakap, cakap, cakap, cakap. Punya, oh!
                Wah, mamacita. Punya! (laughs)
        Javy: Oh, mamacita.

        Gloss:
        Hock: Talk, talk, talk, talk. There is (something).Oh.!
                Wah, there is a mamacita (pretty lady).
        Javy: Oh, you mean mamacita.

It is interesting to note that Mandarin-Chinese and Bahasa Indonesia has a lot of reduplication processes for creating new compounds, for example, to indicate repetitive verbs in Chinese:

(24a)   Ku ku ti   ti
        Cry cry weep weep
        Crying and weeping continuously.

(24b)   Tou   tou   mo   mo
        Steal steal touch   touch
        Secretively, furtively, suspiciously

In Bahasa Indonesia, the same reduplication process also occurs to indicate repetitive actions

or to indicate quantities (Onn, 1980:69) for example:

(25)   Cakap cakap
        Talk   talk
        Talking

(26)   Jalan jalan
        Walk walk
        Walking

(27)   Masak masak
        Cook cook
        Cooking

(28)   Barang barang
        Thing   thing
        Many   things/goods, (pieces of) luggage

Due to the loss of inflections, the Chinese cooks and Indonesians compensate by using the

reduplication strategy to meet their pragmatic intentions. Initially, it might be a case of transfer,

as in Hock using reduplication strategies from Bahasa Indonesia. Hock's usage of reduplication

is an obvious example of transfer, compared to Mau. Hock reduplicates the verb *berak* into *berak*

berak to indicate the continuous action he was doing in the bathroom.

(29)   Hock: (emerges from bathroom, turning to Res and Javy)
            Yes sir!
            Berak berak..
            Hey ini ini. Hong Kong man.
            (points to Neu)

        Gloss:
        Hock: Yes, sir!
            I was using the bathroom. (*Berak*—defecate (verb) Bahasa Indonesia)
            Hey, this, this is the man from Hong Kong.

On the other hand, Mau's reduplication of *plastic plastic* as a command form is a pidgin

feature, similar to his saying *comer comer* in the earlier example.

(30)   Mau: Plastic plastic.
        Javy: Quatro? (looking for the containers)

        Gloss:
        Mau: Give me the plastic containers
        Javy: Four?

   Reduplication of nouns in Mandarin-Chinese is commonly used for diminutives and baby

talk. Reduplication of adjectives is also possible, functioning as intensifiers. Mau's use of *plastic*

plastic is not to intensify the plastic quality of the containers he needs, but to function as a

command for Javy to hand the plastic containers to him. This is not a case of transfer from

Chinese or Cantonese.

(31)   Chinese
        Reduplication of nouns (baby talk/diminutives)
        Bao   bao
        Precious precious
        Baby

(32)   Gou gou
        Dog dog
        Little puppy/Doggie

(33)   Chinese and Cantonese
        Reduplication of adjectives (to intensify quality)
        Hong hong
        Red red
        Extremely red

(34)   Leng leng (Cantonese: Lang lang)
        Cold cold
        Extremely cold

Reduplication is also found in Javy's speech when he says *Hablar hablar* in order to

encourage his co-workers to talk when he suddenly realizes he is being tape-recorded.

Javy's use of reduplication is also similar to Mau's using compensatory strategies to make up for

the lack of resources in the kitchen pidgin.

(35)   Wha: Mike Tyson, Mike Tyson (seeing Hock showing some muscles)
              Amigo,maybe manana.
              (laughter)
        Hock: Thank you señor.
        Javy: Hablar hablar. You mucho sabe hablar.

        Gloss:
        Wha: He looks like Mike Tyson!
              My friend, maybe tomorrow.

        Hock: Thank you mister.
        Javy: Please talk! You know a lot so talk!

3.4.3 Loss of Tense Inflections

    The kitchen workers also display the lack of tense inflections in their speech. For example,

consider Kim and the researcher's exchange below.

 (36)   Res: Wow, you rested at home while the restaurant was under construction.
           Kim: No, I <u>work</u> Chin Chin Restaurant, delivery.
                (I worked at Chin Chin Restaurant, missing the past tense inflection)
           Res: As a delivery driver?
           Kim: Yes. The boss <u>ask</u> me stay, give me more money yeah.
                 (The boss asked me to stay and wanted to give me more money,
                  missing the past tense inflection)
                I <u>told</u> him, restaurant open again, I go back.
                (irregular past tense present)
           Res: Oh, he asked you to stay.
           Kim: Yeah, give me more money. But I like here better

  The underlined verbs that display no past tense inflections in Kim's speech are underlined.

These are the verbs that are combined with the productive +ed past tense inflections (for

example, *work* and *ask*). However, it is interesting to note that Kim uses the correct past tense

form for *tell* as in *I told him restaurant open again, I go back*. This might be due to the fact that irregular past tense forms are marked in English, and are therefore stored as one single unanalyzed unit, compared to the more productive +ed constructions that are more likely to experience a loss of the past tense inflections.

Bahasa Indonesian verbs are not marked for tenses, as tenses are marked by time adverbs such as *yesterday* and *already* (Wikipedia, 2004). For example in (37):

(37)   Saya sudah makan.
       I   already eat
       I   have   eaten

3.4.4 TMA markings

Temporal adverbs are added in CPE to show explicit references to the tense, whether past, present or future. However, the kitchen pidgin uses such lexical items like *today, later, tonight, already*, *sometime,* and *everyday* to indicate tenses. There are no TMA markings in this kitchen pidgin that have been recorded so far, and probably there are none in this variety of pidgin.

(38)   (Chinese Pidgin English)
       Before my sellum for ten dollar
       PAST ISG sell for ten dollar
       I sold it for ten dollars

       (Bakker, 1995:37)

Similarly in the kitchen pidgin, the temporal adverbs are added to show the tenses, as in the use of *tonight* by Hock, to indicate the future tense (You will be going to the disco with mamacita).

(39) Hock: You, tonight, disco with mamacita.
      Manuel: Working (.) ti:red.
      Hock: Like *jo::get jo::get.*

      Gloss:
      Hock: You will be going to disco with mamacita(s) tonight.
      Manuel: I have been working, so I am tired.
      Hock: You are going to dance like this.

Hock uses *already* to indicate the past tense, as in the following example, to indicate that he

has eaten his dinner.

(40)   Javy: You comer mucho.
       Hock: No, me already comer, cuñado
              You no comer cuñado.

       Gloss:
       Javy: It's you who is eating a whole lot!
       Hock: No, I have eaten, brother-in-law.
              You have not eaten yet, brother-in-law.

Hock also uses *everyday* as a temporal adverb to indicate habitual action.

(41)   Neu: This beer (.) mucho power man.
       Hock: *Mabuk* everyday yuh.

       Gloss:
       Neu: This beer makes me very energetic.
       Hock: Drunk everyday, yes.

Javy's speech also shows that the temporal adverbs *today, sometime,* and *later* are used to

mark the present and the future tense, in the following examples:

(42) Mau: Come(r), come(r).
      Javy: Today, pollo, ah.
            (Today, there is chicken)

(43) Javy: Later, boss tell you *para casa* (joking with Wha, who is dancing to music)
            (The boss might tell you to go home/fire you).

(44) Javy: Sometime (.) no time lunch.
      Wha: No lunch (.) drink mucho beer. Yes ah.
             (laughing)

The kitchen pidgin shows no markings for the tenses. This might be due to the fact that since the temporal adverbs already have the tenses marked lexically, and therefore, it is not necessary to mark them with inflections. Consider the following examples (45) from Hock's speech.

(45)   (looking at Javy's finger which is stained yellow)
          Hock: What happen?
                (What happened?)

   Furthermore, conditionals are not indicated by *If* constructions but are simply presented as topic-comment utterances. The cause and effect is simply understood from the context of the utterance as well as the topic-comment relationship, if A happens or exists, B occurs.

(46)   Kim: Only holiday time I call Indonesia (Topic-Comment)
          (If it's during the holidays, I will call Indonesia)

(47)   Kim: Yes. The boss ask me stay, give me more money yeah.
                I told him, restaurant open again, I go back. (Topic-Comment)
                (I told him if the restaurant opens for business again, I will be going back)
          Res: Oh, he asked you to stay.

(48)   Mau: Basura? Mucho bueno, ah. (Topic-Comment)
                Is this the trash? That is good
                (If you are dumping the trash, that is good)

   The use of temporal adverbs to mark the tense is transfer from Chinese and Bahasa Indonesia. In the following sentences, the temporal adverbs, *xian zai* and *sekarang* from Chinese and Bahasa Indonesia respectively show the tense of the utterance, that it is in the immediate present that the speaker is intending to go to the market.

(49)   Chinese
          Wo **xian zai** qu shi chang
           I   now go to market
           I am going to the market now.

(50)   Bahasa Indonesia
        Saya pergi **sekarang** pasar.
        I   go   now   market
        I am going to the market now.

    The use of temporal adverbs to mark tenses instead of inflections in both Chinese and Bahasa

Indonesia shown above in (49) and (50) explains why the Indonesian and Chinese workers have

non-inflected speech in the KP. The lack of inflections in the Spanish workers' speech shows the

accommodation process whereby the workers converge to match the speech features produced by

their colleagues (Beebe and Giles, 1984). Javy shows the lack of inflection for the verb to eat,

even though he is using it to refer to the second person he uses the root form *comer.*

Interestingly, Hock echoes the uninflected *comer* in the pre-verbal negation structure he

produces, *You no comer cuñado.*

(51)   Javy: You comer mucho.
        Hock: No, me already comer, cuñado
                 You no comer cuñado. It's you who is eating a whole lot!

        Gloss:
        Javy: It's you who is eating a whole lot!
        Hock: No, I have eaten, brother-in-law.
                 You have not eaten yet, brother-in-law.

3.4.5 Lack of Copula Verb

    The copula verb to be is missing in the kitchen pidgin. Again, the copula verb is not really

needed to comprehend and interpret the kitchen pidgin utterances, leading to omission of

extraneous grammatical items. The lack of the copula is due to the transfer from Mandarin-

Chinese and Bahasa Indonesia. English demands a copula verb to link the

subject with the predicate, for example, *She is a girl* and not *She, girl.*

(52)   Neu: Yes. All black. Mine plastic (Talking about the crew's black leather jackets)
              All of them (are) black. Mine (is) plastic.
              [Loss of copula]

(53)   Manuel: Working (.) ti:red.
                   (I am) working so (I am) tired.
                   [Loss of auxiliary] [Loss of copula]

(54)   Hock: Los Angeles, very good, man.
                   Los Angeles (is) a good city, I am telling you.
                   [Loss of copula]

Mandarin Chinese and Cantonese do not operate on copula verbs to show the connection

between elements within the sentence. The topic-comment already indicates the type of

connection between the elements. For example, Neu's utterance in Mandarin-Chinese would be

(55)   Quanbu   hei se
          All   black color
          Topic   Comment
          As for all of them, they are black

(56)   Wo de plastic
          Mine   plastic
          Topic   Comment
          As for mine, it's plastic

In Mandarin-Chinese, such topic comment constructions have the reading, as for A, it is B,

where A is the topic and B is the comment. There is no need for the copula verb unless it is used

to emphasize the comment, or to provide a contrast between two items. The use of the copula

verb can also possibly indicate a slight irritation on the part of the speaker, as in *They are all*

black (not blue).

(57)   Quanbu shi hei se   bu shi lan   se
          All   are black color neg are blue   color
          All of them are black,   not blue
          (emphasizing A=black, not blue)

(58)   Wo   de   shi plastic   ta men de shi zhen pi.
          Mine poss.   is plastic   they   poss. are real leather
          Mine is plastic but theirs are real leather.
          (contrasting A=plastic, B=real leather)

Bahasa Indonesia also functions like Mandarin-Chinese with the lack of the copula

when using adjectives to describe nouns. In Bahasa Indonesia, nouns are simply presented with

post-noun adjectives, without the use of copula verbs, as in the following examples.

(59)   Orang ini chantik
       Person this pretty
       This person is pretty

(60)   Orang ini sudah kahwin
       Person this already married
       This person is already married

(61)   Ali marah
       Ali angry
       Ali is angry

   Bahasa Indonesia does have a copula verb *adalah* to indicate constructions in which the

subject is X, where X is a profession. It cannot be used to connect the subject and an adjective.

(62)   Ali   adalah guru
       Ali   is   teacher.
       Ali   is   a teacher.

(63)   *Ali adalah marah
       Ali is   angry
       Ali is   angry

   To conclude the phenomenon of the lack of the copula verb, it is possibly due to transfer from

Mandarin-Chinese and Bahasa Indonesia. Spanish has copula verbs, *estar* and *ser* and they

cannot be deleted. The *to be* verb in Spanish also carries the person inflection since Spanish is a

pro-drop language.

   So the deletion of the copula verb would not be possible in Spanish since the subject and

person inflection marked by the copula verb. For example, the use of the copula verb with the

first person inflection is shown in the following example.

(64) Estoy   de buen humor hoy
         to be of good mood today.
         I am in a very good mood today.

3.4.6 Lack of SVO Word Order

The kitchen pidgin produced generally has no SVO order. Sometimes the subject is deleted.

This is not actually surprising as Spanish is a pro-drop language, while Mandarin-Chinese and its

other dialects do allow pro-drop once the subject is evoked in earlier discourse and understood in

context. It is also interesting to note that Spanish is neither topic-prominent or subject prominent,

while Bahasa Indonesia has SVO structure.

(65)   Hock: Wow, *lawa* lah.
              Wow, (you) look suave.
              (*lawa* means suave in Bahasa Indonesia)

(66)   Hock : Broken heart, man.
               (My heart is broken, I am telling you)

(67)   Mau: Mucho dinero. Inside. (holds up red packet)
              (This red packet) has a lot of money inside.

(68) Javy: No broken. (showing him the egg)
         Hock: Broken?
         Javy: I give you twenty dollars.

(69) Hock: Mamacita okay lah.
              Tonight you this one, mucho power man.
         Javy: No, it's camarón. Mucho bueno.
               No, camarón.

3.4.7 Lack of Articles

The kitchen pidgin speech also lacks the definite and indefinite articles. Sometimes it is very

difficult to get the exact reading with no articles marking whether the reading is definite or

indefinite. Considering Hock's following utterance, it can have up to three different readings.

(70) (speaking to Manuel)
      Hock: You, tonight, disco with *mamacita.*

  1. You are going to the disco to dance with hot babes.
      Generic reading, indicating the category of *mamacitas* in general.
  .
  2. You are going to the disco to dance with <u>the </u>hot babe you are dating right now.
      Definite and specific reading, indicating the one particular *mamacita* Manuel is dating.

  3. You are going to the disco to dance with <u>a </u>hot babe.
      Indefinite and non-specific reading, indicating any *mamacita* he meets.

   The lack of articles in the KP is shown in the following examples (71) amd (72) However in this context, when the noun is understood by the workers and refers to one specific particular object of person, then there is no need for articles. As the researcher who has seen the kitchen and is acquainted with the boss, I share in the same knowledge that the participants have, that boss and toilet mean one specific unique referents with respect to each word. There is only one boss who owns the restaurant, and there is only one toilet in the kitchen which is the one exclusively used by the workers.

(71) Javy: Later boss tell you para casa.

      Gloss:
      Javy: Later, <u>the</u> boss might tell you to go home/fire you

(72) Neu: Hey your papa your manager. (referring to Mau using the bathroom)
            In toilet.

      Gloss:
      Neu: Hey Mau, your papa your manager.
            In <u>the </u>toilet.

3.4.8 Lack of Prepositions

   The KP speech also lacks prepositions. This is shown in Kim's saying *No, I work Chin Chin Restaurant*, delivery when asked by the researcher what he was doing while the restaurant was

being remodeled. The preposition "at" is missing but the locative meaning is represented by *Chin Chin restaurant* which already points to the place.

The preposition "in" is also missing in Wha's asking *Hey this one basura ah?* which is re-constructed to mean *Hey, throw this into the trash.* Perhaps it is already understood from the context that the piece of garbage is to be thrown into the *basura*, a cover term to indicate trash or the trashcan. Where else can trash possibly go other than into the trash can? This points to the conclusion that perhaps prepositions are not really necessary since it is already inferred from the context, and the worker might be pointing or using gestures to indicate objects and locations.

3.4.9 Lack of Wh and Auxiliary Verb Movement

In English, most of the questions are front with a wh word, for example, *Who is the man?* In the kitchen pidgin, there is no wh movement to the front or the movement of the auxiliary verb in order to indicate that it is a question. The kitchen pidgin speech interrogative structure can be even more basic when the whole noun pronounced with a rising tone indicates a question as in Mau's exchange with Javy below. It is interesting to note that Kim's interrogative construction is a little bit more sophisticated than Mau's because he presents a whole SVO sentence while Mau just uses one single word. This is the only difference between their interrogative constructions despite the fact that both of them are asking questions with a rising intonation.

(73) Kim: The police catch you?

    Gloss:
    Why didn't the police catch you?
    Did the police catch you?

(74) Mau: Basura? Mucho bueno, ah.
       (Is this the trash? That's good)

This could be due to the lack of wh movement in Chinese. The questions are asked with wh word at the end of the question. The questions are also asked without the presence of a wh word, with a rising intonation. The other possible construction for asking questions is adding an interrogative particle, *ma*, at the end.

(75)   Chinese
         Ni   mai shenme?
         You buy what?
         What are you buying?

(76)   Ni   kan shei
         You see who?
         Who are you looking at?

(77)   Ni   mai ji   rou? (rising intonation)
         You buy chicken meat?
         Are you buying the chicken meat?

(78)   Ni   mai ji rou ma?
         You buy meat interrogative part?
         Are you buying the chicken meat?

Spanish has the wh word in the front, as in the questions asking *what, when,* and *why* in the following examples (Baauw, 1998:2)

(79)   Que ha comprado Juan?
         What has bought   John
         What did John buy?

(80)   Cuando vendio Juan este coch
         When   sold   John this car
         When   did   John sell this car?

(81)   Por que arreglo   Juan esta biciclet
         Why   repaired John this bike?
         Why did John repair this bike?

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The wh movement rules in Bahasa Indonesian are a little bit more complex. There are three

types of constructions in which the wh word is in situ, partially moved and fully moved (Cole

and Hermon, 2003).

(83)   Wh word in situ
        Ali memberitahu kamu tadi [Fatimah baca apa?]
        Ali informed you just now Fatimah read what
        What did Ali tell you Fatimah was reading?

(84)   Wh movement to front
        Kenapa awak fikir dia pergi?
        Why you think he leave?
        Why did you think he left?

(85)   Partial movement
        Ali memberitahu kamu tadi apa yang Fatimah baca?
        Ali informed you just now what that Fatimah read
        What did Ali tell you just now that Fatimah was reading?

Out of the three versions, the first version of the wh word in situ is the least marked, and also

most natural. Therefore, it is likely to be transferred onto Kim's speech in the kitchen pidgin.

Even if Bahasa Indonesia displays wh movement to the front, it is more marked than the in situ

construction, and not likely to be transferred from Bahasa Indonesia to the kitchen pidgin.

The interpretation of Kim's questions can be difficult as it has two possible alternative

paraphrases, *Did the police catch you?* or *Why didn't the police catch you*. This difficulty points

back to problems with identifying exactly what is missing, the *why* word fronting or the auxillary

verb *did*.

(86)   Kim: The police catch you?
              (Did the police catch you?)

Firstly, Kim can be asking *Did the police catch you?* This involves the lack of fronting

the auxiliary verb, and it is a yes-no question essentially. The second alternative question is a wh

question which is *Why didn't the police catch you?* with the intention to request for explanation.

(87)   Javy: Walk to America from Mexico. Dos noches. Caminando.
         Kim: No sleeping ah. The police catch you?
         Javy: From Vera Cruz, same same.
             (pointing to Manuel)
              Mucho calore. No stop.
         Res: Did the policemen come after you?
         Javy: Inside van. No sound.
         Kim: In desert yah.

 Upon examination of the question placed in the context of discussing Javy's walking from

Mexico to the United States, Javy says he was walking for two nights, and Kim assume that Javy

did not get any sleep by saying *No sleeping, ah.*

  By virtue of the fact that Javy does not respond directly to Kim's question, it could mean that

Javy does not know which reading he should interpret, whether he should answer *no, the police

did not catch him*, or that the fact that he is even here in the kitchen is proof of the fact that the

answer is *No*, regardless of how the question is asked. It could be the fact that he is distracted

and goes off on his own topic, suddenly mentioning that Manuel and him are from Vera Cruz.

  Kim and Javy's exchanges can be analyzed on two levels, firstly, Kim is being sarcastic in

that offering the suggestion that Javy did not sleep, meaning that he was on the run, so the police

could not catch him and still asks the question with the intention of being rhetorical.

  Secondly, the fact that Javy doesn't answer could mean that he is matching Kim's rhetorical

question with an indirect answer, saying that if Manuel who is from Vera Cruz, can cross the

border safely, Javy, likewise, from the same village, has made it safely to the United States.

  Notice that the researcher rephrases Kim's question towards Javy by using auxiliary verb

fronting inversion, and Javy provides the answer, that they were in the van, and kept very quiet,

so naturally, the police did not know they were crossing the border.

  The analysis can be quite complicated due to what is assumed to be known to the speaker and

addressee. In order to interpret *The police catch you?* as being an example of the lack of wh

word fronting or the lack of fronting an auxiliary verb in asking yes-no questions, we have to analyze the context and also the level of closeness and English proficiency of those in the conversation.

As a researcher, I took the liberty of interpreting the question as a yes-no question since I guessed Kim's intention from the context. I have placed it under this section since they are all generated from the same base structure.

The reason why I interpreted Kim's utterance *The police catch you?* as a yes-no question glossed as *Did the police catch you* is based on following observations. The wh questions in Bahasa Malaysia can be asked with the wh word being in the in situ position, and this is the simplest with the unmarked form. And if Kim's utterance is intended to be a wh question, then he would say it as *The police didn't catch you, ah?* The interrogative particle *ah* would be the wh word placed in situ, turning it into a wh question.

Also in Bahasa Indonesia, questions are also formed in the same way. The declarative and the interrogative can be in the same form, differentiated by a rising intonation, for the interrogative.

3.4.10 Lack of Relative Clause Constructions

Another feature of the kitchen pidgin is the lack of relative clause constructions because it is quite a complex structure. Relative clauses are clauses which contain the relative pronouns, who, whom, which, when and that. These relative pronouns modify the noun preceding them and specify the type of relationship the noun has with the rest of the sentence. For example in the following sentence, *The man who is wearing the yellow shirt is my uncle*, the relative pronoun *who* provides more information about the man, and specifically labels him as the one *wearing the*

yellow shirt. The relative pronoun *who* in this usage also tells us that it is the subject relative clause construction because the man is the subject of the sentence.

When nouns are being modified in the kitchen pidgin they are simply fronted with adjectives that specify attributes about the noun. The possible relative clause constructions are suggested in square brackets.

(88)   (referring to his uncle Abundio's taxi pulling up to the restaurant door)
        Javy: *Amarillo* taxi.
            (Yellow taxi)
            [The yellow taxi that is pulling up to our door right now belongs to Abundio.]

(89)   Hock: Hey ini ini. Hong Kong man.
            (points to Neu)
            [Hey, here here is the man who came from Hong Kong.]

However, there is a sort of pseudo-relative construction produced by Wha, one of the Chinese cooks. It is interesting to note that his sentence is missing the subject, *Any place*, and the supposed relative clause construction is contained within a topic-comment framework.

(90)   Wha: Where I go, mucho trabajo.
            (topic)   (comment)
            [Any place that I go will provide me with lots of job opportunities.]

It is interesting to note that Hock and Javy's usage of the adjectives before the nouns is similar to constructions in Chinese as shown by example (91), and not like Bahasa Indonesia or Spanish, which places the adjectives behind the noun, shown by examples (92) and (93).

(91)   Chinese
        Xiang gang lai   de   ren
        Hong Kong come from   person
        Hong Kong person/Person from Hong Kong.

(92)   Bahasa Indonesia
        Orang Hong Kong
        Person from Hong Kong
        Person who comes from Hong Kong

(93)   Spanish
        Casa rojo
        House red
        Red house

    Bahasa Indonesia and Spanish do have relative clause constructions using the

complementizers *yang* and *que* respectively shown by the examples (94) to (96) But these

are not transferred to the pidgin.

Instead, most of the speech shows Chinese-like pre-noun modifications such as *Hong Kong man*,

and *amarillo taxi.*

(94)   Bahasa Indonesia
        Orang yang   duduk dekat jendela
        Person comp sit   near window
        The person who is sitting near the window.

(95)   Spanish
        El hombre que te quiere esta alli
        The man that you loves is here
        The man that loves you is here.

(96)   No se   que   robo Juan
        Not know what stole John
        I don't know what John stole.

3.4.11 Pre-Verbal Negation

    The usual pre-verbal negation pattern is present in the kitchen pidgin. However, the origins

can possibly be attributed to transfer from the pre-verbal negation patterns in Mandarin-Chinese

and Spanish.

(97)   Javy: Mucho calore. <u>No stop.</u>
            It was very hot. I didn't stop (walking).
        Kim: <u>No sleeping ah.</u> The police catch you?
            (You didn't sleep. Did the police catch you?)

(98)   Javy: <u>No broken</u>. (showing him the egg)
        Hock: Broken?

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(This egg is not broken)
(Is it broken?)

(99)   Hock: Mucho paso, mucho comer, cuñado.
        Javy: You comer mucho.
        Hock: No, me already comer, cuñado.
               You <u>no comer</u> cuñado.

        Gloss:
        Hock: There is a lot happening.
                You eat a lot, brother-in-law.
        Javy: It's you who is eating a whole lot!
        Hock: No, I have eaten, brother-in-law.
               You have not eaten yet, brother-in-law.

   It is interesting to note the rules for pre-verbal negation in the three native languages. Spanish

allows pre-verbal negation with pro-drop. Consider the following example from Spanish.

(100)   Spanish
        No como pollo
        Neg eat chicken
        (I) don't eat chicken
        (Pro-drop, person reference carried by verb inflection)

   Mandarin-Chinese allows pre-verbal negation with pro-drop only when the subject is

mentioned in an earlier discourse. This is shown in the following example (101).

(101)   Chinese
        A: Ta   chi bu chi ji   rou?
           He/She eat neg eat   chicken meat?
           Does he/she eat chicken?
        B: Bu chi
           Neg eat
           (He/She) does not eat chicken
           (He/she as the subject is understood because evoked in earlier discourse)

  However, in Chinese when the subject is being mentioned for the first time, it has to be present,

for example:

(102)   Wo bu chi ji   rou
         I   neg eat chicken meat
         I don't eat chicken.

Bahasa Indonesia does not allow pro-drop and demands a subject be present in a pre-verbal

negation construction, whether the subject has been evoked earlier or not.

(103)   Saya tidak makan ayam
         I   don't eat   chicken.
         (non pro-drop)

(104)   A: Dia   makan ayam   tak?
            He/She eat   chicken not
            Does he/she eat chicken?

         B: Dia   tidak   makan   ayam.
            He/She not   eat   chicken
            He/She doesn't eat chicken
            (non pro-drop even if evoked in earlier discourse)

It is interesting to note that all of the above examples of pidgin speech show pro-drop pre-

verbal negation that is similar to Spanish. This is due to the accommodation by the Indonesian

workers and the Chinese cooks to the Spanish style of pre-verbal negation. Hock's usage of *You

no comer, cuñado,* a non pro-drop pre-verbal negation is perhaps due to transfer from Bahasa

Indonesia. As we have discussed earlier, Bahasa Indonesia does not permit pro-drop with pre-

verbal negation.

3.4.12 Topic-Comment Sentences

The general pattern of the kitchen pidgin syntax is that of topic-comment type sentences

instead of SVO sentences. This could be due to the pressure exerted by Mandarin-Chinese and

the Cantonese dialect, both of which are topic-prominent languages. Even though they appear to

be superficially simple, the topicalization strategies involve involved complex chaining

processes. A complete study of the topicalization strategies in the kitchen pidgin will be

conducted in Chapter Four. In the meantime, a table showing the topic-comment components of

the kitchen pidgin utterances is shown below.

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Table 3.2 Table Showing Topic and Comment Components

Topic	Comment
Wha: Where I go	*mucho trabajo.*
Mau: Go home	no more tickets.
Manuel: All the time	corn in Mexico.
Javy: Later	boss tell you *para casa*
Kim: My son	clothes size seven.
Hock: Here	*mucho* power.

3.5   Pidgin Pragmatics

It is interesting to note that the kitchen workers' speech contains humor in the form of echoic

sarcasm. For example, when Javy demands the money inside the red packet which Mau is

showing to him, Mau commands him to *para casa* (Go home!). Mau is somewhat echoing Javy's

previous utterance *para mi* and turning it into a command using the same *para* type construction.

(105)   (Javy and Mau in the kitchen)
        Javy: New Year, Chinese, ah. (seeing Mau put away red packet)
        Mau: Mucho dinero. Inside. (holds up red packet)
        Javy: Para mi.
        Mau: No, you para casa.!

        Gloss:
        Javy: It's Chinese New Year.
        Mau: I have a lot of money, it's inside the red packet.
        Javy: For me/Give it to me.
        Mau: Not for you. You go home!

The same echoic effect is also seen in Hock and Javy's exchange below. Javy somewhat echoes Hock's expression *Wah, mamacita* to indicate his understanding of what Hock is trying say.

(105)   (teasing Javy in a high-pitched voice)
      Hock: Cakap, cakap, cakap, cakap. Punya, oh!
         Wah, mamasita. Punya! (laughs)
     Javy: Oh, mamasita.

     Gloss:
     Hock: Talk, talk, talk, talk. There is (something). Oh.!
         Wah, there is a mamacita.
     Javy: Oh, you mean mamacita.

3.5.1 Pragmatic Particles

There are also certain pragmatic particles that are possibly transferred from the Cantonese dialect and Bahasa Indonesia. Hock uses the pragmatic particle, *man*, to add emphasis in an imperative, as in the following example, when he commands Wha to dance again. In another example, he adds *man* to his comment, *mucho power*, for emphasis.

(106)   Hock: One more time, man.
        (Dance for us one more time, I am telling you!)

(107)   Hock: Mamacita, okay lah.
        Tonight you this one, mucho power man.

     Gloss:
     How about mamacita? They are okay.
     Tonight you will be with this one. You have a lot of power (I am telling you)

The particle *lah* is used to express the speaker's expression of wonder or surprise, as in Hock's utterance when he makes a comment on everyone wearing leather jackets in the kitchen.

(108)   Hock: Wow, lawa lah.
        (Wow, that's suave!)

The other use of *lah* is to express speaker's acceptance of the situation. For example, Hock accepts and acknowledges his self-mention of *mamacita* with *okay lah*. This use of *lah* is transferred from Bahasa Indonesia to indicate speaker's acceptance of the situation.

(109)   Hock: Mamacita, okay lah.
                   How about mamacita? They are okay.

(110)   Bahasa Indonesia
             Ini   rosak.   Habis lah
             This damaged finished particle
             This is damaged. I am done for.

The pragmatic particle, *ah* is used for affirmation, for example, Javy affirms the fact that dinner is served, and there is indeed chicken on the table. Similarly, Wha uses the *ah* particle to make sure that Javy understands his command to throw something into the trash can.

(111)   Mau: Come(r), come(r).
           Javy: Today, pollo, ah.

           Gloss:
           Mau: Eat, eat (Let's eat!)
           Javy: Today there's chicken
                   (Oh, there's chicken).

(112)   Wha: Hey this one basura, ah.
             Throw this into the trash (The trash, got it?)

The Cantonese use of *ah* is definitely transferred into the Chinese cooks' speech and also acquired as a pidgin feature by Javy. The following are some examples from Cantonese showing the affirmative use of the *ah* particle.

(113)   A: Lor   kai   tong pei   ngor
                Bring chicken soup for   me
             B: Kai   tong   ah
                Chicken soup, right

3.6 Other Noteworthy Features

3.6.1 Overgeneralization

The intensifier *mucho* tends to be overgeneralized in the kitchen pidgin. It modifies and

intensifies both nouns and adjectives.

(114)   Javy: Sometime (.) no time lunch.
          Wha: No lunch (.) drink mucho beer. Yes ah.
                  (laughing)

(115)   Neu: This beer (.) mucho power man.
          Hock: *Mabuk* everyday yuh.
          Neu: This beer makes me very energetic.
          Hock: Drunk everyday, yes.

3.6.2 Creation of New Lexicon

The Mexican workers create new lexical items are created in an attempt to approximate

Mandarin-Chinese or Chinese dialect vocabulary. For example, la calle (the street) is used by

Javy to refer to the Hot Braised Chicken Wings on the menu, because it sounds phonetically

similar to the Cantonese equivalent, *lat kai yik* (Spicy hot chicken wings). Cantonese

phonotactics can be more complex than some other Chinese languages, as regards to the

appearance of coda consonants (Lipski, 1999). Cantonese words are basically monosyllabic, and

some of the word-final consonants do not coincide with Spanish patterns. Cantonese permits /p/,

/t/ and /k/ in the coda, and is often realized as unreleased stops. This results in Javy

approximating the pronunciation of *lat kai yik* in Cantonese to *la calle* in Spanish.

3.6.3 Hybrid Compounds

It is interesting to note that the head chef, Mau, mentions shrimp as *gambaron* which is made

out of the two words, *gambas* (prawn) and *camarón* (shrimp) from Spanish.

It is possible that he has heard the two words from the Spanish-speaking workers, and is probably confused between the two versions, and hence made up his own hybrid compound *gambaron.* It is also possible that due to Mau's missing most of his teeth, he is unable to pronounce *camarón* accurately and the resulting toothless sounding *gambaron* is the result of the [k] being changed to the voiced [g].

