ABSTRACTS AND PROFILES

KEYNOTE ADDRESS:
Curwen BEST
The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill

Hi-Def Culture, Youths and Emerging Caribbean Languages

Among other things, emerging technologies have forced us to think about how we communicate at home and abroad. The Internet and new tools have brought the question of language and global communication into sharper focus over the past two decades. Some perspectives have surmised that the process towards the death of regional and local languages is already entrenched, while others have called attention to the expanding number of real and virtual safe havens for local languages. This exploratory presentation begins to investigate the intricate if troubling relationship between Caribbean languages and selected popular media. In the first instance it raises questions about the treatment of Caribbean languages in global mainstream media and platforms (gaming, film, video, mobile phones, Internet, news networks), by way of illustrating the potency of these facilities and their capacity to shape and restyle even newer versions of Caribbean languages. Secondly, it concerns itself with some specific uses of Caribbean languages by native speakers (and/or their descendents) via leading-edge media. Can even the most sincere native speaker keep a real voice when they enter the arena of high-def culture?

PRESIDENTIAL PLENARY
John RICKFORD
Stanford University

**Relativizer Omission in Anglophone Caribbean Creoles and Other Varieties
and its Theoretical Implications**

A linguistic variable that has been the focus of many quantitative, variationist analyses of English over the past two decades is the omission of the relativizer (*that* or WH-forms like *what, who,* or *which*] in restrictive relative clauses, as in "That's the man Ø (*who/ that/what*) I saw." This variable has, however, never been examined in Caribbean Anglophone varieties. In this paper, I will attempt to fill in the missing gap by presenting a quantitative analysis of relativizer omission in Jamaican, Guyanese and Bajan, taking into account the central constraints considered by linguists who have worked on this variable (e.g., Guy and Bayley 1995, Lehmann 2001, Tagliamonte et al 2005). These include the grammatical category, adjacency and humanness of the antecedent NP, and the sentence structure in which the relative clause occurs.

To some extent, the Anglophone creole and vernacular varieties display some of the same constraint effects on relativizer omission that Early African American English, White Appalachian, and Northern English varieties in Scotland, Ireland and England do—for instance existential and cleft constructions favor relativizer omission in all these varieties. At the same time, the Caribbean varieties pattern with African American Vernacular English [AAVE] and/or Earlier African American English in showing significant effects of the adjacency and humanness of the antecedent NP while the "White" varieties from England and North America do not. These results provide some support for the "creolist" hypothesis about the origin of AAVE, but, the Caribbean varieties appear to bear out the more general language processing hypothesis adumbrated by Jaeger, Wasow and Orr (in press): the more predictable the occurrence of a relative clause is, the more likely it is to lack a relativizer. This may be bad news for attempts to close off the long-standing debate about AAVE's origins, but it opens new vistas for studying and understanding variability in English, and in language more generally.

SPECIAL PANEL
The Evolution of Pidgin and Creole Studies (1968 to the present): The Caribbean Contribution

Approximately forty years ago, a major international conference on the "Pidginization and Creolization of Languages" was held at UWI Mona (1968), and the resulting book (Cambridge University Press 1971) had a major impact on ensuing teaching and research in the field of pidgin-creole studies, and Caribbean linguistics. We have asked three linguists/creolists (including one who was a participant in the 1968 conference) to give their perspectives on how the field(s) have evolved in the interim, and whether the current issues that are the focus of teaching and research today are the same or different from those that occupied those who gathered in the Caribbean for that transformative conference and publication four decades ago.

ALLEYNE, Mervyn C.
Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras

From "Then" to "Now": Interrogating the "Creole" Concept

This paper is essentially about how the prerogatives of naming fashioned the evolution of this hemisphere from the 16th century up to today. It argues that "creole" belongs to a class of names (cf. also "mulato", "mestizo", "negro", etc.) which were invented by the dominant group to serve their own interests. Post-colonial thinking has set about re-naming, changing the significant symbols and cleansing old colonial names of their pejorative connotations. "Creole" emerged as a colonial folk classifier and, quite incredibly, was, in the 20th century, adopted by scientific discourse as a scientific classification which also transformed some of the folk connotations into scientific definitions. In the 1970s, I argued, among other things, that it seemed to make no sense calling Saramaccan a "creole" language, nor Bajan for that matter. I also proposed then that the study of the languages/dialects of the Caribbean was best situated within the context of language and culture contact and of first language transmission and second language learning. This also has the merit of accounting for ALL Caribbean language phenomena within the same theoretical, analytic framework. Now many of the imaginative exotic names and principles are being more and more rejected in favour of simpler, more general and empirically substantiated ones.

KOUWENBERG, Silvia

The University of the West Indies, Mona

Pidgin and Creole Studies in the Caribbean since Hymes 1971

The period around the 1968 Mona conference and the 1971 publication of the Hymes volume seems to have been a time of optimism. Creolists were excited about the associations they were able to forge with colleagues from around the globe. The study of pidgin and creole languages was emerging from the margins and gaining recognition; DeCamp in his introductory chapter saw geographic and other barriers eroding and the field being unified. For someone entering the field of creole studies in the mid 1980s, as I did, the papers in Hymes 1971 seemed to cover just about any topic and any part of the world. Moreover, the volume carried a spirit of promise, that pidgins and creoles would rise from their historical shackles to take their legimate places in their societies and, indeed, among the world's languages, and that the study of these languages would allow us to answer fundamental questions in linguistics.

Today, few if any of these papers are on the reading lists of introductions to pidgin and creole studies, let alone general linguistics courses. So what has the study of Caribbean creoles contributed and what role has research at Caribbean institutions played? Despite the recognition of pidgins and creoles in the field of Contact Linguistics, one cannot help but feel that the study of these languages is still seen as rather trivial in the general linguistic enterprise. Perhaps more importantly, creole languages continue to be marginalized in their societies. Moreover, we still lack good descriptions of most Caribbean creole languages. It appears that much work remains to be done.

McWHORTER, John

Manhattan Institute/Columbia University

Are Creoles Just Mixtures, and if They Are, Why Should We Study Them?

One of the hallmarks of creole studies since its formalization in 1968 has been a furious resistance to the idea that creoles might be a kind of language. Resistance to Derek Bickerton's work was based on an almost visceral recoil to what one could have thought of as an interesting notion—that creoles are the heart of the human language competence. Resistance to my own idea that creoles are less needlessly complex than older languages has been similar. In both cases, the underlying conviction is that to be considered legitimate, creoles cannot be painted as evidencing their youth in any way. However, the scientific appropriateness of this position is questionable, and threatens to eliminate any driving motivation for the existence of a creole studies field. I will also touch on resistance, once again almost peculiar to an outside observer, to attempts to treat creoles in a family tree style, in favour of painting each creole as having arisen where it is spoken today.

ALLSOPP, Jeannette and Hélène ZAMOR

The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill

The Contribution of Zouk to Caribbean Popular Culture
(SESSION 2 / PANEL 2A)

This paper will explore in some depth the rise of zouk as one of the main contributions to the contemporary Caribbean music scene. Ethnomusicologists Jocelyn Guilbault (1993), Peter Manuel (1996) and Caribbean multilingual lexicographer Jeannette Allsopp (2008), among others, have highlighted the genre as a Caribbean cultural phenomenon, showing that the form, created in 1979 by the pioneering group Kassav, comprising first Guadeloupeans, then Martiniquans, reached its peak in the Caribbean region in the 80s and quickly spread to Africa, Europe and the United States. A notable characteristic of this musical form was the influx of female artists and groups into the genre. They made their own significant contributions and were able to obtain creditable professional standards, thereby adding to the appeal of this new French Caribbean musical phenomenon.

The paper will further discuss the origins of zouk as developing some better-known traditional French Caribbean rhythms such as beguine, bèlè and gwo ka. It will underline the additional influences that were brought to bear on zouk in the form of both Spanish and English Caribbean rhythms such as salsa, meringue, soca, calypso and North American popular music, all of which added to the appeal of zouk as party music, but also music with a message.

The role of French Creole as the language of zouk lyrics will also be examined, as the language makes the genre both a cultural as well as a political instrument which reflects Antillean identity. Finally, an attempt will be made to assess the impact of zouk on the Caribbean popular music scene, and within a wider framework, on Caribbean popular culture.

BARRETT, Terri-Ann

The University of the West Indies, Mona

The Effect of Jamaican Creole on the Learning of Standard English
by Grade 1 Students in Jamaica
(SESSION 11 / PANEL 11A)

This paper is a report on a pilot project which looks at how select phonological and syntactic structures that Jamaican children are exposed to from their knowledge of Jamaican Creole (JC) are influencing their learning of those of Jamaican Standard English (JSE) at the grade one level.

In second language learning, there is always the issue of first language transfer and interference which clearly influences the success of the language learner. For the language teacher this must be a consideration. In Jamaica, JC is recognised as the first language of most of the population, in what the Ministry of Education in its Language Education Policy, issued in 2001, describes as a bilingual society (Alleyne 1989; Shields 1989). This project will examine the extent to which this policy appears to inform the teaching of English in the pilot schools and the level of teachers' recognition of JC and JSE as distinct languages. Previous research has shown that the mutual intelligibility of both languages poses a severe challenge for the learners of JSE because the status of the child as a second language learner of the standard language is not always clearly recognised (Craig 2006).

For the pilot project, data were collected from four Grade 1 students who were between the ages of six and seven years. An analysis was done of their teachers' perceptions of the influence of JC on these students' attainment of JSE, as well as of unstructured interviews conducted by the researcher with them. This provided information about the phonological and syntactic structures to which the students had been exposed and those they were actively using.

The expectations are that the research will uncover what are some of the challenges encountered by students at this level in learning the phonological and syntactic structures of JSE, and also identify specific instances of interference from their first language. Also we will be able to identify how teachers are approaching the teaching of JSE as a second language, and their perceived difficulties in teaching English in a Creole-speaking environment.