Hock makes use of compounding when he uses *hallelujah money* to describe the money for church offerings. He jokes that church money is sacred and should not be used foolishly in the following exchange in (116). The exchange took place on a relaxed Sunday evening, hence the reference to church by Hock and Javy.

(116)   (Hock notices some dollar notes on the kitchen counter)
          Hock: Wah, mucho dinero! Hallelujah money, cuñado.
          Wha: Sex lah. What hallelujah money.
          Javy: Maricon. Today you go church.

          Gloss:
          Hock: Wow, that's a lot of money. It's money for the church offering, brother-in-law.
          Wha: It's money to pay for sex. (for hookers). This is not hallelujah money.
          Javy: Faggot! (Why are you talking about sex/paying hookers?)
                  The money is for giving to the church/ You need to go to church to repent.

3.7 Comparison of Structures in Pidgins and Creoles

As I have mentioned briefly earlier about creoles having expanded and stable systems compared to the more basic pidgins, creoles differ precisely in three main linguistic aspects from pidgins.

Firstly, creoles have SVO word orders while pidgins generally have word order in any conceivable combination. This is true of the KP as a pidgin, because it still exhibits instability between the alternating topic-comment structures and the regular SVO structures.

Secondly, while the TMA system in pidgins are generally expressed by adverbs, in creoles, they are expressed by preverbal elements. Finally, the point that reduplication in creoles are

quite common but rare in pidgins, unless they are expanded pidgins (Bakker, 1995) is not corroborated by the evidence in the kitchen pidgin, as Mau and Javy do make use of reduplication processes.

3.8 Examining the Body of Evidence

  From the examination of the features in the KP, the workers are using a reduced code, from the lack of certain grammatical forms, for example, lack of articles, lack of relative clause constructions and so on. The presence of such reduced forms like the lack of inflections in the broken Spanish used by the Chinese cooks show that they are actively simplifying forms for the ease of communication.

  Also the phonological approximations discussed with the Spanish-speaking cooks trying to model the Cantonese sounds to be close to Spanish reveals that they are engaged in a conscious act of engaging in language learning strategies actively. All these processes of language learning such as approximation and word coinage (such as the *gambarón* example) all contribute to the overall features in the KP.

   From the kitchen speech data, it is very obvious to us that the speakers are using strategies to cope with the impoverished input. The issue now is answering the following question, *who* is using *what* strategy? Are the strategies universal independent and non-derived, and not under the influence of the native language of the speakers?

  For example, the reduplication strategy used by Mau and Hock illustrate the difficulty with strategy classification. Both of their native languages, Mandarin-Chinese and Bahasa Indonesia have reduplication strategies as we have observed under sub section 3.4.2. Mau and Hock are using such strategies with their utterances of *Comer, comer* and *cakap, cakap* (speak, speak!)

respectively. Javy also uses *Hablar, hablar*. Are they all using reduplication strategies or simply transfer from their native languages, as in Mau and Hock's examples. Why is Javy producing the reduplicative form? Has he heard it from the Chinese cooks or is he utilizing it as a strategy to indicate a command, for the benefit of the cooks.

The description and observation of the kitchen speech data is helpful in understanding the features. However, the crucial question to ask is whether the presence of such pidgin features is a *product* of the interaction of such communication strategies in a mixed language situation over a period of time involved in the contact, or whether they *exist* because they are basic language universals that are available to all regardless of the respective native languages or languages they are trying to learn, or mix.

Looking at how the speakers try their best to communicate with one another despite not sharing a common native language, they can be said to be actively engaging in language learning strategies in the kitchen. Language learning strategies are defined by Rubin (1975) as "the techniques or devices which a learner may use to acquire knowledge." Everyone is engaged in the daily task of trying to communicate and everyone is using a strategy of some sort, whether it is transfer from Mandarin-Chinese and Bahasa-Indonesia where the reduplication of verbs are concerned, or the creation of folk etymologies based on phonological approximations like *la calle* for *lat kai yik* (Spicy Hot Wings).

The question is, with reference to the descriptions of the pidgin features and the probable sources, for example, transfer, accommodation and reduplication and so on, how many types of strategies can there possibly be? Do we attempt to characterize each strategy into groups and if it is transfer, from whose perspective is transfer taking place?

3.9 Strategies, They are all Topic Comment

The upcoming Chapter Four will explain the all the possible strategies are actually *one* main strategy, which is topic chaining, the prototype strategy for the speakers of this kitchen pidgin. However, the topic chain theory does not cover phonological and phonetic considerations in approximation as a strategy, for example in Mau's saying *gambaron.*

Table 3.3 illustrates the difficulty of categorizing accurately the type of strategy associated with the specific linguistic features in the KP. The grouping and identification of the strategies is based on the interpretation that the form reflects the specific strategy that the participant selects in his mind. In the categorization of features it is difficult for the researcher to guess exactly what the utterance is missing. For example, one utterance can have many interpretations, *Hong Kong man*, what exactly is it missing? I have placed it as the lack of relativization, but it could possibly be the lack of the copula, in that it could read, *It is the man from Hong Kong* truncated to *Hong Kong man.*

Some of the categories in the table do not have examples based on the difficult task of interpretation, however the examples from the KP speech is just a guide. Not all speakers show the same features and not all the groups have all features at any one time. The KP data represented in Table 3.3 is interpreted into universal topic comment features.

Even though majority of the structures show topic comment forms, there is still some dispute as to what the intention of the speaker is. For example, Kim's saying *The police catch you* can even be a warning if the contextual information is not furnished, and it might be a case of the missing future tense, taken to be interpreted as *The police will catch you.*

Table 3.3 KP Features From All Three Groups of Speakers

FEATURES/ SPEAKERS	CHINESE COOKS Mau, Neu, and Wha	MEXICAN WORKERS Javy and Manuel	INDONESIAN WORKERS Kim and Hock
Lack of Inflections			Kim: No, I work Chin Chin restaurant, delivery.
Lack of Wh movement			Kim: The police catch you?
Lack of Relative Clauses		Javy: Amarillo taxi	Hock: Hong Kong man
Preverbal Negation		Javy: No broken	Kim: No sleeping, ah
Pragmatic Particles	Wha: Anything, lah	Javy: Today, pollo ah.	Hock: Mamacita, okay lah.
Reduplication	Mau: Comer, comer	Javy: Hablar, hablar	Hock: Cakap, cakap
Lack of Copula Verb	Wha: All black		
Lack of Articles	Wha: Later boss tell you para casa		Hock: You tonight disco with mamacita
Lack of Prepositions	Wha: Hey this one basura ah?		

The second table 3.4 show that all the KP features are all topic-comment features at work, regardless of the whether they are due to transfer, accommodation or cognitive strategies, based on the form alone.

Table 3.4 KP Features Grouped as Topic-Comment Features

KP FEATURES	TOPIC	COMMENT
Lack of Inflections	I work Chin Chin restaurant	delivery
Lack of Wh movement	The police	catch you?
Lack of Relative Clauses	Amarillo Hong Kong	taxi man
Preverbal Negation	(It = egg) (You = addressee))	No broken No sleeping
Pragmatic Particles	Anything Mamacita, Today	lah okay lah pollo ah
Reduplication	Hablar Comer Cakap	Hablar Comer Cakap
Lack of Copula Verb	All Working Los Angeles	black tired very good, man
Lack of Articles	You Later	disco with mamacita the boss tell you para casa
Lack of Prepositions	This one	basura ah?

Chapter Four

The Topic Chain Theory: Topic Prominence and Feature Relations

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will examine Ward and Lambrecht's theories in greater detail and rework the

theoretical framework to accommodate the kitchen pidgin English data collected. We have to

understand that Wards' and Lambrecht's propositions are applicable to English data from native

speakers, and they are under the assumption that the topic fronting constructions are marked, and

are not the most basic canonical form.

The main motivation of using their theories as a basis for understanding topic prominence

even though English works very differently from the kitchen speech and the native languages of

the kitchen staff is that the way information is presented and related is similar. According to

Ward's Theory of Preposing and Lambrecht's Information Structures are also applicable to the

language learning strategies used by the kitchen workers, in which they relate the topic-comment

portions of the discourse. I will propose the concept of the topic chain to explain the topic-

prominent constructions in the kitchen speech.

The motivation for using topic chaining as a concept to illustrate the topic prominent

constructions in the kitchen speech is based on the following two assumptions. Firstly, the

notions of movement and markedness become irrelevant when describing the kitchen speech.

Secondly, the extension and elaboration of Ward's taxonomy of scalar relations to include other

relations, namely causal and genitive also point to the fact that these are *general* problem solving

strategies which are available to participants who do not share a common native language in a

language contact situation.

4.2 Ward's Theory of Preposing

4.2.1 Taxonomy of Scalar Relations

Ward came up with a taxonomy of the various types of scalar relations in order to explain

the relations which hold between the referent of the preposed constituent and the other entities in

the discourse. The different scalar relations he proposed with their respective examples are listed

below (1988:57).

(117) Set/Subset Relation

    Mrs. Urzendowski bought six Persian rugs to present as gifts to her relatives.
    One of these rugs, she delivered to her aunt.

(118) Part/Whole Relation

    A: How do you like your new house?
    B: I like it, on the whole. The kitchen I don't like it at all.

(118) Type/Subtype Relation

    C: Which plates should I use?
    D: Use the one with the large geometric pattern. The ugly green ones we never use.

(119) Greater-Than Relation

    E: How many pages do you have to write for your dissertation?
    F: About one hundred.
    E :More than that you would have given up.

(120) Entity/Attribute Relation

    We have to buy a new refrigerator for the restaurant. Five hundred dollars it cost.

The above examples show that conversations rest on the interlocuters' perception of relevance. People do not simply mention unrelated entities and there always has to be some sort of connection between parts of utterances, and Ward spells out such connections via his scalar relations.

4.2.2 Backward Looking Centers (BLC)

Preposing marks the referent or denotation of the preposed constituent as the backward looking center (BLC) of an utterance (Ward, 1988:73) An example of a BLC is shown in the following utterance, *Tacos, I hate.* The BLC of the utterance is *tacos.* We are forced to look back to the front of the utterance for the referent item that serves as the object of *I hate.*

4.2.3 Open Proposition/Focus Relations

In Ward's theory of preposing, there is an open proposition (OP) and a focus. The open proposition, henceforth OP, is the salient portion in the discourse.

For example,

(121) I saw a film last night.
     A Fellini film it was.

According to Ward, this exchange can be analyzed and broken down in the following framework (1988: 77)

1. OP= It was X, where X is on the scale (type of films)
2. The film was of some type
3. FOCUS=Fellini

In his analysis, the OP implied is that *It was X,* where *X* is a type of film, and that *X* standing in a scalar relation to film, in which Fellini is a type of film.

Ward assigns preposed sections with a plus or minus identity feature. This means that the preposed constituent can either be standing in a set or subset relation which is a minus identity feature [-identity]. It can stand in a plus identity feature if the preposed element is the same as what was evoked in the earlier discourse (1988:109).

(122)   A: Do you have any bagels?
        B: Sorry, all out.
        A: How about bran muffins?
        B: Bran muffins we got.

In the above exchange, even though bran muffins is co-referential with the earlier *bran muffins* mentioned by A in the second question, the salient scalar relation is that of set/subset. Bran muffins and bagels are related as members of a set of bakery items and Ward assigns them the feature of [- identity]. On the other hand, the [+ identity] relation is going to be co-referential with a portion evoked in the earlier discourse. For example, he provides the following conversation below. Educational has the plus identity feature as it relates back to it being previously mentioned by A.

(123)   A: I am taking prelims this semester.
        B: What areas?
        A: Socio, Syntax, Educational, and Descriptive.
        B: Educational you 're taking?
       [Linguistics graduate students in conversation]

4.3 Lambrecht's Information Structures

4.3.1 Understanding Components of Information Structures

Lambrecht's categorization scheme is useful but it works on the premise that the topic is usually the subject of the sentence. It becomes more complicated as pidgin English examples do not function in a similar manner. This might be true for examples in English that most subjects

function as topics, for example, *Felix danced with Rosa*, Felix is the subject, as well as the topic under discussion. However, in non-native varieties of English, the notion of the subject might not be present and not all topics have subjects, for example, *Raining, today.* Here, the topic is about expressing observation about the weather, that it is raining, and there is no active subject involved.

Lambrecht's model is based on the separation of informational structure components into the topic and focus based on the content of the presupposition and assertion. The focus is understood to be the area of differentiation between what the presupposition contains and what the assertion attempts to get the hearer to accept as new information. Consider the following three different focus structures proposed by Lambrecht.

(124)

Predicate-focus structure

Sentence:	*My car BROKE DOWN*
Presupposition:	"speaker's car is a topic for comment x "
Assertion:	"x=broke down"
Focus:	"broke down"
Focus domain:	VP

Argument-focus structure

Sentence:	*My CAR broke down*
Presupposition:	"speaker's x broke down"
Assertion:	"x=car"
Focus:	"car"
Focus domain:	NP

Sentence-focus structure

Sentence:	*MY CAR broke down*
Presupposition:	—
Assertion:	"speaker's car broke down"
Focus:	"speaker's car broke down"
Focus domain:	S

With reference to the above mentioned examples, *My car* is the sentence subject in the topic position, even though the focus might be different elements such as allosentences according to Lambrecht because they all have the same sentence structure but different pragmatic presuppositions which are distinguished via intonation. How would Lambrecht explain the preposed variation, *Broke down, my car*, according to his information structure schema?

The new arrangement shows that preposings can be accommodated into the information structure framework as predicate-topic structures and they are also concurrently predicate-focus structures. These structures are labeled as focus movement by Prince. She argues that preposings are the effect of the shift of the focus elements from the canonical predicate position into the subject position (Prince, 1984) However, I believe that the participants do not really have the knowledge of such movement. The access to universal grammar is blocked in the case of the kitchen staff because they are not native speakers of English. The participants do not actually have a canonical template of SVO structures and initiate movement based on wanting to emphasize the focus. This "so-called" movement is based on the external observation and imitation of other target-like SVO constructions made by others, for example, as a product of higher proficiency and exposure, in the case of Kim, the delivery driver. This is a reasonable conclusion since the language universals encoded in UG are not available to second language

learners. They have to resort to other means to express meaning and this entails problem solving strategies and also to a large extent the immediate nature of the linguistic interaction with the surrounding people.

4.4 The Concept of Markedness and Movement: Myth or Reality?

However, the theories proposed by Ward and Lambrecht only center on examples produced by native speakers of English, and do not account for non-native English data. He claims that the intonation in speech will determine the speaker's articulation of which area of the utterance is to be designated as the focus. However, when we examine pidgin English data, most of the times the utterances are fragmented.

The concept of markedness indicates that an utterance deviates from the norm, and is made more *marked* than the default, regular version. For example, *He cleaned the bathroom* is a normal canonical SVO structured sentence. When it is changed to *Bathroom, he cleaned,* it indicates that it is more marked because the object of the sentence is fronted and not in its usual sentence final position. The effect would be that due to this difference, the topic would be centered on *bathroom* instead of the person who cleaned the bathroom.

The claims made by Lambrecht are by no means invalid but in order to apply to the pidgin English data, I would propose that the assumption that topic-comment sentences are non-derived structures. In doing so, topic prominence would be the most basic, unmarked form. Still using the main framework proposed by Lambrecht, but operating under the assumptions that the sentence is not categorized into the topic and focus components but simply just functioning with the topic as the most salient and prominent entity. Currently, the topic domain can belong to any syntactic constituent, whether they are verb phrases or noun phrases.

In the following examples, the topic shows that the assertion is derived from the presupposition. There is no separate focus category. In describing the kitchen speech data, the topic prominent position in sentence initial position already designates the topic as the focus of the sentence. We recall that this is simply due to the topic given priority and salience, not as a product of movement rules.

(125)

Predicate-Topic Structure
Broke down, my car.
Presupposition: Y is what happened to my car
Assertion: Y=action/event
Topic: Broke down
Topic domain: VP

Argument-Topic Structure
The meat we don't need.
Presupposition: X is what we don't need.
Assertion: X=meat
Topic: Meat
Topic domain: NP

Subject-Topic Structure
You, tonight disco with mamasita.
Presupposition: Z is the person doing W
Assertion: Z=addressee, W=action
Topic: You (addressee)
Topic domain: NP

The concept of markedness is useful based on the concepts of what is perceived to be unusual or the norm to the language learner. Of course, all of the categories proposed by Lambrecht and Ward, and also Prince suggests that movement is the cause of making something more or less marked in English. However, in the kitchen speech, the topic prominence strategies are assumed to be the most basic, so that they cannot be shifted around to make it any more marked on the surface. The act of re-arranging Lambrecht's categories prove that the superficial movement in English cannot explain the motivation for the topics to be shifted around due to

making them more marked on the surface as shown by the kitchen data. The notion of topic prominence and topic hood is more appropriate in explaining the kitchen speech data rather than the movement and the distinction of markedness.

This does not mean that markedness would cease to exist in the theories provided by Lambrecht and Ward. This just means that in describing and explaining the kitchen speech when looking at topic prominence, the concept of markedness becomes *irrelevant* because it is a created assumption based on relative perception of what is easy and difficult, and since we cannot identify accurately from whose point of view the markedness in the kitchen speech would refer to. For example, if we were to say that the topic prominent structures are marked, then we would have to assume that the observer is using the SVO structures in English as a yard stick to measure the notion of a shift and therefore a structure being moved from the original position. Based on the fact that the kitchen speech is not English and the speakers are not even native speakers of English, how can we then apply the notions of markedness, movement and canonical SVO structure to explain topic prominence? In other words, if the speakers of the KP are not native speakers of English in the first place, they have no concept of SVO as the norm, and have to be forced to use other non-linguistic strategies to cope with the putting together of jargon.

4.4.1 Failure to Predict Transfer

Before attempting to embark on how the topic chains explain the topic prominent constructions in the kitchen speech, I will explain why the concept of markedness fails to account for presence of SVO structures in the kitchen speech. If the SVO structures are viewed to be more marked and hence more difficult to acquire than their topic prominent alternatives, then why do the workers display them in their speech? This again points to the fact that the

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contact environment has played a role in introducing such structures to the participants, and they would not have generated such structures due to rules.

Markedness is an asymmetrical relation which holds either between alternative ways of expressing the same thing or between members of an opposition (Mufwene, 1991). The unmarked or less marked is given preference or invites no special explanation. In other words, it is the default setting, or the normal generally accepted form. Marked forms, on the other hand is more constrained in the situation of choice. Markedness in grammar is determined by a variety of factors such as syntactic distribution, semantic transparency and salience according to Mufwene.

When a certain structure is more marked, there is a special reading assigned to it, for example, as in the case of preposing in English. The canonical SVO word order for the following English sentence *He sent her the photographs* warrants no special reading because it is unmarked. However, when the object is fronted or preposed as in the following *The photographs, he sent her*, the shift in the word order immediately signals a marked reading, that the focus shifts to the object, *the photographs*.

The marked version would signal a different nuance for the sentence, and we would assume that it has a contrastive reading to show us that the speaker is preposing in order to compare two noun phrases, as shown in the example below. An alternative paraphrase would be "As for the photographs, he sent them to her." However, "As for the tickets, he did not."

The literature on second language acquisition reveals that invocations of markedness have been generally associated with two assumptions. Firstly, the unmarked features or structures of the target language are the easiest for the second language learner to acquire.

Secondly, the unmarked features or structures of languages previously known to the learner are likely to be transferred to the learner's system of the target language. In short, transfer applies in a selective way (McLaughlin, 1987).

However, the above two assumptions are just too simplistic. In the KP situation, the unmarked features of the supposed target language, namely English includes the canonical SVO structure. Any change in the canonical SVO order, such as object fronting to OSV is a marked construction in English. However, the unmarked features of languages previously known to the learners in the case of the Chinese cooks, namely Mandarin Chinese and Cantonese are centered on topic prominence regardless of word order. Because of the topic comment nature of Chinese sentences, this might involve OSV constructions that will not be considered marked in Chinese. There seems to be a clash between the two assumptions, if SVO structures in English seem to be the easiest for second language learners to acquire, why do the kitchen workers show few SVO constructions in their pidgin speech with each other? The second assumption that unmarked features tend to be transferred will help explain why the Chinese cooks have topic-comment structures in their pidgin speech, but will not explain why the Indonesians do not transfer Bahasa Indonesia's SVO order into the pidgin.

In the light of the markedness hypothesis, it does not apply to the kitchen speech data since it fails to predict anything. The topic chain theory does not rest on what is marked or unmarked, or movement with respect to canonical forms in any language at all. The theory simply looks at the topic-prominent constructions as a discrete autonomous system in itself which exist as a product of language mixing in which various communication strategies are used.

4.5 Redefining Topicalization Strategies as Topic Chains

According to Escure's definition, topicalization is different from other topic-prominent constructions such as preposing, zero anaphora and double topic constructions. However, in this study, *topic prominent constructions* will be used as a cover term to refer to any topic fronting constructions, whether they are preposings, double topic fronting or possessing the anaphoric pronoun or zero anaphora. There is no separate grammatical distinction of form. The following table shows the different ways in which utterances are grammatically categorized by linguists.

In the following table all the cosmetically different topicalization strategies are actually topic chains. This similarity is based on the form alone, and the functions are markedly different as the preposings are generated from rules while the topic chains are not generated from knowing any rules about movement.

Table 4.1 All Topicalization Strategies as Topic Chains

DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE:
Left Dislocation	The young boy, he sees the fish
Topicalization	The young boy sees the fish
Preposing (General)	Fish, the young boy sees
Focus movement (Predicate in topic position)	Sees the fish, the young boy
Theme, Rheme	The young boy, he sees the fish (Old) (New)
Topic chains	Young boy, sees fish (Tp) (Tp1) Sees fish, young boy (Tp) (Tp1)

4.5.1 Topic as a Pragmatic Proposition

4.5.1.1 Possible Pragmatic Assertions

Reinhart (1982:25) proposed that PPA (S) together with $\{< \alpha, \varnothing >: \alpha$ is the interpretation of an NP expression in S}. The members of PPA (S) are the proposition expressed by S and each possible pair one of whose members is this proposition and the other is an interpretation of an NP in S.

In the first member ($\varnothing$ alone) is selected in a given context, this means that the sentence is used with no sentence topic. If any other member is selected, the NP expression corresponding to α is the topic expression of S, in the given context, or S is pragmatically about α in the context.

For example, if a sentence like *all crows are black* is used with *all crows* as the topic expression, the proposition expressed in it would be checked by our knowledge of crows, rather than about non-black entities.

Strawson's Principle of Relevance states that discourse does not proceed arbitrarily but rather relates itself to and makes use of what is presumed to be known and "intends, in general, to give or add information about what is a matter of standing or current interest or concern" (Strawson 1964:96) Reinhart's position is that the issue of whether the the topic is old or new information is not important, as long as it is relevant to the current context.

4.6 The Topic Chain

A topic chain occurs whereby S={(Tp <P, A>α Tp1)} where S is a sentence in which the Tp represents the topic as the main proposition standing in any form of feature relations represented by α. Within the topic, there are the proposition and assertion components represented by P and A as a function of the topic. This is different from Reinhart's PPA in which she assumes that the expression in a proposition always has to be a NP. The Tp can fall under

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whatever grammatical category possible, whether it is a noun phrase, adjective phrase, or verb phrase. Instead of just defining topichood simply as pragmatic aboutness and Strawson's Principle of Relevance, the topic is a propositional entity with feature relations within a chain. The proposition is the most important and salient message that is conveyed in the sentence, it is almost always in the front of the utterance. The notion of pragmatic aboutness is extremely vague and does not actually explain the nature of the relations between the different elements within the sentence itself. If one was to say the expression in a topic-comment type utterance represented by the form (X, Y), in which X is the topic and Y being the comment, is simply centered on the notion of pragmatic aboutness, we are not actually explaining anything. Is the sentence about X or is it about Y? For example, looking at the expression, *In Indonesia, meat expensive*, in the light of pragmatic aboutness, is the sentence about Indonesia, or is it about meat being expensive? There is no explanation of how the two components are connected. That is why the need to assign some relational values to determine the nature of the connection between the elements in the topic chain.

Before launching into a discussion of the feature networks which are activated in the topic chain, definitions of propositions and assertions are in order. Stalnaker's definition of what the proposition is as follows:

A proposition P is a pragmatic presupposition of a speaker in a given context just in case the speaker assumes or believes that P and believes that his addressee assumes or believes that P, and assumes or believes that his addressee recognizes that he is making these assumptions, or has these beliefs. (1974:200)

The proposition would be defined as the most important and most salient message that the speaker wishes to convey to the addressee, presented as the topic and is almost always in the sentence initial position. For example, recalling our previous instance, *In Indonesia, meat*

expensive. The speaker would be talking about Indonesia as the topic, in this case it acts as the geographic topic as it designates the spatial area under discussion. The topic would be represented as a function of the proposition, that *X is where meat is expensive*. The assertion would be that X is equivalent to Indonesia. This is different from Lambrecht's assumption that the assertion differs from the presupposition.

The value of α involves a series of logical connectors which will include scalar relations, as well as other relations to be outlined further below. A series of feature-based sets exist in α which will function to relate the topic with other elements in the chain.

First and foremost this would explain why topic fronting occurs as a function. After having discussed Lambrecht's model, the assumption that topic-comment utterances are non-derivative still holds, and they are topic driven, based on the interaction and interpretation of the proposition and assertion.

Instead of categorizing the utterances into topic and focus components, the whole utterance would be renamed as a topic chain. The comment portion, now renamed Tp1, would be a function of the topic, dependent on the feature networks relating the topic with Tp1. The issue of old versus new information is not relevant to the theory as the topic can either be new or old information as long as it fits under the general rule of relevance, that it is related to the current conversation, with the goal of adding more information.

The topic can consist of only one element, for example, *Raining*, which fulfills the basic requirement of a Tp present in the sentence. However, it can also accommodate a Tp1, for example, *Raining, today* which will stand in a feature-based relation, which will be discussed in greater detail in the next section.

However, this pragmatic topic chain is different from the topic chain in Chinese linguistics.

Tsao (1977) proposed the concept of a topic chain in Mandarin Chinese which is simply a listing

of a sequence of topic comment sentences. However, they do not have any interactive pragmatic

function between the chains. The listing of independent topic comment sentences are related and

point back to the same topic. No mention is made of pragmatic propositions or assertions in

Tsao's topic chain. An example of Tsao's sequential topic chain is shown below.

(126)   Neike   shu,   hua xiao,   yezi da
        That (classifier) tree   flowers small, leaves big
        That   tree has small flowers and big leaves.

(127)   hen nankan, suoyi wo mei   mai
        very ugly   so   I   negation buy
        It was very ugly so I did not buy it.

This Chinese topic chain has independent topic comment sentences which all refer back to the

topic under discussion, *the tree*. It is at best a descriptive concept, and at most points back to the

initial topic which is related to the rest of the topic comment components in some kind of

aboutness relation.

4.7 Sample Taxonomy of Relations in α Representations

The feature sets which define the range of possibilities for α can be broken down into

the following main groups. In addition to Ward's proposal that the preposings possess the plus or

minus identity feature, the topic chain can employ a series of other related networks to indicate a

relation inside the chain. Instead of classifying the entity based on identity and referential

features, the topic can stand in a variety of feature relations with the rest of the sentence. When

we look at the list of relations between members in the chain, we have to bear in mind that it is

not exhaustive. This is because we possibly cannot categorize each and every relation since we

represent the number by the infinity symbol α.

This sample taxonomy is to help understand the relationship between the members of the chain to the topic. The members of the chain are *part* of the topic, and they are not separate from the topic. This covers the concept of relevance which is defined by the feature relations between Tp and Tp1 and so forth.

4.7.1 Genitive

In this category, the Tp1 is a possession owned by Tp.. For example, consider the following utterance by Kim. In this relation set, *My son* is the topic and the Tp1, *clothes size seven* belong to the son.

(128)   My son,   clothes size seven.
        (Tp)   (Tp1)
        [+genitive]

        Gloss:
        My son's clothes are size seven.

4.7.2 Spatial

This spatial feature is based on geographic location which is signified by Tp. The Tp1 is related to Tp because the Tp1 occurs within the denoted space. Tp is the topic because it sets the scene for the members in the chain, the topic is about whatever is going or observed within the location defined by Tp.

(129)   In Indonesia, meat expensive.
        (Tp)   (Tp1)
         [+spatial]

        Gloss:
        In Indonesia, meat is expensive.

        Context:
        Manuel: The meat we don't need. The corn give us power
        Kim: In Indonesia, meat expensive. I think (.) sometime always mutton.
            They eat uh.
        Manuel: All the ti::me corn in Mexico.

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4.7.3 Causality

   This is basically the cause and effect relations as a logical connector. In the following

sentence, the Tp1 has the [+causality] feature because it is the reason or cause for the Tp. In

other words, *having no more tickets* results in the permission or ability to go home.

(130)   Go home, no more tickets.
        (Tp)   (Tp1)
                    [+causality]

        Gloss:
        You can go home, because there are no more tickets.

        Context:
        Mau: Go home, no more tickets.
        Manuel: *Adios.*

(131)   I don know menu expensive expensive.
        (Tp)   (Tp1)
                            [+causality]

        Gloss:
        I don't know about the menu because it has expensive food items on it.

        Context: (interview)
        Res: What's the most popular dish?
        Hock: I don know menu expensive expensive.

4.7.4 Meta-comment

        This involves value judgement and points of view about the topic. It is usually the meta-

comment of the speaker, but this can be debatable later when the feature relations are not clear.

(132)   Sunday football, no hope.
        (Tp)   (Tp1)
                        [+meta-comment]

        Gloss:
        This Sunday's football game, I think there's no hope.

        Context:
        Wha: Sunday football, no hope
        Kim: You bet who?
        Wha: No money.

(133) Megawati, always corruption.
     (Tp)   (Tp1)
            [+meta-comment]

     Gloss:
     Megawati, she is always corrupt. (Megawati is Indonesia's president)
     Context:
     Res: Do you get stomach ache when you eat at stalls by the road?
     Kim: Sometimes.
     Res: Do they pay a fine for bad food?
         Hey, the government checks on them right?
     Kim: <u>Megawati, always corruption.</u>
         See money, take.

(134) Fish, no cook
     (Tp) (Tp1)

     Gloss:
     The fish is uncooked!

     Context:
     Manuel: Eh, Maria, me gusto tu mama
     Res: But my mama is old.
     Manuel: No problem! (laughing)
     Res:Why no problem?
     Manuel: Problem is your mama no like me.
          Right? Yeah? (laughing)
     Res: Oh, you are so handsome!
         My mother will buy you t shirt for you when she comes.
          Souvenir.
     Manuel:Yeah okay. When coming?
     Res: June. She'll buy present for you.
     Javy: Making susi. (Making sushi)
         (Observing the sushi chef working)
     Manuel: <u>Fish no cook!</u>

4.7.5 Temporal

   In this category, Tp is related to the in a time setting. The Tp sets the time element in the

utterance, and the Tp1 is an event or an action which occurs in the time setting represented by

Tp.

(135) All the time, corn in Mexico
     (Tp)   (Tp1)
     [+time]

Gloss:
Manuel: All the time, we eat only corn in Mexico.

Context:
Manuel: The meat we don't need. The corn give us power
Kim: In Indonesia, meat expensive. I think (.) sometime always mutton.
    They eat uh.
Manuel: <u>All the ti::me corn in Mexico.</u>

(136)   Only holiday time, call Indonesia
         (Tp)   (Tp1)
         [+time]

         Gloss:
         It's only during the holidays that I call Indonesia.

         Context:
         (Kim sees Manuel using the cellphone)
         Kim: Calling everyday yeah.
         Manuel: To Mexico.
         Kim: <u>Only holiday time I call Indonesia.</u>

(137)   Later   boss tell you *para casa.*
         (Tp)   (Tp1)
         [+ time]

         Gloss:
         Later the boss is going to tell you to go home.

         Context:
         (Wha is dancing to music)
         Hock: One more time, man.
         (Music playing in background from kitchen radio)
         (Wha continues dancing)
          Javy: Maricón.Come on maricón. Come on man.
              Come on.
               (Laughter from all)
           Javy: <u>Later boss tell u para casa</u>.
          Wha: No, where I go mucho trabajo.
          Hock: One more time, man.

(138)   Today   you go church.
          (Tp)   (Tp1)
          [+ time]

          Gloss:
          Today, you better go to church and repent

Context:
(Hock notices some dollar notes on the kitchen counter, on a Sunday evening)
Hock: Wah, mucho dinero! Hallelujah money, cuñado.
Wha: Sex lah. What hallelujah money.
Javy: Maricon. Today you go church.

.

4.7.6 Agent-Action

This is the topic as the agent performing some sort of action. The following examples

show that the Tp is performing an action, Tp1.

(139)   You   like?
        (Tp)   (Tp1)
        [+agent] [+action]

        Gloss:
        You like it?

(140) Hakkwai   like
        (Tp)   (Tp1)
        [+agent] [+action]

        Gloss:
        Black people like eating hot wings

        Context:
        Res: Oh, *lat kai yik* (looking at the Spicy Hot Wings)
        Javy: Yeah, the la calle. You like? *Hakkwai* like. (*Hakkwai*= "Black devil" in Cantonese)
        Res: Hey, you also know hakkwai?
        Javy: Hakkwai. Negro.
        Mau: You know sochai?
              You makkwai. You like sochai? (*Sochai*= "stupid boy" in Cantonese)
        Javy: You know hakkwai. Mucho gusto the la calle.

4.8 Feature Sets and Nested Sets

We have seen from the above taxonomy that the topic and comment portions are related by features. Every member of the chain is in a relationship with each other, as well as related to the overall topic. It might be difficult for a non-native speaker of English to understand the topic chaining process especially in the examples in which the topics are temporal representations such as *later* or *only holiday time*. The question puzzling for non-native speakers of English is to ask how can temporal adverbs be topics? This can be answered using the following diagram to explain nested sets.The topic and the members in the chain are in a relationship as we have determined from the topic chaining process. In addition, the nature of the relationship is defined by what is placed in the sentence initial position, because that is defined as the most important element, which is the topic.

In the previous section, the sample taxonomy shows the feature relations between the topic and the rest of the elements in the chain. It was a linear representation as features are assigned to the topic and members of the chain. The next question to ask is this how can members of the chain refer back to the topic, if the topic is represented by temporal adverbs with apparently no meaning? If we were to put the example *Later boss tell you para casa* in a diagram, *later* is the overall topic because the speaker is talking about what will happen later, which is Tp1, that is the boss telling the addressee to go home. Tp1 is nested within the topic.
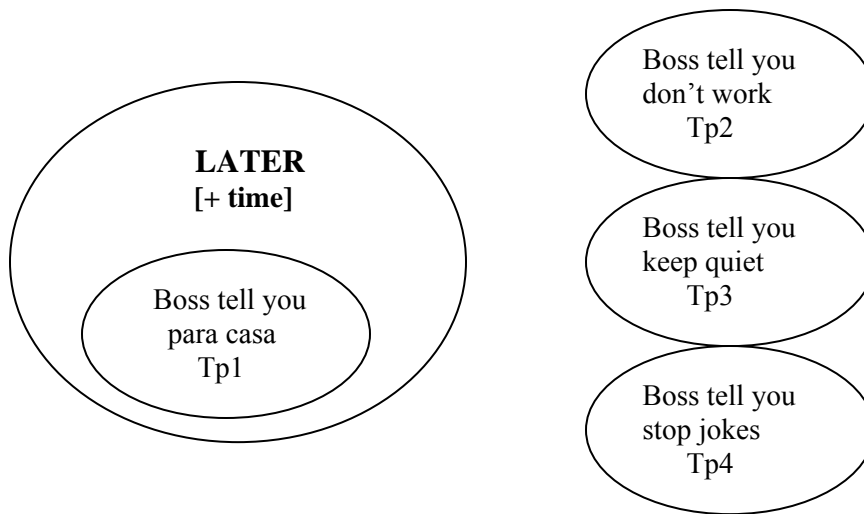
Figure 4.1 Topic and Members as Nested Concepts

The notion of nesting is important because the topic is the most important in the sentence, and the members of the chain are all related to the main topic and between each other. Assuming the Tp and Tp1 exists in the nested relationship, that Tp is the time in the future that Tp1 will occur, what are possible additions to the chain? Going back to the same diagram, Tp2, Tp3, and Tp4 can be perfect substitutes for Tp1 if they are all in a chain related by the basis of an [+identity] relation. This means that the boss telling (you) to *para casa* is equivalent to asking the person not to work, to keep quiet and to stop joking, all represented by Tp2, Tp3 and Tp4. In Figure 4 the circles enclosing the individual members on the right side can be substituted one at a time into the slot previously occupied by Tp1, *boss tell you para casa*, without changing the scene setting function of the topic. All the acts that the speaker thinks the boss is going to do are taking place *later*, which is the time defined by the topic.

LATER [+time]

Tp2   Tp1

Tp4

Tp3
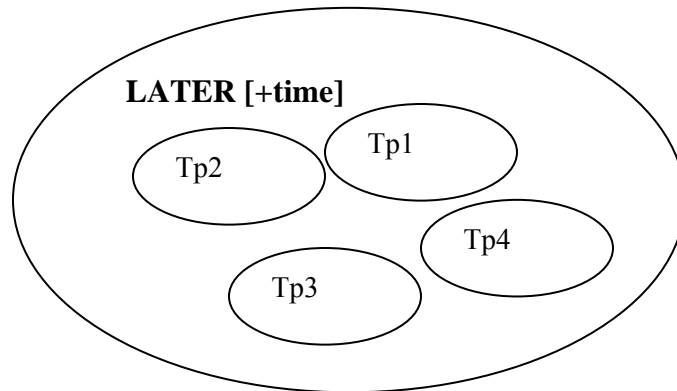
Key:
Tp1=boss tell you para casa
Tp2=boss tell you don't work
Tp3=boss tell you keep quiet
Tp4=boss tell you stop jokes

Figure 4.2 Topic and Members with the [-identity] Relation

The individual members can also stand in a [-identity] relationship with one another. Suppose the topic is still the time setting *later,* and Tp1 and the rest of the members are still represented by the same Tp1 and so forth as explained in the previous Figure, the members can still be introduced to add on to the topic, but they are not related to each other. Tp1 and the rest of the members are still nested within the topic, but they are standing in a [-identity] relation with each other. In other words, there is still a relationship between the topic and each of the individual members because they are supported by the [+time] feature. However, this does not mean the

members have to be related to each other because they are independent events even though they occur in the same time frame. For example, the Tp1, *the boss telling (you) to para casa* can exist on its own as an event, and while in the same time setting, Tp2, Tp3 and Tp4 happen as a sequence of events.

Conversely, the members of the chain can also have a causal relationship among themselves on a lower chain, and a temporal relation with the topic, on a larger chain. For example, if all the individual members of the chain comprising Tp2, Tp3, and Tp4 all contribute to causing Tp1 to happen, a causal connection is observed. To paraphrase, the events which could have made the boss angry (Tp2, Tp3 and Tp4) will cause Tp1, the eventual firing of the unrepentant worker. All of this will take place in the time frame *later*, which is projected by the topic.

To sum up this section, the linear representations by Ward as feature sets have expanded to include the causal relationship between members of the chain, as well as causal connection between the topic and the member or members of the chain. Identity relations are still relevant because the members of the chain might not be related to each other but they relate back to the topic as a whole.

The diagrams in this section to show that the topic is not generated from any pre-conceived SVO structures. This is based on the claims that UG access to English structures is blocked and the kitchen pidgin speakers have to come up with their own strategies to compensate for communication. It is through the nature of the interaction and environment which prompts the function based topic chains.

4.9 Topic Chain Model: Representing KP Data

In this chapter, the framework and assumptions underlying the theory of preposing and information structure has been reworked to account for the kitchen pidgin English data collected. Firstly, the topic prominent constructions have been re-evaluated as basic, canonical structures which are not derived from any other more basic structure due to movement. This is under the assumption that these features are based on non-UG sources as they have been blocked and the KP speakers have to resort to cognitive and problem-solving strategies.

Secondly, the topic and focus distinctions, and the topic-comment divisions have been reworked into Tp and Tp1 standing in a topic chain continuum, whereby the relation is via feature representations [+genitive], [+meta-comment] and others. The topic-focus distinctions based on separate presupposition and assertions, where the presupposition is within the topic and the assertion is within the focus component proposed by Lambrecht do not apply to the pidgin English data. The topic-focus distinctions, originally based on the old-new information is no longer important here. The topic chains have the topic initial position because of the concept of topics and the members in the chains as nested sets.

4.10 Topic Prominence Explained

The infinite number of functions between the topic and the members in the chain can be expressed as any relation between Tp and Tp1, and so on. Even though, to outsiders, the topic prominent constructions might be very simple and the connection is not explicit, there is still a connection, if we make the link. For example, in Manuel's observation, *Fish, no cook*, we see a topic prominent construction. We can derive from the context that Manuel is making a comment

that the fish is uncooked, and raw because it is being used for sushi. It has a meta-comment reading that can be paraphrased into, *As for the fish, it is uncooked.*

The topic chain theory is useful in explaining the simplicity of the kitchen speech. It is also like child language, especially the holophrastic two word stage whereby the child says *Mommy, sock*, or *Daddy shoe*. Not only does it confirm that the kitchen speech is like broken or pidginized English which is similar to the simple acquisition pattern in a native speaker, it also shows the cognitive recognition of the chaining of topics. The child is trying to string together words based on the meaning, and the respective feature relationships between X and Y in a topic-comment string. This similarity between the topic-comment stage in the kitchen workers'speech and the child language speech shows the same form.

The topic chain theory also denotes the possible relations between basic nouns and verbs, and this can also be a by-product of language learning strategies in the situation of inadequate input. The notions of rules and movement are explained away because being non-native speakers of English, the access to universal grammar is blocked, and they have to use problem-solving strategies to convey their meaning when interacting with workers who do not share a common native language. This ties in with topic prominence as a product of the interaction between the participants and also due to the fact that even though there is SVO construction in the speech, this variation can be accounted for in terms of additional input that they have heard, or from imitating other speakers. Since UG is blocked to non-native speakers of English, they produce the SVO sentences because some of them have higher proficiency than others as they have mastered the form and the rule as a whole unit, and not as a generated rule-based construction.

```
┌─────────────────────┐
│   Topic Chains      │
│       as            │           ┌─────────────────────┐
│                     │           │   Topic prominent   │
│   PROBLEM           │           │     features        │
│   SOLVING           │ ────────▶ │                     │
│                     │           │   Eg. Go home, no   │
│   Non-native        │           │      more tickets   │
│   speakers          │           └─────────────────────┘
└─────────────────────┘


┌─────────────────────┐
│                     │           ┌─────────────────────┐
│   UNIVERSAL         │           │   Preposing         │
│   GRAMMAR           │           │   Left Dislocation  │
│                     │ ────────▶ │   Topicalization    │
│   Native speaker of │           │                     │
│   English           │           │   (marked readings) │
└─────────────────────┘           └─────────────────────┘
```
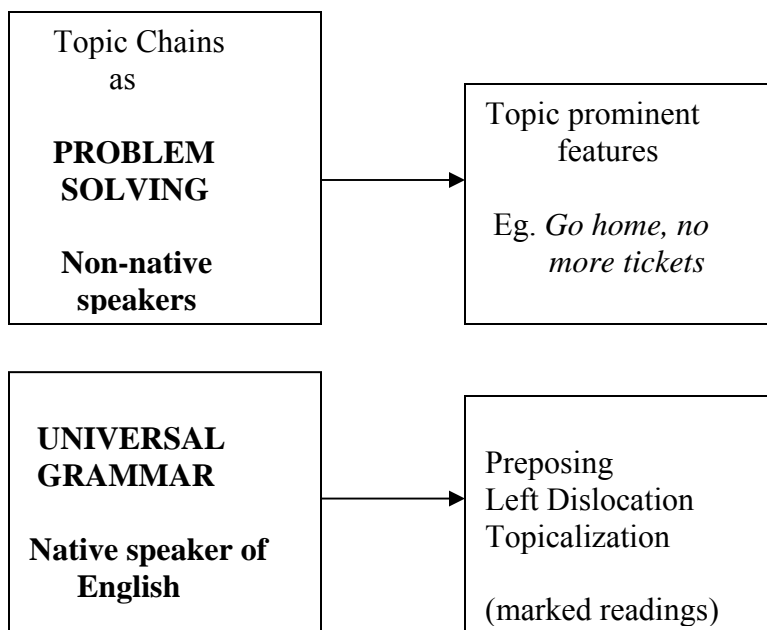
Figure 4.3. Problem-solving Strategies Versus Universal Grammar

4.11 Interpretation of Topic Chain Relations:Use of Context

The topic chain is the closest function to form relation possible in which the pragmatic

function influences the form. The basic need for the KP speakers is to communicate with each

other because of work demands.

The topic chain theory shows the relationship between the topic and the members of the

chain, but the *interpretation* of such relationships from the point of view of an outsider who is

not the speaker is difficult without the appropriate context. Taking Manuel's utterance, *Fish no*

cook, we can definitely say that it is a topic prominent construction but we cannot accurately

determine the nature of the relationship between the topic, which is about *fish*, and the comment

no cook. Even though we have the topic and the members of the chain, we cannot fully predict

the relation. It can have a multitude of possible relations in that the utterance can have alternative

interpretations.

All of these alternative interpretations are contingent on knowing the context of the utterances. If the context is missing, or not fully understood, then any relation between members in the chain is possible.

Table 4.2 Possible Contextual Interpretation of Topic Chains

FORM: TOPIC CHAINS (TP and TP1)	FUNCTION (PRAGMATIC)	INTERPRETATION (CONTEXT)
Fish, no cook	Command	As for the fish, don't cook it
Fish, no cook	Declarative	The fish is uncooked
Fish, no cook	Contrastive	Don't cook the fish. Cook the chicken.
Fish, no cook	Sarcastic comment	The fish is uncooked! The fish is raw and it is awful

4.11.1 Potential Cherry-Picking

The potential cherry-picking danger of the topic chain theory is that it threatens to label all languages as being the same, due to the presence of topic chains in almost any language. This would back channel the presence of topic prominent features as being part of the universal grammar that Chomsky proposed. However, since the data I presented is from a mixed language situation, it is clearly defined to be a product of cognitive and language learning strategies in a mixed language situation and not a product from native speakers of English.

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4.11.2 All Pidgin Features are Universal Topic Chains

After we have discussed the features of the KP in Chapter Three, we came to the conclusion that they speakers are operating on a functional basis, that is they are using communication strategies to get by in the environment where there is minimal input.

When we put together all the features of the KP, we actually have topic chains as the overall product of whatever language strategy they are using. When we juxtapose the KP features under the topic chain framework, we come back to the notion of topic chains as universals in terms of features of a pidgin language.

Up to this point in time, the previous chapter discusses the KP features as being representative of topic chaining at work. In this chapter, the topic chains in the KP features are traced back to a non-derived cognitive and language learning strategy which supports the chaining effects based on the relationship between topic and its members in nested sets.

Is the evolution of topic chains a function based strategy then? Since the minimalist form of the topic chains in the KP speech can be attributed to the basic need for communication, and not attention to the external form? Are there universals of form or function? This chapter shows that the function and the form are the same. Topic chains are functional, as well as the features in the KP. By functional, we mean the topic chains work as a strategy though which the speakers see connections and then produce topic chains in the KP speech as a feature. The topic chains also fulfill a pragmatic function as we have seen in Table 4.2 in saying something, they are functioning as acts which perform actions, for example, declaring and commanding. However, the interpretation of the function is left entirely to context.

4.12 Summary

In this chapter, we have proposed the topic chain theory to account for the topic prominent features in the kitchen speech. The theory is able to explain why the topic prominent features occur, because they are a product of general problem solving strategies which center on getting the basic meaning across.

When we examine just the forms alone, we are describing the same phenomenon from a different perspective. Ward and Lambrecht are describing the *same* form, for example, *Fish, the young boy sees* as a preposing and deviation from the norm, while the topic chain describes it as connecting the topic and the members in the chain. The difference lies in the knowledge of the rules concerning how languages are organized in the native speaker and the non-native speaker minds. When the native speakers say *Fish, the young boy sees*, we assume the native English speakers have perfect knowledge of the rules of how their own language works. For non-native speakers, the knowledge of how other languages other than their own is based on cognitive strategies. It is these strategies which determine the function, which is to problem-solve and communicate in a situation where no common native language is shared.

In the next chapter, we will discuss the concept what constitute problem-solving in the restaurant kitchen, with reference to the environment in the kitchen pidgin acquisition. Topic prominent features are the products of the problem-solving processes that the everyday migrant worker faces in the realm of the kitchen.

Chapter Five

Topic Chains: Struggle of the Kitchen Proletariat

5.1 Introduction

       In the previous chapter, we have explored the topic prominent features in the KP as being

a *product* of the immediate contact environment and characterized it with the functional model of

the Topic Chain based on the relations between topic and members in the chain. The products of

interaction within the KP environment are topic prominent features. The kitchen environment is

the site of impoverished input and the learners have to come up with strategies to problem solve.

All of their problem-solving strategies contribute to the eventual formation of topic prominent

features.

   In this chapter, we will discuss how the problem-solving *process* works. By studying the

problem-solving process, we are studying the cognitive strategies in the non-native speaker,

which are associated with identifying challenges and coming up with creative linguistic solutions

to overcome them.

   The perspective taken up in this chapter is that the environmental factors are the strongest

factors which contribute to the universal topic chains in the kitchen pidgin features. The causal

connection between the contact situation and the eventual topic prominent strategies are obvious.

Even though the speakers are presented with a less than perfect acquisition situation, the

situation causes them to innovate and demand linguistic solutions to communication problems.

5.2 The Kitchen Manifesto and Informal Classroom

In the previous chapter, two important distinctions were made in the topic chain model. Firstly, the notion of UG not being available to non-native speakers has led to the usage of problem-solving cognitive strategies by relating features within a topic chain. Secondly, the topic chain rests on the assumption that the non-native speaker is interested in communicating meaning even though the environment has "degenerate" input and the KP speakers are resorting to pragmatic strategies.

However, while the non-native speaker in the kitchen is using cognitive strategies to relate concepts and features within the topic chain, he is also interested in using language to articulate these relationships. This causes the topic prominent features to be found in his speech because he is using the topic chain as a functional model to relate the ideas. How then is the cognitive strategy of trying to relate concepts and words connected to language learning? The usage of the cognitive strategy produces topic prominent features which are used to communicate with the rest of the non-native speakers in the kitchen. Then the feedback from the other participants in terms of the reply to the non-native speaker's utterance will constitute an affirmation or denial of the form. This is also alternatively known as informal hypothesis testing.

5.3 Language Genes or Environmental Triggers?

This has been the topic of much debate between innativists like Bickerton who claimed that the acquisition of pidgin and creoles are due to automatic unmarked settings which pre-determine the selection of such features into the eventual pidgin language.

Bickerton's LBH (Language BioProgram) states that Universal Grammar (UG) plays an important role in the selection of unmarked features in Creole languages. According to

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Bickerton, the grammars of Creoles are unmarked systems because this constitutes the preferred settings in the absence of contrary evidence (1984:178). The Creole speakers would select the unmarked settings over the possible marked settings.

The reason behind the unmarked settings as being the default setting as defined by the innate language bioprogram is that the common set of features of a set of Creole languages were created by the children with their own internal resources (Bickerton, 1981:5, 1984:184). The strongest support for this is due to the Creole-speaking children growing up in places where the linguistic models were highly variable and were not referentially adequate. Therefore, in order to account for the similar features in different Creoles, an internal innate program must be at work, hence accounting for the unmarked settings. This points to the conclusion that Creole genesis is a special case of language contact and hence language acquisition (Siegel, 1997).

5.3.1 Environment Shapes Topic Prominent Features

However, the LBH would not account fully for the development of unmarked topic-comment structures in the KP. Firstly, the development of the Creole grammars would take place in a first language acquisition setting, which is definitely not the situation here in the kitchen. The speakers already have their own native languages and are not native speakers of the kitchen pidgin. The only thing common between the creole acquisition process and the kitchen situation is the highly variable linguistic models and this is why it triggers off the urge in the speakers to impose regularity and figure out their own rules.

And this is not due to any specific language ability but the ability to problem solve as this chapter will argue. The KP speakers in the study are the innovators and the universal problem solvers who overcome the constraints imposed by the environment.

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The situation for the operation of the LBH is thus extremely idealistic and specific as it only refers to Creole genesis. Bickerton capitalizes on the following three arguments to support his theory, but in supporting his theory, the reasons can be used against him to advance the nurture factor. The following descriptions of the environment as being inadequate is true, this helps the speakers to rely on problem-solving and create their language, instead of depending on the default language acquisition genetic capabilities.

Firstly, in each of the situations, the pre-existing pidgin was not fully established or stabilized, and did not have the features found in the Creole. Secondly there was very little or limited contact between the speakers of the various Creole languages, leading to the conclusion that such features must have developed independently and not based on the contact situation itself. Lastly, the features could not have come from any of the substrate languages as they are not found in any one language and the mixing of features from several languages is unlikely (Siegel, 1997). At the point in time of Bickerton's LBH theory, no other plausible theories have been developed to explain how substrate features can be passed on to Creoles.

The main problem with Bickerton's theory is that if it were to be taken seriously, there would probably be no true Creoles in the world. The conditions are highly idealistic and hence, rather inapplicable to language contact in the real world. How the actual bioprogram sets the setting is still unknown and mysterious. Why should Creole speakers prefer the unmarked setting option as opposed to the other alternative marked setting?

It is not practical to examine an internal innate system without looking at the socio-historical factors for pidgin and Creole development because the dynamics of the contact situation would assert itself on the formation of pidgins and Creoles and determine which features are selected.

This counter-argument would constitute the basis for the transfer and substrate hypothesis which emphasizes the role of the contact situation in the linguistic features of the pidgins and Creoles.

Siegel (1997) shows in his examples of Overseas Hindi (OH), a variety that is different from the indigenous version spoken in India, that the native dialect or the language of the Indian immigrants do contribute to features found in the emerging versions of OH. For example, the earlier versions of OH spoken in Mauritius and Guyana have more Bhojpuri features found in them, due to the majority of the immigrant speakers speaking Bhojpuri as their native language. Later varieties of OH in other places like Surinam and Fiji spoken by Indian laborers have less Bhojpuri features. This difference in linguistic features showed that the labor recruitment had shifted from the Bhojpuri-speaking area of Bihar state in India to other eastern parts of Uttar Pradesh where eastern Hindi dialects like Avadhi and Chattisgarhi were spoken.

5.4 Transfer and Substrate Hypothesis

If the input was so degenerate then it would be the dependence on cognitive problem solving strategies which help bring in the topic prominent factors in the kitchen speech
The Cafeteria Principle was a phrase coined by Bickerton in an attempt to ridicule the proposal that features from either the superstrate or substrate language are selected and become part of the pidgin or Creole linguistic system, somewhat like different dishes served in a cafeteria. The idea that the external factors play a part in the creation of pidgins and Creoles, according to Bickerton, is absurd (1981:49). Bickerton (1984:184) further states that

Substratophiles have never attempted to compare whole systems, but have picked out and compared isolated rules and features from Creole and substratum languages. Implicit in this operation is the belief that languages can be made by throwing together a heterogeneous set of items.

However, Bickerton's concerns are not without cause because up to this point in time, we do not exactly know what is going to be on the menu, and what factors will be responsible for determining the choice of features. Mufwene (1990) states that it is deplorable that no such attempt have been made to suggest any principle regulating such selection. It is not the case that the Cafeteria Principle is impossible, but just that the constraints governing the selection of features have not been proposed.

Bickerton demands that in order to make the case for the substrata hypothesis, the substratists have to describe *exactly* and *explicitl*y how, in creolization, syntactic structures got from substratum languages into Creole possibilities (1992:314). This is perhaps a relevant concern because selection principles vary on the type of languages involved in the contact situation. We have to look at each contact situation as a unique linguistic situation in its own right, and establish the specific constraints in order to determine which features are likely to be selected and integrated into the pidgin.

In my opinion, Bickerton, despite all his opinions and insistence on the unmarked settings has actually asked the right question! It is precisely his criticism that the constraints governing the selection of features being *unpredictable* that answers the question that it is precisely the immediate contact environment which determines the features. Bickerton has helped us turn the direction towards the contact situation itself.

Nothing is innate within the kitchen pidgin speaker except the fact that he is the problem solver, and the willingness to work hard to manage the lack of a common native language to

communicate with workers from the other groups. Mufwene's complaints that no attempt being made to come up with the principle regulating the selection can only be addressed with the answer that the act of problem-solving within the kitchen environment is the only universal principle. In the next few sections, I will describe the problem-solving capabilities of the kitchen workers *exactly* and *explicitly* as Bickerton demands, in order to show how the environment triggers off the selection of the unmarked features.

5.4.1 Factors Affecting Selection

Research has shown that there is a set of linguistic and sociolinguistic factors which promote the selection of certain linguistic features over others in pidgins and Creoles. According to Siegel (1997), linguistic factors have been proposed by various researchers into these contact varieties, and include the following:

1. Frequency (greater rate of occurrence)
2. Regularity (lack of exceptions)
3. Salience (ease of perception, e.g., free rather than bound morphemes, stressed rather than unstressed words)
4. Transparency (one to one correspondence between form and meaning)
5. Economy (minimum redundancy)
6. Unmarkedness (naturalness)

Hock and Kim are brothers from Indonesia, speaking Bahasa Indonesia as their native language. Even though Hock and Kim's speech do show topic prominent constructions, Hock uses them more than Kim. This is due to the result of his working more closely with the Chinese cooks in the kitchen, as he is a fryer, and has to take orders from the cooks. He is also less mobile than Kim, because Kim has the freedom to move in and out of the kitchen, and also has more opportunities to interact with English-speaking customers to whom he delivers the food.

We see Hock confined to the kitchen and mainly interacting with the Chinese cooks. He has a higher number of topic prominent constructions in his pidgin speech, despite the fact that his native language, Bahasa Indonesia is SVO, and that omission of the subject is permitted only in very selective cases. In contrast to Hock, Kim displayed SVO word order in casual conversations with the researcher, as shown in example (141). Hock's casual conversation with the researcher in example (142) is still more topic prominent than Kim's conversations.

(141)   (Casual conversation between Res and Kim)
         (Topic: Kim's temporary job while restaurant was undergoing remodeling)

         Res: Wow, you rested at home while the restaurant was under construction.
         Kim: No, I work Chin Chin Restaurant, delivery. (SVO)
         Res: As a delivery driver?
         Kim: Yes. The boss ask me stay, give me more money yeah. (SVO)
              I told him, restaurant open again, I go back. (SVO)
         Res: Oh, he asked you to stay.
         Kim: Yeah, give me more money. (Subject omitted)
              But I like here better. (SVO)

(142)   (Casual conversation between Res and Hock)
         (Topic: Hock's daughters in Indonesia)

         Res: How is your baby?
         Hock: Already big girl. Every time, telephone *cakap cakap* Papa like that.(Topic Prominent)
         Res: Your wife takes care of her?
         Hock: Yeah, two girls also. Everyday very busy, man. (Topic Prominent)
         Res: Oh the younger girl can talk now!
         Hock: Yes Yusnita. Very clever. Call Papa to me on the phone. (Topic Prominent)
                But I want one boy. (SVO)

         Gloss:
         Res: How is your baby?
         Hock: She's already a big girl. Every time, I call her on the telephone, she calls out
               Papa! Papa! (like that=in this manner)
         Res: Your wife takes care of her, right?
         Hock: Yeah, she takes care of both girls. Everyday, she is busy (taking care of them).
         Res: Oh the younger girl can talk now!
         Hock: Yes, Yusnita, the younger girl. She's very clever. She can say *Papa* on the
               telephone.
               But I would like to have a baby boy/male child (Even though my girl is clever).

It might be due to the researcher's presence that Kim starts to be more attentive to form and hence more SVO constructions. Hock is more relaxed with the researcher and is animatedly talking about his family, so he might not be concerned with the form. However, Hock exhibits the SVO construction in *But, I want a baby boy* and this could be due to the fact that he is emphasizing a contrast or topic change, or even a wish that he hopes will be fulfilled. Returning to the context, despite the fact he loves his daughters and is excited about how the younger girl's talking with him on the phone, he turns the conversation with an SVO statement expressing that it would be nice if he also had a baby boy.

It could also be due to the ease of perception in the SVO constructions produced by the researcher in asking the questions, causing Kim to perceive them in the conversation and hence model the structure of his answers to match the researchers. Hock does not seem to perceive the SVO structures as salient, or it does not bother him whether he conforms to the researcher's style or not.

Up to this point in time, I have shown that the immediate linguistic context does affect the choice of the selection of features in the KP. We cannot just rely on Bickerton's LBH to set the unmarked features by default. The grammar and the lack of inflections in the KP are influenced by the working environment. The kitchen presents its own set of challenges as we shall discover later in Section 5.6.

5.5 Cognitive Strategies: What Are They?

The product of one's personality, cognitive style or hemispheric preference has been termed learning strategies or cognitive processes (Rubin, 1981). Cognitive strategies are by definition learning strategies. They are not specifically language-based strategies but just general learning strategies. The following table shows samples of cognitive strategies as part of general learning strategies. Cognitive strategies can be seen as general problem-solving strategies that the kitchen workers use. It works in a cyclical manner because when the working environment triggers the need to communicate, the kitchen staff utilizes whatever linguistic resources they have to fulfill this basic need. While communicating in the mixed language, the workers also bond with one another and socialize at the workplace and learn new words from each group's native tongue.

Table 5.1 Sample Description of Cognitive Strategies (O'Malley et al, 1985)

COGNITIVE STRATEGY	DESCRIPTION
Repetition	Imitating a language model, including overt practice and silent rehearsal
Resourcing	Using target language reference materials
Translation	Using the first language as understanding and/or producing the second language
Imagery	Relating new information to visual concepts in memory via familiar, easily retrievable visualizations, phrases or locations
Auditory representation	Retention of a sound or similar sound for a word, phrase, or longer language sequence

5.6 What is the Problem?

   For the problem-solving strategy to function, there has to be a specific problem or set of problems which demand a solution. The recognition of the problem is also necessary so that the participants in the kitchen know that it exists and they can do something about it.

   When we looked at the KP features in Chapter Three, we examined all the features with respect to how the participants use strategies to try to communicate in a situation which presents certain challenges. The challenge lies in the nature of the contact environment and the people involved. It is not originally strictly a language problem even though the participants lack a common native language and are exposed to limited and sometimes low quality input. The problem stems from the nature of the workplace and the need to establish communication and relationships, and language is the product of the problem solving process. This reinforces the conclusion we have arrived at in Chapter Four, in which is the topic chain functions as a cognitive strategy, and it reinforces the need to use language to communicate and thus solve the problem, so that the topic prominent features are seen in the KP data.

5.6.1   Occupational Hazards in the Contact Environment

   Looking at the contact situation in the kitchen, we see inherent problems that demand immediate attention from the participants in the study. The environment is the strongest trigger to the starting of the informal language acquisition process. All of the following problems need to be solved using language. The kitchen is a place where immigrant workers come into contact with one another in the Chinese restaurant. It is full of occupational hazards associated with the small confines of an enclosed space. The environment is certainly not very conducive to informal language acquisition because of the physical discomfort due to intense heat in summers and

excessive cold during winters. The kitchen is the default language acquisition environment for the kitchen workers as there is no concrete classroom and instructor.

There is no problem with the definition of the KP as the product of *informal language learning*. Strict SLA pundits demand the classroom situation in which formal instruction is needed to facilitate learning. In addition, SLA also refers to the acquisition of a second language, and this is under the assumption that the speaker is monolingual. However, the KP situation flouts this definition because who is the monolingual learner here? The Chinese cooks know Mandarin Chinese and speak Cantonese, a dialect of Mandarin-Chinese. They even have basic knowledge of Spanish, which is the other language spoken by the Mexican workers. The Spanish workers also display the pragmatic endings that are characteristic of the Cantonese dialect belong to cooks and to the Bahasa-Indonesian speaking workers. The kitchen is the informal classroom in which the participants take turns to play out the roles of teacher and students. All of this is accomplished with minimal effort and minimal language in the form of topic chains. There is no need for textbooks or tapes to function as instructional materials.

5.6.2 Work Pressure and Human Chains

The workers have to work long hours at the restaurant. They start work preparing soup and other ingredients at ten in the morning in order to deal with the throngs of office-workers who swarm the restaurant in search of lunch. They have a break in the afternoon from two-thirty to four. Some of them take a nap in the restaurant dining room where booths double up as make-shift beds while some chain smoke in outside the restaurant to relief work pressures. Lunch is more hectic than the dinner hours. When the clock strikes four-thirty, the preparation rigmarole

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begins again for the dinner hours and then the restaurant closes at ten o'clock at night. When another day dawns, the cycle begins again.

Because of the work pressures, the workers have to use very short exchanges to get the tasks completed. The workers are always meeting some sort of schedule, they have to work as a team. They form a sort of human chain because Javy the Mexican worker would cut up the fresh vegetables and chicken when the fresh produce and raw meat arrives in the restaurant. Hock would be in charge of deep frying the meat and store them in the refrigerator. The Chinese cooks will be the one to churn out the final dishes.

Task differentiation is also evident in the kitchen. Each worker is assigned his own specific tasks and we can see this differentiation in labor as a resource in the language.

(143)   Hock: General chicken, two. //Here.
         Manuel: Not like this. You. ((laughing))
         Wha: Wow very beau::tiful.

         Gloss:
         Hock; Here's two orders of General Chicken.
         Manuel: Not like this. (Don't throw it on the plate) You are crazy.
         Wha: That's a nice move (sarcastic)

In the above exchange, Hock passes Manuel the General Tso Chicken pieces on the plate before Manuel packs it into the styrofoam take-out container. The use of the language is short and task based and we see the workers co-operating with each other to complete tasks.

With reference to the following example (144), we see also see Javy and Hock strengthen their brotherhood prior to Javy's egg in the palm challenge. Javy is in charge of cutting up the carrots and has to pass them to Hock, because the raw carrots are used as a garnish in General Chicken. Hock notices Javy's fingers are stained yellow from cutting up the carrots and expresses his concern by asking *What happen? Your hand? Yellow?*

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(144)   (Javy is playing with an egg between both palms, talking to Hock)
         Javy: No broken want to see? (Hides egg between palms)
         Hock: (notices Javy's finger is stained orange)
                 What happen?
                  Your hand? Yellow?
         Javy: *Zanahoria.*
         Hock: *Zanahoria….* oh *senorita, mamacita.*
         Javy: No broken. (showing him the egg)
         Hock: Broken?
         Javy: I give you twenty dollars.   (SVO)
         Hock: Broken heart, man.
                 Hey no power, here *mucho* power.
                 Broken.
         Javy: No broken.
         Hock: (realizes Res is listening, turns to Res)
                 Hello apa kabar.