BAUGH, John

Washington University

Linguistic Profiling: International Comparisons of
Linguistic Discrimination in the African Diaspora
(SESSION 11 / PANEL 11C)

Longitudinal analyses of speakers of African descent in the United States, Brazil, Jamaica, South Africa, and Paris, France confirm that Black vernacular speech patterns are subject to discrimination in schools and institutional settings that have detrimental consequences for speakers of non-dominant languages. Beginning with evidence of discrimination in housing and lending practices in the United States, and evaluating the political consequences of South Africa's recognition of eleven official languages, this paper presents experimental results from studies of diverse attitudes toward Black and White speech patterns among native citizens in their respective countries. In each case we find, to a greater or lesser extent, that vernacular Black speech patterns have been criticised and subsequently subordinated to dominant language norms that are native to social and political elites who devalue vernacular Black speech in their respective countries. Our quantitative and experimental analyses of linguistic profiling in the United States focus on housing and lending bias, and related experimental results pertaining to language attitudes confirm linguistic discrimination against black speakers during telephone conversations. In Jamaica, we explore mixed reactions to efforts to promote bilingual education policies and practices. In Brazil, we examine local linguistic controversies that seek to dismiss or diminish the impact of linguistic profiling in that country; that is, in efforts to promote and convey racial harmony and implied solidarity. In South Africa we consider the legal implications resulting from that nation's recognition of eleven official languages; that is, where English and Afrikaans share historical domination that still lingers with direct relevance to Blacks who learn English and Afrikaans as second languages. Lastly we look at employment discrimination against Black Parisians of African heritage, and their struggles to overcome racial discrimination and inequality. The paper concludes with specific legal, educational, and policy suggestions to promote greater linguistic equality for speakers of Black vernacular languages throughout the world, all made possible by funds provided by the Ford Foundation for asset development and human rights.

BLAKE, Renée

New York University

Race, Class and Language Ideologies in Barbados

(SESSION 6 / PANEL 6A)

In the scholarly literature on Barbados and other Anglophone territories, poor whites, although relatively small in number, are historically noted and socially placed within the national sphere, oftentimes as an autonomous entity. While the sociohistorical relevance of poor whites to Barbadian society is evident, they are virtually devoid in the highly nationalistic daily discourse, which likely lends to a linguistic ideology that couples the local vernacular language with the island's black population. This is relevant to linguistic research on Barbados, particularly in terms of its development as a Creole, in which the representation of the speech of poor whites has been wanting. And when their language has been examined, the analysis appears to be influences by sociohistorical interpretations of dichotomous relations founded in colonisation such that their language is viewed as disparate from others in the population (cf. Williams 1987, Niles 1980).

Winford (1994:48) states that "creole vernaculars continue to be deeply rooted in the social life of Caribbean communities as expressions of the social identity of their speakers, as vehicles of their culture, and as reflections of their personal relationships." This paper is an inquiry into the role of race, class and language in a racially mixed and poor community in the island-nation of Barbados. I examine ideological influences on social and linguistic indexing of blacks and whites since colonisation, and establish the relevance of resulting discourses of separation to the observed norms in a community. I provide an ethnographic account of language use in its social context. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) acts of identity model, and the semiotic processes outlined in Irvine and Gal (2000) are applied to gain insights into the links between linguistic forms and social phenomena.

I provide a quantitative sociolinguistic analysis of several morphosyntactic features, including present and past tense copula variability and tense/aspect marking in the speech of members of a working class community. The results indicate that black and white populations, despite a perceived ideology of difference, are observed speaking the local vernacular in a typically Creole manner, especially regarding copula usage and past marking. In the case of copula variability, for example, there are high rates of copula absence and Creole patterning. However, the linguistic analysis also shows deeper complexities in the social fabric of the poor class, wherein race differences are realised within morphosyntactic features like past tense copula 'did' usage and past tense marking on the verb. I argue that the sociolinguistic variation observed reflects nuances of and fluidity in class-based, as well as racialised identities.

BRAITHWAITE, Ben

The University of the West Indies, St Augustine

Documenting Sign Language in Trinidad & Tobago:
Some History, Challenges and Prospects
(SESSION 6 / PANEL 6B)

Very little has been published on the native sign language of Deaf people in Trinidad & Tobago (T&T), and the topic had, until recently, received very little academic attention. This paper discusses two ongoing projects engaged in sign language documentation in the country. The first project, funded by the Government of T&T's Ministry of Social Development, has been compiling a dictionary of Trinidad & Tobago Sign Language (TTSL). The first edition was published in 2007, and a second edition is nearing completion. The second project, run by a team of Deaf and Hearing researchers based at The University of the West Indies, has been creating a large corpus of video data, with accompanying metadata files, and annotations created using the ELAN software package. As the corpus develops, it will form the basis for further investigation into the structure of sign language in T&T and eventually for an extensive grammatical description.

Both projects have had to deal with the fact that Deaf Trinbagonians constitute a rather diverse linguistic group. There is significant linguistic variation between signers of different ages and religious affiliations, those in different geographical locations, and with different educational backgrounds. As is typical in Deaf communities, there is also considerable variation in the age at which Deaf people first acquired sign language, and linguistic competence varies accordingly. In this context, documenters are faced with the question of whose language to record. This paper discusses a number of the decisions taken in this regard by each project.

Whilst some other sign language corpus projects such as the substantial Britain Sign Language (BSL) project have recorded only native or near-native signers, the Trinbagonian project chose to also record late acquirers. This data will be used to investigate some of the developmental consequences of late acquisition.

The history of Deaf education in T&T has had profound effects on the current linguistic situation. Since the late 1970s, American Sign Language (ASL) has been used extensively in the education system and elsewhere. The use of Signed English in the classroom has also had conspicuous effects, in the form of widespread initialisation. Older Deaf people who went to school before the arrival of ASL, tend to use a system which differs significantly from the ASL-influenced system of younger signers. In some cases, these older signs are clearly derived from the earlier influence of BSL. In other cases, their origins appear to be indigenous to T&T. In addition, new signs unique to T&T are frequently being created. The dictionary project has focused on recording those signs which differ from ASL, even though in some cases these may be less widely used than their ASL equivalents.

The paper concludes by considering how the choices made in the present documentation projects may have consequences for the future of sign language in T&T.

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CAMPBELL, Oslyn

University of Guyana

"Whapening Antie Ver!":
Negotiating Relationships through Hierarchical Structures in Address Terms
(SESSION 10 / PANEL 10A)

Address terms are linguistic signals of 'power and solidarity relations' between interlocutors. They are particular names and titles that speakers use to communicate or relate with each other in any given speech act. The terms of address in the Guyanese context vary, from the English formulaic expressions of politeness to the Guyanese Creole language expression of politeness. These terms of address are often expressed within greetings.

Various meanings are transmitted through the use of particular address terms and the social context in which speakers find themselves. The way we address each other is also rooted in the norms of our particular society. Dell Hymes (1977: 111) confirms that social relationships and settings have associated address terms with usual or 'unmarked' values. When the values of the mode of address and the social context match, then meaning is accomplished, together with the meeting of the expectations of the speakers. When the values do not match – e.g., when an informal mode of address is used for a formal relationship or conversely - then a special or "marked," meaning is conveyed.

This paper is an investigation of the terms of address used in the Guyanese context. There has been little documented research on 'address terms' used in the Guyanese society. Therefore, I investigate the various address terms used in the Guyanese context through examination of various linguistic communicative events. Although the Guyanese society has been influenced by many external societies, Guyanese have developed a variety of address terms, often expressed in greetings, to use in various communicative events as a means of solidarity, relationship bonding or simply to further their own advantage. For example, the use of a person's title in addressing him or her can presage hostility and sarcasm or simply connote respect. However, Guyana, like many Caribbean countries, does not possess a rigid hierarchical society, or a society that is highly socially regulated. It is a fairly open society. As such, our language does not reflect many standardised ways of using address terms or of marking social rank. Members of families, villages and ethnic groups have invented their own forms of address, mainly as a form of respect and as a social requirement, and this has added to the peculiarity of the Guyanese culture.

DAYTON, Elizabeth

Universidad de Puerto Rico, Mayagüez

Aspect and Modality in Grammaticalisation of *done* in AAE Filmic Speech

(SESSION 4 / PANEL 4C)

Labov (1998) asserts that perfect *done*, occurring only with non-stative verbs, "precedes a verb that makes reference to an action completed in the recent past." With telic verbs (1), *done* indicates that the action is completed, and relevance to the present is "usually implicit." With punctual verbs (2), "the sense of `completion' is neutralised," and *done* "is equivalent to `occurrence in the recent past, with effects on the present' and…'already.'" In (3), *done* carries an 'intensive' meaning and "the sense of `completion' is pushed into the background." *Done* also precedes verbs referring to socially defined acts that cannot be *done* `completely' or `intensively'; in (4), *done* "resonates" with a sense of moral indignation.

1. Look like little May Rose *done* growed up.   (*Life*)
2. She *done* told her everything about me *already*…   (*How to be player*)
3. Look what you *done done*!   (*The wash*)
4. Bernice Talbot! My husband *done* did it to that child in the Shopwell parking lot.   (*Kingdom come*)

In representations of African American English (AAE) from filmic speech (n = 178), (1–4) support Labov's views; other examples do not. In (5–7) the reference time of the *done* situation can be construed as simultaneous with event time and anterior to speech time (E,R-S), not simultaneous with speech time, as is a perfect (E-R,S). In (5,7,8) *done* occurs with iterative NPs and cardinal count adverbs. In (6) marriage garners social approval; (8–9) do not signal disapproval. In (9–11), *done* occurs with stative verbs and for/since phrases.

5. Columbus! He *done* slaughtered *millions* of Native Americans, and we got a holiday…named after his honor   (*Higher learning*)
6 #1:Remember we read in *Right On Magazine* he (a rapper) *done* married his baby's mama?
        #2:(He) sure *did*!   (*Baps*)
7   #1: Blue, my mama want her money back.
   #2: How am I gonna give you your money back? You *done* ate *one* of the pig feet.   #1:   No,   we *didn't*.   (*I got hook-up*)
8. This is good…Pootie *done* did it *again*. Pootie *done* good!..   (*Pootie Tang*)
9. I *done* been real nice to your old ass; don't make me get ugly…   (*The wash*)
10 You know I *done* had a crush on you *for fifteen years*, girl.   (*Foolish*)
11. Boy, I *done* had a crush on you *ever since high school*.   (*Three strikes*)

Given the grammaticalisation path: completive/resultative > perfect > perfective (Heine 1993) and given that the co-occurrence of verbal and adverbial subcategories is the universal criterion of aspect (Friedrich 1974), to reconcile (1–4) with (5–11), I argue that *done* forms a perfect with three uses: resultant state, continuative, and experience, which is developing in the direction of a perfective. As aspects of speaker stance, such as unexpectedness and emphasis, derive from completive (Strauss 2002), I argue that *done* is developing in the direction of a modal signalling counter to expectation, speaker stance. This paper contributes to grammaticalisation in AEE, with implications for *done* in TMA in Caribbean English Creoles, and to the media representation of AAE in film.