         Gloss:
         Javy: Look this egg is not going to break.
         Hock: What happened to your finger?
                 Why is it so yellow?
         Javy: Carrot. (It was because I was slicing carrots and my finger got stained)
         Hock: Carrot. Oh you mean senorita, mamacita. (Does not understand Javy, thinks
                 Javy is talking about senoritas).
         Javy: It's not broken.
         Hock: Is it broken?
         Javy: I will give you twenty dollars. (if the egg is not broken like I told you)
         Hock: My heart is broken.
                 You don't have enough strength to crack the egg. But I have.
                 It will be broken.
         Javy: No, this egg is not broken.
         Hock: Hello, how are you?

Javy reassures Hock that he is fine, and even jokes about his stained fingers as a job hazard by sticking out a finger and calling it a *zanahoria* (carrot), probably due to the similar shape. He is using imagery as a cognitive strategy, by using the similar shape of the carrot and the finger to teach Hock a new Spanish word. Javy is the teacher in this exchange and Hock the student. Hock diligently recites the new word faithfully and groups the new sounds within the new word among other similar Spanish words he has learned, with saying *Zanahoria….* oh *senorita, mamacita.*

Javy as the teacher shows an SVO construction by saying *I give you twenty dollars* because he wishes to emphasize to Hock that he has to trust and believe that the egg is not broken between the palms of his hands. It is also Javy using money to challenge Hock's beliefs.

Hock uses the word *broken* in an imagery to draw the parallel between the egg if it were broken by Javy to his heart, which will be broken. Hock is indirectly blaming and joking with Javy that if his heart is broken, it is definitely due to Javy's breaking the egg, and not promising that it is intact between his palms.

The above exchange shows Javy and Hock's trying to joke in order to cope with work pressures. Hock is also actively learning Spanish with the acquisition of the Spanish word for carrot, even though he does not know exactly what it means as he initially stores it in his memory based on *zanahoria* sounding similar to *senorita* and *mamacita.*

The sudden greeting in Bahasa Indonesia, *Hello apa kabar,* by Hock to the researcher is to show that she is not part of the kitchen staff. She is not encouraged to join in the conversation between the two men, but is indirectly dismissed with a greeting that Javy does not understand.

5.6.3 Time Factors: The Isolation of the Foreign Worker

The time factor works against the workers in both ways. For those who are away in a foreign land for a long time, for example, Mau and Manuel, they face a certain amount of isolation. Mau is still single and does not have a girlfriend. Manuel was involved in a long-distance relationship with his girlfriend back in Mexico. Hock is married but his wife is back in Indonesia and caring for his two little girls. From the kitchen speech data, we see that the kitchen has become a place where work and socialization processes take place. The mixed language used by the participants do not just reflect the work-oriented nature of the discourse, it also combines work and humor. The KP originally intended to function as a communication strategy based on work demands and

turned into a language functioning as a social tool. In the usage of the KP as a common language

for work communication, this is indirectly a socialization process in the kitchen.

The relative isolation each single worker feels is offset by the sense of community in the

kitchen. The meal times are times for resting and interaction. Manuel jokes a lot about women

with the researcher because women are the minority in the kitchen. Notice how he teases and

taunts the researcher with mentioning liking her mother in the following exchange.

(145)   Manuel: Eh, Maria, me gusto tu mama
          Res: But my mama is old.
          Manuel: No problem! (laughing)
          Res: Why no problem?
          Manuel: Problem is your mama no like me.
                     Right? Yeah? (laughing)
          Res: Oh, you are so handsome!
                     My mother will buy you t shirt for you when she comes.
                     Souvenir.
          Manuel: Yeah okay. When coming?
          Res: June. She'll buy present for you.
          Javy: Making susi. (Making sushi)
                     (Observing the sushi chef working)
          Manuel: Fish no cook!

          Gloss:
          Manuel: Hey, Maria, I like your mom.
          Res: But my mother is old. (There's an age gap)
          Manuel: There's no problem!
          Res: Why is there no problem?
          Manuel: There's going to be a problem if your mom doesn't like me
                     (not because of the age gap)
                      Right? Yes?
          Res: Oh, of course, she will like you because you are handsome!
                     My mother will buy you t shirts as souvenirs when she comes
          Manuel: Yes, okay. When is she coming?
          Res: She's coming in June. She will buy presents for you.
          Javy: The chef is making sushi.
          Manuel: The fish is not cooked! (That is raw fish!)

Even though the kitchen workers are isolated in their own speech community within the

kitchen, they also actively isolate other minorities, namely women, from their group. Even

though the workers are isolated in terms of an individual immigrant in the United States, the

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isolation becomes a group phenomenon as the kitchen workers identify themselves as males in the kitchen, and views females as outsiders. Women are viewed in terms of their gender roles, and not as individuals known to the males in the kitchen. The researcher's mother is defined as *Tu mama* (Your mother) by Manuel, and only through her relations with the researcher as her progenitor.

Even the researcher is not spared from the coarse male jokes when Manuel jokingly asks her to go to his home together as a couple in the following exchange (146). Manuel calls the researcher *Maria,* which is his nickname for her. The justification for the selection of *Maria* as a name will be dealt with in the next chapter when the Spanish lexicon is discussed in the mixed language.

(146)   Manuel: Que pasa Maria?
        Javy: Caca
        Res: What is caca?
        Javy: Shit (laughter)
            Servando. Como te llamas? (turning to Wha)
        Wha: Tom Cruise.
        Manuel: Conejo. Coneja.
        Hock: Cuñado
          No sabe
      Manuel: Para mi casa.
            Vamanos, Maria

        Gloss:
        Manuel: What's up, Maria?
        Javy: Shit
        Res: What is caca?
        Javy: It means shit
            Servando. What is your name? (asks Wha)
        Wha: Tom Cruise
        Manuel: Conejo. Coneja.
        Hock: Brother-in-law!
           You don't understand (my joking, saying cuñado)
        Manuel: Go to my house. Let's go, Maria
            (jokes and asks Res to go to his house together with him)

Also, further adding to the male solidarity, Wha mentions that his name is *Tom Cruise* when Javy asks *Como te llamas?* because as a male, he probably views Tom Cruise as representative of Hollywood males he sees on television.

In order to combat isolation as an immigrant and as a group of male immigrants working in the restaurant kitchen, the workers in turn isolate others by reinforcing their group identity as males. Women are seen to be separate from them as a group. In the above conversation (146), Hock also takes the opportunity to learn from auditory representation when Javy mentions *conejo* and *coneja* (male and female rabbits), by declaring *cuñado* (brother-in-law) based on the similarity in pronunciation.

5.6.4 Lack of Input

Due to the lack of formal instruction, the workers have to rely on their own cognitive strategies to solve this lack of rules and knowledge about other languages which are non-native to them. The lack of input is vague because we have to determine what sort of input they need. Is it input in terms of accurate and targetlike forms?

Actually the problem is not the lack of input, there are vocabulary items circulating around in the kitchen speech, but because they are limited to certain salient forms which keep surfacing in the speech, they also acquire different functions. The workers keep recycling the same words, but each with a different nuance based on the context.

One of the frequent phrases is *para casa* (go home) which has taken on many meanings. It can mean literally *go home* as a declaration, in (147) when Wha is announcing that he is leaving the restaurant to go home. *Para casa* can also mean the boss telling the worker to *para casa*, which means he is being fired since he is asked to go home for good, in example (148).

(147)   (kitchen is preparing to close)
        Wha: Hey basura, arroz.
        Javy: Mañana
        Wha: <u>Para casa</u>
        Javy: Todo la chingar.

        Gloss:
        Wha: Hey, please throw this old rice into the trash can.
        Javy: Tomorrow. (I will do it tomorrow)
        Wha: I am going home.
        Javy: Everything is screwed up!

(148)   (Wha is dancing to music)
        Hock: One more time, man.
              (Music playing in background from kitchen radio)
              (Wha continues dancing)
        Javy: Maricón.
              Come on maricón. Come on man.
              Come on.
            (Laughter from all)
              Later boss tell you <u>para casa.</u>
        Wha: No, where I go mucho trabajo.
        Hock: One more time, man.

        Gloss:
        Hock: Dance for us one more time.
        Javy: Faggot.
            Come on faggot. Come on, man.
            Come on.
            (Laughter from all)
        Javy: (If you dance like this) The boss might tell you to go home/quit your job.
        Wha: No, I will find work wherever I go/There are a lot of jobs out there for me.
        Hock: Dance for us one more time.

    Para casa can also mean *get lost* or *go to hell*, if the speaker is irritated with the addressee as

seen in the following examples (149) and (150). In example (149) Mau issues *No, you para casa*

as a warning to Javy to tell him to get lost and not to touch his money.

(149)   (Javy and Mau in the kitchen)
                Javy: New Year, Chinese, ah. (seeing Mau put away red packet)
                Mau: Mucho dinero. Inside. (holds up red packet)
                Javy: Para mi.
                Mau: No, you <u>para casa.</u>

                Gloss:
                Javy: It's Chinese New Year.
                Mau: I have a lot of money, it's inside the red packet.
                Javy: For me/Give it to me.
                Mau: Not for you. You go home/get lost (Don't touch my money)

Javy's use of *para casa* in (150) is an expression of irritation towards Hock, who is standing in

the way, as Mau is looking for plastic containers. Javy commands Hock to move away from the

shelf holding the containers, so that Javy and Mau can reach them.

(150)   Javy: Yeah maricón no bueno.
                  No cuñado, <u>para la casa</u> (to Hock)
         Mau: Plastic, plastic (asking for plastic containers)
         Javy: Quatro? (looking for the containers)

         Gloss:
         Javy: Yes, faggots are no good.
             No, brother-in-law you go home/go to hell/mind your own business (to Hock)
         Mau: Give me the plastic containers.
             Javy: Four?

Para (mi) casa can even mean let us go home together, to my house, as an indecent proposal

by Manuel to the researcher in (151).

(151)   Manuel: <u>Para mi casa</u>.
                  Vamanos, Maria

         Gloss:
         Manuel: Go to my house.
                 Let's go, Maria
                 (jokes and asks Res to go to his house together with him)

Stress takes the place of two forms. Firstly, the work pressures create a stressful environment and the workers have to joke and laugh whenever they can during their breaks in order to cope with the tension. The workers have to deal with coming to the United States, and also face separation anxiety from their families. Secondly, stress takes the form of the researcher informing them that they will be interviewed to ask about their favorite actresses and holiday places.

The kitchen worker is a model example for using language to cope with stress. As a prototype of the working class in which immigrants are assigned to jobs which no average white American would take up, the kitchen worker is a survivor. Javy is the bastion of strength and shows the resilience of the human spirit in face of all difficulties. He is the role-model migrant worker and is not afraid to share his experiences with others. Javy is the story-teller in the kitchen as he mesmerizes the researcher and his co-worker Kim with the heroic epic of how he walked to the United States from Mexico, walking in the heat through the desert and avoiding capture by the immigration authorities.

(152)   (Javy and Kim are discussing Javy's walk across the Mexican border to USA)
        Javy: Walk to America from Mexico. Dos noches. Caminando.
        Kim: No sleeping ah. The police catch you?
        Javy: From Vera Cruz, same same.
            (pointing to Manuel)
            Mucho calore. No stop.
        Res: Did the policemen come after you?
        Javy: Inside van. No sound.
        Kim: In desert yah.

        Gloss:
        Javy: I walked to America from Mexico. It was for two nights. I was walking.
        Kim: You didn't sleep. Did the police catch you?
        Javy: (Manuel) is from Vera Cruz, like me.
            It was very hot. I didn't stop.
        Res: Did the policemen come after you?
        Javy: We hid in the van. We didn't make a sound.
        Kim: You were in the desert.

Hock also shows his ability to cope with his family being so far away even when he laments that he cannot send flowers to his wife in Indonesia on Valentine's Day as she is too far away. He also later jokes about how he is coping with loneliness with the suggestion of an imaginary "girlfriend" by saying *I buy for girlfriend.*

(153)   (talking about Valentine's Day)
        Res: Do you buy flowers for your wife?
        Hock: Flowers. Flowers (thinking)
                Jauh lah.
        Res: (turning to Kim)
                What is jauh?
        Kim: Too far lah.
        Hock: I buy for girlfriend.
        Res: Do you have a girlfriend?
        Hock: No. No money.
                 Got money, two can, yeah.
        Res: Hey, Muslims can have up to four right?
        Hock: Muslim good ah!

         Gloss:
         Res: Do you buy flowers for your wife?
         Hock: Flowers. Flowers (thinking)
                (My wife is too) far away.
         Res: What is the meaning of *jauh*? (Jauh=far in Bahasa Indonesia)
         Kim: It means too far, I am telling you.
         Hock: I buy for my girlfriend.
         Res: Do you have a girlfriend?
         Hock: No. I don't have money (to have a girlfriend)
                If I got money, I can have two (one wife and one girlfriend), yeah.
         Res: Hey, Muslims can have up to four right?
         Hock: It's good to be Muslim then!

The stress induced by the interviews with the researcher causes them to monitor their speech and produce SVO forms. This is obvious in Javy's very careful SVO structured replies in the interviews shown in (154), compared to the topic prominent exchanges in the kitchen with the cooks (examples 155 to 157). It could be also due to the fact that when Javy is speaking with the Chinese cooks that he is working at the same time, so he has to speak to them in such a way that is easy to understand. When Javy is in a hurry to wheel the trashcan to the dumpster, arrange clean dishes on the racks and eat dinner, he has to make his utterances short and to the point.

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(154)   (Res and Javy in interview)
      Res: Why do you like her?
            (asking Javy about his favorite actress, Catherine Zeta-Jones)
      Javy: <u>I like her face.</u> (SVO)

      Res: What do you do during your holidays?
      Javy: <u>Sleep. I want sleep</u>. (SVO)
            <u>I go to the mall, shopping.</u> (SVO)

      Res: Which is the one you hate? You don't like?
      Javy: <u>I don't like some food, eh…</u>(SVO)
      Res: What are the things you like about the US?
      Javy: <u>I like America, everything</u>. (SVO)
      Res: What are some of the things you don't like?
      Javy: (laughs) <u>I don't like apartment. I need a house is better.</u> (SVO)
      Res: Where do you usually go for vacations in the US?
      Javy: <u>I like eh Miami. </u>(SVO)

(155)   (Javy and Mau in kitchen)
            (Javy is on his way to the dumpster wheeling out the trash can,
            Mau is somewhat in the way)
      Javy: <u>Go away you</u>. (Topic prominent)
      Mau: Basura? Mucho bueno, ah.
            Good, very good.

      Gloss:
      Javy: Please get out of my way
      Mau: Oh you are going to dump the trash.
            That's good.

(156)   ((pointing to plates in the dirty dishes rack))
      Javy: Why mix? Aaaah…you.
      Wha: You (.) don't know how.
      Javy: <u>Qu::ickly, you.</u> (Topic prominent)

      Gloss:
      Javy: Why did you mix the dishes up?
      Wha: It's you who does not know how to organize them.
      Javy: Get out of my way.

(157)   Mau: Comer, comer.
         Javy: <u>Today, pollo, ah</u>. (Topic prominent)

      Gloss:
      Mau: Eat, eat (Let's eat!)
      Javy: Today there's chicken.

5.6.7 The Kitchen Speech: The Solution

All the above working conditions trigger off the problem-solving capabilities in the migrant worker. They need to overcome the comparative disadvantageous conditions with certain strategies to help them cope with the apparent lack of language. Is there a problem with the nature of the environment, in which the kitchen workers are relatively isolated and not exposed to the outside world? Being enclosed within the kitchen which is not the exactly the most glamorous part of the restaurant also adds to the stress levels of the workers.

The kitchen workers do not view it as a problem, in fact the environment is the main factor which triggers off this communication need. And in the act of simply communicating through language, the kitchen workers solve the problems associated with work pressures and isolation.

Originally back in Chapter Three where features of the KP are discussed, we see a KP at work with minimal syntax and categorized the features as representing lack of articles, lack of prepositions and so on. However, in this section, we see the kitchen speech from the point of the users, they do not see the lack of certain grammatical structures as a language problem, or the environment as a problem. The features of the KP are in fact helping them overcome the lack of time and the pressures of using short utterances in topic chains to accomplish their tasks.

5.7 Profile of the Migrant Worker in the Kitchen

The problem solver in the kitchen is a speaker of the KP, using language to solve problems at work. He is male and can range from 30 to 50 years of age and is an immigrant in the United States. Chances are that he has entered the United States illegally and has avoided capture by the relevant authorities for a number of years.

He has a number of peculiar habits which can cover drinking while working, smoking and also talking about *mamacitas* (hot chicks). One of the main striking characteristics of the problem-

solver in the kitchen is that there are always problems to be solved and he never gives up in the face of challenges. Tasks that demand completion is one problem which is work related and dependent on how fast the problem-solver can handle them.

The problem-solver in the kitchen is also a polyglot, and is the native speaker of his own language and possibly dialect, as well as incomplete knowledge of some nouns and verbs from the native languages of his co-workers in the kitchen. He has the most amazing ability to form topic chains in his mind and produce topic prominent utterances which are easily understood by his co-workers.

The following sub-sections will examine the sub-types belonging under the problem-solver category and explain why they are successfully using their cognitive strategies to overcome barriers to communication. O'Malley's (1985) cognitive strategies from the previous Table 5.1 is interpreted through the kitchen worker's personalities. Their individual personalities in the next section provide an insight into how they use and learn language informally.

5.7.1 The Multi-tasker

The multi-tasker is the consummate linguist and co-worker. He is interested in his work even though he sometimes gets a little carried away by jokes. The multitasker can effectively joke using a variety of topic prominent forms, and yet be cutting up carrots or onions, smoking, and listening to the kitchen radio at the same time.

The multi-tasker also functions as an informal language teacher without proper educational qualifications. For example, the researcher asks Manuel to explain *ahogarse*, the Spanish word found on the bucket in the following exchange. Manuel uses the strategy of recombination when he explains the meaning via topic chains. He also uses the causal relation to explain that drowning causes death. The using of the imagery of drinking or taking in too much water helps

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Manuel to explain the concept of drowning to the researcher. This is due to the bucket also having a picture of a child falling into the water, so Manuel draws on it to help explain the meaning of *ahogarse.*

(158)　Res: What is written on this bucket?
　　　　　What is the meaning of *ahogarse*?
　　　　　(Examines plastic bucket used to store soy sauce, with warning printed outside, keep children away to avoid drowning in liquid)
　　Manuel: Oh, mucho agua tomar.
　　　　　Die.

　Gloss:
　Res: What is written on this bucket?
　　　　What is the meaning of *ahogarse*?
　　　　(Examines plastic bucket used to store soy sauce, with warning printed outside, keep children away to avoid drowning in liquid)
　Manuel: Oh, it means to take in too much water (drown).
　　　　　Death.

Manuel, in his explaining the meaning of drowning to the researcher, is displaying multi-tasking abilities. He is explaining, using the picture on the bucket as imagery, teaching and giving an example of causal relationships, using the taking in of too much water as a cause of death.

Wha, one of the Chinese cooks, is also another consummate multi-tasker because he is the unofficial clown and *maricón* (faggot) in the group. His ability to introduce humor in conversations shows his inherent strength as an overcoming stress by making jokes with his limited language ability. He loves to listen to the radio in the kitchen, dance and cook at the same time, while joking with his co-workers. Wha is the most outgoing and cheerful of all the cooks, and maintains a sunny optimism. Wha cheerfully says *No, where I go mucho trabajo* even when Javy warns that the boss might fire him for clowning around too much in the kitchen.

(159)   (Wha is dancing to music)
    Hock: One more time, man.
        (Music playing in background from kitchen radio)
        (Wha continues dancing)
  Javy: Maricón.
      Come on maricón. Come on man.
      Come on.
     (Laughter from all)

  Javy: Later boss tell you para casa.
  Wha: <u>No, where I go mucho trabajo</u>.
  Hock: One more time, man.

  Gloss:
  Hock: Dance for us one more time.
  Javy: Faggot.
     Come on faggot. Come on, man.
     Come on.
     (Laughter from all)
  Javy: (If you dance like this) The boss might tell you to go home/quit your job.
  Wha: No, I will find work wherever I go/There are a lot of jobs out there for me.
  Hock: Dance for us one more time.

The cooks are using language to accomplish their kitchen tasks as well as to accomplish linguistic tasks such as teaching or explaining to their co-workers the meaning of new words. Despite their very stressful work schedules, they are still cheerful and using language to joke and while away the time.

All of this adds in to the male bonding between the staff in the kitchen. They work, learn language, tease each other and also. The language is used in speech acts in which the workers explain, threaten, joke and do things with their individual utterances.

5.7.2 The Risk-taker

This fits the character profiling under Rubin's term, "a good language learner" (1975). They are good guessers and have a strong desire to communicate. They can be garrulous and have a great sense of humor. They are not afraid to make mistakes in language use even though many times they can come across as being very vulgar. Risk-takers are willing to use what knowledge they have of the target language in order to create novel utterances (Beebe, 1983).

The risk-taker is usually exemplified by crass jokes and very strange linguistic hybrids and approximations in language. Hock's exchange with Javy show that he is approximating the sound *of zanahoria* in Spanish to *senorita* and *mamacita* by retaining the auditory representation of the sound of *zanahoria* to being similar to *senorita* and *mamacita.* Hock probably groups the words together based on how it initially sounds to him, in terms of sounding like four syllables. The mention of *senorita* and *mamacita* show that he recognizes them as being somewhat similar in pronunciation with the new word *zanahoria* (carrot).

(160)   Javy: *Zanahoria.*
         Hock*: Zanahoria*…. oh *senorita*, *mamacita.*

         Gloss:
         Javy: Carrot. (It was because I was slicing carrots and my finger got stained)
         Hock: Carrot. Oh you mean senorita, mamacita.

Hock is also quite loud and dramatic in terms of using the terms he has learned from his Spanish-speaking co-workers. One of his favorite words seem to be *mamacita.* In the following example when he encourages Javy to speak, he is animated and excited when he repeats the Bahasa-Indonesian verb *cakap* (talk) four times in example (161).

(161)   (teasing Javy in a high-pitched voice)
    Hock: Cakap, cakap, cakap, cakap. Punya, oh!
           Wah, mamacita. Punya! (laughs)
    Javy: Oh, mamacita.

    Gloss:
    Hock: Talk, talk, talk, talk. There is (something). Oh.!
           Wah, there is a mamacita.
    Javy: Oh, you mean mamacita.

Hock is quite bold as he manages to speak to Javy in whatever Spanish he knows, in an effort

to match Javy's Spanish in the conversation (162). He counters Javy's saying that he (Hock) eats

a lot (*You comer mucho*) by replying in Spanish to the best of his ability. Javy speaks in simple

uninflected Spanish with the use of base forms such as *comer* and *sabe* in order for Hock to

understand him.

(162)   Hock: Hello *ni hao ma hao bu hao*?
              (Laughter)
              Manana hey cuñado..
              No good man.
              Sawe no sawe? (pronounces saber as sawe with a "w")
         Javy: Sabe.
              Poquito sabe.
         Hock: Mucho paso, mucho comer, cuñado.
         Javy: You comer mucho.
         Hock: No, me already comer, cuñado.
               You no comer cuñado.

         Gloss:
         Hock: Hello how are you? (in Mandarin-Chinese)
               (Laughter)
               Tomorrow, hey brother-in-law!
               This is not good. (pointing at the food for staff dinner)
               Do you know? Or don't you?
          Javy: Yes I know. A little bit.
          Hock: There is a lot happening.
                You eat a lot, brother-in-law.
          Javy: It's you who is eating a whole lot!
          Hock: No, I have eaten, brother-in-law.
                You have not eaten yet, brother-in-law.
                (So that's why you are eating a lot)

Hock's creating *hallelujah money* to describe the money that he saw on the kitchen counter one Sunday evening is indicative of his risk-taking behavior by compounding English words. He is risking looking foolish to Javy and Wha by making a joke with a new compound, to indicate the money is for a church offering.

(163)   (Hock notices some dollar notes on the kitchen counter, on a Sunday evening)
    Hock: Wah, mucho dinero! <u>Hallelujah money</u>, cuñado
    Wha: Sex lah. What hallelujah money.
    Javy: Maricon. Today you go church.

    Gloss:
    Hock: Wow, that's a lot of money. It's money for the church offering, brother-in-law.
    Wha: It's money to pay for sex. (for hookers). This is not hallelujah money.
    Javy: Faggot! (Why are you talking about sex/paying hookers?)
        You better go to church and repent/You better go to church and give them the
        offering.

5.7.3 The Economist

The economist is the quintessential minimalist. The utterances are short and to the point. They are specific and are task oriented. Due to time constraints, the economist gets straight to the point and accomplishes the task. The economist maximizes insufficient linguistic resources by using cognitive strategies to overcome this shortage.

The issue of Chinese cooks using transfer from Mandarin Chinese and the Cantonese dialects also supports the fact that transfer can be used as a problem-solving strategy when they have insufficient resources. The issue of transfer from the point of the Chinese cooks does not cause the immediate contact environment reasoning to fall part. Since the issue of power and hierarchy arises because of the Chinese cooks being in power, the other non-Chinese workers use the following two ways to cope, they problem-solve by using topic prominent strategies and in using the topic-prominent strategies, they further re-enforce the structures as salient and natural. The following example shows Mau as the economist prototype at work. He is giving Javy the

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Mexican worker instructions to hand him the cleaver in three words, *This para mi*. Javy answers

him with the affirmative *Uh* and completes the task.

(164)   ((addressing Javy, pointing to cleaver))
       Mau: This (.) *para mi*.
       Javy: Uh. ((hands him the cleaver))

       Gloss:
       Mau: Please hand me this (the cleaver)

(165)   Mau: Go home, no more tickets.
       Manuel: *Adios.*

       Gloss:
       Mau: Go home now as there are no more tickets.
       Manuel: Good-bye.

   The economist is also quite withdrawn, and not ready to socialize unless absolutely

necessary. This might have an impact on his language use and also indirectly influence the

language of his co-workers. Javy and Manuel are also responding to this business-like and

minimalist attitude of the economist, and do not have much to respond other than agreement and

leave-taking words in examples (164) and (165) in the form of *Uh* and *Adios*.

5.7.4 The Controller

   The controller is the kitchen worker who engages in commands ordering others about.

Frequently he uses language to demand money, other material goods from his co-workers, and

orders people around.

   The controller also sometimes has the habit of checking on the tasks of other co-workers in

order to confirm they are taking their work seriously. He also utilizes questions to confirm that

his utterances are understood by his addressee. Javy and Mau are both displaying control freak

behavior by trying to command the other to do something.

Javy is using translation from his native language Spanish when he says *para mi*, while

Mau is using the target language reference materials provided by Javy when he says *No, you*

para casa. Both of them are trying to wrestle for control of the situation, commanding each other

to do something.

(166)   (Javy and Mau in the kitchen)
    Javy: New Year, Chinese, ah. (seeing Mau put away a red packet)
    Mau: Mucho dinero. Inside. (holds up red packet)
    Javy: Para mi.   (command)
    Mau: No, you para casa.   (command)

    Gloss:
    Javy: It's Chinese New Year.
    Mau: I have a lot of money, it's inside the red packet.
    Javy: For me/Give it to me.
    Mau: Not for you. You go home/get lost (Don't touch my money)

Javy commands Hock to talk when he challenges Hock with the fact that since Hock knows

a lot, Hock should speak. He encourages Hock to speak with the command *Hablar hablar*

qualifying his command with the reason that since Hock knows so much, he should be speaking.

(167)   Wha: Mike Tyson, Mike Tyson (seeing Hock showing some muscles)
            Amigo,maybe mañana.
            (laughter)
        Hock: Thank you senor
        Javy: Hablar hablar. You mucho sabe hablar. (command)

        Gloss:
        Wha: He looks like Mike Tyson!
             My friend, maybe tomorrow.
             (I'm not sure what Wha means by this)
             (laughter)
         Hock: Thank you mister.
         Javy: Please talk! You know a lot, so talk!

5.8 Gross Linguistic Output: Processes and Products

   The processes whereby the kitchen workers interact involve cognitive strategies. The topic

chain is still functioning on a pragmatic level, because the function is to use language to explain

as shown in the following table, which relates the function to the form, which is topic chains.

The table below shows the relationship between the different cognitive strategies that we have

previously discussed in Section 5.5, and ties in to the conclusion that in the usage of the

strategies to fulfill the pragmatic functions of commanding and explaining, the eventual form

shows up as topic chains.

Table 5.2 Cognitive Strategies Produce Topic Chains

TYPE OF STRATEGY	FUNCTIONS	TOPIC CHAINS
Translation (Using first language as understanding and/or producing the second language)	Command	*Hablar hablar.* *You mucho sabe, hablar* (Javy commanding Hock to speak. Uses reduplication borrowed from Bahasa Indonesia)
Repetition (Imitating a language model)	Command	*Cakap cakap cakap cakap* (Hock imitating and reduplicating Bahasa Indonesia command forms urging Javy to talk)
Resourcing (Using target language reference materials)	Command	*This, para mi* (Mau uses Spanish as target, instructing Javy)
Imagery (Relating information to visual concepts)	Explanation	*Mucho agua tomar.Die* (Manuel explaining *ahogarse* "drown" to researcher)

5.9 Rise of New Hybrids: Problem Solved?

With the examination of environment in the kitchen and the type of interaction between the migrant workers in the Chinese kitchen, it all supports the fact that the working environment presents a set of problems for successful language acquisition. However, it is not the environment being a problem in itself as an obstacle to language learning, but how the kitchen workers react to the environment. The kitchen workers are survivors in that they have overcome the environment, and have succeeded in the creation of the "kitchen pidgin" in face of impoverished input, lack of correction and the relative isolation of the kitchen from the rest of the restaurant. It is in the problem-solving strategies which the workers use to communicate with one another that solve the issue of the lack of a common native language in the kitchen between the different groups.

5.9.1 Hybrids: Model Worker and Language Learner

The kitchen workers exemplify the model foreign worker and successful language learner as a new emerging hybrid. They are the hardworking immigrants in the United States who have overcome the isolation from the mainstream white majority, and difficult working conditions to make a better life for themselves. They are willing to put in hard work and be proud of what they do, despite the fact that they are not proficient speakers of English to the outside world. Mau cannot read English but he is a competent chef and manages the kitchen with great efficiency. The lack of proficiency in English does not make them deficient in any way as being able to cope with work demands. The lack of a common native language is by no means a bad reflection of their innate problem-solving abilities and their emergence as survivors in the working world represented by the kitchen.

The kitchen speech is a wonderful linguistic hybrid which has mixed grammatical features like preverbal negation from Spanish and Mandarin-Chinese, and creative compounds such as *gambaron*, *hallelujah money* and *la calle* (spicy hot wings in Cantonese is *Lat Kai Yik*).

5.9.2 Problem Solving: A Survival Strategy

This chapter has provided an insider's view to the kitchen speech as being colorful and creative, because it emerged out of the unorthodox informal classroom in which the participants interact. Both the speakers and kitchen speech show the many facets representing the different roles between the individual speakers and the tasks accomplished with the use of language. Firstly, the speakers engage in unconventional teacher and student discourse in which they learn each others language. Lack of input is not a problem, because whatever is salient to them and picked up from the environment is recycled, for example, the excessive use of *mucho* and *para casa* from Spanish. Secondly, the speaker are also co-workers who have a common mission in the kitchen. They use the kitchen speech in trying to get tasks completed for example, throwing the trash and packing the delivery orders. Thirdly, the socialization through the working "pidgin" speech is represented in the form of sarcasm, irony and jokes between the workers in the kitchen.

In the next chapter, the interaction between the workers and the evolution of the kitchen speech will be evaluated in terms of Darwin's ideas of evolution and survival of the fittest. Chapter Six is represents the kitchen workers as overcoming the constraints imposed upon them by the environment and emerging as challengers and survivors. The kitchen speech is a hardy hybrid and the strongest of the linguistic mongrels, not bred for its external form or looks, but for its main function, which is to communicate efficiently despite work pressures in the kitchen.

Chapter Six

Linguistic Darwinism: Evolution of the Pidgin

6.1 Introduction

Naturally occurring pidgins in the real world can be said to reflect linguistic Darwinism in their formation and context of usage. In *The Origin of the Species*, the Darwinian Theory of Evolution relates the conditions for evolution, and continued change and adaptation of the species to the environment (Darwin, 1859). Likewise, pidgin languages are also shaped by the environment as they change and evolve to meet the needs of the speakers. To understand why certain features are found in a pidgin or creole, we must first examine the relationship between the environment in which it occurs and the nature of the pidgin features themselves. The nature of the language contact situation is largely responsible for the features found in the KP, and not some pre-disposed unmarked default setting as determined by Bickerton (1981:5, 1984:184). Likewise, Darwin explains that variation in the same species is due to the different climates and conditions. This variation is not due to the random laws of nature. In the editor's introduction, he questions:

"Why, in the Galapagos islands did the finches and the giant tortoises show slight variations from island to island, so that the local inhabitants could always tell from which island a tortoise had come?" (27).

The cause of such variability is the different living conditions that have shaped the differences. This is in contrast to Bickerton's claim that the genetic bioprogram within the brain endows children who speak creoles with the knowledge of how grammatical structures are formed (1984:184).

In this chapter, the evolution of the kitchen pidgin in this study will be discussed in relation to the evolution of the species, and the concepts of variation and hybridism in mixed languages explored and explained using Darwin's theories. The reason why Darwin's theories are used is to emphasize the role of the environment in the shaping of linguistic features. In addition, the role of the participants interacting with the dynamics of language interaction thru communication strategies produce and in turn further reinforce the pidgin features.

6.2 The Evolutionary Continuum: Concept of Stages

Pidgins are on the linguistic continuum between basic jargon and well-developed Creoles. The jargon stage is simply a collection of basic words and terms used for very rudimentary purposes, for example, bartering. It may consist of simple jargon like *Give me this*, *How much*, and other words related to trade or exchange. It is generally unstable and chaotic, with no rules or standard system. A pidgin is a slightly more expanded system with strings of jargon. For example, in the KP, we see instances of jargon from Spanish involving food items in the kitchen, like *cebolla* (onion), *zanahoria* (carrot), *camarón* (shrimp) and *pollo* (chicken). Initially, the KP might have started out with just lexical jargon and a lot of gestures such as pointing at food items and kitchen utensils, but later acquiring a simple grammatical structure to link all of these words together as the workers get more familiar with each other's languages and the rules of how the languages operate.

Similarly, in Darwin's Theory of Evolution, more simple organisms evolve to become more complex in nature. This change is due to the organism adapting to the surroundings and changing in order to be more suited in their natural habitat. The organisms co-adapt to each other as well as to the physical conditions of life (Darwin, 67). In the KP, what started out as simple jargon

initially will acquire more grammatical structure as the language contact and level of familiarity and solidarity between the kitchen workers increase. The features of the KP will contain mixed features from the native languages of the workers, as well as from the accommodation strategies used by the participants in the process of negotiating meaning. The kitchen workers co-adapt to their co-workers speech features and styles just like the organisms in nature strive to get along with each other and their surroundings.

This is a very powerful concept of change in the midst of the struggle to survive. As it is the case with organisms in the environment, they take on non-native characteristics in order to adapt. Similarly, with the kitchen speech due to the process of mixing and co-adaptation, the Spanish-speaking Javy takes on the non-native *ah* as a pragmatic ending, which he has heard from the Chinese cooks and Bahasa-Indonesian-speaking Hock. Mau also shows that he has acquired uninflected verb forms in Spanish.

(168)   Mau: Comer, Comer
        Javy: <u>Today, pollo, ah.</u>

        Gloss:
        Mau: Eat, eat (Let's eat)
        Javy: Today, there's chicken.

6.3 Unstable Systems: Chaos Before Order

This kitchen pidgin has an unstable system because there is no definite one-to-one correlation between form and function. Recently coined, paradigmatic univocity does not exist in this unstable kitchen pidgin. Paradigmatic univocity is a principle which refers to "cases in which a stable relationship exists between form and meaning" (Fernandez Bell and Gilbert, 2003). For example, in standard Swahili, prefixes and infixes are used to express the subject and object of the verb. The language gets significantly reduced in form and function the further away one

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travels from the East African coast since it is used by many second language speakers as a trade language (Fernandez Bell and Gilbert, 2003). The more regular and standardized a pidgin becomes, it eventually reaches the status of being a creole, when it finally acquires native speakers.

The KP in this study is still evolving and unstable as we see that some forms do not have a one-to-one correspondence with intended meaning. There is some degree of variation that the speakers engage in, for example the use of *mucho* and *muy* without knowing that these intensifiers work with nouns and adjectives respectively. This observation is tabulated in the following Table 6.1.

Table 6.1   Stages of Interlanguage Variation in KP

Initial Stage	*mucho* for all forms
Free Variation Stage	*mucho* and *muy* for all forms
Systematic Variation Stage	*mucho* for nouns *muy* for adjectives
Categorical Use Stage	*mucho* for nouns (exclamations) *muy* for reply to greeting *muy bien*

6.3.1   Linguistic Mongrels and Hybridization

Language mixing in pidgin evolution occurs when the pidgin acquires features from all possible sources, the superstrate and substrate languages, interlanguage systems of the speakers, as well as from accommodation strategies used between the speakers. The above sources are by no means an exhaustive list, but a sampling of the possible sources which contribute to the KP.

The mixed language that results from this hybridization can completely differ from the original parent languages which have contributed to the input features. However, as this is still an unstable pidgin as we have already discussed previously in Chapter Three when we discussed the grammar of the kitchen speech , the pidgin features can still be traced back to the original native languages spoken by the speakers, for example, the reduplication in Mau's speech can be traced back to Mandarin Chinese and Cantonese. It is only when it completely creolizes and acquires native speakers that the KP will be very different from the parent stock of languages.

Darwin differentiates between variants and hybrids in his theory of hybridization. Variants are species which display variation in characteristics in the first generation while hybrids are those born to successive generations displaying standardized variation (285).

This analogy can be extended to the KP, because the KP is a variation, a first generation pidgin born out of the different native languages of the participants. It is also unstable. If it were to creolize, then it would be a hybrid, in the Darwinist sense, since it would display standardized variation from the original parent stock languages, and perhaps come to a point where some of the features cannot be identified as coming from the original superstrate and substrate languages.

Table 6.2 Darwin and Pidgin/Creole Genesis Analogy

DARWIN'S VARIATION/HYBRIDIZATION	PIDGIN/CREOLE GENESIS
First Generation Variants	Pidgin (unstable, showing variation) Eg. Kitchen pidgin
Standardized Hybrids	Creoles (stable, standardized) Eg. Hawaiian Creole English

In the case of language mixing, there is some concern over the level of mixing. According to the Mendelian concept of particulate inheritance in which genetics determine the nature of the offspring, the genes are transmitted intact (47). This would mean that if this theory of particulate inheritance is applied to the KP, the KP features would show clearly that they are from a certain parent stock of languages. However, effects due to the environment would be significant and cannot be discounted because even though the parental genes are intact, the offspring languages show variation. Therefore it is wise to maintain a balance between what is transmitted intact from the parent stock or sources, and also what affects them in terms of external factors which can cause changes and mutations. However, even though it might be genetically possible in flora and fauna, the similarities stop here. Due to the impoverished input and the restricted usage, these environmental factors do cause perfect natural native languages to come to vary and form hybrids.

With respect to the innatist stance, the participants' level of intellect would affect the nature of language learning, and not the genetic endowment of linguistic structures. The differentiation between the kitchen speech and the native languages occur because of the "cross-breeding" due to the interaction between the participants. But it is dependent on the level of intelligence and the ability to problem solve by using language strategies given the limited input in the restaurant kitchen.

6.3.2 Simplicity Versus Simplification

An important distinction needs to be made between the notions of *simplicity* and *simplification* as characteristics of pidgin speech. Firstly, we often hear of pidgins being described as simple codes because of the comparison to more complex target languages that have

relatively developed morphological and syntactic systems, for example, the English language with all its inflections for tenses and plurals. Singapore Colloquial English (SCE) seems syntactically simple because it lacks the inflections for tenses. Comparison of these following examples show that tenses are lexically encoded within the phrase, *last night*, showing that the past tense inflection is actually not needed, as *last night* already carries with it the presupposition that it refers to action completed in the past.

(169)   English: Last night, he walked home.
          Singlish: Last night, he walk home.

          Gloss:
          English: Last night, he <u>walked </u>home.
                    (+ed past tense inflection)
          Singlish: <u>Last night</u>, he walk home
                      (temporal adverb)

This apparent simplicity is attributed to the alleged lack of grammar (Romaine, 1988: 31). However, this is deceptive and misleading because the widely held assumption that the lack of grammar is the yardstick for judging how complex a language proves to be highly inaccurate. For example, Mandarin Chinese seems apparently simple because of its lack of inflections, tense, aspect and mood in terms of morphology, but it is complex in other linguistics properties. Just simply dismissing pidgins as simple codes is not an objective linguistic observation, as pidgins need to be evaluated as systems with their own complexities, independent of whatever target language the researcher is comparing them to.

Thus, simplicity is just a cover term to describe the features of pidgins as a whole, when compared to languages which have more developed morphology and grammar, they are essentially simple in nature because pidgins do not have a highly evolved grammatical system. We have to think of descriptive simplicity as only applicable in attempting to characterize superficial features of pidgin languages.

Apparent simplicity in syntactic structures, or more aptly put, the lack of complex syntactic structures like inflections for tenses, mood and aspect does not limit a pidgin's potential to express meaning.

There is also the problem of defining what constitutes *simplicity* whether it is just a description of the apparent lack of grammatical structures in a language, or whether it is simplicity in terms of the level suited to basic communicative functions (Mühlhäusler, 1997: 229). At best, if only structural comparisons are needed, then the term *simplicity* might be just superficially appropriate in characterizing the lack of grammatical structures. However, in terms of learnability and the ease of communication with the use of pidgin English, *simplicity* points to the pragmatic efficiency and linguistic economies for the speakers (Hymes, 1971:72). There is less processing load because extraneous grammatical inflections such as tenses and plural forms are eliminated.

In terms of pragmatic efficiency, the topic chain model represents that this kitchen pidgin under study maximizes the potential to communicate efficiently as it is a functional framework. The topic chain structures efficiently breaks down the longer sentences in English into Tp and Tp1 components with the elimination of unnecessary linking words to show the connections between the different parts of the sentence, for example, *because* and *but* is omitted in the following utterances. The A and B labels indicate the topic and comment portions respectively in the following example sentences from the KP.

(170)   Mau: Go home. No more tickets.
          (A)   (B)

    Gloss:
    Go home (because) there are no more tickets.
    (Missing the conjunction *because*)
   (Semantic relation, cause and effect, because of B, A is possible)

(171) Neu: Yes. All black. Mine plastic.
                 (A)   (B)

   Gloss:
   All of them (are) black. Mine (is) plastic.
  (Missing the conjunction *but*)
  (Semantic relation, property of B contradicts A)

On the other hand, *simplification* is the linguistic concept that a pidgin goes through changes along the continuum, it becomes more and more standard in terms of establishing more regularities in its structure. To relate back to the concept of stages in the pidgin evolution analogy, jargon only exists as lexical exchanges in the form of single words, and thus does not need much structure for communication. However as pidgins expand, more new words and structures are acquired, so the pidgin becomes more rule-governed and regular as a system. This developmental continuum is shown in the table below. The relationship between simplification and simplicity is that of process and final product. A pidgin undergoes the process of simplification as the topic prominent structures become more standard as it is used over and over again in the KP. In time to come the product is that of topic prominent features in the KP.

Table 6.3 The Pidgin and Creole Continuum (Romaine, 1988)

Jargon	Maximally impoverished	Minimally simple
	Kitchen Pidgin (KP)	
Stable pidgin		
Expanded pidgin		
Creole	Fully expanded	Maximally simple (regular)

With reference to the above table, I would place the KP between the stage of jargon and a stable pidgin, as it is still an unstable pidgin and not fully expanded.

Simplicity and simplification can also exist together without conflict. For example, in SCE, the word *oredi* (already) is used to denote past tense, for example in the following Singlish examples. It is simple because *oredi* can be attached at the end to show the completed action in the past, no matter whether the verb is in the present to the past tense. It is also standardized in its usage because if used with a present tense verb, it simply modifies the whole sentence and makes it in the past tense, shown in example (172a). If used with a past tense verb, it can also indicate slight irritation on the part of the speaker, shown in example (172b).

(172a)   He eat oredi.

    Gloss:
    He ate.
    (He ate his dinner, *oredi* indicates temporal adverb carrying the past tense)

(172b)   He ate oredi.

    Gloss:
    He ate already.
    (He ate his dinner already, I am telling you)

6.4   Function Drives Form: The Evolutionary Motivation

In the evolution process, Darwin observed that the Galapagos finches displayed variation in the size of their beaks, and he attributed this phenomenon to function driving this change in form. Some birds had bigger beaks because they were eating the bigger nuts found on the islands (388). In the same way, the pidgins exist with minimal syntax because their function is simply to communicate the basic needs of the speakers and nothing more. It is not the case that syntax is not important, but the basic pragmatic communicative function is an important factor in determining the form of the pidgin.

This kitchen pidgin also does not have any tense aspect markers unlike more developed pidgins or creoles because the temporal adverbs indicating time serve that function. The basic vocabulary connected with the food items and tasks in the kitchen show that these provide the words for necessary communication in the workplace.

Initially, the work pidgin as in the KP functions only to facilitate work only as we can see by the very short exchanges which involve tasks and food between the kitchen staff.

For example, the following short exchanges involve work-related subject matter such as food orders and washing dishes. The exchanges are short and business-like and task-oriented, represented by examples (173) and (174).

(173)   Hock: General chicken, two. //Here.
          Manuel: Not like this. You. ((laughing))
          Wha: Wow very beau::tiful.

          Gloss:
          Hock; Here's two orders of General Chicken.
          Manuel: Not like this. (Don't throw it on the plate) You are crazy.
          Wha: That's a nice move (sarcastic)

(174)   ((pointing to plates in the dirty dishes rack))
          Javy: Why mix? Aaaah…you.
          Wha: You (.) don't know how.
          Javy: Qu::ickly, you.

          Gloss:
          Javy: Why did you mix the dishes up?
          Wha: It's you who does not know how to organize them.
          Javy: Get out of my way.

Later, we see the data showing the KP serving a social function as the subject matter is not related to work, as shown by the following exchange between Javy and Hock.

(175)   (Javy is playing with an egg between both palms, talking to Hock)
        Javy: No broken want to see? (Hides egg between palms)
        Hock: (notices Javy's finger is stained orange)
                What happen?
                Your hand? Yellow?
        Javy: *Zanahoria.*
        Hock*: Zanahoria….* oh *señorita, mamasita.*
        Javy: No broken. (showing him the egg)
        Hock: Broken?
        Javy: I give you twenty dollars.
        Hock: Broken heart, man.
                Hey no power, here *mucho* power.
                Broken.
        Javy: No broken.
        Hock: (realizes Res is listening, turns to Res)
                Hello apa kabar.

        Gloss:
        Javy: Look this egg is not going to break.
        Hock: What happened to your finger?
                Why is it so yellow?
        Javy: Carrot. (It was because I was slicing carrots and my finger got stained)
        Hock: Carrot. Oh you mean senorita, mamacita. (Does not understand Javy, thinks
                        Javy is talking about senoritas).
        Javy: It's not broken.
        Hock: Is it broken?
        Javy: I will give you twenty dollars. (if the egg is not broken like I told you)
        Hock: My heart is broken.
                You don't have enough strength to crack the egg. But I have.
                It will be broken.
        Javy: No, this egg is not broken.
        Hock: Hello, how are you?

When the participants have more time to talk, they engage in longer exchanges which do not involve work-related topics. The pidgin then functions as a social tool between the kitchen workers. Hock even engages in word play when he says *Broken heart, man*, meaning he is broken-hearted when referring to Javy's not breaking the egg in the above conversation (*No broken want to see?).*

Javy and Hock function as informal teachers in the following exchange shown in example (176). The researcher is trying to understand if *cebolla* in Spanish refers to both the round

Vidalia onions and the green stalks of spring onions. Both are found in the kitchen as fresh ingredients. Javy and Hock are explaining the term *cebolla* to the researcher. Javy provides the Spanish word while Hock explains that *cebolla* makes you cry when you cut them (*Cut, you cry, ah*).

(176)   (Res sees a picture of an onion on the outside of a box)
      Res: What is this?
      Javy: <u>*Cebolla*</u>
      Hock: <u>Cut, you cry ah</u>
      Javy: Hey, man no cry. You eat….you cry.
      Res: The big one is also *cebolla*? What about the green stalks?
      Javy: Green? (Doesn't understand stalks)
          This *cebolla*. That also *cebolla* (pointing to the spring onion stalks)
      Hock: Everything *cebolla,* cuñado!

      Gloss:
      Res: What is this (referring to the picture of the onion on the box)
      Javy: It's *cebolla*
      Hock: If you cut it, you cry.
      Javy: Hey men don't cry. When you eat it, you cry.
      Res: Is the big one also called *cebolla*? What about these green stalks?
      Javy: Green ones?
          This is called *cebolla*. That is also called *cebolla.*
      Hock: Everything you pointed to is called *cebolla*, brother-in-law!

So, in terms of the form being driven by the function, we can clearly see from the comparison that the initial need for task-oriented communication influences the form of the pidgin because most of the subject matter and lexicon is dealing with their jobs in the kitchen. These types of exchanges are also short and brief because they do not have the time to socialize while working. However, this changes when the pidgin acquires a social dimension. When it functions as a social tool for staff solidarity, the conversations are longer and more interesting, and there are all sorts of word plays and puns.

Table 6.4 Form and Function Relations in KP

Function	Form	Length of Utterance	Content	Speech Act
Work	Topic-Comment	Short	Food-related jargon. Eg. General Chicken, tickets	Command: *Go home, no more tickets.* *Quickly, you.*
Social	Word play/puns Eg. *Broke. Broken heart, man* Phonological approximations Eg. *Zanahoria, mamasita, señorita*	Long	Girls, playing with egg	Betting: *I give you twenty dollars* Warning: *Later boss tell you para casa.*

6.5 Free and Systematic Variation

As previously discussed in section 6.3, this present kitchen pidgin is unstable and sometimes

the form and function relationship is still not readily determinable. For example, the

overgeneralization of *mucho* (a lot) to both intensify adjectives and modify nouns shows that the

pidgin speech is relying on just one form for multiple purposes. The use of *muy* is only reserved

for the formulaic *muy bien* reply to the greeting *Como estas?* So from what we gather from the

data, the form and function relationship is not on a one-to-one basis. At present, the Chinese

cooks have over-extended the use of *mucho* to an intensifier for both nouns and adjectives. This

is in contrast to the Spanish prescriptive use of *mucho* for modifying nouns and *muy* for

intensifying adjectives.

The use of *muy* with the formulaic *muy bien* reply might also indicate that the Chinese cooks

and Indonesian workers readily accept it as a single unanalyzed unit, and assume that it is not

productive, as compared to the frequently used *mucho*. The following example (177) shows Kim

using *muy bien* as a non-productive solitary unit.

(177)   (Javy meets Kim in hallway after Kim's delivery run)
        Javy: Como estas?
        Kim: <u>Muy bien</u>
             Ticket ticket
             (walks straight into the kitchen)
        Javy: Oh, <u>muy bien</u>, amigo!

        Gloss:
        Javy: How are you?
        Kim: Very good.
              I have many tickets.
        Javy: Oh, that's very good, my friend!

Perhaps, Manuel's use of *mucho* instead of *muy* when speaking to the researcher's baby to

modify adjectives further perpetuates the ambiguity between when to use *muy* and *mucho,* as

seen in (178). Manuel uses *mucho feo* instead of *muy feo* to mean *very ugly.*

(178)   (During dinner with Kim and Hock and Javy)
        Manuel: Chinito. Come here.
        Baby: Feo
              (Trying to say Fredo, Manuel's real name in Spanish)
        Manuel: No you feo. You <u>mucho feo.</u>
                You chino (turning to Res)
                 Mama chingar.

        Gloss:
        Manuel: Come here Chinese boy.
        Baby: Feo. (Trying to say Fredo)
        Manuel: No, you are ugly. You are very ugly.
                You are Chinese.
                 Your mom is angry/screwed up (?)

Javy also uses *mucho* to modify *caliente* (hot), an adjective, further reinforcing the overall

usage of mucho for any noun or adjective, in example (179). The input from the Spanish-

speaking Mexicans who use *mucho* to modify adjectives instead of *muy* causes the rest of the

non-Spanish staff to assume *mucho* as the default modifier.

(179)   Mau: Today, very hot!
    Javy: Yeah, <u>*mucho caliente*</u>, today. No like so hot.
    Mau: You very stupid, stupid man! You, *sabes no sabes?*
    Javy: You, you *loco*!

  Gloss:
  Mau: Today, it's very hot !
  Javy: Yes, it is very hot today. I don't like it so hot.
  Mau: Yes you are really stupid, really stupid. You, do you understand or not?
  Javy: You, you are the one that's mad.

It is also interesting that Hock dispays individual variation when he uses both *mucho bueno*

and *muy bueno* in (180).

(180)   Neu: Hey your papa your manager (referring to Mau using the bathroom)
        In toilet.
    Hock: Papacito!
    Javy: You maricón
       You say mamacita.
    Hock: Senor.
       You <u>mucho bueno</u> ah talk talk talk.
    Javy: Yeah.
    Hock: Bueno. <u>Muy bueno</u>, cuñado.

    Gloss:
    Neu: Hey, Mau's in the bathroom. (Papa is used to address Mau, the head chef)
       He's in the toilet.
    Hock: Papacito! (hot dude!)
    Javy: You faggot! (straight men don't look at other men)
       You should say mamacita.
    Hock: Mister.
       You are good, always talking.
    Javy: Yes. (I do talk a lot, and am always talking)
    Hock: Good. Very good, brother-in-law.

It is also possible that the kitchen speech reflects the world of the males in the kitchen concentrating on nouns and not adjectives. Males are not very interested in the description of things or feelings. Maybe that is why the use of *mucho* is used to modify quantity in majority of the nouns used by the men in the kitchen. In this way, *mucho i*s more salient than *muy*.

In contrast to an unstable pidgin, creoles have semantic transparency in terms of a one-to-one relationship between function and form. They are more stable systems compared to pidgins and do not have a variable grammatical structure and lexicon. For example, Hawaiian Pidgin English, or better also known as Hawaiian Creole English, has standard forms for the past and the future tenses. For example, to express past tense, Hawaiian Creole English uses *wen* (went) in front of the verb.

(181)   *Jesus wen cry.* (DJB, John 11:35)
          Jesus cried.

In addition, to express future tense, Hawaii Creole English uses *goin* (going) in front of the verb.

(182)   *God goin do plenny good kine stuff fo him.* (DJB, Mark 11:9)
          God is going to do a lot of good things for him.

In addition, this arbitrary relationship between the form and function in pidgin features can be illustrated by the lack of past tense forms in the kitchen pidgin. In Kim's speech, we observe a complex situation. Kim uses the irregular past tense forms and does not use the productive +ed form for inflections.

(183)   (Researcher and Kim talking about Kim's temporary position at another restaurant)
          Res: Wow, you rested at home while the restaurant was under construction.
          Kim: No, I <u>work</u> Chin Chin Restaurant, delivery.
                  (lack of +ed inflection for past tense)
          Res: As a delivery driver?

          Kim: Yes. The boss <u>ask</u> me stay, give me more money yeah.
                  (lack of +ed inflection for past tense)

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I <u>told</u> him, restaurant open again, I go back.
         (use of irregular past tense)
   Res: Oh, he asked you to stay.
   Kim: Yeah, give me more money. But I like here better.

In this example, Kim exhibits systematic variation because he uses the irregular past tense but not the regular past tense inflections. It is possible to predict the use of the past tense forms based on the type of form involved, whether it is the regular +ed morpheme or the irregular past. Maybe it is also due to the fact that a lot of the salient verbs in the English language have irregular past tense forms, for example ate, took, drank, and are readily accepted as a complete unanalyzed unit by themselves.

The process of establishing rule and order upon pidgin speech features is determined by the characteristic inherent in the features themselves. At first, initially, when the languages come into contact with one another, all the various features and forms will be present. There is a period of variation whereby different features are used, even though they present a conflicting picture. However as time goes by, when the contact is prolonged, out of the various features, only certain features will be selected and incorporated into the pidgin permanently.

Initially the form might be stored as a non-productive lexical item. It might co-exist with other similar forms having the same function. Then comes the period of differentiation whereby the speaker associates different forms as serving different functions, depending on context.

Darwin's ideas on variation can be used to explain the initial variability in unstable pidgins and also the subsequent standardization in established Creoles. As an analogy, he says that

Organic beings low in the scale of nature are more variable than those which have their whole organization specialized, and are higher in the scale (202).

With reference to the earlier pidgin to creole continuum mentioned in Table 6.3, the organic beings low in the scale of nature can be used to refer to the unstable pidgins, while those which

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are more specialized are like highly developed Creoles with standard systems. This is almost

always the case in which something new and unstable displays variation in form, while older,

more stable version tends to have less variation as the form and function relationship becomes

more established with the passage of time.

We also see a mixed pattern of usage because the Spanish-speaking Mexican workers use a

form of simplified Spanish towards the cooks. With the presence of the researcher's toddler, the

form of simplified talk as input from the child also reinforces the pidgin features of the mixed

language. For example (184) shows the similarity between Wha's and the baby's child language

patterns when they form wh questions and missing the fronted copula verb.

(184)   (speaking to Baby)
        Manuel: Como?
        Wha: <u>What you want? What you want?</u> (Missing verb *do*)
                Go to your mommy.
        Baby: (speaks into tape recorder)
                 Hello.
                 <u>What this for?</u> (Missing verb *is*)
                  <u>Who that?</u> (Missing verb *is*)
        Manuel: No, no, no.
                    Hey pancho!

Gloss:
         Manuel: What?
         Wha: What do you want? What do you want?
                 Go to your mommy.
         Baby: Hello.
                What this for?
                Who that?
        Manuel: No, no, no. (Don't touch the tape recorder!)
                    Hey, pancho! (nickname for Baby)

   Variation can also occur due to the degree of attention to form. The more attention language learners pay to language production, greater accuracy will be observed (Labov, 1970). Several researchers have reported higher frequencies of target-like production of L2 sounds when learners are reading aloud or imitating a model, and less target-like production in spontaneous speech.

  It is interesting to note that Javy does use the SVO structures when he is emphasizing something in English. When he is talking to Hock, about the egg in the palm challenge, he uses the target-like SVO production for emphasis. Javy's intention is to tell Hock to listen to him as he is the one offering him twenty dollars to Hock if the egg is not broken in his palm. The emphasis is on the subject, *I*, who is performing the action of giving the money. Javy produces the SVO and not the topic prominent form because he has heard it from the environment and is using it to show distancing from Hock

(185)   Javy: <u>I give you twenty dollars</u>. (SVO structure)
        Hock: Broken heart, man.
               Hey no power, here *mucho* power.
               Broken.

        Gloss:
        Javy: I will give you twenty dollars. (if the egg is not broken like I told you)
        Hock: My heart is broken.
               You don't have enough strength to crack the egg. But I have.
               It will be broken.

   There are many reasons as why the KP exhibits variations in form. As we have discussed, this variation could be due to the speakers' level of monitoring and attention to speech as we have discussed in this section, with reference to the spontaneous and interview data. Alternatively, it

could be due to the interlanguage of the speakers, as they sort out their own system of rules as to how the language works. Even if the KP is a distinct variety of a pidgin language, the speakers display variation in the use of certain structures depending on the situation.

In the interview data, when the researcher interviews Javy alone, he shows the SVO forms because he is paying attention to the fact he is being observed as shown in example (186). On the other hand, the interviews with Hock and Wha took place in the kitchen setting with others presence, so they are not attending to the form, as shown in examples (187) and (188) which show more topic prominent structures.

(186)   (Res and Javy in interview)
    Res: Why do you like her?
       (asking Javy about his favorite actress, Catherine Zeta-Jones)
    Javy: <u>I like her face.</u> (SVO)

    Res: What do you do during your holidays?
    Javy: <u>Sleep. I want sleep</u>. (SVO)
       <u>I go to the mall, shopping.</u> (SVO)

    Res: Which is the one you hate? You don't like?
    Javy: <u>I don't like some food, eh…</u>(SVO)
    Res: What are the things you like about the US?
    Javy: <u>I like America, everything</u>. (SVO)
    Res: What are some of the things you don't like?
    Javy: (laughs) <u>I don't like apartment. I need a house is better.</u> (SVO)
    Res: Where do you usually go for vacations in the US?
    Javy: <u>I like eh Miami.</u> (SVO)

(187)   (Res and Hock in interview, W=Wha and M=Manuel in background)
    Res: Tell me about your favorite food.
    H: Favorite food? <u>Makan apa</u>? <u>Makan siew mai!</u> (Topic Prominent)
           (Eat what? Eat Siew Mai!)
    Res: How do you make it?
    H: (gibberish in Bahasa-Indonesia, not clear)
    Res: What is inside?
    H: <u>Inside camaron</u>. <u>Okay lah.</u>   (Topic Prominent)
    Res: What's your favorite on the menu?

    Res: Why do you like living in the US?

H: Money money. <u>No money, no good</u>.   (Topic Prominent)
Res: What are the things you don't like?
H: Huh?
W: <u>Mucho trabajo</u>.   (Topic Prominent)
H: <u>Mucho trabajo, cuñado!</u>   (Topic Prominent)
Res: Who is your favorite actress?
H: Huh? Address? (Does not know the word "actress", thinks it's "address")
Res: On TV, movie?
      Eh, Roswell Road. Residency!
       Huh? Tell me, cuñado.
Res: Why do you like the actress?
H: Address, address. Roswell Road.
Res: Huh?
M: Eh? <u>amigo, amigo and chickens</u>!   (Topic Prominent)

(188)   (Res and Wha in interview, H=Hock in the background)
    Res:What is your favorite food?
    W: <u>Anything lah</u>   (Topic Prominent)
    Res: What is the most popular on the menu, the one customer like?
    W: (Silent)
    Res: Which is your favorite holiday?
    Wha: Mut yeah? (What thing=What? In Cantonese)
    Res Tai yat ji.   (Important days=Holidays In Cantonese)
    Res: What are the things you like about the US?
    Wha: Money money.
    H: <u>Mucho trabajo!</u>   (Topic Prominent)
    Res: What are the things you don't like.
    Wha: (Silence)
    Res: Where do you go for holiday?
    W: Casino.
    Res: Casino where, which one?
    W: <u>Anyone lah.</u>   (Topic Prominent)
    H: Africa.
    Res: Tell me about your favorite actress.
    W: (Silent)
    Res: Any favorite sportsman?
    W: <u>Sportman ah.</u> NBA.
        (thinks Res is asking favorite sports)   (Topic Prominent)
    H: Football! Football! Football!

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6.6 Kitchen Pidgin Autopsy: Product of Hybridization

In this section, some of the sources for this KP will be discussed. Rather than label it strictly as incomplete second language learning or a sub-variety spoken by foreign workers, it would be better to place the KP on a continuum where its possible sources can be identified and discussed. The following Figure 6.1 shows the kitchen speech sources as a continuum.

KITCHEN SPEECH

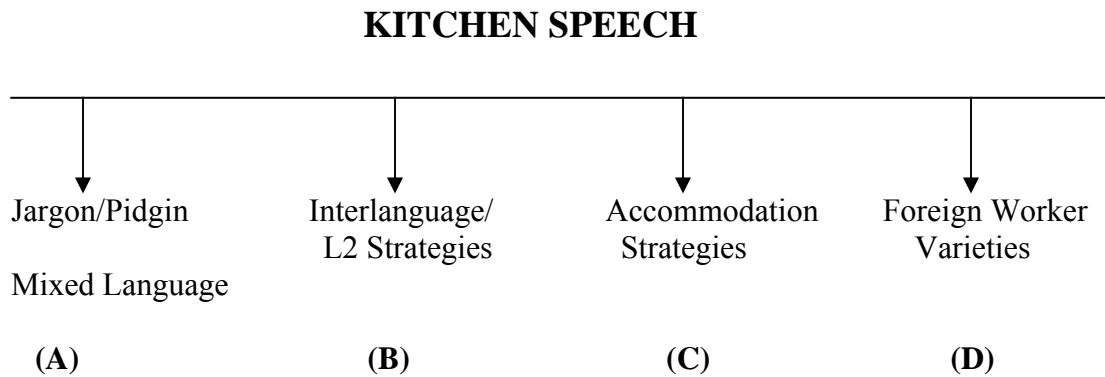| Jargon/Pidgin	Interlanguage/ L2 Strategies	Accommodation Strategies	Foreign Worker Varieties
Mixed Language			
(A)	**(B)**	**(C)**	**(D)**

Figure 6.1 Continuum Showing Kitchen Speech Sources

From the above figure, the kitchen pidgin is made up of many sources, for example, jargon, interlanguage, accommodation strategies and also foreign worker varieties. The point in creating such a continuum lies in that the KP is made up of many multi-faceted parts and all of them contribute to the creation of the pidgin. The individual sources are labeled with capital letters A, B, C and D for easy reference.

In the classification and categorization of this KP, we must be aware of the fact that it is easy to fall into the trap of placing the KP into absolute and mutually exclusive categories, either in A or B. It might be a fusion of A and B, and also it might not necessarily be either A or B, and could be a type of C, for example. We have to keep in mind from whose perspective we are viewing the kitchen talk when attempting to describe what it is, and what is represents to whom. Along with the nature versus nurture distinction and keeping in

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mind that all the possible sources contribute to the definition of the kitchen speech as processes due to the type of the interaction between the participants, language and dynamics of the contact situation.

In each of the following sections, the four main perspectives of what the kitchen talk is defined as will be discussed, firstly as jargon and a pidgin, secondly, as interlanguage strategies, thirdly, as accommodation and foreigner talk, and finally as a unique foreign worker variety of English.

The purpose of showing the different processes is due to the view that has always been maintained in this study, in that the various *components* A, B, C, and D make up the kitchen speech as a *whole unit*. They are not mutually exclusive because the existence of accommodation strategies does not rule out the fact that interlanguage strategies of communication do not exist. At every point on the above continuum, there is a relationship between the participants, the language and the environment, and the whole continuum is the kitchen speech. The designation of the components represented by A, B, C, and D show the *different relationship* between the language, participants and the environment based on a *different perspective*, but in essence the kitchen pidgin has not changed because it is still kitchen speech with the features and the environment being intact.

The usage of the continuum is based on a perspective issue. What has changed is the way linguists *perceive* the data and the participants, assuming the kitchen speech is the constant, while other qualitative variables such as attitudes and passage of time, for example is examined in the separate components. We are examining the different facets of the kitchen speech based on the different qualitative variables in the relationship between the kitchen pidgin, assuming that it is the constant. This does not undermine the linguistic integrity of the kitchen pidgin because it

further *confirms* that the mixing of the components show that it is indeed a hybrid made up of the different strategies used for communication.