DE JESUS, Susana

Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras

St. Croix: A Contemporary Pluri-Lingual, Pluri-Identified Island
(SESSION 8 / PANEL 8A)

St. Croix, the largest of the US Virgin Islands, has for centuries attracted people from many countries and cultures seeking new opportunities or a better life. This process still continues today. Lying in the crosscurrents, it is now home to about 53,000 people who speak at least 20 languages. Although St. Croix is a territory of the United States—a country known for its intransigent monolingualism—this island counters the US model by embracing a kaleidoscope of languages, cultures and identities, frequently reflected in the same individual. Most of the population speaks at least 2 languages—Virgin Islands Standard English and Crucian, an English lexifier Creole. In addition, more than 40% of the people speak one or more of Spanish—from Puerto Rico, Vieques, the Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Central American, etc. Further, more than 25% of the population speak at least one or more additional language—a second or third English lexifier Creole, one or more French lexifier Creoles, Pidginised English, Pidginised Spanish, Arabic, French, Chinese, Danish, one of many African languages or US Standard English. Because St. Croix presents such a rich linguistic environment, two (2) two-week field trips were made by this author in 2008 and 2009, and a third is planned. Archives were inspected, interviews were conducted, and observations were made in public spaces, such as stores, restaurants, on public transportation and in public schools. This paper will present field observations and data collected, a discussion of methodology and issues regarding the impact of similar contact situations involving numerous languages and cultures on the historical development of Creoles in the Caribbean. It will lay the foundation for future research by identifying demographic, social, political and linguistic issues which are often ignored in scenarios for the emergence of the Caribbean Creoles.

DEVONISH, Hubert and Karen CARPENTER

The University of the West Indies, Mona

Creole and English Bilingual Education: Good for Girls but Better for Boys?
(SESSION 4 / PANEL 4B)

This paper reports on the gender related results of the Bilingual Education Project (BEP) implemented in a Jamaican primary school between 2004 and 2008. Twenty five (25) children were educated bilingually, with both Jamaican and English being used as languages of oral instruction, of literacy and writing, and of print instructional material such as textbooks. Both languages were to used side by side, and given equal status and functions within the classroom. Teachers were trained to carry out this bilingual delivery. At the end of the BEP, it was possible to compare the English Language Arts results of the BEP group with those of some 80 other children. This comparator group consisted of children outside the project but within the same school. They had been instructed using the traditional, officially English monolingual approach. The focus of this paper is on the findings as they relate to gender. The results suggest that the BEP approach favoured boys, but not girls. The explanation is sought within the literature on the attitudes of boys as compared with girls to Jamaican Creole and English. Some discussion will be presented about the policy and advocacy implications of this unexpected finding. The paper concludes with a warning, however. A definitive conclusion cannot be arrived at without seeing what the effect of bilingual education would be over a longer period than four years.

DONNELLY, Janet

The College of The Bahamas

The *Dictionary of Bahamian English* Redux: Digitisation of the DBE and the Implications
(SESSION 4 / PANEL 4A)

In 1982 *The Dictionary of Bahamian English* (DBE) by John A. Holm and Alison Watt Shilling was published by Lexik House. Its one-time only and limited printing practically guaranteed that it would be out of print in a matter of a few years. Complications with the publisher rendered Holm and Shilling powerless to issue a reprint and thus access to the DBE remained restricted to those few who owned a copy or whose library did. This also meant that any revision was beyond the realm of possibility. This situation is about to be reversed with the current digitisation of the DBE by The College of The Bahamas using the Digital Library of the Caribbean (dLOC) platform. Made possible by a bequest to the College by the authors, this digitisation means the DBE will soon be available to anyone with internet access, expanding its audience exponentially. Thus, the DBE will be more than brought back and its increased accessibility will make it possible to expand and update its content, a long-held aspiration of its authors, particularly Holm. As is always the case with dictionaries, the DBE was out-of-date by the time it was published and, given that this was a first edition, far from being comprehensive.

This paper will tell the story of the ideological, legal and technological journey undertaken to transform this dictionary from a print to electronic medium. It will also explore the implications of this new mode for supporting cross-linguistic studies, completing and mapping the lexical database for Caribbean creoles and furthering research in general. Additionally, consideration will be given to the inherent differences between the traditional print version of a dictionary with its static nature, restricted examples and dated entries and the online version with its possibilities for an interactive and dynamic nature, more extensive examples and up-to-date entries.

DRAYTON, Kathy-Ann and Necole BLAKE

The University of the West Indies, St Augustine

Language Development in Two Trinidadian Children with Cochlear Implants
(SESSION 2 / PANEL 2B)

The success of Cochlear Implant (CI) technology has provided a way in which certain individuals who are profoundly deaf can access an acoustic signal and ultimately speech and spoken language. In order to mitigate the developmental effects of profound hearing loss in young children (Marschack and Hauser 2008), the age of candidacy for implantation has been lowered. CI is now available to infants 12 months of age with profound hearing loss and 24 months with severe hearing loss. Longitudinal research investigating communicative outcomes for these children has found that with intensive therapy, implants can help young children develop speech and language (Wilson and Dorman 2008) but that there is still a great deal of variability due to prognostic factors such as age of implantation, language development status and communication modality (Beltzner and Seal 2009). This study involves the cases of two Trinidadian children who have received recent CIs and who exhibit considerable difference in benefits from the implants. One case involves an instance of perilingual deafness, in which a then three year old child suffered a severe-profound bilateral hearing loss following an infection. She received bilateral CIs less than a year after the loss of hearing. She has continued to develop speech and language at a very good rate approximating typical development. The other case involves a 6 year child who is congenitally deaf, and who had just entered a special school for the deaf and was beginning formal learning of sign language, when he received his implant. He has struggled to develop auditory skills and speech production. This study will describe their auditory training and speech production and language skills, as well as illustrate the reasons for their differing language development.

EDWARDS, Walter

Wayne State University

The Sociolinguistics of Chutney Lyrics: Comparisons with Calypso and Soca
(SESSION 11 / PANEL 11B)

Caribbean chutney originated in Indian communities in Trinidad, Guyana and Suriname but has now spread to other ethnic groups. This paper first briefly traces the history of chutney from its origins in Western and Southern India; then it limns some linguistic and sociolinguistic features of Guyanese chutney. Finally, it comments on the sociopolitical impact of chutney in Guyana. The data for this paper were gathered from the lyrics of chutney songs by Guyanese artists Terry Gajraj, Nisha Benjamin, Joyce Harris, Adrian Dutchin, Prince Naceem, Elvis Hitman, and Kavita Khan.

The paper establishes that the ancestry of this pop genre includes Indian *birahas*, devotional *bhajans*, ritual *sohars*, seasonal *chowtal*, *hori* and *chaiti* songs, showing that "Modern chutney derives primarily from a specific set of folksong sub-genres which share the use of fast tempo, simple refrain-verse… structure and light, erotic Bhojpuri texts" (Manuel 1998:22). Thus, chutney derives from lyrical discourses that resemble the folk heritages of calypso and reggae, predisposing it to acculturation to the latter genres.

Linguistic characteristics of Guyanese chutney include the predominant use of rural Guyanese Creole as exemplified in Terry Gajraj's *Makhna, Makhna*

Dem *ah* bleach

Dem *ah* bleach out *dem* skin

Dem *ah* bleach

Fe look like ah white ting

Gwan brown girl

Cause ah you run de place

Look how you nice

With you beautiful face

The paper shows that such rural GC features as indefinite article *wan*, infinitive marker *fi*, habitual/progressive aspect marker *a* and post-vocalic [r] absence are widespread in chutney lyrics.

Chutney songs were originally sung entirely in Hindi but now are usually sung in GC entirely or with some stanzas in GC and some in Hindi as in Terry Gajraj's. *Banaras Raja*

Banarasa Raja Rai-yo	Playing you music and dancing around
Mia na hawoon ga	Playing you music --- hoi --- hoieee
Na jawoo-Na jawoo	Playing you music & singing along
Na jawoo ga	(Laylo laylo karilla bina wasa)
Banarasa Raja Rai-yo	Tetrie gyal ah wha you cook for dinner
Mai na jawoon ga	Curass curry with chowrai kay bhagee

Additionally, the paper shows that when the two languages are used in a song, Hindi is predominantly used in the chorus; and that intra-sentential code-switching is very rare. The paper

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also shows that as Guyanese chutney has incorporated more soca and calypso features, the use of Hindi has declined. Thus, chutney is an example of language shift. Nonetheless, the persistence of Hindi and the use of Indian instruments and vocal styles preserve this genre as a space for East Indian cultural expression.

Through a content analysis, the paper shows that there is gender differentiation in chutney song themes, e.g., the predominance of topics that deal with marriage, domestic situations and children by female singers, and rum-drinking, sexual behaviour, and sports by male singers.

EVANS, R. Sandra

The University of the West Indies, St Augustine

"Sometimes I Interpret for the Interpreter": The Dynamics of Interpreting in Magistrates' Courts
(SESSION 9 / PANEL 9A)

The Constitution of St. Lucia requires that an interpreter be provided for any person who is charged with a criminal offence who is not English proficient. In St. Lucian courtrooms, speakers of standard European languages such as French or Spanish are provided with an interpreter who has had training in the specific language at tertiary level. Speakers of the indigenous French-lexicon Creole or Kwéyòl of the island, however, are provided with the services of the 'ordinary' clerk of the courts who is generally assumed to have adequate competence in both Kwéyòl and English. They interpret for magistrates (both local and foreign), lawyers and litigants most of whom have some competence in the Creole. Consequently, both local attorneys and magistrates who claim to be competent in Kwéyòl, often find that they need to interrupt or intervene in the process of interpretation to correct misinterpretations by the clerks in the best interest of justice.

In these situations, unlike those in which the parties other than the interpreter have little or no competence in the language, the interaction patterns are quite different. The interpreter is usually in control of interpreting and is not usually interrupted by the magistrate or attorneys for the purpose of correcting mistakes. This paper examines the dynamics of interpreting in the courtrooms under scrutiny and provides an account of the impact of these dynamics on court proceedings. It also highlights the limitations of the justice system in providing in providing proper or efficient interpreting services for Kwéyòl speakers. The data for this paper were obtained through interviews with the various participants in the magistrates' courts as well as through direct systematic observations in these courts.

EVANS, R. Sandra and Ian E. ROBERTSON

The University of the West Indies, St Augustine

We Can Write Those Wrongs
(SESSION 11 / PANEL 11C)

Speakers of languages other than the official ones in the Caribbean have been consistently discriminated against on the basis of language. In particular, users of Creole languages have been associated with under-education, low economic status and lack of opportunity for social development. In his Codicil, Derek Walcott laments that he could not 'right those wrongs'. Much of this discrimination and wrong are the direct result of the failure to commit these Creole languages to a writing system. In more recent times there has been a growing consensus on a writing system appropriate for Kwéyòl. This presentation explores the advantages of having a writing system to alleviate discrimination in areas like the courts, medicine, education and other social domains. It is now a possibility to 'write those wrongs'.