6.6.1 Exhibit A: Jargon,Pidgin, and Mixed Language

Mufwene (1997) has dealt with the difficulty of defining and classifying pidgins in his article in which an in-depth study of the terminology concerning pidgins and creoles is done. Firstly, we have to deal with the definition of what a pidgin is, primarily, and then examine if the so-called KP in this study fits this description.

Early definitions of pidgins were applied to varieties formerly identified as *jargon* or *baragouin* (Mufwene, 1997). The rise of such jargon or baragouin was mainly attributed to the world of business or trade as the motivation for the contact situation. Chinese Pidgin English started out around 1664, when the English started their trading post in Canton (Hall, 1966:8), although the term pidgin was used to name it only in the early nineteenth century (Mufwene, 1997).

However, in this case, when we are looking at the KP in this study, the workers have been working together for the past three years, so in this time frame, it cannot be accurately labeled as a pidgin, since the nature and length of the contact reveals that it is not a spontaneous new creation in a new trade situation. There is prolonged contact based on the fact that the workers are not brand new immigrants to the United States, and it is not the case that the speakers do not have any knowledge of English, unlike the case of Chinese Pidgin English, where the English were segregated and were politically dominant.

In view of this observation, perhaps, it is more accurate to label the KP as a mixed language, and not strictly as trade jargon. The use of the word *jargon* presupposes the attitudes of the

linguists who use it to refer to pidgins that are rudimentary and unstable (Mühlhaüsler, 1986:5, Mufwene, 1997). Even though this supposed KP has some unstable features in the usage of *muy* and *mucho*, it has some general established patterns which show that it has expanded and stabilized beyond rudimentary jargon, for example, in the consistent copula deletion. It is possible for a pidgin to have examples of jargon words, but the existence of jargon does not lead to the fact that it is a pidgin, for example, the use of Bazaar Malay in Singapore. The presence of words as jargon in Bazaar Malay is used to facilitate inter-racial communication, but it is not really a pidgin because it has yet to be fully expanded with grammatical features.

The use of jargon of pidgin also presupposes the fact that we are looking not only at attitudes, but the diachronic timeline which is the variable causing the possible change of the jargon or pidgin into something else. For example, when a pidgin acquires native speakers, it becomes a creole. Therefore the basis of the categorization under the jargon cum pidgin definition rests on the diachronic time line with reference to the historical background and chronological developments over time.

In addition to the problematic definition of jargon versus pidgin, we have to consider the time constraints within the kitchen itself, leading to the data showing that the length of utterances does matter. For example, when the workers exchange brief words due to the time pressure at work, it seems like a sample of jargon. For instance, the very short exchange below between Hock, Manuel and Wha shown below. It is more like a disorderly mix of disconnected jargon phrases, dealing with the name of a dish, *General chicken*, and how much of it they should prepare.

(189)   Hock: General chicken, two. //Here.
         Manuel: Not like this. You. ((laughing))
         Wha: Wow very beau::tiful.

Gloss:
Hock; Here's two orders of General Chicken.
Manuel: Not like this. (Don't throw it on the plate) You are crazy.
Wha: That's a nice move (sarcastic)

However, when there is time, they engage in rather complex, lengthy exchanges which go

beyond lexical items, with some semblance of basic grammatical structure.

(190)   Hock: Mamacita okay lah.
                   Tonight you this one, mucho power man.
           Javy: No, it's camarón. Mucho bueno.
                   No, camarón.
           Hock: Camarón.
                   Por que por que cuñado.
           Javy: Marano?
           Hock: Maradona, man.
                   Argentina Argentina, hey Maradona.
                   Hey you like team Argentina? Maradona
           Javy: Maradona. Marano
           Hock: Hey you same, brother, man.
           Hock: Por que por que
           Javy: Marano.
           Hock: Maradona.
                   Los Angeles very good man.
           Javy: Mas, no mas no good, mas!
           Hock: No mas
                   (laughter)

           Gloss:
           Hock: How about mamacita? Tonight you will be with this one.
                   You have a lot of power (I am telling you)
           Javy: No it's the shrimp (After eating the shrimp, I am strong)
                   It's very good.
                   No, it's the shrimp that does it for me.
           Hock: The shrimp. (affirmation of understanding)
                   Why, why, brother-in-law?
           Javy: Marano (not sure what he means by Marano)
           Hock: It's Maradona, I am telling you.
                   Argentina, Argentina (referring to football team from Argentina)
                   Do you like the Argentina team? What about the player Maradona?
           Javy: Marano.
           Hock: Maradona. Los Angeles (has a good team?) I am telling you.
           Javy: No more, it's not good.

We have to look at all the data instead of taking apart certain examples. A pidgin has samples of jargon exchanges within it, however not all jargon exchanges mean that there is a pidgin language. It could just simply exist as jargon with only lexicon. We have to evaluate the kitchen talk data as a whole, not just quote samples out of context to justify the stray definitions that linguists have proposed.

Selecting data out of context and their time-frames can be a real danger because we can exploit the variation due to time constraints in kitchen speech to focus on rudimentary jargon within the pidgin or on the pidgin as a system with basic grammar, and then assign arbitrary labels based on what we perceive to be representative of the speech.

6.6.2 Exhibit B: Interlanguage and L2 Strategies

The use of the term interlanguage to describe the speech of the kitchen staff might not be applicable to this particular situation. What exactly constitutes language learning? The participants are not in a classroom setting and they are not actively learning the language structures from any instructor. They might have fossilized in the case of the Chinese cooks. For example, Mau the head chef who has been in the United States for the past ten years cannot read or write English yet, even though he can speak very rudimentary English. The issue of fossilization is also problematic because we do not know exactly if they have stagnated due to inadequate input or simply due to the fact that they code-switch to the kitchen speech to maintain the sense of identity and solidarity among themselves. Is there interlanguage without conscious language learning?

The issue of kitchen talk as interlanguage is based on the fact that it is a system which is made up of rules by the second language speaker or learner (Selinker, 1972). When we are

talking about a system of rules made up in the mind of the language learner, we have to determine which of the rules are from the native language, and which of them are from the new language and which of them are from the hypotheses the new learner creates. This will help to understand how the rules are formed, and also to the extent of which rules are influenced by the native language or new language.

The most obvious example of phonological strategies being used is that of Hock approximating the sounds of Spanish to sounds in Bahasa Indonesia. For him, the sounds of the Spanish borrowings are alien to him, and he is trying to map them onto sounds from his native language. For example, in pronouncing *señor*, he says it like "sanyur" because Bahasa Indonesia does not have the nasal [ñ] and it becomes approximated to a glide after the [n], for example *nyany*i (song), and *punya* (to have). In this example of approximation in Hock's speech, he is using the phonology and phonetic rules from Bahasa Indonesia to produce the word *señor* he has heard from the Spanish-speaking workers.

(191)   Neu: Hey your papa your manager (referring to Mau using the bathroom)
                In toilet.
        Hock: Papacito!
        Javy: You maricón
                You say mamacita.
        Hock: Senor. (sounds like "sanyur")
                You mucho bueno ah talk talk talk.
         Javy: Yeah.
         Hock: Bueno. Muy bueno, cuñado.

In the kitchen speech, there is language learning taking place in the kitchen, the default classroom. The interaction between Hock and Javy can represent a kind of informal instructor and student exchange when Javy demands from Hock, *You say mamacita*. The usage of the non-topic prominent command shows that Javy is assuming the important role of the one in power.

The pre-requisites for accommodation to occur are dependent on the following factors, namely choice, motivation and perception. It is easy to describe and document instances of what appears to be accommodation in action, but very difficult to explain why and how accommodation occurs because of subjective nature of the above factors. Unless an exhaustive study is done by a combination of interview and survey methods, it is impossible to get into the minds of the speakers and evaluate the reasons for using one form over another.

Choice can be problematic to quantify as we cannot accurately determine if it is a choice between two or more linguistic terms, or if it is due to the lack of suitable alternatives, so that is only term that they are accustomed to using. Choice is also dependent on the level of proficiency in the language in which they communicate in.

Suppose that one individual wishes to modify speech to match that of the target group, he also needs to have the linguistic resources to match his needs. For accommodation to work, the ability to modify behavior comes with their ability to make linguistic choices. There is no accommodation taking place if one worker, for example, Hock does not know enough Spanish to make choices in order to speak like his Mexican co-workers.

Motivation is also hard to measure because it is different in every individual. How do we determine exact levels and the exact nature of this motivation? Do the Spanish-speaking workers accommodate to the speech of the Chinese-speaking cooks based on the lure of power politics within the kitchen or because of the need to communicate because of work motivations? Or maybe it could be a mixture of both? The lack of inflections can also be said to either be an active act of choosing between the easier form over more difficult alternatives, or just active simplification on the part of the Spanish-speaking workers?

Alternatively, why are the Chinese speaking cooks not picking up the inflections in Spanish from the Mexican workers? We are not sure if it has to do with the perceived difficulty of the inflections or if it has to do with not hearing it from the input.

Perception issues deal with the speaker's personal interpretation and evaluation of the addressee. The mode and immediate situation of the conversation also causes the speaker to switch modes. The perception is also relative. It could be possible that the Spanish workers think that the inflections would be difficult for the Chinese cooks to understand and also add no value to the understanding of the meaning of the verbs, so they actively reduce and simplify and use root forms. The perception of the linguistic ability in terms of understanding and communication of the addressee is only in the speaker's mind, and not realized as concrete rules that they have learned externally. They might not know the rule overtly as part of the language learning processes as they are native speakers who tune in to the *feel* of the ease of communication.

The following hierarchy of perceived difficulty is modified from Burt and Dulay's (1975) comparison of the relative difficulty due to the differences between the native language and the target language. However, what is perceived to be difficult from the point of view of the Mexican workers when they speak to their Chinese co-workers (both the Bahasa Indonesian-speaking and Malayasian cooks) becomes easy when they simplify the forms, as shown in the right column.

What was originally perceived as difficult, for example the lack of topic-comment forms in Spanish is solved because Spanish is pro-drop, causing Javy's saying *No comer, para mi*, to become topic-comment anyway. Similarly, the coalesced pronoun form *su* in Spanish is not difficult because the third person reference is hardly used. Second person pronouns are used

most of the time, or in the form of nouns, when it is an insult, for example when Javy calls Wha

maricón in Spanish. The split is also not difficult when the use of *mucho* is overgeneralized.

The difficulty perceived by the language user is also counter-acted by the ability to use

strategies to avoid the problematic forms. In the daily interaction in the kitchen, the third

person pronoun *su* is not used at all, because the workers only involve concrete actions

and speak directly to their co-workers. So there is no need for reported speech involving

the third person pronoun. This relates back to the functional use of language and the

simple reduced forms reflect their use of language in the kitchen.

Table 6.5   Hierarchy of Perceived Difficulty (Easy to Most Difficult)
(From perspective of Spanish-speakers addressing Chinese workers)

Type of Difficulty (easiest to most difficult)	Mexican workers (NL=Spanish) Chinese addressees (NL=Mandarin/Bahasa Indonesian)	Example:	Examples from Kitchen Speech
Correspondence	X ——— Y	*Papa* (father)	*Papacito* (Mau's nickname)
Coalesced	X >X Y	His and her =*su* Not used since topic prominence is not centered on 3rd person as subject.	*Go away, you* (Javy to Mau)
Absent	X ——— Ø	Topic comment *No comer, para mi.* (If no eat, give me)	*No comer, para mi* (Javy to Wha) resolved by pro-drop in Spanish (You) no comer, para mi)
New	Ø ———X	Verb inflections	*Hablar hablar* (Javy to Hock)
Split	X< X Y	a lot 1) *muy* 2) *mucho*	*mucho caliente* (Javy to Mau) *mucho feo* (Manuel to baby)

In all of the above three main factors accounting for accommodation, the underlying assumption is that basically the participants can modify their behavior.   In summary, the kitchen speech cannot be strictly classified as accommodation. Taking into account the fact that they can be either converging or diverging, sometimes it is difficult to determine that the speaker is consciously modifying speech in order to move away. For example, Hock's utterances in Bahasa Indonesia might not be an attempt to modify behavior and diverge consciously; he might not be aware of the fact he is just using his native language as a backup, and not actively moving away from the group's patterns.

Even though granted the fact that accommodation can be mutual or non-mutual, examples of Hock's speech with Javy indicates that Hock is not actively moving towards or away from anyone's speech style, since he does not know much Spanish or English to move towards any linguistic target. Sometimes, he does display some very basic phonological approximations towards certain Spanish words, but that could be that he is using them as borrowings, for examples, using *señor* to address Javy. Also, since we did not conduct a survey to ask about Hock's being aware that he is using them as borrowings or actively maintaining his Bahasa Indonesia in his mixed speech, we cannot confidently determine the level of Hock's metalinguistic awareness. This casts some doubts on the main tenets of the Accommodation Theory that participants are able to modify behavior. We might assume that it is probable that Hock *does* modify his behavior regardless of the fact that he is conscious of it. Is it even considered modification, because he could just be using his native Bahasa Indonesia just as he would towards Kim.

If we assume that accommodation is the start of foreigner talk from the point of view of the Spanish-speaking Mexican workers talking to the Chinese cooks, this could be the closest

example of caretaker talk displayed within the kitchen speech. The Chinese cooks do not modify their speech to match the Spanish grammar, they simply use Spanish expressions as borrowings.

One of the primary definitions for foreigner talk is that the native speaker modifies speech in order for the ease of communication towards the non-native speaker. It is problematic in the kitchen scenario because even though we see the Spanish-speaking workers modifying their speech when it comes to Spanish words towards the Chinese cooks. Even though accommodation is taking place from the perspective of the Mexican workers, they are not exactly speaking pure Spanish to the Chinese staff. Usually, foreigner talk is between the native speakers and non-native speakers of a single language. The speech that is documented is neither Spanish nor Mandarin Chinese, nor is it Bahasa Indonesia. So based on this criterion, it cannot be labeled as foreigner talk as it is not entirely and consistently expressed in any one of the native speaker's languages. Because of the mixed nature of the sentences, we cannot accurately label it as belonging to any one language, but it is a hybrid of all the native languages of the workers and English.

Due to the way the Spanish speakers modify their speech and lose their inflectional endings when they speak to the Chinese cooks, they are actively simplifying in order to facilitate communication. This motivation is due to the need for the speakers to converge to the speech patterns of their addressee, according to the Accommodation Theory (Beebe and Giles, 1984).

The direction of foreigner talk is directed at the Chinese cooks from the perspective of the Spanish-speaking Mexican workers. Individual accommodation leads to foreigner talk. The question dealing with the definition of foreigner talk is who is the foreigner in the kitchen speech? None of them are native speakers of English, and all of them are immigrants in the United States, regardless of their length of residence. The difference is that the accommodation is

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a process while foreigner talk is the product. Accommodation is an individually driven process occurring within the speaker's mind and does not have to be strictly between native speakers and non-native speakers only. For example, even native speakers of English do modify their speech in terms of the speed of delivery when talking to someone who is older, in order to facilitate understanding.

6.6.4 Exhibit D: Foreign Worker Varieties

Finally, is this KP just another form of English, namely immigrant English spoken in the United States? The particular variety spoken by the kitchen staff might be just another foreign worker variety that is spoken at workplaces where different nationalities come into contact. When we are examining the kitchen talk, we can actually compare it against other similar varieties of English used by immigrant communities in English-speaking countries.

We have to determine what the accepted standard language is when we mention the concept of variety. In the use of the word *variety*, we have to determine with respect to what it varies from. Do we compare the kitchen speech against standard English? However, then it is not even remotely close to being like English, unlike other known varieties of English elsewhere.

Mufwene defines the immigrant worker's varieties as a language created out of the predominant exposure to the lexifier's nonstandard varieties (Mufwene, 1997). They do not socialize enough with native speakers of the language and do not develop competence in the language (Blackshire-Belay 1993:432-3). It is problematic putting the kitchen talk in this category because it is a mixed language of some sort but we cannot accurately determine what language it is a variety of.

In the case of the kitchen talk, we cannot even determine what the superstrate language or the substrate language is. Mandarin Chinese seems to be the language contributing to the grammatical structure, while the substrates, Spanish and Bahasa Indonesia, contribute to the vocabulary. So is it a foreign worker variety of English, or is it simply a variety which is utilized at the work place regardless of the standard languages it can be measured against?

It is possible that the kitchen talk can be labeled a foreign variety if it develops to such an extent that it is used exclusively as an in-group language to identify the members of the group as unique. The notion of a foreign workers' variety rests on the assumption that it is mainly used at the place of work, and not as a vernacular (Mufwene, 1997).

However, this kitchen speech is also changing from being work-oriented being used in the kitchen to being used as a social language. When they are not working in the kitchen, they are talking to each other in the kitchen speech as they loiter outside the restaurant premises. However, even though it is mainly a work pidgin, being used for trade with a foreign group, the subject matter changing to include the topic of girls and being drunk which is not work-related at all. This shows that the kitchen talk has challenged the work place usage that has been set within the definition of a work related foreign worker variety.

So far, the labels of the kitchen talk being a *mixed language* as discussed under the jargon and pidgin section, and it being a *foreign workers' variety* seem to be most appropriate giving the place of usage and linguistic features associated with it. The label mixed language is the linguistically most neutral of all, without all the negative value judgements and developmental deficiencies associated with labels like jargon or pidgin.

6.6.5 Labels and Definitions:Variables and Constants in Relationships

   In essence, what exactly the kitchen pidgin or kitchen speech is will be determined by the variables created by the following factors. Firstly, the definition has to cover the time factor, of how the speech is characterized historically and chronologically. This means that it is a diachronic perspective. Secondly, the definition has to account for the linguistic features which characterize the speech. Thirdly, the level of proficiency in the participants' respective native languages and also the kitchen speech is important as this determines the ability and the motivation to accommodate and code-switch between the kitchen talk and their native languages dependent on who the addressee is. Lastly, we need to account for the issue of variation due to the ability to switch from the kitchen talk to their own native languages when speaking to staff from the same country.

   The main argument with the problem of defining what exactly the kitchen talk is with the issue of perspective. We can diachronically carefully categorize it as a preliminary pidgin when it first starts out as jargon. Much of the early usage of pidgins and jargons started out very rudimentarily as emergency languages.

6.7 Linguistic Survival Strategies: The Law of the Kitchen

       Pidgin speakers are motivated by the need to survive in a linguistically mixed environment where there is a need to communicate for work purposes. The speakers of the kitchen pidgin are forced to speak whatever English they know in order to get their job done in the kitchen smoothly. The conditions are more spontaneous and dynamic in this kitchen than in a classroom setting because the speech produced is not regulated by instruction; neither is it modified by additional input from the instructor or other native speakers of English. The

speakers are forced into survival mode, they have to try to communicate the best they can, despite limited linguistic resources. Those speakers who adapt at a faster rate achieve a higher level of proficiency, for example, Manuel and Kim; whereas speakers like Hock and Mau are at a lower level.

This inherent instinct to survive is mentioned in Darwin as the Struggle for Existence, in which the example mentioned is of "two canine animals in a time of dearth may be truly said to struggle with each other in which the survivor shall get food and live" (35). The kitchen workers are also involved in the struggle for existence in a foreign environment, working far away from their home countries and have to communicate with those who do not share a common language. The more motivated they are to pick up English and survive in the United States, the more proficient their command of English will be.

For those who are more proficient in their English language ability like Javy and Kim, they are also able to codeswitch from more target-like English in the sociolinguistic interviews to less target-like English when they speak in the pidgin to their fellow workers.

The struggle for survival can also apply to the competition among the various features contributing to the overall KP. According to the rule of the jungle, the struggle for survival will see those who are the strongest and fittest survive over the weaker species.

Likewise, the features of the KP will be in free and systematic variation until eventually the more salient features will get adopted into the pidgin system itself. For example the lack of inflections for the past tense in Chinese will survive as features in the KP but not the past tense inflections in Spanish. The saliency and frequent input by the Chinese cooks have ensured that such features will be found more often in the pidgin, rather than the Spanish inflected versions.

6.8 Politics of Power in the Kitchen Kingdom

In this section, the struggle for survival will be enacted between the different groups in the kitchen and shown in the eventual features present in the kitchen. This follows from the natural order of things in the surrounding because "a struggle for existence inevitably follows from the high rate at which organic beings tend to increase" (Darwin: 116).

Based on the kitchen scenario, the participants do not increase in number, but they increase in *power*, for example, the cooks are higher up in the kitchen hierarchy because they control the factors of production in the kitchen realm, economically speaking, as they cook the food. The increase in power is based on the default majority, since there are three Chinese cooks versus two of each of the other groups, namely two Mexican workers and two Bahasa-Indonesian speaking workers.

6.8.1 Superstrate Pressure From Higher Status Chinese Cooks

Even though the KP shows the lack of inflections for tenses and number, it cannot be merely attributed to transfer from Mandarin Chinese dialects from the point of view of the Chinese cooks. The fact that even the Mexican workers show the loss in inflections when they use Spanish verbs with the Chinese cooks and Indonesian workers, reveal that more than just simple transfer from the native language is at work. The Spanish-speaking workers have the tendency to operate on a reduced system for the ease of communication despite the fact that Spanish is a highly inflectional language. This mutual accommodation, mixing and eventual leveling occurs as we observe the Mexican workers losing their inflections in their usage of Spanish verbs in the KP with the Chinese workers, whether they are the Malaysian cooks or Indonesian workers.

For example, when Javy speaks with Hock, he uses the root form, *comer,* together with the second person pronoun. Hock uses the uninflected root form in his reply back to Javy, as he reflects back the input from Javy. In the absence of any other inflected input, Hock probably assumes that the *comer* form is the default and standard form, since it is the only form he has heard from Javy.

(192) Javy: You <u>comer</u> mucho.
       Hock: No, me already <u>comer</u>, cuñado.
              You no <u>comer</u> cuñado.

       Gloss:
       Javy: It's you who is eating a whole lot!
       Hock: No, I have eaten, brother-in-law.
             You have not eaten yet, brother-in-law.
             (So that's why you are eating a lot)

However, it is interesting to note that Javy retains his inflections when he speaks to the researcher, while waiting for his friend, Abundio, to pick him up after work.

(193)   Javy: Abundio no <u>vienen.</u>
        Res: Does Abundio work at night, driving the taxi?

        Gloss:
        Javy: I don't see Abundio coming.
        Res: Does Abundio work at night, driving the taxi?

More examples of accommodation from Javy towards the Chinese cook, Wha is shown in the following exchange. Javy uses the base form of *comer*, to eat, instead of the conditional, when he says *No comer para mi* (If you are not eating, give it to me).

(194)   Wha: Hey this one basura, ah
        Javy: Hey, <u>comer</u> amigo, no basura.
              No <u>comer</u> para mi.
               Pollo la caca
              (laughter)

Gloss:
Wha: Hey, throw this into the trash.
Javy: Eat, my friend, don't throw the rice into the trash.
        If you are not eating, give it to me.
        Chicken. Shit.

The superstrate grammar provided by Mandarin Chinese is quite minimal and simple, having no inflections for number and tenses. It is in essence a sort of default superstrate because based on the fact that since Mandarin Chinese is morphologically simple, it happens to be easy for the non-Chinese speakers to grasp. And also since the features incorporated in initial pidgins are already simple and unmarked generally, it can be said to reflect influence from Chinese. So both these push and pull factors mutually reinforce each other at the same time.

Similarly, the extent of the wanting to accommodate will also depend on the speaker's evaluation of who the addressee is. In the above example, when Javy communicates with Hock and the researcher on separate occasions, he is able to switch from the uninflected forms to the inflected forms, based on his evaluation of how much Spanish the addressee knows. With Hock, Javy uses the uninflected form, due to the fact that he thinks Hock will only understand the root form, *comer*. In contrast to his exchange with Hock, Javy uses the correct third person inflected form for come, as in *vienen*, with the researcher, as he feels that the researcher is highly educated from the way she converses. This shows that the accommodation does not depend on only the Mexican-speaking Javy's command of Spanish as his native language, but on how much he feels the addressee knows. The individual's personal motivation for the level of accommodation taking place also influences his choices. If Javy were to use the inflected form of *comer* with Hock, he would most likely alienate Hock, due to Hock's inability to understand the more complex Spanish inflections. Javy uses the inflected form with the researcher because he

identifies her as a person who knows more Spanish than Hock, and therefore would be able to understand the inflected verbs better than Hock.

After looking at the superstrate pressure from the Chinese cooks on the grammar and general lack of morphology in the kitchen speech, we also have to account for the extent of accommodation taking place. We have to look at the individual speaker's evaluation of how much the addressee knows, in order for the speaker to actively make the appropriate linguistic choices where form is concerned.

In the next section, we will conduct an in-depth look at the ignored substrates namely Spanish and Bahasa Indonesia. Spanish and Bahasa Indonesia contribute vocabulary in terms of nouns and verbs to the kitchen speech.

6.8.2 Spanish and Bahasa Indonesia: The Ignored Substrates

6.8.2.1 Lexifiers Dictated by Kitchen Hierarchy

The mainly side-lined substrates, Bahasa Indonesia and Spanish, contribute to lexical items in the KP. This section will discuss the usage of Spanish and Bahasa Indonesia as the main lexifiers, and explain why Mandarin Chinese or Cantonese do not serve as the main lexifiers even though the Chinese cooks are the majority in the kitchen and hierarchically superior in the ranks.

Spanish contributes mostly to the food and work-related jargon in terms of the nouns such as *pollo (chicken), cebolla (onion), camarón (shrimp), gambas (prawn), basura (trash), arroz (rice)*. Notice that these terms are all nouns, and related to the ingredients for the dishes to be cooked by the Chinese chefs. At this very basic level, Spanish is able to become a lexifier because it is mainly the Spanish-speaking Javy who helps to process these ingredients when they

arrive in their boxes, for example, cutting up the *cebolla* (onions) during preparation time. Even though the Chinese cooks are the majority and have the most power in the kitchen, Mandarin Chinese or Cantonese does not become the main lexifier as much as Spanish does because the Chinese terms will only be used for the names of the dishes that are *already* cooked, for example *lat kai yik* (Spicy Hot Wings) or *long xia* (lobster). This is because the cooks are the ones using the ingredients processed by Javy to make the final dishes. In other words, at the most basic level, the ingredients are labeled in Spanish because Javy is helping to cut them up and put them into the bins for the cooks to fry into dishes. Also, *arroz* (rice) and *basura* (trash) is relevant here as it is Javy's responsibility to cook the rice in the kitchen, and initiate the ritual of wheeling out the trashcans when the cooks have finished their work for the evening.

Even Hock, the fryer, has to adapt and learn the Spanish terms for the ingredients, like *pollo* (chicken), because Javy helps him cut it up when the meat delivery arrives. Notice also the use of Chinese for the cooked dishes, by Hock in the sociolinguistic interview with the researcher as he announces *long xia, long xia* (lobster) as his favorite dish when asked. Similarly, the Spanish *pollo* once fried by Hock, will become the infamous Cantonese *lat kai yik* or *la calle* to Javy.

In addition, the Spanish verbs incorporated in the kitchen speech also reveal the immediate nature of the actions connected with the everyday work scenario in the kitchen. Verbs connected with immediate needs like *comer* (eating) and *tomar*(drinking), and also nouns connected with basic bodily functions like *caca* (shit) define the realm of the males in the kitchen.

In this way, the hierarchy within the kitchen ranks is responsible for the extent to which language or languages having the ability to be the lexifiers, and also what sort of words selected will be dependent on the nature of the responsibilities of each worker. The nature of the choice

will ultimately rest with the nature of jobs and characters of the kitchen staff. Linguistic choices are realized through the interplay of the politics of power and action in their immediate situation.

6.8.2.2 Bahasa Indonesia: Descriptive Humor

Bahasa Indonesia jargon used by Hock contributes to some of the reduplication in verbs such as *joget joget* (dancing), *berak berak* (defecating), and adjectives such as *mabuk* (drunk), and *lawa* (suave). The use of Bahasa Indonesia as another possible language for the source of lexical items is due to Hock's relatively poor command of English. He has to use adjectives from Bahasa Indonesia to add to his speech. The use of Bahasa Indonesian adjectives show the immediate descriptive nature of the language used, that Hock utilizes them to characterize what he concretely observes in the kitchen. Note that the adjectives are about the properties and features of concrete items and phenomena that can be observed in the kitchen, like how the Chinese cooks look in their leather jackets (*lawa*), how Wha is like when he drinks the beer as he is cooking (*mabuk*), and how Alfredo will dance in the disco with the sexy ladies (*joget joget*).

6.8.2.3 Spanish Kinship Terms: All in the Family

Spanish also contributes to solidarity terms such as Mau the head chef being addressed as *papa*, and the addressing of Javy and Hock by each other as brother-in-law, *cuñado*, and the use of *hermano* (brother) between Javy and Kyo, the new sushi chef. In addition, the offensive *maricón*, the derogatory term for faggot is used to tease Wha.

Why is Spanish used for respect and solidarity terms like *papa* and *cuñado*? This is due to the fact that the Spanish-speaking workers try to identify themselves as part of the larger family they belong to, as workers uniting for a common cause, which is for the smooth operations of the

kitchen. Since Mau is the head chef, he is viewed as the father figure by the Mexican workers, who look up to him, as the most senior. We can also label this as a sort of vertical hierarchy. In terms of age and seniority, Mau is the oldest in the kitchen, and hence the lower ranks call him *papa*, looking up to him.

The use of *cuñado*(brother-in-law) between Hock and Javy is interesting as it shows the equality and solidarity between both men. However, between Javy and Kyo, *hermano* is used instead of *cuñado*. Both the use of *cuñado* and *hermano* display solidarity between equals, but the issue is why the difference between the two forms? The function is the same, which is to show solidarity and kinship between males in the kitchen, however there is a reason for the two different forms.

The reason is because both Hock and Javy are married, and hence the use of *cuñado*. Male speakers of Spanish tend to tease other males as *cuñado*, if the speaker wishes to let the addressee be his *cuñado*, if he sees the addressee being interested in his sister, for example.

So in this way, the use of *cuñado* is appropriate between Javy and Hock, since by "marrying" the addressee's sister for example, that would make the relation between the two men brothers-in-law. The two men are related by marriage, because the speaker or addressee has "married" the other's sister. In this way, reciprocal use of *cuñado* between Javy and Hock is appropriate since both are married.

Kyo is Javy's brother, *hermano,* because he is still single. There can be no *cuñado* kinship when Kyo is single, and it would be quite inappropriate for Kyo to be Javy's *cuñado* since Kyo does not have any sisters, and also based on the fact that Javy is already married, and should not be looking at Kyo's sister, if he indeed has one.

The use of *maricón* to label Wha is derogatory and it is looking down from top down in the labeling hierarchy. So far we have seen the use of *papa* to denote seniority, and also *cuñado* and *hermano* to denote equality and solidarity, and now *maricón* denotes mock disgust, looking down on the supposed faggot, which is Wha.

The kitchen males always label Wha as the *maricón* because of his effeminate behavior, his love for fun, and for listening to music while cooking in the kitchen. Sometimes, Wha would break out in a mad dance between breaks during slow evenings.

It was rumored that he was taking some drugs to make him feel high when he went clubbing on his days off. In being labeled a *maricón*, Wha is temporarily banished from the group of male workers, since by being a faggot, he is losing the very essence of his male sexuality, to be politically correct, straight male sexuality. And it is in this maleness that all the workers identify themselves as being the common point which unites them as men, regardless of the different languages they speak and different ethnicities they belong to.

The use of *señor* (mister) as a term of address is also interesting as it adds distancing, forcing the artificial separation of the speaker from the addressee as it adds a tone of formality. Hock uses it as a term of address for Wha in the exchange when he thanks Wha for showing him his muscles. This is in contrast to the usual *cuñado* he uses to address Javy, or *maricón*, which he uses for Wha. The use of the term *señor* also presupposes the masculinity of the addressee, since in the context, the show of muscles is related to masculine traits associated with a male *señor*, and not a *maricón* (faggot).

(195)   Wha: Mike Tyson, Mike Tyson (seeing Hock showing some muscles)
   Amigo,maybe mañana.
   (laughter)
  Hock: Thank you <u>señor.</u>

Gloss:
Wha: He looks like Mike Tyson!
    My friend, maybe tomorrow.
     (I'm not sure what Wha means by this)
     (laughter)
 Hock: Thank you mister.

6.8.2.4 Maria, Mothers, and Mamacitas: Out of the Mouths of Babes

In this sub-section, we will explore the terms used to describe women by the males in the kitchen. The researcher is called Maria by the Mexican workers. Sometimes, Manuel will tease the researcher by calling her Maria De Jesus, and dangle his keychain with the Catholic Mary and Jesus pendant attached to it. The significance of the name Maria is that it is a common Hispanic name for girls, and it is also a religious name. A name is supposed to have one unique referent, as it already demarcates one particular person with that particular name. The sign and the person it represents is on a one-to one relationship. However, the use of Maria here makes the researcher lose her identity since it is such a common Hispanic name, that is, she could just be one of the many Marias in the Hispanic world.

In the male world of the kitchen, *mamacitas* are a common topic. Manuel's new wife from Mexico (his second marriage) is called *mamacita* by the workers when they refer to her in the kitchen talk. Instead of referring to her by her real name, she is simply Manuel's *mamacita* (hot babe). The use of *mamacita* simply reduces women to faceless female figures from the male perspective, instead of individuals with real names and identities.

The mother and child relationship is also fleshed out by the use of Maria because it is the Hispanic version of Mary, mother of Jesus. In addition since the researcher is also bringing her male children to the restaurant for meal times after data collection, she is also viewed as the mother figure who takes care of her young.

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(196)   Res: This is your keychain? (Looking at the Mary and Jesus Catholic keychain on
                 Manuel's belt)
          Manuel: Maria de Jesus! Yolanda! Yolli!
                 Maria! Que pasa Maria!

          Gloss:
          Res: So this is your keychain.
          Manuel: Mary of Jesus! Yolanda! Yolli!
                 Maria! What's up, Maria?

Maria's older boy is affectionately termed *chinito* by Manuel, meaning little Chinese kid.

This use of *chinito* to define and identify the researcher's son is an identity marker, because it

presupposes the ethnicity of the boy and his young age, as revealed by the diminuitive ~*ito* at the

end.

(197)   (During dinner with Kim and Hock and Javy)
          Manuel: Chinito. Come here.
          Baby: Feo
                 (Trying to say Fredo, Manuel's real name in Spanish)
          Manuel: No you feo. You mucho feo.
                 You chino (turning to Res)
                 Mama chingar.

          Gloss:
          Manuel: Come here little Chinese boy.
          Baby: Feo. (Trying to say Fredo)
          Manuel: No, you are ugly. You are very ugly.
                 You are Chinese.
                 Your mom is angry/screwed up (?)

   The following figure below shows the kinship, derogatory and gender-based terms used to

denote the participants in the research study as well as the women involved. The boxes show the

terms which are between co-workers in the restaurant, while the circles involve the exterior

world, from the perspective of the males in the kitchen, defining the women and the child who

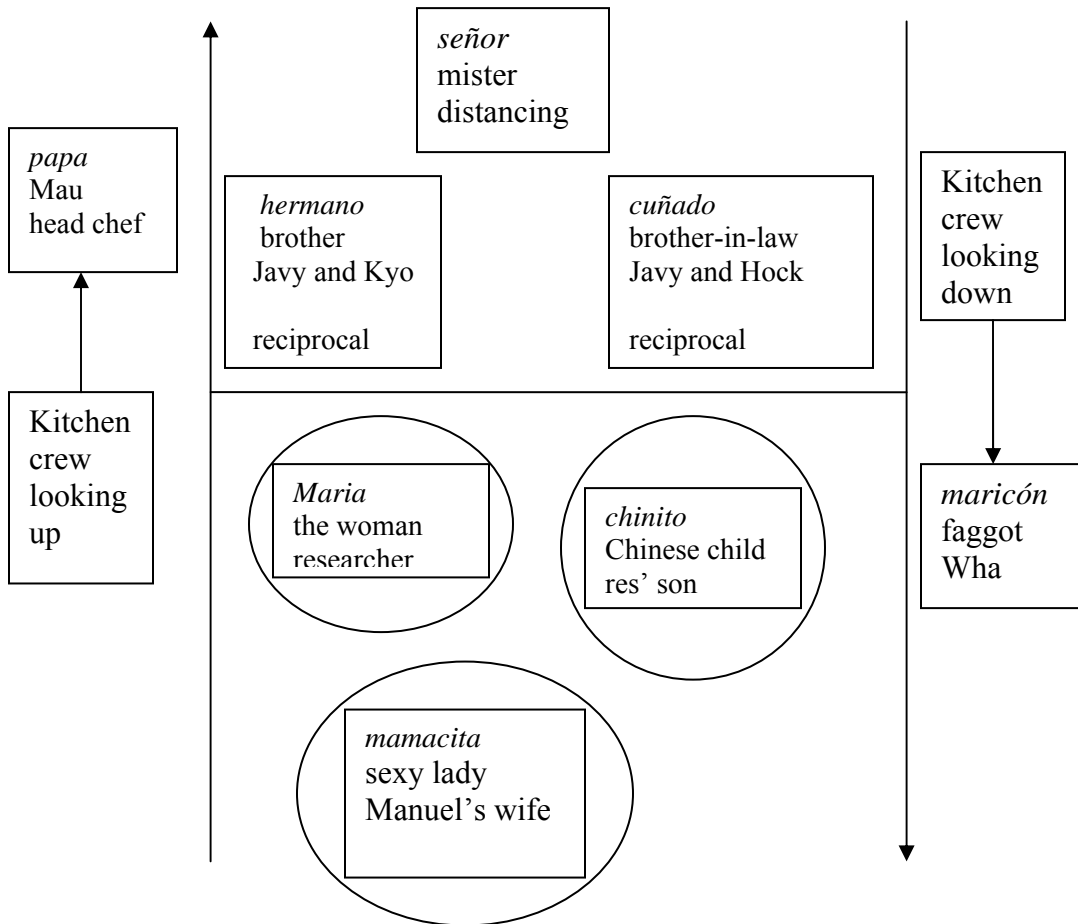have no working relationship with the kitchen crew.

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señor
mister
distancing

papa
Mau
head chef

Kitchen
crew
looking
down

hermano
brother
Javy and Kyo

reciprocal

cuñado
brother-in-law
Javy and Hock

reciprocal

Kitchen
crew
looking
up

Maria
the woman
researcher

chinito
Chinese child
res' son

maricón
faggot
Wha

mamacita
sexy lady
Manuel's wife

Figure 6.2 The Axes of Kinship, Gender, Power, and Politics in the Kitchen

6.8.3 Cantonese: The Mother of All Insults

When it comes to insults and racist labels, Cantonese is the one that contributes to the colorful

vocabulary. The following terms are presented according to how insulting the terms are, for

example, *hakkwai* (black devil), *suichai* (damned rascal), *sochai* (stupid fellow) and *yuppunjai*

(Japanese fellow). The more severe the insult, the ending of the compound will be *gwai*, or *devil*,

to show the degree of distaste. The *chai* ending is not as racist, and can even be a term of

endearment. Hence there is the possibility of intensifying racial insults by adding the person's

race and then *gwai*, for example *yuppungwa*i, Japanese devil, or *makkwai*, Mexican devil.

The reason why Cantonese is used, as opposed to Mandarin Chinese, is that insults are usually more severe and forceful in Chinese dialects rather than standard Mandarin Chinese. More over, when people are acquiring a new language, they are very likely to learn all the bad words first. Similarly, in the kitchen, where it is male-dominated, the use of racist terms and derogatory labels is necessary for male-bonding and joking. This choice is ultimately gender influenced, as the male workers tend to use bad words to vent their frustration during work and breaks.

The phonotactics in the Cantonese dialect also contribute to the harsh sounds, especially in the coda portion, for example, *lat kai yik* (spicy hot wings) which has final consonants [t] and [k]. Mandarin Chinese usually ends in either vowel sounds or in nasals. Harsh consonant final sounds contribute to the force of the insults when using derogatory terms like *hakkwai* and *makkwai*.

6.8.4 Japanese: The Land of the Kamikaze Roll

Towards the end of the data collection process, the restaurant employed two Japanese sushi chefs to run the sushi bar. One of the chefs, Kyo, had attended high school and college in the United States and speaks fluent English, Spanish, in addition to his native language, Japanese. The other chef is in his mid-forties and has been living in the United States for the past twenty years, speaking Japanese and halting English.

Some Japanese terms related to sushi will soon creep into the kitchen, for examples, *sashimi* (sliced raw fish), *wasabi* (horse radish), and *edamame* (beans). Again, the same analogy with the ingredients versus finished dishes, similar to English and French terms during the Norman

Conquest period, the names for the Japanese raw ingredients, for example, *kanpyo* (dried gourd) and *wakame* (seaweed) will not be acquired by the other workers in the restaurant.

6.8.5 The Utilitarian Kitchen: Practical Language as a Tool

We observe that the lexicon of the kitchen speech is focused on concrete nouns, adjectives, work-oriented action, and insults and solidarity terms because it is the language of work and men. Usually not many emotions or feelings are expressed, unless it has to do with the nature of their jobs. The workers and their language express their very practical, action-oriented and also testosterone regulated urges as males when they are joking about women. Obviously, we do not see the outpouring of emotions and feelings and abstract thoughts, as real men just work and do not bother to think or reflect much when they are in the midst of action and movement, unlike women who have the innate need to express feelings and emotions.

Also males tend to be very action-oriented, hence the common use of *para casa* to denote immediate needs like going home after a day's work, or to use it to dismiss someone, as in asking the person to get lost. The use of *mamacita* is reflects the male view, looking at pretty ladies as sex objects.

Hence, we come to the universal conclusion that language is about the people who use and define words. It is about defining the immediate world view and concerns that are held by the speakers who speak it. Sapir (1958:69) maintains that

the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built upon the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached... We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation

Hence the world, or the social reality represented by the language of the kitchen is very different from the private worlds of the language spoken by the workers when they reach home and interact with their families. The kitchen speech represents the working world, the everyday struggles of the many immigrant workers in the United States, their toil and their labors at the workplace. Likewise, their speech at home will represent another dimension in which that particular language will reveal their personal and family lives.

While it is not the goal of this section to go further into broader issues in linguistics here, there are as many worlds as there are represented by as many languages and linguistic styles, speech registers. There are different worlds defined by different languages within the same speaker, idiosyncratically speaking within a single individual speaker. Take for example, Mau the head chef who communicates in the kitchen pidgin speech and this language represents him as the chef of the kitchen as represented by his job. However, the Cantonese he speaks with the other fellow cooks outside of work will represent him to be a friend and fellow Malaysian Chinese among his peers and associates.

According to Whorf, Sapir's student, this supports the hypothesis that we dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages, and the world is made up of the kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organized by our minds, and this means largely by the linguistic systems in our minds (Whorf, 1940: 213).

The idea that language is inseparable from the world it identifies is like the idea of the dress defining the person, that is, what you wear defines what you are. The language defines and determines the world which the speakers live in.

In the bi-directional way that language is shaped by the world that creates it, the use of language itself defines and shapes the world. For example, the world of the kitchen creates the

action-oriented, very male dominated language use. In the same way, the use of such male-oriented talk and lexicon defines this very world. In the following diagram, the use of *mamacita* to label women by the males in the kitchen is purely a linguistic term, a sign which represents a real world object, a woman, for example. However the connotations attached with the notions of the usage of the term is determined by the masculine world of the kitchen viewing the *mamacita* as a female sex object. The choice of the term is influenced by the male perspectives of the users in the kitchen, and this over rules the seemingly neutral objective possibility, *mujer*, which represents woman, regardless of how attractive or unattractive she is. So when the speaker makes lexical choices, the signs signify real world objects, and he brings with these choices a subjective value judgement.

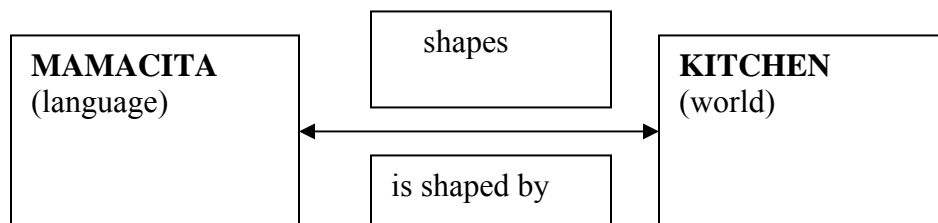| **MAMACITA** (language) | shapes / is shaped by | **KITCHEN** (world) |

Figure 6.3 The World and Language of the Kitchen

It is difficult to say which of these starts first, whether the world of the kitchen is defined by the terms used for what they mean, or whether it is in the usage of such terms which reflect the world of the kitchen. It is very difficult to prove that language doesn't shape the individual world because when we are trying to prove that it doesn't, we are in effect using language to do so. There cannot be any independent way of proving otherwise that the hypothesis is not true, without using language.

In any case, a sampling of the male-dominated terms to do with immediate physical needs and women being sex objects defines the world of the kitchen where the men work, and other topics like *basura* and *caca* and so on.

It is also ironic that the realm of the kitchen usually being defined as a woman's realm is dominated by men. It is equally ironic that the owner of the restaurant in the study is a woman who is in charge of the hiring of the male workers.

6.8.6 Bastard Pidgin: Down and Dirty Male Talk

Even though the pidgin is initially used for work purposes, it is gradually shifting to the social sphere. Much of the other discussions concerning *mamacitas* are definitely not work related. The KP is starting to be like an identity marker reserved for the workers in the kitchen using it as their own code for male bonding. Even though I had started documenting the KP strictly as a work pidgin in the very early part of the research, the fact that it is becoming a social code cannot be refuted. The use of the KP as an identity marker unifying all the workers inside the kitchen and identifying themselves as a unique community is not shared by others who work outside of the kitchen. This is motivated by the need for their own identities as co-workers and

friends in the restaurant, no matter how much or how little English they might learn outside of the workplace (LePage and Tabouret-Keller, 1985: 182).

6.8.7 The Linguistic Matrix: Multiplex Realities

In the different kinship and address terms used in the kitchen, we see that their usage is determined by the perspective of the speaker in relation to the addressee. This is more complex than just the normal usage of pronouns like *you* and *I*, which merely signal the nature of the speaker and addressee relationship within the conversation itself. The use of kinship and hierarchy terms signal the deictic nature of these terms, as they define the relationship between the speaker and addressee, each time as they are used, they define a different center. The speaker is relating differently to the addressee by selecting particular terms over others. These choices are related to the power relations determined by the kitchen hierarchy, gender relations, and the level of solidarity or distancing between the co-workers.

The issue of alternating identities is quite complex in the usage of address terms to create proximity and distancing between the speakers and addressees. They shift in and out of the respective worlds which define and create their identities.

6.9 Natural Selection: Pidgin Development and Growth

The Theory of Natural Selection states that a change in the environment will cause a gradual change in the organisms over time, if left to develop on their own. Similarly, the KP also will encounter changes in the lexicon for example, when new workers arrive at the restaurant. At the close of the data gathering process, two new Japanese staff members were introduced to the kitchen because of the addition of a sushi bar. With the increased interaction between the new

Japanese staff members and the existing participants, the lexicon will also change in terms of additional new Japanese vocabulary like *sushi* and *sashimi*.

6.10 The Linguistic Omnivore

From the examination of the sociolinguistic dynamics of the contact situation and its linguistic features, the kitchen pidgin is an unstable system. The grammar is similar to the superstrate language, Mandarin-Chinese, and the lexicon consists of words from English and substrate languages like Spanish and Bahasa-Indonesia. The superstrate language or languages contribute to the grammatical structure of the pidgin, while the substrate languages provide it with the lexical items. Sociolinguistically speaking, the superstrate languages are actually Mandarin-Chinese and English, because they can be viewed as the dominant languages. Mandarin-Chinese exerts its influence because it is the language of the cooks and also the cooks are hierarchically the most powerful in the kitchen. This is reminiscent of the situation in plantation Creoles where the dominant language is the language of the European colonizers in the New World. The cooks are also geographically confined to the kitchen while the delivery drivers and the dishwashing workers have more mobility, consolidating the fact that the kitchen is the realm where the cooks have the most authority. The cooks are also the majority in the kitchen because the three of them outnumber any of the total members in the other two groups. English is also the other superstrate language because it is the working language of the other staff (waiters and manager) outside of the kitchen.

6.11 Kitchen Talk: Prototypes and Features in the Linguistic Kingdom

6.11.1 Labels on the Continuum

The continuum concept is useful for determining if the kitchen talk is more like an A or more like B, on the line in the very first diagram represented in Figure 6.1 at the start of Section 6.6. However, with the kitchen speech, it can *still* be a pidgin even though it shows examples of each item on the continuum, accommodation, language strategies and so on. In fact, it supports the idea that the pidgin can be a multi-faceted mixed language, which is composed of individual language usage leading to us seeing the big picture. Mentioning examples of accommodation between the Spanish workers and the Chinese cooks do not in any way dismiss the notion that the kitchen speech is not a pidgin. It further reinforces the point that accommodation is a type of language strategy between speakers trying to communicate and the accommodation is part of the process in the creation and mixing of language contributing to the kitchen pidgin.

The examples on the continuum are not mutually exclusive, the pidgin can still exist even if the participants do code-switch between the pidgin and their native language.

Mufwene's (1997) perspective is that labels are as useful as those who chose define them and those languages being defined. He states that:

We gain nothing special from imposing names we are particularly familiar with, or derivatives thereof, to realities we have not quite understood yet.

Mufwene sums up the difficulty of accurately defining something because in whose reality do we define the labels? The reverse is also true, if we do not have labels or categories, how are we supposed to examine things based on features identifying them based on categories sharing the same characteristics?

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6.11.2 Continuum: Time, Changes and Attitudes

Firstly, if we look at the timeline of the development of the kitchen speech, it probably starts out very early on as jargon, simple lexical exchanges. Later as it acquires more structure with simple grammar, then it begins to evolve into something like a kitchen pidgin.

It is indeed problematic to define and categorize the kitchen speech. Jargon and pidgin presupposes the negative attitudes of the linguists who use such terms. The above terms connoted difficulties in understanding the varieties and or in recognizing the European element in them (Mufwene, 1997). Perhaps it might be most neutral to define it as a mixed language in which the input consists of mixed grammar and vocabulary from all the native languages of those speakers involved, as well as the interlanguage rules they have made up from speaking to each other in the mixed language.

The kitchen speech is made up all of the items on the continuum. However, we have to determine from whose perspective it is, that we are viewing it as an example of accommodation or jargon and so on. To each person participating in the kitchen speech, it is a different label, based on their individual perspectives. So it is not possible to see it as all of the above labels, from one person's view. However at the same time, even though it is a little bit of everything, it is also a mixed language, in the very true sense of the description, and the most neutral, without any value judgements, based on the very nature of it being a mixture of all linguistic features. Similarly, from those who assign the labels, it will also depend on whose perspective they are viewing it from.

The kitchen speech is made up of A, B, C, and D. At all times, they are existing and undergoing changes because the nature of interaction is always changing. However, the kitchen speech although represented by any of the components at any point in time, is not exclusively

limited to being only A, or B. For example, the kitchen speech is not restricted to being

accommodation strategies alone in an exclusive identity relationship, even though it can display

accommodation strategies at work. Accommodation strategies form part of the processes in

which the kitchen speech is created in the kitchen. The linguist is the untrained biologist who

attempts to categorize the main prototype according to its distinctive features based on how the

environment shapes it. The inherent irony is that some species challenge the task of

categorization by not being confined to certain characteristics and defy the norm.

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Chapter Seven

Conclusion: Continuums, Universals, and Systems

This concluding chapter presents the final integration of the parts into the whole as we review the accomplishments of each chapter in this study with reference to contributing to the understanding of the kitchen speech and the workers as a unique community of mixed language speakers.

7.1 Continuums and Universals

This case study has placed the kitchen speech data on a continuum interpreted through different perspectives, in which the different parts are broken down and studied in order to accomplish the following three main tasks.

The first task is to provide an in-depth understanding of the kitchen speech as a linguistic phenomenon. This study aims to provide an accurate description of the kitchen speech data, explain why topic prominent features occur, and explain how they came about. Chapter Three provided a description of "kitchen pidgin" features while Chapter Four came up with the Topic Chain in order to explain the function behind the topic prominent features. Chapters Five and Six introduced the most important human factor as the initiator of the evolution of the "kitchen pidgin," the unconventional but nevertheless successful language learner who is also a problem-solver and survivor in the restaurant kitchen.

To sum up the first task, it is to describe, explain, and understand the "kitchen pidgin" as a mixed language. When we talk about a mixed language, we need to break it down into its different components in order to understand it. This study has taken this mixed language apart in

order to study its features in Chapter Three, and its functions explained with the Topic Chain model in Chapter Four. Next, the interaction between the speakers and their environment in which the speakers are overcoming and solving problems is examined in Chapter Five. Finally, the issue of speakers and language involved in an antagonistic relationship, triggered by adaptation to the environment and the taking on non-native features contributing to diversity and change is explored in Chapter Six. All of this contributes to the understanding of the kitchen speech as a complex and multi-faceted linguistic system.

The second task that this study has accomplished is to provide different *perspectives* on the "kitchen pidgin". The chapters all represent a different voice as they explore and interpret the kitchen speech. The linguist who studies pidgins and creoles speaks in Chapter Three, as the specific features characteristic of pidgin languages are described, together with an account of the immediate sociolinguistic environment. The linguist who is interested in models and representations came up with a model to explain the topic prominent features in Chapter Four. Chapter Five is written by the linguist in the second language acquisition field, who uses the kitchen speech to represent successful language acquisition, and describe the prototype of the successful language learner, drawn from the uplifting examples shown by the kitchen workers. In Chapter Six, the sociolinguist speaks through Darwin as the issues of evolution and change in the kitchen speech are addressed.

In the utilization of different perspectives through different voices, we have successfully integrated the views from pidgin and creole studies with that from the field of second language acquisition. The pragmatic function underlying the minimalist features in the kitchen speech has also been consolidated in Chapter Four with the presentation of the topic chain. Meanwhile, the human aspect of the kitchen speech is also covered by the ethnographer who presents Chapter

One with the introduction of the profiles of the participants in this study.   The third and final task of this case study is to address unanswered research questions the linguistic academia posed in the literature review back in Chapter Two.This is perhaps the most challenging task that this case study hopes to accomplish.

We go back to the disturbing question we sought to answer at the start of this study. Are there universals in language or are there universals in language learning? Recalling the literature review in Chapter Two, Escure (1988) maintains that topic structures are *language universals*, as shown by the similarities between English-based Carribbean dialects and other English-based Creoles. Topic structures are interpreted as a *stage* in second language acquisition, and not as a language universal, in the field of second language acquisition (Fuller and Gundel, 1987). However, Jin's (1994) study contradicts the topic structures as a universal stage because not all second language learners go through it, as shown by this example of English native speakers learning Mandarin as a second language.

In this study, there is only *one* universal, namely, the strategy of human survival in the environment. This must be a linguistic universal, whether it is a language specific universal, or a universal stage within second language learning. It is this strategy to survive which determines the language of survival, as we have seen in Chapters Five and Six. The problem is not with language or the lack of a common native language in the kitchen environment, it is the issue of the speakers' reaction to their environment, and their ability to re-invent language in order to help them survive in the kitchen. In trying to describe and explain the topic prominent features and topic chains, this study arrives at the startling conclusion that it is the innate survival skills that determine the eventual features and stages within language.

This is evident as we re-evaluate the kitchen speech with reference to the chapters in an explanatory continuum in answering the research question on universals. In Chapters Three and Four, the topic chain seems to be the apparent universal form and function in the kitchen speech data. All the KP features previously discussed in terms of the lack of inflections and other elements, are categorized into topic chains. The topic chain expresses the function in which the speakers utilize related words into topic prominent utterances. This description and explanation does not satisfy our quest for the elusive universal. In Chapter Three, how can the topic chains explain the existence of SVO structures, if it were so universal in the KP? With reference to Chapter Four, how can the topic chains be a universal function, if the same form can refer to a multitude of pragmatic functions?

This proves that the topic chain cannot fully account for function and form anomalies satisfactorily. We have to resort to a more chilling and human universal, which is not linguistic in nature per se, but possesses the power to determine and change the nature of language. This universal survival underlies mankind's existence more than language. The emergence of the kitchen worker with the survival instinct in Chapter Five comes with it the power to change perspectives. The label of the "kitchen pidgin" in Chapter Three as the last bastion of neo-colonialism in the kitchen has been challenged and reformulated into the more neutral *kitchen speech* and *mixed language*.

If we evaluate form and function in terms of surviving and problem-solving, then we go back to survival as the only universal. The topic prominent forms are short and simple because the kitchen speakers are surviving on short utterances for basic communication due to time pressures at work. The topic chains have the underlying pragmatic function which is to communicate intention and basic commands in the kitchen. All of these channel back to the problem-solving

issue because of the time and task-based motivations, the features of the kitchen speech are

simple. By Manuel's simple utterance, for example, *Fish, no cook,* the problem-solving

mechanism is activated at all levels. It solves the problem of form, there is no need for a target-

like form because the kitchen workers are operating on basic communication and not on

accuracy. It solves the problem of function, because by saying *Fish, no cook*, Manuel is

expressing a comment with reference to seeing the fish, and also engaging in conversation with

his co-workers. Then it channels back to solving the problem with the environment. Manuel is

not faced with isolation in the United States any longer, he is enjoying himself and joking with

his co-workers and establishing social ties at the workplace.

7.2 Systems: "Kitchen Pidgin" or Kitchen Speech?

   Finally, we go back to the concept of the "kitchen pidgin" in Chapter Three. Do we really have

a "kitchen pidgin" in this study or has it evolved to become something else? To answer this

question, we need to know if it has changed from our initial definition and description of it. From

a realistic and technical standpoint, it has not changed because we are still looking at the same

language frozen within the timeframe of this research study. The tape recorded data has not been

tampered with and is still intact at the time of this study. One participant had left the study, and

when the restaurant expanded to include sushi chefs, the data remained primarily representative

of the original participants.

   The definition of a "kitchen pidgin" started out with pessimistic connotations of colonization,

exploitation and relative isolation from the colonial powers. Is this representative of the true

situation in the kitchen? We do have in effect a type of workforce pidgin according to Bakker

(1995) because the kitchen pidgin is restricted to usage in the workplace. There is limited

interaction with native speakers of English, and English is not the home language of any of the

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participants in the study. The speakers are also isolated in the kitchen and only interacting among themselves. I do not deny that these conditions are present, so that in effect, we do have a "kitchen pidgin" according to the description of the environment.

However, in Chapter Five, the traditional assumptions are challenged and overturned with the rise of the successful language learning even in the face of limited input and relative isolation. This study is not interested in victimized immigrant stereotypes like Alberto and his psychological distress leading to unsuccessful acquisition and thus fossilization (Schumann, 1978a, 1978b). The aim of this case study is to portray the immigrant worker as the most successful language learner overcoming the isolation and harsh working conditions in the absence of a traditional classroom. The traditional stereotype of the unsuccessful Hispanic learner of English is dismantled with Javy and Manuel, who have shown us the linguistic diversity within the kitchen based on the many races and ethnicities, colorful personalities and the insults and jokes in a brand new hybrid language. This supports the fact that the kitchen and the kitchen speech are systems in which the speech community defines the language it creates, independent of external views that it seems degenerate, ungrammatical, and hence incomprehensible to the outsider.

The kitchen speech and the participants in this study belong to an autonomous language community in which they have survived working and living in a foreign country successfully, and the kitchen speech is a product of their successful intercultural experience working in the restaurant kitchen. The kitchen data has not changed. What has changed is *how* we see the data in this new perspective when we realize that we no longer have a "kitchen pidgin."

In summary, this case study adopts a synchronic approach in terms of analyzing the kitchen speech data at a given point in time, which is at the time of the collection and transcription of the data. At the same time, it is a diachronic study in perspective, from the start of the data collection we had a "kitchen pidgin," but in the final conclusion of this study, we have come to accept the definition of it as kitchen speech or a mixed language. The evolution and the emergence of this mixed language has taken place unconsciously while we have changed nothing but our own perspectives.

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APPENDIX A: NATURAL DATA TRANSCRIPTS

KEY:
Res: Tze Lau (researcher)
Mau: Malaysian Chinese head chef
Wha: Malaysian Chinese chef
Neu: Chinese chef
Hock: Indonesian Chinese fryer
Kim: Indonesian Chinese delivery driver
Manuel: Mexican delivery driver
Javy: Mexican dishwasher

Symbols:
// point at which the current utterance is overlapped by what transcribed below
(.) micropause-potentially significant but short pause, comparable perhaps to an average syllable duration
(( )) non-vocal action
:: lengthened syllables

(1)

((Looking at car sales in newspaper))
Kim: Indonesia, car got tax (.) expensive.
Manuel: I see (.) this truck how much?
Kim: Which one, uh?

Gloss:
Kim: In Indonesia, cars are taxed, so they can be expensive to buy.
Manuel: I see, how much is this truck?
Kim: Which one?

(2)

Hock: You, tonight, disco with mamasita.
Manuel: Working (.) ti:red.
Hock: Like *jo::get jo::get.*

Gloss:
Hock: You will be going to disco with mamasitas tonight.
Manuel: I have been working, so I am tired.
Hock: You are going to dance like this.

(3)

Mau: Go home, no more tickets.
Manuel: *Adios.*

Gloss:Mau: Go home now as there are no more tickets.
Manuel: Good-bye.

(4)

Javy: Sometime (.) no time lunch.
Wha: No lunch (.) drink mucho beer. Yes ah.
        ((laughing))

Gloss:

Javy: Sometimes, I don't have time for lunch.
Wha: You don't have time for lunch but you do drink a lot of beer.

(5)

Manuel: The meat we don't need. The corn give us power
Kim: In Indonesia, meat expensive. I think (.) sometime always mutton.
        They eat uh.
Manuel: All the ti::me corn in Mexico.

Gloss:
Manuel: It's meat we don't need. The corn gives us energy to nourish our bodies.
Kim: In Indonesia, meat is expensive. I think they always eat mutton there.
Manuel: All the time, we eat only corn in Mexico.

(6)

Kim: Insurance paid for my already broken car.
Manuel: They pay (.) how much?
Kim: I tell them (.) hit from behind. Not my fault, uh.
Manuel: ((laughs))

Gloss:
Kim Insurance paid for my wrecked car.
Manuel: How much did they pay?
Kim: I told them my car was rear-ended. It wasn't my fault.

(7)

Hock: Wa::h, you good ah. ((pointing to dishes))
Javy: Loco (.) you. ((laughing))

Gloss:
Hock: Good for you, you have lots of dishes to wash.
Javy: You are crazy

(8)

((addressing Javy, pointing to cleaver))
Mau: This (.) *para mi*.
Javy: Uh. ((hands him the cleaver))

Gloss:
Mau: Please hand me this (the cleaver)
Javy: Okay.

(9)

Neu: This beer (.) mucho power man.
Hock: *Mabuk* everyday yuh.

Gloss:
Neu: This beer gives me energy.
Hock: You are drunk everyday.

(10)

Hock: General chicken, two. //Here.
Manuel: Not like this. You. ((laughing))
Wha: Wow very beau::tiful.

Gloss:
Hock; Here's two orders of General Chicken.
Manuel: Not like this. (Don't throw it on the plate) You are crazy.
Wha: That's a nice move (sarcastic)

(11)

(Kim sees Manuel using the cellphone)
Kim: Calling everyday yeah.
Manuel: To Mexico.
Kim: Only holiday time I call Indonesia.

Gloss:
Kim: You seem to be calling on the phone often.
Manuel: I call Mexico.
Kim: It's only during the holidays that I call Indonesia.

(12)

((moving a cardboard box out the door))
Kim: My son (.) clothes size seven.

Gloss:
My son's clothes are size seven.

(13)

((pointing to plates in the dirty dishes rack))
Javy: Why mix? Aaaah…you.
Wha: You (.) don't know how.
Javy: Qu::ickly, you.

Gloss:
Javy: Why did you mix the dishes up?
Wha: It's you who does not know how to organize them.
Javy: Get out of my way.

(14)

(Res sees Hock fitting a new trash liner in the trash can)

Res: You are thowing the trash.
Hock: Yeah buang. Jari sakit.
Res: Oh, where? Why?
Hock: *Jari sakit*. Here.
(shows Res wound on finger)

Gloss:
Res: You are throwing out the trash.
Hock: Yes, throwing away. (*buan*g in Bahasa Indonesia means to throw away)
        Finger hurt/pain. (*jari*—finger, s*akit*—hurt/painful)
Res: Oh where? Why?
Hock: Finger hurt. Here.

(15)

Javy: *Buenas noches*
Res: *Buenas noches.*
Hock: (engages in mock monolog)
       Hello *apa kabar kabar baik*?
       Okay lah.

Gloss:
Javy: Good night/evening.
Res: Good night/evening.
Hock: Hello, how are you?
       You are fine.
        Okay, that's good to hear.

(16)

(Javy is playing with an egg between both palms, talking to Hock)
Javy: No broken want to see? (Hides egg between palms)
Hock: (notices Javy's finger is stained orange)
       What happen?
       Your hand? Yellow?
Javy: *Zanahoria.*
Hock*: Zanahoria*…. oh *senorita, mamacita.*
Javy: No broken. (showing him the egg)
Hock: Broken?
Javy: I give you twenty dollars.
Hock: Broken heart, man.
       Hey no power, here *mucho* power.
       Broken.
Javy: No broken.
Hock: (realizes Res is listening, turns to Res)
       Hello apa kabar.

Gloss:
Javy: Look this egg is not going to break.
Hock: What happened to your finger?
        Why is it so yellow?
Javy: Carrot. (It was because I was slicing carrots and my finger got stained)
Hock: Carrot. Oh you mean senorita, mamacita. (Does not understand Javy, thinks
       Javy is talking about senoritas).
Javy: It's not broken.
Hock: Is it broken?
Javy: I will give you twenty dollars. (if the egg is not broken like I told you)
Hock: My heart is broken.

You don't have enough strength to crack the egg. But I have.
It will be broken.
Javy: No, this egg is not broken.
Hock: Hello, how are you?

(17)

(Wha is dancing to music)
Hock: One more time, man.
(Music playing in background from kitchen radio)
(Wha continues dancing)
 Javy: Maricón.
Come on maricón. Come on man.
Come on.
(Laughter from all)

Javy: Later boss tell you para casa.
Wha: No, where I go mucho trabajo.
Hock: One more time, man.

Gloss:
Hock: Dance for us one more time.
Javy: Faggot.
Come on faggot. Come on, man.
Come on.
(Laughter from all)
Javy: (If you dance like this) The boss might tell you to go home/quit your job.
Wha: No, I will find work wherever I go/There are a lot of jobs out there for me.
Hock: Dance for us one more time.

(18)

Hock goes into bathroom. (bathroom is located in kitchen for staff use)
Javy: Apestar. Cuidado. Mierde.
(Makes farting noises)
Hock: (emerges from bathroom, turning to TL and Javy)
 Yes sir!
 Berak berak..
 Hey ini ini. Hong Kong man.
(points to Neu)

Gloss:
Javy: It stinks. Beware! Shit.
Hock: Yes, sir!
    I was using the bathroom. (*Berak*—defecate (verb) Bahasa Indonesia)
    Hey, this, this is the man from Hong Kong.