FARACLAS, Nicholas

Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras

**Expanding and Refining the Socio-Cultural Matrix of Creolization in the Caribbean
and the Rest of the (Afro-)Atlantic**

(SESSION 7 / PANEL 7A)

In the tradition of Williams (1944), Mintz (1971) and others, some creolists have argued for a conceptual shift in debates concerning the socio-historical matrix for the emergence of creole languages from surface economic organizational forms (such as Chaudenson's (2001) plantation and habitation) to underlying political-economic systems (such as mercantile and agro-industrial capitalism). For example, Faraclas, Walicek, Alleyne, Geigel, and Ortiz (2007) explain some of the differences between colonial era English-lexifier and French-lexifier Atlantic Creoles (as well as the relative absence of Spanish-lexifier Creoles in the region) by tracking the shift from a pre-capitalist to a capitalist political economy in the Caribbean, first under the English in the mid 17th century, then under the French in the late 17th century, and finally under the Spanish in the late 18th century.

In this paper, we expand and refine this socio-cultural analysis in four ways: 1) We expand the group of colonial powers considered to include not only the English, French, and Spanish, but also the Dutch and the Portuguese (thereby providing insights into the emergence of the Dutch-lexifier and Portuguese-lexifier Atlantic Creoles); 2) We expand the geographic area under consideration from the insular Caribbean to the entire Afro-Atlantic (i.e., the islands of the Caribbean and the Gulf of Guinea and the neighbouring coastal areas stretching from Manhattan to Bahia in the Americas and from Senegal to Angola in Africa); 3) We refine the analysis to take into account tensions and differences within each European power's colonial enterprise (such as the tensions between the French Catholic ruling class and the French Calvinist Huguenot mercantile class and the tensions between the Portuguese Catholic ruling class and the Portuguese Sephardic mercantile class); and 4) We refine the analysis of substrate economic, political, and cultural agendas to take into account differences among groups of Africans and Indigenous Americans who were taken as slaves (i.e., differences between slaves taken from the Upper West African coast from Senegal to the Ivory Coast, the Lower West African coast from Ghana to Equatorial Guinea, and the Central African coast from Gabon to Angola).

Our results help to answer such puzzling questions as: 1) Despite the central role played by the Dutch in the transition to mercantile-agro-industrial capitalism in the Caribbean, why have Dutch-lexifier Creoles emerged so rarely in the region? 2) Why is influence from proto-Atlantic pidgin/Creole contact languages spoken along the Atlantic coast of Africa a necessary but not a sufficient factor in any comprehensive account of the emergence of the Atlantic Creoles (McWhorter 2000)? 3) Why are Portuguese-lexifier Creoles so widely spoken at present on the Upper Guinea and Lower Guinea Islands and adjacent African coastal areas, but not in Brazil? and 4) Why are substrate influences on the Atlantic Creoles so much easier to trace back to the languages spoken on the Central and Lower West African coasts than to those spoken on the Upper West African coast (Parkvall 2000)?

FARQUHAR, Bernadette

The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill

Language Issues Arising out of the Haiti Earthquake of January 2010
(SESSION 9 / PANEL 9A)

In the aftermath of the devastating earthquake which shook Haiti in January, 2010, a number of governmental and non-governmental organizations, rescue workers and charitable institutions became involved in much needed relief to that country. It soon became clear that the work of their personnel would have been greatly enhanced by competence in Haitian and in French. This article maintains that as a result, tertiary institutions of the non-francophone countries of the Caribbean should include in their programmes French and French Creole courses (*cours de français / cours de créole français sur objets spécifiques*) related to disaster relief. However, the suggestion is being made with the firm conviction that creole languages in the Caribbean have different social backgrounds ranging from the situation in Haiti, where a large percentage of the population is monolingual in Creole, to the English-speaking islands, where the non-standard is a dialect. The study therefore advises against applying language policies appropriate to Haiti to countries with a different linguistic profile.

FARQUHARSON, Joseph T.

The University of the West Indies, Mona

Dictionary in Bytes: *The Jamaican National Dictionary*

(SESSION 4 / PANEL 4A)

Over the past forty years many dictionary projects have incorporated computer technology into the editorial phase of their operations, but not many have appropriated the computer and its associated technology as a multifaceted publishing platform. In the Caribbean this is true of even recent works such as the *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* (*DCEU*) and the *Dictionary of the English/Creole of Trinidad and Tobago*. The current paper is based on the work currently being undertaken by the Jamaican Lexicography Project (Jamlex). The major focus of Jamlex is the preparation of the Jamaican National Dictionary (JND). The JND will be the first web-based, multimedia dictionary of Jamaican (Creole) and Jamaican English prepared on historical principles. In fact it might be the first of its kind in the Caribbean or even the world.

Doing web-based lexicography presents the lexicographer with several advantages and disadvantages. The current paper explores some of those advantages and disadvantages in the context of a society such as Jamaica with two historically related linguistic codes that are not always differentiated. In an attempt to not romanticise e-lexicography, the paper starts out by looking at several of the disadvantages of web-based dictionaries. Some of these include the penetration rate of information and communication technologies (ICTs), computer literacy, affordability of the finished product to the end user, availability of expertise, and issues with platforms and software becoming outdated.

Using the proposed work of Jamlex in the preparation of the JND as its reference point, the paper will then explore several advantages of e-lexicography. Here I outline just four of those advantages. First, the most basic advantage of online dictionaries is that web-space is more abundant than space on paper, hence, space need no longer determine the size and layout of the work. Second, while most academic dictionaries in print contain only written notations of pronunciations which most non-specialists find difficult to decipher, a multimedia environment allows one to include audio files containing pronunciations of headwords, and even multiple files linked to variant pronunciations.

Third, the technology requires that we change the traditional concept of what constitutes a definition. In the e-environment a definition can be textual, pictorial, and audio-visual. The last two are not viewed as mere addenda, but are integral aspects of the word's definition. Fourth, hyperlink offers endless possibilities and so it is possible for the lexicographer to create a finished product with both dictionary and thesaurus features in less time than the task would demand for a printed work. Additionally, the possibility of linking to other files on the internet which might be of interest to users, will help to make the inter-disciplinary nature of lexicography more apparent to the general public.

FENIGSEN, Janina and Jef VAN der AA

University of Michigan and University of Jyväskylä

Restoring Voice: An Independence Day Narrative in a Barbadian Classroom
(SESSION 6 / PANEL 6A)

Ever since Jakobson's (1960) ground-breaking work on the poetic function of language as a meaning-making device, the significance of poetics and style in everyday interactions has been receiving close attention. As the ensuing research has suggested, the poetic/stylistic organisation of discourse can be crucial to the construction of voice by the speaker, to the speaker's self-positioning toward discourse, and to the reception of discourse by others as authoritative, legitimate, and persuasive (Maryns and Blommaert 2001). In other words, the speaker's 'poetic competence'—to coin the term—appears to be a crucial component in one's ability to make meaning that is being socially heard. But what happens in those "sites where different systems of meaning-making meet" (Blommaert 2006:181); where speakers' communicative success depends on the narrative ability to produce a compelling performance in a language variety in which some may not have an adequate 'poetic competence'?

In this paper we will consider some of these issues within the context of a Barbadian classroom where students and teachers alike negotiate two linguistic systems: Standard English, the legitimate language of education, and Bajan (an English-related Creole). School children in Barbados have different linguistic repertoires, which consist of unevenly distributed resources: some children speak Standard English very well; others have a more limited competence. Furthermore, because the mode of the acquisition of Standard English is primarily through the "lecture hall transmission" (Volosinov 1973:74), for many students their control of the formal resources of that language does not extend to the stylistic ease in the management of these resources. Yet, in order to be heard in the classroom, students have to write and speak in the Standard. The student who is Creole-dominant in the classroom setting is likely to be considered lazy or learning-disabled. However, such a perspective does not take into account the child's narrative/stylistic skills in Bajan.

Through the analysis of a child's narrative about Independence Day, we show the child's stylistic resources, such as the verbal mastery of rhythm, the selection of metaphorical resources for the story, and the overall organisation of the narrative. In an effort to identify some of the implicit formal characteristics of Bajan verbal arts, we situate this narrative in the context of other examples of Bajan discursive performance.

FERGUSSON, Ann

The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill

**Language Patterns in the Written Compositions of Barbadian
Low-Achieving Secondary School Students**
(SESSION 6 / PANEL 6A)

The renewed focus on the use of Standard English has led to questions regarding the written language patterns of students.

This study investigated the written language of a sample of Barbadian Low-achieving Secondary School Students. Thirty students were asked to write three compositions, one from each of the following discourse modes: narrative, descriptive and expository. The data were analysed to determine which of the following patterns, classified as (1) Standard English, (2) Bajan Dialect, (3) or 'interlanguage' was dominant.

The patterns of the student writing varied. Specifically, the greatest difference from Standard English patterns in the students' writing involved the use of the verb phrase, a difference popularly seen between Bajan Dialect and Standard English. Not all patterns could be categorised as Standard English or Bajan Dialect since some language fell into neither category and was therefore categorised as interlingual. The findings of this study are expected to provide guidelines for planning writing programmes for Barbadian secondary school students.

FERREIRA, Jo-Anne S.

The University of the West Indies, St Augustine/SIL International

Issues in the Documentation and Revitalisation of an Endangered Heritage Language:
Using Trinidadian French Creole Texts as a Data Source
(SESSION 9 / PANEL 9B)

Trinidadian French Creole (TFC), or Patois, is an endangered heritage language which is central to the formation of a distinctively Trinidadian culture. This paper discusses some of the issues of language documentation and revitalisation for this endangered language, and the usefulness of written French Creole textual records in both processes, since "the aim of a language documentation […] is to provide a comprehensive record of the linguistic practices characteristic of a given speech community" (Himmelman 1998:166).

Language documentation is "a lasting, multipurpose record of a language" whose "net should be cast as widely as possible. That is, a language documentation should strive to include as many and as varied records as practically feasible, covering all aspects of the set of inter-related phenomena commonly called a language" (Himmelmann 2006: 1–2). One of the first steps in language documentation is the assessment of resources. A formal assessment of the written language corpus reveals that most of the extant Patois written records represent a wide range of genres (original and translated narratives, tales, songs, proverbs and riddles, recorded and collected since the start of the 19th century). They have not been widely circulated outside publications which are often hard of access, and which were generally produced for members of academic and other circles among whom Patois is at best a second language.