(19)

Hock: Hello *ni hao ma hao bu hao*?
(Laughter)
Hock: Manana hey cuñado.
    No good man.
    Sawe no sawe? (pronounces saber as sawe with a "w")
Javy: Sabe.
    Poquito sabe.
Hock: Mucho paso, mucho comer, cuñado.
Javy: You comer mucho.
Hock: No, me already comer, cuñado.
     You no comer cuñado.

Gloss:
Hock: Hello how are you? (in Mandarin-Chinese)
(Laughter)
Hock: Tomorrow, hey brother-in-law!
    This is not good. (pointing at the food for staff dinner)
    Do you know? Or don't you?
Javy: Yes I know. A little bit.
Hock: There is a lot happening.
    You eat a lot, brother-in-law.
Javy: It's you who is eating a whole lot!
Hock: No, I have eaten, brother-in-law.
     You have not eaten yet, brother-in-law.
     (So that's why you are eating a lot)

(20)

Wha: Hey this one basura, ah
Javy: Hey, comer amigo, no basura
    No comer para mi.
Javy: Pollo la caca
(laughter)

Gloss:
Wha: Hey, throw this into the trash.
Javy: Eat, my friend, don't throw the rice into the trash.
        If you' re not eating, give it to me.
Javy: Chicken. Shit.

(21)

Hock: Mamacita okay lah.
        Tonight you this one, mucho power man.
Javy: No, it's camarón. Mucho bueno.
        No, camarón.
Hock: Camarón.
        Por que por que cuñado.
Javy: Marano?
Hock: Maradona, man.
        Argentina Argentina, hey Maradona.
        Hey you like team Argentina? Maradona
Javy: Maradona. Marano
Hock: Hey u same, brother, man.
Hock: Por que por que
Javy: Marano.
Hock: Maradona.
        Los Angeles very good man.
Javy: Mas, no mas no good, mas!
Hock: No mas
        (laughter)

Gloss:
Hock: How about mamacita? Tonight you will be with this one.
        You have a lot of power (I am telling you)
Javy: No it's the shrimp (After eating the shrimp, I am strong)
        It's very good.
        No, it's the shrimp that does it for me.
Hock: The shrimp. (affirmation of understanding)
        Why, why, brother-in-law?
Javy: Marano. (Not sure what he means by Marano)
Hock: It's Maradona, I am telling you.
        Argentina, Argentina (referring to football team from Argentina)
        Do you like the Argentina team? What about the player Maradona?
Javy: Marano.
Hock: Maradona. Los Angeles (has a good team?) I am telling you.
Javy: No more, it's not good.
Hock: No more. (Stop it!)

(22)

Javy: Yeah maricón no bueno.
    No cuñado, para la casa (to Hock)
Mau: Plastic, plastic (asking for plastic containers)
Javy: Quatro? (looking for the containers)

Gloss:
Javy: Yes, faggots are no good.
    No, brother-in-law you go home/go to hell/mind your own bussiness (to Hock)
Mau: Give me the plastic containers.
Javy: Four?

(23)

Neu: Hey your papa your manager (referring to Mau using the bathroom)
    In toilet.
Hock: Papacito!
Javy: You maricón
    You say mamacita.
Hock: Senor.
    You mucho bueno ah talk talk talk.
Javy: Yeah.
Hock: Bueno. Muy bueno, cuñado.

Gloss:
Neu: Hey, Mau's in the bathroom. (Papa is used to address Mau, the head chef)
    He's in the toilet.
Hock: Papacito! (hot dude!)
Javy: You faggot! (straight men don't look at other men)
    You should say mamacita.
Hock: Mister.
    You are good, always talking.
Javy: Yes. (I do talk a lot, and am always talking)
Hock: Good. Very good, brother-in-law.

(24)

(kitchen is preparing to close)
Wha: Hey basura, arroz.
Javy: Mañana
Wha: Para casa
Javy: Todo la chingar.

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Gloss:
Wha: Hey, please throw this old rice into the trash can.
Javy: Tomorrow. (I will do it tomorrow)
Wha: I am going home.
Javy: Everything is screwed up!

(25)
Javy: Hey maricón (turning to Wha)
       No hablar.
       Hablar
(Wha remains silent)
Javy: Maricón, maricón
Hock: Malaysia Malaysia
         Maricón

Gloss:
Javy: Hey faggot!(turning to Wha)
       What are you not speaking?
       Speak!
(Wha remains silent)
Javy: Faggot! Faggot!
Hock: Malaysia Malaysia (echoes Javy)
         Maricón

(26)
(Javy is on his way to the dumpster wheeling out the trash can,
Mau is somewhat in the way)
Javy: Go away you.
Mau: Basura? Mucho bueno, ah.
       Good, very good.

Gloss:
Javy: Please get out of my way
Mau: Is this the trash?
       That's good.

(27)

(pointing to the black leather jacket he's wearing)
Hock: Wow, *lawa* lah.
Neu: Yes. All black. Mine plastic.

Gloss:
Hock: We all look good in black jackets. (*lawa*—looking good, suave, from Bahasa
       Indonesia)
Neu: Yes, even though we are all in black, mine's a black plastic jacket and not leather.

(28)

(Javy and Kim are discussing Javy's walk across the Mexican border to USA)
Javy: Walk to America from Mexico. Dos noches. Caminando.
Kim: No sleeping ah. The police catch you?
Javy: From Vera Cruz, same same.
    (pointing to Manuel)
     Mucho calore. No stop.
Res: Did the policemen come after you?
Javy: Inside van. No sound.
Kim: In desert yah.

Gloss:
Javy: I walked to America from Mexico. It was for two nights. I was walking.
Kim: You didn't sleep. Did the police catch you?
Javy: (Manuel) is from Vera Cruz, like me.
     It was very hot. I didn't stop.
Res: Did the policemen come after you?
Javy: We hid in the van. We didn't make a sound.
Kim: You were in the desert.

(29)

(waiting for Mexican friend, Abundio to give him a ride home from work)
Javy: Abundio no vienen.
(Peeks at door later, sees yellow van pulling up)
Res: Does Abundio work at night, driving the taxi?
Javy: Night time, no more.
     Amarillo taxi.
Res: Okay, bye.
Javy: Adios.

Gloss:
Javy: I don't see Abundio coming.
Res: Does Abundio work at night, driving the taxi?
Javy: He doesn't work at night any more.
    Yellow taxi. (Here it comes).
Res: Okay, bye.
Javy: Goodbye.

(30)

(Javy and Mau in the kitchen)
Javy: New Year, Chinese, ah. (seeing Mau put away a red packet)
Mau: Mucho dinero. Inside. (holds up red packet)
Javy: Para mi.
Mau: No, you para casa.

Gloss:
Javy: It's Chinese New Year.
Mau: I have a lot of money, it's inside the red packet.
Javy: For me/Give it to me.
Mau: Not for you. You go home (Don't touch my money)

(31)

Res: Wow, you rested at home while the restaurant was under construction.
Kim: No, I work Chin Chin Restaurant, delivery.
Res: As a delivery driver?
Kim: Yes. The boss ask me stay, give me more money yeah.
        I told him, restaurant open again, I go back.
Res: Oh, he asked you to stay.
Kim: Yeah, give me more money. But I like here better.

Gloss:
Res: Wow, you rested at home while the restaurant was under construction.
Kim: No, I worked at Chin Chin Restaurant, as a delivery driver.
Res: As a delivery driver?
Kim: Yes. The boss asked me stay, he wanted to give me more money yeah.
        I told him, when the restaurant (new restaurant) is open again, I will go back.
Res: Oh, he asked you to stay.
Kim: Yeah, he wanted to give me more money. But I like it here better.

(32)

Mau: Come(r), come(r).
Javy: Today, pollo, ah.

Gloss:
Mau: Eat, eat (Let's eat!)
Javy: Today there's chicken.

(33)

(teasing Javy in a high-pitched voice)
Hock: Cakap, cakap, cakap, cakap. Punya, oh!
        Wah, mamasita. Punya! (laughs)
Javy: Oh, mamasita.

Gloss:
Hock: Talk, talk, talk, talk. There is (something). Oh.!
        Wah, there is a mamacita.
Javy: Oh, you mean mamacita.

(34)

Wha: Mike Tyson, Mike Tyson (seeing Hock showing some muscles)
      Amigo,maybe mañana.
(laughter)
Hock: Thank you senor

Javy: Hablar hablar. You mucho sabe hablar.

Gloss:
Wha: He looks like Mike Tyson!
      My friend, maybe tomorrow.
        (I'm not sure what Wha means by this)
(laughter)
Hock: Thank you mister.
Javy: Please talk! You know a lot, so talk!

(35)

(talking about Valentine's Day)
Res: Do you buy flowers for your wife?
Hock: Flowers. Flowers (thinking)
        Jauh lah.
Res: (turning to Kim)
      What is jauh?
Kim: Too far lah.
Hock: I buy for girlfriend.
Res: Do you have a girlfriend?
Hock: No. No money.
        Got money, two can, yeah.
Res: Hey, Muslims can have up to four right?
Hock: Muslim good ah!

Gloss:
Res: Do you buy flowers for your wife?
Hock: Flowers. Flowers (thinking)
       (My wife is too) far away.
Res: What is the meaning of *jauh*? (Jauh=far in Bahasa Indonesia)
Kim: It means too far, I am telling you.
Hock: I buy for my girlfriend.
Res: Do you have a girlfriend?
Hock: No. I don't have money (to have a girlfriend)
       If I got money, I can have two (one wife and one girlfriend), yeah.
Res: Hey, Muslims can have up to four right?
Hock: It's good to be Muslim then!

(36)

Res: What is this bucket?
       What ahorgarse?
(examines plastic bucket used to store soy sauce, with warning printed outside, keep children
away to avoid drowning in liquid)
Manuel: Oh, mucho agua tomar.
          Die.

Res: What is written on this bucket?
       What is the meaning of ahorgarse?
Manuel: Oh, it means to take in lots of water (drown)
       Death.

(37)

Wha: Sunday football, no hope
Kim: You bet who?
Wha: No money.

Gloss:
Wha: This Sunday's football game, I think there's no hope.
Kim: Who/Which team are you betting on?
Wha: I don't have money to place a bet.

(38)

Res: Do you get stomach ache when you eat at stalls by the road?
Kim: Sometimes.
Res: Do they pay a fine for bad food?
    Hey, the government checks on them right?
Kim: Megawati, always corruption.
     See money, take.

Gloss:
Res: Do you get stomach ache when you eat at stalls by the road?
Kim: Sometimes, I do.
Res: Are they stalls fined for serving unhygienic foor?
    Hey, the government must conduct checks on those stalls, right?
Kim: Megawati, she is always corrupt. (Megawati is Indonesia's president)
    When she sees money she takes it.

(39)

Mau: Today, very hot!
Javy: Yeah, *mucho caliente*, today. No like so hot.
Mau: You very stupid, stupid man! You, *sabes no sabes?*
Javy: You, you *loco*!

Gloss:
Mau: Today, it's very hot !
Javy: Yes, it is very hot today. I don't like it so hot.
Mau: Yes you are really stupid, really stupid. You, do you understand or not?
Javy: You, you are the one that's mad.

(40)

Res: Yuppungwai leh?
Wha: Hai hou been, ah.
Mau: Suichai, hou been sek yeen.
Manuel: Japonese! Japonese!

Gloss:
Res: Where is the Japanese devil?
    (referring to the sushi chef)
Wha: At the back. (Behind the kitchen)
Mau: Damn rascal, smoking at the back.
Manuel: Japanese man! Japanese man!

(41)

(talking and joking about Manuel's new wife)
Wha: Eh, your mamacita? At home already man!
Manuel: Ah….
Hock: (turning to Javy)
        Hey cuñado! Every day love love, cuñado!

Gloss:
Wha: Eh, where is your mamacita? (She is) at your place already, oh man!
        (knows the relationship between Manuel and girlfriend was long distance)
Manuel: Ah (embarrassed)
Hock: Hey brother-in-law! Everyday, they are a loving couple, brother-in-law!

(42)

(at dinner time, Manuel is back after a delivery run)
Hock: You come back. No come back?
          Mucho trabajo!
Manuel Loco.
Javy: Tell you something. This guy, make mucho dinero.
        Cuñado! Cuñado!
Hock: Mamacita! Cuñado!

Gloss:
Hock: You came back! Didn't you come back?
         Too much work! (So you don't want to come back)
Manuel: Crazy.
Javy: This guy, he makes a lot of money (referring to delivery tickets)
         Brother-in-law! Brother-in-law!

Hock: Mamacita! Cuñado!

(43)

Mau: Comer! Eat!
Javy: Si, papa!
Wha: Makkchai sek seen leh.
 Mau: Mou yeah ge.

Gloss:
Mau: Eat! Eat!
Javy: Yes papa!
Wha: Let the Mexican dude/boy eat first (Cantonese)
Mau: No problem with me (Cantonese)

(44)

Javy: (looking at Kim packing food for delivery order)
        Oh, no broke you.
        Later must be broke.
Kim: Que pasa amigo. What you doing?
Wha: Single Chinese man. Wanted.
Javy: Like this long time.
Wha: For tomorrow quiero uno.
Manuel: Maria quiero yah!
Hock: (Breaks out in Bahasa Indonesian song)

Gloss:
 Javy: Oh it's not broken. (The container)
        Later it will break (Too much food stuffed into it)
Kim: How are you, friend? What are you doing?
Wha: I am a single Chinese man. I am wanted.
Javy: He's been single like this for a long time.
Wha: I need one girl for tomorrow.
Manuel: I only want Maria, yeah!
Hock: (singing)

(45)

Javy: Hola amigo
Kim: Hola
Javy: Mamacita. Hola mamacita.
        No bueno.
Kim: What this mean?

Gloss:
Javy: Hello my friend.
Kim: Hello
Javy: Hot chick. Hello hot chick! (mockingly)
     Oh, no good. (Fails to get a response from the other guys)
Kim: What is going on?

(46)

Javy: Hola amigo
Kim: Hola
Javy: Mamacita. Hola mamacita.
        No bueno.
Kim: What this mean?

Gloss:
Javy: Hello my friend.
Kim: Hello
Javy: Hot chick. Hello hot chick! (mockingly)
      Oh, no good. (Fails to get a response from the other guys)
Kim: What is going on?

(47)

Javy: (laughing)
      Hey! (as he's cutting up the raw meat, Wha passes by)
Wha: You mucho comer.

Gloss:
Javy: Hey!
Wha: You eat a lot (That's why you are cutting up the meat).

(48)

(dinner time)
Manuel: Hey no comer.
       This para Ah Hock!
Hock: Thank you, man!

Gloss:
Manuel: Hey, don't eat this. This is for Hock.
Hock: Thank you!

(49)

(instructing Javy on handing him the white rice, to make fried rice)
Wha: Take the rice!
Javy: Later, you maricon.
    Chingar

Gloss:
Wha: Give me the rice for the fried rice.
Javy: Later you faggot (hands him the rice anyway)
      Messed up/Screwed up.

(50)

Javy: Hola!
Wha: Deem ah?
        (to researcher)
Javy: Hello!
        Bueno, amigo.
        (laughs)
        Hey, camaron!

Gloss:
Javy: Hello!
Wha: What? (in Cantonese)
Javy: Hello!
        Good, my friend.
        (laughs)
        Hey, there is shrimp (pointing to the peeled shrimp)

(51)

(asking about Res' tape recorder)
Kim: The battery, good?
Res: Good

Gloss:
Kim: Is the battery still in good condition?
Res: That is good.

(52)

(closing time)
Kim: We have to go home, sleep.
Manuel: (beckons to Res)
          Vamanos, Maria!

Gloss:
Kim: We have to go home to sleep.
Manuel: Let's go! (Let's go to my home, Maria!)

(53)
(announces to kitchen)
Manuel: Manana no vamos!
　　　　Por que mamacita at home!
Hock: You, no trabajo!

Gloss:
Manuel: Tomorrow not coming.
　　　　Because my hot chick is at home (Wife is at home)
Hock: You are not working tomorrow! (That's why you are not working!)

(54)
Javy: Hey papa. This one wash?
Mau: You mucho sawei. You wash
Manuel: (to Mau)
　　　　Ah papa
Gloss:
Javy: Hey papa. As for this, do I wash it?
Mau: You, know a lot. (So) You wash it.
Manuel: (to Mau)
　　　　Ah, papa! (You are being too harsh with him)

(55)
　　　(referring to sushi chef)
Javy: This one, my hermano.
Kim: Sushi. Good ah.
　　　More money.

Gloss:
Javy: This person is my brother.
Kim: He makes sushi. That's good.
　　　We can earn more money (for the restaurant).

(56)

(Kim is counting the delivery tickets at the end of the day)
Kim: You make mistake, customer angry.
Manuel: I think customer….
　　　　(laughter)

Gloss:
Kim: If you make mistake, the customer gets angry.
Manuel: I think customer….(laughter)

(57)

Manuel: Cuando cuestra tu casa?
Res: What did you say?
Manuel: How much you pay for…..
Res: For a movie
Manuel: No….no….
　　　　I miss your mama.
　　　　Yo quiero una noche con tu mama.
　　　　Con tigo tambien.
　　　　Oh Maria, Maria
Kim: Oh…

Gloss:
Manuel: How much is it to take you back home?
Res: What did you say?
Manuel: How much do you pay for….
Res: For a movie?
Manuel: I want one night with your mom.
　　　　With you also.
　　　　　Oh, Maria, Maria
Kim: Oh….(shocked)

(58)

(Manuel talking to himself near Res' baby)
Manuel:Mucho bueno. Mucho bueno.
　　　　Unos, dos tres, quarto, cinco.
　　　　Vamanos!
　　　　Aiya, chingar.

Gloss:
Manuel: Very good. Very good.
　　　　One two three four five.
　　　　Let's go!
　　　　Oops, messed up.

(59)

Res: Oh, lat kai yik (looking at the Spicy Hot Wings)
Javy: Yeah, the la calle. You like? Hakkwai like.
Res: Hey, you also know hakkwai?
Javy: Hakkwai. Negro.
Mau: You know sochai?
　　　　You makkwai. You like sochai?
Javy: You know hakkwai. Mucho gusto the la calle.

Gloss:
Res: Oh it's the Spicy Hot Wings (lat kai yik= Spicy Hot Wings in Cantonese)
Javy: Yes, it's the *la calle* (the street in Spanish)
        Do you like it? Black people like eating hot wings
        (Hakkwai=Black devil in Cantonese)
Res: Hey, you also know the meaning of *hakkwai*.
Javy: Black devil. Black (Negro=black in Spanish)
Mau: Do you know the meaning of sochai? (Sochai=stupid boy)
        You are the Mexican devil (Makkwai=Mexican devil in Cantonese)
        Do you like being called sochai?
Javy: You know black people. They love eating the hot wings.

(60)

(Res and Hock talking about Hock's daughters in Indonesia)
Res: How is your baby?
Hock: Already big girl. Every time, telephone *cakap cakap* Papa like that.
Res: Your wife takes care of her?
Hock: Yeah, two girls also. Everyday very busy, man.
Res: Oh the younger girl can talk now!
Hock: Yes Yusnita. Very clever. Call Papa to me on the phone.
        But I want one boy.

Gloss:
Res: How is your baby?
Hock: She's already a big girl. Every time, I call her on the telephone, she calls out
        Papa! Papa! (like that=in this manner)
Res: Your wife takes care of her, right?
Hock: Yeah, she takes care of both girls. Everyday, she is busy (taking care of them).
Res: Oh the younger girl can talk now!
Hock: Yes, Yusnita, the younger girl. She's very clever. She can say *Papa* on the
        telephone.
        But I would like to have a baby boy/male child (Even though my girl is clever).

(61)

(During dinner with Kim and Hock and Javy)
Manuel: Chinito. Come here.
Baby: Feo
        (Trying to say Fredo, Manuel's real name in Spanish)
Manuel: No you feo. You mucho feo.
        You chino (turning to Res)
        Mama chingar.

Gloss:
Manuel: Come here Chinese boy.
Baby: Feo. (Trying to say Fredo)
Manuel: No, you are ugly. You are very ugly.
       You are Chinese.
       Your mom is angry/screwed up (?)

(62)

Manuel: Que pasa Maria
Javy: Caca
Res: What is caca?
Javy: Shit (laughter)
    Servando. Como te llamas? (turning to Wha)
Wha: Tom Cruise.
Manuel: Conejo. Coneja.
Hock: Cuñado
     No sabe
Manuel: Para mi casa.
      Vamanos, Maria

Gloss:
Manuel: What's up, Maria?
Javy: Shit
Researcher: What is caca?
Javy: It means shit
    Servando. What is your name? (asks Wha)
Wha: Tom Cruise
Manuel: Conejo. Coneja.
Hock: Brother-in-law!
    You don't understand (my joking, saying cunado)
Manuel: Go to my house. Let's go, Maria
    (jokes and asks Res to go to his house together with him)

(63)

Res: This is your keychain? (Looking at the Mary and Jesus Catholic keychain on
    Manuel's belt)
Manuel: Maria de Jesus! Yolanda! Yolli!
    Maria! Que pasa Maria!

Gloss:
Res: So this is your keychain.
Manuel: Mary of Jesus! Yolanda! Yolli!
    Maria! What's up, Maria?

(64)

(Hock notices some dollar notes on the kitchen counter, on a Sunday evening)
Hock: Wah, mucho dinero! Hallelujah money, cuñado.
Wha: Sex lah. What hallelujah money.
Javy: Maricon. Today you go church.

Gloss:
Hock: Wow, that's a lot of money. It's money for the church offering, brother-in-law.
Wha: It's money to pay for sex. (for hookers). This is not hallelujah money.
Javy: Faggot! (Why are you talking about sex/paying hookers?)
    You better go to church and repent/You better go to church and give them the
    offering.

(65)

Manuel: Eh, Maria, me gusto tu mama
Res: But my mama is old.
Manuel: No problem! (laughing)
Res:Why no problem?
Manuel: Problem is your mama no like me.
      Right? Yeah? (laughing)
Res: Oh, you are so handsome!
    My mother will buy you t shirt for you when she comes.
     Souvenir.
Manuel:Yeah okay. When coming?
Res: June. She'll buy present for you.
Javy: Making susi. (Making sushi)
    (Observing the sushi chef working)
Manuel: Fish no cook!

Gloss:
Manuel: Hey, Maria, I like your mom.
Res:But my mother is old. (There's an age gap)
Manuel: There's no problem!
Res: Why is there no problem?
Manuel: There's going to be a problem if your mom doesn't like me
        (not because of the age gap)
         Right? Yes?
Res: Oh, of course, she will like you because your are handsome!
    My mother will buy you t shirts as souvenirs when she comes
Manuel: Yes, okay. When is she coming?
Res: She's coming in June. She will buy presents for you.
Javy: The chef is making sushi.
Manuel: The fish is not cooked! (That is raw fish!)

(66)

Waiter: You sleep (pointing to booth in restaurant when he sees Javy lying down there)
Javy: Day and night, my home here. (Yawns)
Waiter: You are sleeping here.
Javy: Day and night, I am here all the time. My home is the
     restaurant.
(Res sees a picture of an onion on the outside of a box)
Res: What is this?
Javy: *Cebolla*
Hock: Cut, you cry ah
Javy: Hey, man no cry. You eat….you cry.
Res: The big one is also *cebolla*? What about the green stalks?
Javy: Green? (Doesn't understand stalks)
    This *cebolla*. That also *cebolla* (pointing to the spring onion stalks)
Hock: Everything *cebolla,* cuñado!

Gloss:
Res: What is this (referring to the picture of the onion on the box)
Javy: It's *cebolla*
Hock: If you cut it, you cry.
Javy: Hey men don't cry. When you eat it, you cry.
Res: Is the big one also called *cebolla*? What about these green stalks?
Javy: Green ones?
    This is called cebolla. That is also called cebolla.
Hock: Everything you pointed to is called cebolla, brother-in-law!

(67)

(Javy meets Kim in hallway after Kim's delivery run)
Javy: Como estas?
Kim: Muy bien.
    Ticket ticket.
    (walks straight into the kitchen)
Javy: Oh, muy bien, amigo!

Gloss:
Javy: How are you?
Kim: Very good.
    I have many tickets.
Javy: Oh, that's very good, my friend!

(68)

(looking at Res' tape recorder)
Kim: Is expensive you buy?
Manuel: How much? Thirty dollar?
Kim: Sometimes not clear.
        Yes?
Manuel: Wait, come here (to baby)
        Grandson!
Baby: For who?
Manuel: Where are you going to?
        (speaking to baby)

Gloss:
Kim: Is this expensive this thing that you bought?
Manuel: How much is it? Thirty dollars?
Kim: Sometimes, it is not clear.
        Yes? (Am I right?)
Manuel: Wait a moment! Come here!
        Grandson!
Baby: For who?
Manuel: Where are you going?

(69)

(speaking to Baby)
Manuel: Como?
Wha: What you want? What you want?
        Go to your mommy.
Baby: Hello.
        What this for?
        Who that?
Manuel: No, no, no.
        Hey pancho!   (nickname for Baby)
Gloss:
Manuel: What?
Wha: What do you want? What do you want?
        Go to your mommy.
Baby: Hello.
        What this for?
        Who that?
Manuel: No, no, no. (Don't touch the tape recorder)
        Hey, pancho!

(70)

(teasing Res)
Manuel: Mamacita china!
            Guapa!
(Manuel and Javy laughing)
Baby: Stop it!
Manuel: (speaking to Baby)
            Go inside! (points to office)

Gloss:
Manuel: Chinese hot chick! Pretty!
Baby: Stop it.
Manuel:(speaking to Baby)
            Go inside!

(71)
Hock: Tell you mucho sawei! (mucho sabe)
Javy: No mucho. You loco.

Gloss:
Hock: I am telling you, I know a lot!
Javy: Not much. You are crazy
        (you are crazy to think you know a lot)

(72)

(Res and Javy looking at picture of Javy's baby in wallet)
Res: What is *todos mi amor para ti*?
        (referring to printed words below picture)
Javy: Mean, all my love, para ti.
Mau: Para mi okay.
        Sawei. (sabe)
Hock: Mamacita para mi. Good, very good!

Gloss:
Res: What is the meaning of *todos mi amor para ti*?
Javy: It means all my love for you
Mau: Para mi okay.
        Get it?
Hock: Hot chicks for me. It's good! Very good!

(73)

Manuel: Oh, Maria, Maria!
Res: What?
Hock: No, not your mamacita.
      Home, mucho mamacita, sawei! (sabe)

Gloss:
Manuel: (teasing Res)
        Oh, Maria! Maria!
Res: What do you want?
Hock: No, she is not your hot chick.
      There are a lot of hot chicks in your home, get it?

APPENDIX B: SOCIOLINGUISTIC INTERVIEWS WITH KITCHEN STAFF

Interview with Hock (Bahasa Indonesia-speaking ethnic Chinese Kitchen Worker)

Res=Tze Lau
H=Hock
W=Wha and M=Manuel (in the background)

Res: Tell me about your favorite food.
H: Favorite food? Makan apa? Makan siew mai!
Res: How do you make it?
H: (gibberish in Bahasa-Indonesia, not clear)
Res: What is inside?
H: Inside camaron. Okay lah.
Res: What's your favorite on the menu?
H: I don know menu expensive expensive.
Res: Which one do you like?
H: Long xia! long xia! (Lobster! Lobster! Long xia=lobster in Mandarin Chinese)
       Yeah. Very good, very good.
       Hao chi. Hao chi. (hao chi=delicious in Mandarin-Chinese)
Res: What's the most popular food for customers?
H: (turning to Manuel)Huh? Tell me, cuñado.
M: No, don't know man!
Res: Tell me your favorite holiday?
     What do you do?
H: Manocha manocha. Comer manocha.
W: Holiday? 2 month something.
H: No need vacation. Have green card okay, cuñado.
M: Vacation San Francisco!
Res: Why do you like living in the US?
H: Money money. No money, no good.
Res: What are the things you don't like
H: Huh?
W: Mucho trabajo.
Hock: Mucho trabajo, cuñado!
Res: Who is your favorite actress?
H: Huh? Address? (Does not know the word "actress", thinks it's "address")
Res: On TV, movie?
     Eh, Roswell Road. Residency!
     Huh? Tell me, cuñado.
Res: Why do you like the actress?
H: Address, address. Roswell Road.
Res: Huh?
M: Eh, amigo, amigo and chickens!

Interview with Kim (Bahasa Indonesian-speaking ethnic Chinese delivery driver)
Res= Tze Lau
K =Kim

Res: Tell me about your favorite food.
K: Chinese food.
Res: Which dish do you like?
K: King Pow Chicken.
Res: How do you make it?
K: Is with brown sauce.
Res: Why do you like it?
K: (silent)
Res: Why do you like the dish?
K: Because nice taste.
Res: What is the most popular food for customers?
K: Mongolian chicken. Sesame chicken.
Res: Tell me about your favorite holiday
        What's your favorite holiday?
K: Christmas.
Res: What do you do on Christmas?
K: Go out, and shopping.
Res: Where do you go?
K: The mall.
Res: Why do you like Christmas?
K: Because shopping.
Res: How long is your vacation?
K: Usually, one week, ah.
Res: Who's your favorite sportsman?
K: Andruw Jones.
Res: What sports does he play?
K: Baseball.
Res: Why do you like him?
K: Because cool and very good.
Res: Who's your favorite actor?
K: Actor, ah. (thinking)
     Michael Douglas.
Res : What are the things you like about living in the US?
K: Peaceful.
Res: What are the things you don't like
K: Work long hour.
Res: Where do you go for vacation?
K: San Francisco!

<u>Interview with Wha (Cantonese-speaking Malaysian Chinese Kitchen Worker)</u>

Res=Tze Lau
W=Wha
H= Hock (in the background)

Res:What is your favorite food?
W: Anything lah
Res: What is the most popular on the menu, the one customer like?
W: (Silent)
Res: Which is your favorite holiday.
Wha: Mut yeah? (What thing=What? In Cantonese)
Res Tai yat ji.   (Important days=Holidays In Cantonese)
Res: What are the things you like about the US?
Wha: Money money.
H: Mucho trabajo!
Res: What are the things you don't like.
Wha: (Silence)
Res: Where do you go for holiday?
W: Casino.
Res: Casino where, which one?
W: Anyone lah.
H: Africa.
Res: Tell me about your favorite actress.
W: (Silent)
Res: Any favorite sportsman?
W: Sportman ah. NBA. (thinks Res is asking favorite sports)
H: Football! Football! Football!

(End of interview, Wha rushes off to cook)

Interview with Manuel(Spanish-speaking Mexican Kitchen Worker)

Res= Tze Lau
M =Manuel

Res: Tell me about your favorite food.
M: Chinese food.
Res: How do you make it?
M: Cook. Hot, spicy.
Res: What's your favorite dish?
M: Kung Pow Chicken
Res: What's in the dish?
M: Vegetable, shrimp.
      All the seafood.
Res: What is the most popular food for the customer?
M: Customer? Vegetables
Res: Tell me about your favorite holiday
M: Is er Christmas and New Year.
Res: What do you do during the holidays?
M: Go work, somewhere.
Res: How many days of vacation do you have?
M: One week.
Res: Tell me who is your favorite sportsman?
M: (silence)
Res: The person playing sports?
M: Sports?
Res: Basketball? Football?
M: (silent) (doesn't understand the question)
Res: Who is your favorite actress?
M: Actress?
Res: On TV, movies. Favorite actress.
M: (silent)
Res: What are the things you like about the US?
M: Shopping, er shopping.
      The walk, to a park.
Res: What are the things you don't like?
M: (laughs)
      No I like walking. (thinks Res is saying he doesn't like walks)
Res: Where do you go for vacation?
M: Orlando, Florida.

Interview with Javy (Spanish-speaking Mexican Kitchen Worker)

Res= Tze Lau
J =Javy

Res: Tell me about your favorite food.
J: Oh, Chinese food is my favorite food.
Res: Which sort of Chinese foods do you like? Which dish?
J: Erm, Mongolian beef… and chicken teriyaki.
Res: Uh. why do you like it?
J: (long pause) Like uh lobster, lobster… ginger and lobster.
       (Javy might have interpreted question as *What else do you like?*)
Res: Who is your favorite actress?
J: Catherine Zeta-Jones
Res: Why do you like her?
J: I like her face.
Res: Do you like any other actresses on TV?
J: Sandra Bullock.
       All, all, Sandra Bullock
Res: Who's your favorite sportsman?
J: Sammy Sosa.
Res: What sport does he play? Why do you like him?
 J: Sammy Sosa and Michael Jordan.
Res: Tell me about your favorite holiday.
J: That's eh, Christmas.
Res: What do you do during your holidays?
J: Sleep. I want sleep.
Res: Where do you go? Do you go anywhere?
J: I go to the mall, shopping.
Res: Tell me about your favorite food on the restaurant menu.
       Here (in this Japanese restaurant)
J: There's er… Katsu don, Japanese.
Res: How do you make it?
J: You put the eggs and meat, er..pork meat.
Res: what's the most popular food here?
J: Sushi and sashimi.
Res: Which is the one you hate? You don't like?
J: I don't like some food, eh…
Res: What are the things you like about the US?
J: I like America, everything.
Res: What are some of the things you don't like?
J: (laughs) I don't like apartment. I need a house is better.
Res: Where do you usually go for vacations in the US?
J: I like eh Miami.
Res: What do you do in Miami on vacation?
J: Eating, swimming, go to shopping.