Building on the success of the recent launch of *Vini Chanté an Patwa: Come Sing in Patois—Patois Songs of Trinidad and Tobago* (Blizzard and Hodge, eds., 2009), a forthcoming collection of TFC texts (Ferreira and Grant, eds.) plans to change this picture, using a cross- and multi-disciplinary approach. The purpose of the work is twofold: to document and catalogue existing texts as well as to make available authentic tools for language revitalisation. The work will make TFC literary culture available to a series of wider audiences, most importantly to those people who have grown up with this language as part of their cultural heritage, and aims to formally support informal language preservation efforts currently under way.

The collection draws on texts, all original and annotated, ranging from the 19th to the 21st centuries, and presented in their original and varied (often French-based or even English-based) orthographic transcription(s). In order to make the texts accessible to modern readers, each will be retranscribed using the Standard GEREC-1 orthography (GEREC 1982; Bernabé 2001), with information on this spelling system (and differences from GEREC-2 and others). Historical, grammatical and literary information will accompany each text and a Patois-to-English glossary will be provided. The collection will accompany the ongoing process of recording, transcription and creation of modern texts. It will be a source book for scholars of linguistics attempting to document the language and to understand changes that have taken place, and above all, for individuals and communities hoping to revitalise the language of their forebears.

FORBES, Marsha

The University of the West Indies, Mona

Dual Aspectual forms' and the Stative Non-stative Distinction
(SESSION 4 / PANEL 4C)

The case of items which appear in structures where they may express either Stativity or Non-stativity has been of interest in Creole studies for some time now. Interest in these items became apparent in the literature perhaps starting with Voorhoeve (1957) who noted for an item such as *siki* in Sranan that this can be "a noun (meaning: sickness), an adjective (meaning: sick), an intransitive verb (meaning: to be sick), and a transitive verb (meaning: to make ill)" (p. 377). Voorhoeve's observation of the multi-functionality of such an item made way for discussions on the categorial status of similar items as either verbs or adjectives (Sebba (1986) and Seuren 1986) and later on the question of the aspectual status of such items and the challenging of Bickerton's (1975) Stative Non-stative distinction (see Jaganauth (1987)).

My primary interest in this paper will concern the latter question of the aspectual status of dual aspectual forms and the challenge that these have posed for the Stative/Non-stative distinction. For these, I will argue contrary to authors such as Jaganauth (1987) that the existence of forms expressing 'dual aspectual' behaviour does not defy a categorisation based on the Stative/Non-stative distinction. Rather these items beg for a better understanding of the semantics of such a distinction. I address the case of such items by focusing on the general group of 'property items' (Winford 1993) in Caribbean English Creoles (CECs) and propose for these a descriptive classification based on their aspectual behaviour (i.e., a combination of syntactic and semantic criteria). I note that while there are a number of items that appear in Non-stative use (i.e., transitive and progressive variation) in such cases at least three different interpretations are possible:

(1)

a. a Change of state interpretation within a logical opposition (cf. JC. *Di fuud a kuul* 'the food is cooling' *dem a kool di fuud* 'they are cooling the food' HOT: COLD)

b. a Change of state interpretation with no logical opposition (cf. JC. *Di shuuz a blak* 'the shoe(s) is getting black' *dem a blak di shuuz* 'they are blackening the shoe(s)

c. an ongoing/processual interpretation with no Change of state (cf. JC. *im a bad* 'he is misbehaving')

These different meanings that arise in Non-stative use, give insights into the inherent event type of the relevant items. Consistent with Pustejovsky's (1988, 1991) notions of state, transition and process, I argue that items of the type (1a) are inherent transitions and associated with the unique aspectual value of ([+Change]) while those of the type (1b) and (1c) are inherent state predicates ([-Change]) morphologically converted to express Non-stativity. A categorisation based on aspectual behaviour lends itself to a furtherance of the discussion of the categorial status of these items, suggesting that where authors have attempted to treat a unified group of items, these reflect a diverse group of not just verbs or adjectives but both.

FRANK, David

SIL International

Proposal for a Gullah Dictionary
(SESSION 4 / PANEL 4A)

A Gullah dictionary of professional quality has yet to be produced, which is a shame considering the attention that has been given to Gullah as an indigenous, endangered North American English Creole language and culture. In the past Gullah was stigmatised as a corrupted dialectal form of English, of interest mainly to linguists and anthropologists, in addition to mother-tongue speakers, the latter who learned to hide or deny their Gullah identity in the presence of outsiders. Attitudes toward Gullah have been turning around in recent years, and now the label "Gullah" is much more likely to be associated with pride and fascination rather than shame and denegration. Much decreolisation has taken place as the language is increasingly in contact with English as the language of upward mobility. There are still speakers who are quite dependent on Gullah as their first, and perhaps only, language. Older basilectal and mesolectal historical texts are available for analysis. A problem researchers face is a lack of trust built with the language community, and the concern within the Gullah community in how they might be portrayed. Linguist the late William Stewart had a grant to pursue a Gullah dictionary, but with his death no draft dictionary or data collection could be found to be continued by others. Non-linguist the late Virginia Geraty published a sketchy and amateurish Gullah dictionary. With improved general attitudes toward Gullah at present, people who identify themselves as members of the Gullah community have called for a dictionary to document their language before it can be lost. The author of this paper is in a unique position of trust with connections to work with the Gullah community to produce a Gullah dictionary that should have been produced before now. This paper considers that steps, methodologies, and forms that would be part of a proposed Gullah dictionary project, including a consideration of how data can be collected, how the project could be funded, what data fields would be used, and how the language would be represented orthographically, with sample entries.

FULLER MEDINA, Nicté

University of Ottawa

Haciendo Borrow: Bilingual Compound Verbs in Belizean Spanish

(SESSION 7 / PANEL 7B)

Using data from Spanish Speakers in Belize, this paper examines one kind of verbal borrowing observed in Spanish-English bilingual speech and makes a proposal for a minimalist account of this phenomenon. These borrowings typically involve the Spanish verb *hacer* ("to make" or "to do") in conjunction with an element taken from English as illustrated in (1)

(1)   *Este pobre   hizo   invest.*

          This poor man did/make   invest.

          This poor man invested (money).

This strategy, while highly stigmatised, is productive in Belizean Spanish. It has also been noted in other Spanish-English contact situations (Jenkins 2003; Pountain 2001; Reyes 1976) and has counterparts as well in other language pairs (Mayan-English Suarez Molina 1995; Japanese-English Azuma 1997; Turkish-Norwegian Türker 2002; Greek-English Edwards & Gardner- Chloros 2007).

This borrowing strategy has been largely discussed in the code-switching literature (e.g. Muysken 2000; Edwards & Gardner-Chloros 2007) and a number of suggestions have been made about this type of construction yet a clear proposal on the syntax of these constructions remains lacking. It has been suggested in the case of Spanish-English data, for example, that this construction is modelled on the Spanish causative V-V constructions (Reyes 1976) and that in the case of other language pairs a similar process is at play. The Spanish causative constructions entail two agents and two events yet as can be seen in (1) there is only one agent. In its other form as main verb *hacer* would take a direct object which, again as (1) illustrates above, is not the case. In fact, there is general consensus that the do-verb, in this case *hacer*, does not function as a main verb but rather as an auxiliary or light verb. However, how this operates syntactically has not been shown.

The current proposal attempts to address the gap in the literature on the syntax by addressing these proposals and showing first, that this strategy need not be modelled on any specific V-V construction but rather exploits vP and, as such, *hacer* is the spell out of little v. Second, while the borrowed element has been assumed in the literature to provide the bulk of the semantic information and is variously referred to as a bare infinitive, a nominal, or nominalised form, we propose that it cannot be nominal since, for example, as (2) illustrates, the borrowed element cannot take modification:

(2)   *Nos   hacían   cinco/el penalize

             to us   did 3PL IMP   five/the penalize

We suggest that the borrowed element is verbal and further that it must be a verbal root since its nearest c-commanding licenser is little v (Harley and Noyer 1999:2). It will also be shown that these constructions must be syntactic rather than lexical. We account for an observed phenomena in Belizean Spanish and demonstrate the utility of bilingual data in informing theoretical approaches.

GARRETT, Hélène

King's University College

He Said, She Said

(SESSION 10 / PANEL 10A)

The personal pronoun is typically deictic and referential especially in the first and second person. Hudson (1984) argues that the first person refers to the speaker and the second person refers to the addressee. The personal pronoun is a device used to more vividly represent a situation with specified representatives. Like personal pronouns, impersonal pronouns refer to one or more persons, but no specific person is identified. Impersonal 'you' can replace a stylistically more formal non-deictic 'one' to refer to an indefinite person. Based on previous work done in this area, findings showed that men generally use an impersonal pronoun to signal their strong self-involvement as well as their interpersonal involvement with the audience, while females more often use the personal pronoun (Messner and Sabo 1990, 1992; Lakoff, 1975; Sai-Hua Kno, 2003; Chafe, 1982; Tannen, 1983). My research was to find out if this was the case in a segment of recorded monologues in Papiamentu.

It is understood that members of the same community will show similar trends in their speech activities, nevertheless differences in linguistic preferences will be noted. This paper concentrated on the variances noted in Papiamentu discourse involving just the personal pronoun choices made. My focus was to examine the discourse functions of the first and second person pronouns used by one man and one woman in Papiamentu. My hypothesis was that there would be marked differences in the monologues produced by my two informants that would reflect the position of power one had over the other.

In a task of an autobiographical narrative by two Papiamentu speakers, this research set off on a text-analysis of personal pronouns gender differences in Papiamentu speech—'*He Said, She Said*. The subjects, one male and one female, were asked to speak for ten minutes on the topic "Tell me something about your past." The monologues were tape-recorded, transcribed, and analysed for the speaker's preference in use of personal versus impersonal pronouns. The male speaker seemed to be more comfortable and adopted a discourse style in his use of personal pronouns that wanted to draw his audience in. Involvement versus detachment are noted as gender differences in the use of personal pronoun in a segment of spoken Papiamentu speech. The female speaker was more formal in her use of pronouns and revealed a detached sense with a tendency to accommodate a more highly educated audience. The sample was too small to draw conclusive differences but is one that warrants further research. There was a surprising corroboration with earlier discourse analysis done in conversational speech between a male and a female speaker but none that linked that to Papiamentu speakers. No analysis of variance was carried out to ascertain if the above differences were the result of gender as my sample was so limited. Earlier studies in sociolinguistics (Holmes, 1992) did show that female speakers tend to use standard speech forms more often than do male speakers.

GIBSON, Kean

The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill

The Word *black* in the Racial Context of Guyana
(SESSION 8 / PANEL 8B)

The term *black* is renowned for having negative connotations - such as "black day," "black sheep," "black list," "black market". The term "black" can be detrimental when applied to a group of people in colour-coded racism. Those who are "black" are claimed to be evil and thus have no entitlements, and those who are "white" are virtuous and privileges follow. Skin colour has nothing to do with "blackness" or "whiteness." In referring to the Rwandan genocide of 1994, Mills claims that there should be no essentialist illusions about anyone's "racial" virtue. He states:

> All peoples can fall into Whiteness under appropriate circumstances, as shown by the ("White") black Hutus 1994 massacre of half a million to a million inferior black Tutsis in a few bloody weeks in Rwanda.(1997:128)

He makes the salient point that:

> What is needed...is a recognition that racism is itself a political system, a particular power structure of formal or informal rule, socioeconomic privilege, and norms for the differential distribution of material wealth and opportunities, benefits and burdens, rights and duties.(1997:3)

> A situation of racial tension exists in Guyana between Africans and (East) Indians descendant in a quest for political power for control of scarce resources. The majority East Indians have adapted the Hindu caste system to the Guyana context and use it to justify their right to power and resources. It is a system where Africans are defined as 'black' and thus being outside of the pale of humanity. For African Guyanese, "black" just means Africans without negative connotations, but for East Indians, "black" not only means that Africans are evil, but the meaning is rooted in the Hindu religion. Since the meaning of the word "black" is inherent in Hindu ideology, the term does not only apply to Africans but also to East Indians themselves which can impact on the well-being of some.

> Within a socio-historical framework, I will be looking at the religious meaning of *black*, the violent implications of being defined as such, and what it may tell us about creolisation in Guyana.

GONZÁLEZ COTTO, Lourdes, Marisol JOSEPH-HAYNES,
Vanessa AUSTIN and Aida VERGNE
Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras

A Critical View of *marronage*:
The Role of African Descended Peoples in the Emergence of Caribbean Creole Languages and Associated Genres of Popular Culture
(SESSION 7 / PANEL 7A)

This presentation puts forward a critique of the way in which the figure of the maroon and the phenomenon of *marronage* are normally conceptualised in the work of creolists and other scholars, first by advancing arguments that challenge the overly exclusive definition usually assigned to the category 'maroon' and then by providing evidence that challenges the limited role ascribed to maroons and *marronage* both in the emergence of creole languages themselves as well as in the emergence of genres of popular culture linked to creole languages in the Caribbean.

Evidence linking maroons to the emergence of creole languages and genres of popular culture are considered in three separate but historically connected regions of the Caribbean: Suriname in the south, the Caribbean coast of Central America in the west, and St. Croix in the northeast. In Suriname, the links that connect maroons, Surinamese English-lexified creoles, and popular cultures of resistance to colonialism and racialised social barriers are examined. In Central America, the pivotal role of maroon communities in the emergence of Limón English-lexifier Creole as well as the nexus between the use of Limón Creole and popular movements for cultural recognition within Costa Rican society are documented and analysed. In St. Croix, the use of Crucian English lexifier Creole in the speech repertoires associated with the popular genres utilised by both marginalised and non-marginalised youth in cyberspace and the electronic media is explored alongside a growing movement to acknowledge and celebrate a maroon presence in the hills of the northwest corner of the island which probably lasted from the onset of colonisation until abolition in the mid-19th century.

GUSKE, Iris

Kempten School of Translation & Interpreting Studies

The Prince of Denmark Speaking Pidgin on the Shitting Beach:
Linguistic and Cultural Transfer at its Finest
(SESSION 10 / PANEL 10B)

In 2005 the British author John Harding published his highly acclaimed novel *One Big Damn Puzzler*, which is set on a fictitious tropical island inhabited by people who speak a pidgin made up by Harding himself.

While the plot revolves around the culture clash suffered by an American stranded there, the book derives most of its charm from Harding's idea of having the island's elderly chief struggle with a stage translation of Hamlet's famous monologue into the island vernacular and its subsequent staging with local amateur actors. In order to assess the quality of the work produced by such an unlikely translator I will first determine whether Harding's invented language meets the requirements of a proper pidgin by looking at the genesis and characteristics of pidgin and creole languages in general.

Next I will identify the unique linguistic, situative and cultural hurdles to be overcome in the process of adapting Shakespeare's plot, his characters and rhetorical devices to the islanders' worldviews, their thought and speech patterns so that they will be able to make meaning of the play's central themes.

Drawing on major translation theories applicable in this context (Nida, Vermeer, Hermans, etc.), I will finally ascertain whether this unique stage translation into an invented pidgin qualifies as a success – not least as judged by the play's reception by the island community.

Is be, or is be not, is be one big damn puzzler—the title alone, which is derived from nothing less than the pidgin version of one of the most famous quotations in world literature, should not fail to command the attention of anyone involved in translation as linguistic and cultural transfer, and watching a *damn fine* linguist at work some 10,000 miles away from Hamlet's Denmark will be their reward. *Rest is be silence*.

HARRY, Otelemate

The University of the West Indies, Mona

Politics and Creation of Meaning:

A Textual Analysis of Mrs Simpson-Miller's Budget Presentation

(SESSION 3 / PANEL 3B)

Every discourse field has its set of jargons used by practitioners within that discourse. These jargons have meanings shared only by the practitioners within that discourse field. Like other discourse fields, political discourse has its set of jargons. Political leaders draw from this repertoire of political language, as the occasion presents itself. Given that language is creative, the listener or reader of a political speech cannot always derive the "meaning" or intent of an expression from the sum of the components of that expression alone. Thus, one way we can understand the meaning of political communication dependents on several contexts - linguistic signs and their associations to other entities. In other words, meaning can be constructed by the speaker and his audience in a social and political context. Within this interpretative framework Edelman (1985: 10) states that:

> The critical element in political manuever (sic) for advantage is the creation of
> meaning: the construction of beliefs about the significance of events, of problems,
> of crises, of policy changes, of leaders. The strategic need is to immobilize
> opposition and mobilize support…

Working within this framework, I present a content analysis of the former Prime Minister (PM) of Jamaica's 9 May 2006 budget speech. The analysis of the textual material was aided by a computer program (WORDPROX) developed by Dr. Lawrence Powell of the Dept of Government, U.W.I., Mona. The program was used to generate (a) concordance matrix that lists all the keywords in the text file and their frequency of occurrence in the text, (b) lists of keyword co-occurrence patterns and (c) three-dimensional (3-D) diagram of word associations.

The analysis reveals some salient linguistic signifiers used to encode her philosophical belief system and belief about two perceived endemic problems in Jamaica, namely poverty and gender inequality. The PM employed the use of contrastive pairs such as 'despair-hope' (antonyms), to describe poverty; the use of words which invoke direct opposite (empower = disempower, justice = injustice, etc) to create meaning of gender inequality. She effectively used word associations such as 'I', 'God' and 'Jesus' to create meaning of divine choice, an attempt to legitimize her integrity and ability to govern and provide solutions which would eliminate poverty and gender inequality in the society. The results of the study support Edelman's basic premises that the creation of meaning by politicians is an attempt to 'immobilize opposition and mobilize support' for their rise to political power and to remain in power.

HAYNES-KNIGHT, Kerri-Ann and Keisha EVANS

The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill

"Wuh Allsopp Tink She Talking 'Bout?"
Bajan Dialect vs. Standard English as Mother Tongue
(SESSION 6 / PANEL 6A)

Is Bajan Dialect the mother tongue of Barbadians? Should Bajan Dialect be used in schools? These are two of the major questions being asked on radio call-in programmes and in the 'letters to the editor' section of the two major Barbadian newspapers. This debate was fuelled, in part, by Jeannette Allsopp's oral presentation entitled "Language, Culture and the Caribbean Classroom" at a meeting of the Barbados Association of Reading (BAR) on 6 February 2010. This paper is designed to answer some of the burning questions being raised by the Barbadian public. It seeks to examine the concept of mother tongue and how it is defined by language scholars. It also investigates the attitudes of Barbadians towards the use of Bajan dialect and the reasons for these attitudes. This paper will also focus on the impact of these attitudes on the approach to the teaching of Standard English in Barbadian schools. The work of a number of Caribbean linguists including J. Allsopp, R. Allsopp, Devonish, Roberts and others will be examined in this paper.

HINDS-LAYNE, Marsha

The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill

Looking Back is Looking Forward
(SESSION 7 / PANEL 7C)

Richard Allsopp contributed a lifetime to the development of the discipline of Caribbean linguistics. Allsopp's early work at The University of the West Indies (Cave Hill) contributed to the development of the linguistics section at that Campus of the University.

This paper seeks to explain the notion of Caribbean linguistics as a discipline and examines the activities at Cave Hill and the other campuses of the University that facilitated and assisted the growth of Caribbean linguistics. It then investigates Allsopp's contribution to the development of the discipline at Cave Hill specifically and the body of knowledge used to form the discipline generally.

The paper is relevant as a tribute to the contribution of Richard Allsopp but it also serves the important purpose of documenting and recording a part of the historical account of the development of Caribbean linguistics. Such accounts are important as we continue to chart a path for the Caribbean linguistic academy as well as admit new members to its halls yearly.

HOSEIN, Alim

University of Guyana

Reduplication in Guyanese Creole

(SESSION 7 / PANEL 7B)

Reduplication in language is a process by which an item is repeated for morphological or semantic purposes. For example, in Guyanese Creole (GC), the word *back* retains its range of Standard English meanings, but it is also reduplicated to signal another meaning: to *back-back* means 'to reverse' as in "*di man back-back di truk in di trench*" ("the man reversed the truck into the ditch").

Given the view of some linguists (e.g., Samarin 1971) that reduplication is not a substantive element of creole languages, the question arises about the space which reduplication continues to occupy in creoles such as GC. GC is a creole that is undergoing change, and it continues to evidence reduplication. These reduplications are of different kinds—some reflect ethnic survivals (*chul-chul*), some reflect creole forms (*bruk up-bruk up*) while others involve extensions of an English morphological paradigm (*nicey-nicey*). As yet, no study has investigated the continued existence and use of such different kinds of reduplication within the context of language change such as decreolisation. While research has been done on reduplication in Caribbean creoles, the focus has been on forms and functions (for example, Devonish), phonology (for example, Devonish, Gooden) and semantics (for example, Kouwenberg and LaCharité).

This paper investigates language change in GC through an examination of reduplication. It employs a sociolinguistic examination of the different kinds of reduplication found in GC to discuss the extent to which the patterns of use, the distribution, and speakers' judgments of the acceptability of these reduplications contribute to, and evidence, change in the language. For example, does the pattern of use of reduplication forms such as spacey-spacey (*di leaf dem deh spacey-spacey* = the leaves were widely spaced) indicate an on-going process of shifting towards English? In answering such questions, this paper will add to the discussion on reduplication in Caribbean creoles, and also to the discussion on language change.

HUBER, Magnus, Susanne MICHAELIS,
Martin HASPELMATH and Philippe MAURER
University of Giessen

Comparing Contact Languages World-wide:
Findings Based on the *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Structures*
(SESSION 7 / PANEL 7A)

The typological *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures* (*APiCS*) documents selected phonological, morphosyntactic, lexical and sociolinguistic features of contact languages world-wide and will be published in 2012. More than 80 specialists filled in an electronic questionnaire for 74 languages, including 120 morphosyntactic and lexical features with a total of 603 values (yielding almost 45,000 data points). Crucially, *APiCS* also contains 25 New World/Caribbean Creoles and mixed languages, including 14 English lexified, 6 French lexified, 2 Dutch lexified, and 2 Spanish/Portuguese lexified contact languages.

In our introduction we will give a brief overview of the *APiCS* project and compare its structure and scope with the *World Atlas of Language Structures* (*WALS*), by which it was inspired and with which it is partly compatible.

The second part of our talk will explore what a systematic analysis of the *APiCS* data can contribute to our understanding of the historical-genetic and typological relationships between contact languages. The standardised questionnaire and electronic database format make it possible to carry out automated comparisons of the languages and we will perform statistical analyses of the morphosyntactic and sociolinguistic features. Findings will be presented, among others, in a selection of *APiCS* maps, showing the geographical distribution patterns of selected features in the Caribbean and world-wide, but the visualisation of the results will also include phylogenetic networks, showing affinities between individual varieties. One of the goals of *APiCS* is to make possible a comparison of pidgin and creole language structures with the world-wide situation and with the substrate languages. About half of the *APiCS* features are modelled on features in *WALS*, and we will show in what ways an *APiCS*-*WALS* compatibility can be achieved so that the situation in pidgins and creoles can be compared directly with the world-wide situation. This is important because - while creolists typically have an excellent knowledge of the lexifier language and also know a lot about substrate languages—the extent to which the corresponding patterns are widespread or not in the world as a whole is often still little known.

KEPHART, Ronald

University of North Florida

Taking the "Broken" out of "Broken English": Teaching against Linguistic Prejudice
(SESSION 11 / PANEL 11C)

After twenty years of introducing linguistics to current and prospective English language arts teachers, I continue to encounter among my students negative beliefs and values regarding African American English, English-lexicon creoles, and other forms of language considered "broken English," "ungrammatical English," etc. In this paper I share a way of approaching this problem systematically that has emerged over the course of my teaching career. First I present some linguistic universals, such as predication, personal reference, and negation. I then present features that are not universal, such as voiced stops, specific tenses, and definite and indefinite articles. After this, I proceed to show that those features of English creoles (or AAVE) that mark it as "broken" are in fact not universals, but belong rather with the features that are not universally shared. I draw on as wide a range of languages as possible, making sure to include well-known standard languages, such as Russian. For example, the lack of a copula in sentences with AP, PP, or NP predicates turns out to be a feature that, although heavily stigmatised when displayed by speakers of creoles and AAVE, is shared with Russian as well as other languages. In the end, while not guaranteeing that students' beliefs or behaviours will change, this approach brings them face to face with the illogic of their language attitudes and so constitutes a teaching strategy that can reduce, if not eliminate, some of their prejudices toward "broken" Englishes.

KERSHNER, Gregory

Hofstra University

Ventriloquists and Dummy Phobia: New Trends in Creole Theory

(SESSION 10 / PANEL 10A)

Current work on Creole theory in Caribbean literary discourse has begun to reevaluate the crucially important concepts of splitting (Freud), doubling (Lacan), schizophrenia (Deleuze and Fanon), and most essentially, the 'master-slave' dialectic in Hegel's Phenomenology) in the light of materialism and pan-logism in language. Generally speaking, this paper assigns pivotal roles to Pidgins, Patois, and Creoles in Caribbean (oral) literary discourse as sites of dialectic contestation rather than amalgamation. In this respect, I argue for a post-hybrid, multi-vocal, theories of Creole languages, which must be grounded in notions of counter-resistance in an African and secondary Caribbean multicultural Diaspora.

Three current **theories** and their interrelationships will be discussed and illustrated with examples drawn from English-based Creole (Patwa) popular music (reggae, dance hall, etc.) in the following order in the paper: 1.) the **Ventriloquist theory**, where the subject-object dialectics of Hegel is central; Creole discourse often assumes a ventriloquist form in which (post)colonialism distorts Creoles by inscribing the "invented" (subjective) voice of the Other. Structures of (by means of interference and opposition) the ruling code (ideology) are imposed on representation of the Creole. Here I touch upon A'lthusser's theory of interpellation. 2.) the **Phobic theory**, under which local verbal popular singers operate, torn between strong oral traditions on the one hand and alien scribal conventions on the other (Freud's 'uncanny'), manoeuvring between restricted functions of Creole in written discourse. Creole is marked (hyper-)discourse wherever it occurs in the written or oral text. Increasing interaction between official and vernacular codes of resistance in writing, together with diminishing phobia leads to 3.) the **Absolute theory**, in which code-shifting contributes to a grammatically and lexically contestation discourse comprising plural and radically dissonant voices united in opposition, i.e., creoles. The privileging of the Creole in turn contributes to multi-perspectival shift that relocates the speaker to the absolute centre (rather than margin) of a valorised discourse and in turn becomes an instrument of a transcendent identity construction and politics.

KLEIN, Thomas

Georgia Southern University

Differential Phonological Restructuring in the African Lexicon of Gullah

(SESSION 3 / PANEL 3A)

The corpus of lexical items derived from West African languages presented in phonetic transcription in Turner's (1949) *Africanisms* has received little attention from creolists since work in the 1980s examined a fragment of its phonology (Mufwene 1985) and portions of the vocabulary (Cassidy 1980, 1983, 1986; Hancock 1980) in discussions of the substrate component of Gullah and its place in relation to other Caribbean and Atlantic creoles. This work was guided by Turner's usage-based, functional division into 'personal names' (*c.* 4,000 entries), 'other words used in conversation' (*c.* 250 entries), and 'some expressions heard only in stories, songs, and prayers' (*c.* 100 entries). Mufwene (1985) noted five patterns of phonological restructuring: the reduction of labio-velars and pre-nasalised stops to simple stops in initial position and "the lowering or centralisation of [ɔ] to [a], the strengthening of [iV] to [iyV], the changes of [ɸ,ɣ] to [f,g] and the merger of [w,v] into [β]" (p. 158). Restructuring is a central notion in creole linguistics (Kouwenberg & Singler 2009, Holm 2004, Neumann-Holzschuh & Schneider 2000). It is typically viewed as applying holistically to individual creol(oid) languages or a group of them and focuses on the appropriation of the superstrate(s). The African-based material in Gullah offers the opportunity for more detailed phonological examination and to investigate if functionally distinct areas of the substrate lexicon can be restructured differentially.

Wolof is the only substrate language identified by Turner which is a stress language, but stress is pervasive, including in the etyma from tone languages. The few appearances of tone are nearly exclusively limited to an LH contour in bisyllabic items. However, the corpus features a number of robust West African phonological patterns. Vowel hiatus is preserved if the second vowel is stressed as in the names *si'aka* and *ku'elu*. Syllable structure is predominantly (C)V(N). Initial clusters are limited to *Cw* and *Cl/r*. Palatal nasals appear before a full set of vowels as in the names *ɲa*, *'ɲeda*, *'ɲɛta*, *'ɲibre*, *'ɲɒka*, *'ɲolo*, and *'ɲuri*. Monosyllabic items are fairly rare, but feature open syllables with lax or nasal vowels as in the names *kɛ* and *gã*, violating English phonotactics. Nasal vowels not in the vicinity of nasal consonants appear quite robustly in names from Yoruba, but also among the 'expressions' from Mende as in *'sihã* 'to steal' and *ku'hã* 'from afar'.

We find that the 'other words' area is phonologically distinct in two important respects: non-central vowels [ə] and [ʌ] and syllable-final obstruents or consonant clusters created through vowel elision (variably) appear here, but not among the names or the 'expressions'

(*NB*: Tone: $_1$ = low; $_2$ = mid; $_3$ = high):

(1) $\math!$b$\mathʌ$krə (b$\mathʌ_1$kr$\mathʌ_3$) 'white man' (< Ibibio and Efik, m$_1$ba$_1$ka$_2$ra$_2$)

(2) daf (dɛf, ˈdɛfu) 'rice flour' (< Vai, dɛ$_1$fu$_3$ 'rice flour'; Hausa, da$_3$faː$_3$ 'plain boiled rice')

The phonological analysis presented shows significant African continuities alongside differential restructuring patterns in functionally delimited parts of the lexicon—a challenge for future explanatory work on creole languages.

LACOSTE, Véronique

Freiburg University

Children's Experience of Jamaican Sound Patterns in School

(SESSION 2 / PANEL 2B)

This paper examines the speech of seven-year-old children in the context of learning Standard Jamaican English (SJE) in three rural primary schools. It is concerned with their production of word-final (-t, -d) consonant clusters and a salient classroom speech template—word-final exaggeration of the stress correlates. The children's speech is contrasted to their teachers' speech modelling.

The teaching of SJE speech patterns is part of the Language Arts programme called *Phonics* (Ministry of Education and Culture 1999, 2001; Joint Board of Teacher Education 2001, McLean & Fearon 2000), and is designed for enhancing the learning of whole-word pronunciations, so that children are exposed to lexical and sound shapes of words simultaneously. The teachers draw on what I call a "modelling-replication framework" to make the pronunciations prominent to their students. Such a teaching device is primarily based on imitative strategies wherein children learn the sound shape of word-forms by routinisation and absorption. Some speech patterns, though, are not restricted to the oral drill exercise and are only subject to passive modelling by the teachers. The children's internalisation process in this case is not as focused as for the orally drilled items, as it happens in the absence of their focused attention to the relevant patterns. Some sound forms are not drilled at all.

This paper uses variationist and quantitative methods (Labov 1989; Young & Bayley 1996; Bayley 2004) to show that the implementation and the learning of SJE sound patterns in the Grade 2 classroom are complex for a number of reasons:

(1) the non-discrete nature of the Jamaican language continuum hinders the children's level of separation of Jamaican Creole (JC) and SJE whole-word pronunciations. Especially in the case of consonant clusters, the overlapping lexical repertoires of JC and SJE precondition the learners' difficulty in perceiving the two phonological systems as autonomous (Craig 2000, 2006);

(2) the teachers themselves use a variable version of SJE in class, which assists children in acquiring a protean language variety.

The paper emphasises that the sound forms that the children experience in class are all context-dependent. That is, variability in their speech is argued to be a (positive) sign that they are aware of sound adjustment to different contexts of usage, and they are sensitive to stylistic appropriateness in performance tasks. For instance, exaggeration of the stress correlates has been found to be a classroom template which they recognise and use appropriately in the more formal speech environments. They are learning all the different constraints relative to language awareness and attention to speech in the classroom (Lacoste 2006, 2007). These constraints are a reflection of what the modelling-replication framework offers for learning SJE, i.e., different levels of phono-stylistic variation (Lacoste 2009).

The pedagogically oriented linguistic situation of the classroom echoes the intricate sociolinguistic landscape of Jamaica, where speakers are required to manipulate a set of coexisting, yet overlapping, language systems.

LEONI DE LEÓN, Jorge Antonio

Universidad de Costa Rica

Dígalo : a basic support tool for L2 learners

(SESSION 11 / PANEL 11A)

Natural Language Processing (NLP) has opened wide possibilities in Applied Linguistics, like Language Learning. In this paper we present a tool supporting the basic learning of the lexicon and writing in a foreign language. This tool, called "Dígalo" (for the Spanish "say it!"), has been developed for Spanish as a mean to show its applicability. Nevertheless, we aim to expand its application to other languages, like Ameridian languages.

"Dígalo" is a web application consisting in four specialised modules: First, Hable.pm manages data consistency; second, Hamin.pm displays the application itself; third Lexadal.pm organizes the data structure; and Fips.pm communicates with the Language Technology Laboratory's parser Fips at the University of Geneva, to check user's phrase productions.

On the screen "Dígalo" has two parts, a lexicon and a form to write phrases in a foreign language (in our case, Spanish). If the mouse's arrow point over a word, an image related is displayed (so, if the pointer passes over the word "casa", the user sees a picture of a "house") bringing a link between the word and its meaning. When the user clicks over the form, she can start writing a sentence including one or several words from the lexicon offered. The lexicon is divided in four categories: nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs. Once the user has entered the phrase, it is automatically parsed, via web, by Fips, which checks its correctness. If the phrase is valid, "Dígalo" opens a new space in the form to continue the exercise. If the phrase is incorrect, "Dígalo" indicates the error and invites to try again.

This methodology searches to improve user's competence in foreign language at a beginner's level. "Dígalo" marries new technologies, foreign language teaching and Linguistic knowledge applied in an original solution useful in the class or in the home learning.

MAHER, Julianne

Bethany College

The Roots of Linguistic Conservatism in St. Barthélemy, French West Indies
(SESSION 9 / PANEL 9B)

A small island in the northeastern sector of the Caribbean with a traditional population of less than 2000, St. Barthélemy defies expectations by its linguistic diversity. The St. Barths are descendants of the original French inhabitants who settled the island in the latter half of the 17th century, yet they do not all speak the same language. Although currently fading, three speech varieties, St. Barth Creole, St. Barth Patois and Gustavia English, have persisted on the island through the 20th century. Such linguistic diversity in a small homogeneous population is difficult to explain. Its persistence over almost 300 years raises questions about sociohistorical factors favouring language maintenance and conservatism.

A pawn in the 18th century French-English wars and virtually evacuated in 1750, St. Barth welcomed the return in 1765 of a number of its exiles and slaves from St. Vincent, where they had spent 20 years raising sugar with planters from Martinique. The return from St. Vincent explains the use of St. Barth Creole, which is strongly flavoured by Martiniquan Creole. Subsequently, St. Barth became a property of the Swedish crown, which made it a free port, encouraged immigration from neighbouring English islands and used English predominantly. Never a great source of tropical produce, St. Barth's return to France in 1878 did little to improve the state of its poverty-stricken population, which survived by selling fish and livestock to the sugar islands. Under 100 years of Swedish influence, there would have been good reason for language shift to English, like neighbouring St. Martin. Likewise, it could have become creolophone since the St. Vincent returnees formed an elite, highly admired as planters by the Swedes. To retain its French identity, its population could have maintained Patois exclusively. But to maintain three separate languages, with almost no bilinguals, suggests an unusual sociocultural ecology.

Swedish governors' and visitors' reports of the 17th and 18th centuries lay the groundwork for this sociolinguistic study. In addition, Lasserre 1961, Benoist 1964, Valdman 1978, Highfield 1979, Maher 1996 and Calvet and Chaudenson 1998 contribute to an understanding of the languages and of St Barth's situation, which the latter authors call a 'linguistic enigma'. St. Barth Patois is a particularly interesting variety for its conservative phonology but restructured morphology and syntax. This study concludes that principal factors favouring linguistic conservatism are St. Barth's sociocultural barriers, its Swedish colonial history, social stability, absence of schools, poverty and, particularly, the distinctive role of its women.

MANAGAN, Kathe

Louisiana State University

Performing Guadeloupean Identity:

Linguistic Styles and Social Types in Guadeloupean Creole Comedy

(SESSION 10 / PANEL 10B)

In this paper I examine the linguistic varieties and social personae depicted in comedy sketch programmes recorded on DVD in Guadeloupe. Guadeloupean comedy sketches derive their humour from presenting, in a slightly exaggerated way, the humor in everyday occurrences. Guadeloupean comedy sketches draw on the entire linguistic ecology of the island: local French, metropolitan French, basilectal *gwo kréyòl*, "Frenchified" Kréyòl, code-switching, Haitian Kreyòl and even some English. The sketches often focus on social stereotypes and their linguistic correlates for humorous effect. Stock characters include the returnee or *négropolitain* ('black metropolitan'), speaking hypercorrect metropolitan French; the rural farmer, speaking *gwo kréyòl*; the Rastafarian, speaking Kréyòl sprinkled with English and Jamaican slang; and Haitian and Dominican immigrants, speaking their own creoles. While dress and mannerisms figure into these characterisations, because language variation is ideologised as indexing social distinctions (cf. Irvine and Gal 2000; Agha 2004, 2007), the utilisation or exaggeration of linguistic varieties is a key feature of the portrayal of a character. In this paper, I focus on characters whose linguistic variety is a key component of what distinguishes them as a particular "type". I examine the characters of the *négropolitain*, the Rastafarian and the Haitian undocumented worker. These characters are common in creole comedy sketches and speak to social tensions over the impact of migration and globalisation on what it means to be Guadeloupean. The linguistic characteristic my informants most often mentioned of *négropolitains* was their "rolling of the r," rather that pronouncing it should be in standard French, exaggerating a more "rolled", trilled /r/, where in Kréyòl it is normally pronounced as /w/. In comedy sketches, the *négropolitain* is usually represented with an exaggerated or affected French accent and a feigned inability to speak Kréyòl (which is shown to be false in the end). Depictions of Rastafarians include English lexical borrowings and terms specific to Rastafarianism (such as Jah and Ital). The Kréyòl associated with Rastas in Guadeloupe is sometimes termed *kréyòl zayann* ('Zion Kréyòl'). Haitians are presented in comedy sketches through the use of a few key identifiable features of HC (such as the preverbal markers and the verb gen 'to have'), usually combined with GC. The following is an example of a sketch that depicts a Haitian undocumented worker:

Josef: *Oui Monsieur Raymond, travay M'AP travay, pou di i dwet M'AP fè dwet, pou di y*

  (M PRAL…) gadé gadé

  Yes Mr. Raymond. I'm really working, I'm really making it straight, really,

  (I'm going to…) look, look.

In this sketch, the actor playing the Haitian worker uses identifiably HC features, including the preverbal markers *ap* and *pral*. Such depictions rely on limited knowledge of HC, but include enough GC that the audience can be assumed to understand. In addition to broadening our understanding of the linguistic variation that exists in Guadeloupe, this paper seeks to illuminate how linguistic variation is mapped onto perceived social distinctions in Guadeloupe and how playwrights and actors use this shared knowledge to comment on Guadeloupean society while making their audience laugh.

MASIOLA, Rosanna
University for Foreigners Perugia

Translation Impossible?
From Sacred Plants to Global Phytonymy: Descriptions, Translation and Lexicography
(SESSION 7 / PANEL 7C)

The aim of this paper is to present a sequence of texts and their translations and re-translations, adaptations and transcription, and their lexicographic treatment.

In the introductory part the main focus is on cognitive and descriptive frames to show the process of vernacular naming, and on the problem of semantic borrowing and language shift (Tuttle, Aceto, Mülhausler et al.). The phenomenon is more than a simple a bi-phasic model, i.e., identification and naming of endemic flora, and the plantation of new species into the Caribbean - in that it contains also the 'secret plants' which were brought over from different parts of Africa (same plants but different names) along the slave route, and how vernacular phytonyms changed or coexisted in a new functional system and ritual usage (Alleyne).

Vernacular phytonymy and the problem of colonial syllepsis (Ewan) are referred to, within the framework of Allsopp's conceptualisation of heteronyms category on the axis of different sequence in the hierarchy of hyperonyms and hyponyms. The quest for 'langscape' or a language combined to describe the space and place where one belonged was also the call for an instrument to reflect the change in terminology and conceptualisation (Le Page and Cassidy), re-lexification and prestige formation (Mühleisen).

The diffusion of Caribbean literature and culture has been suffering from the lack of international validation and recognition because of suppression of linguistic identity in terms of cohesive identification patterning (Mair). From its subservient and peripheral status (Brathwaite, Wilson) it has now acquired a prominent position featuring an intricate composite identity which today is being exported via expatriation and 'repatriation' movement to Africa and to the 'Centre' or centres like London, or New York. Hybridisation here is no longer a taboo or negative concept (Mac Arthur), but with cross-fertilisation it vouchsafes the quest for roots and 'tradition' in the forging of new linguistic awareness (expressive, communicative and translational) at home and abroad.

But how do norms and practices vary when it comes to translation into vernaculars and what happens to 'popular culture' on the level of translatability? The use of plant names and their translation plays an important role in the representation of landscape and of botany (see also vernacular and popular plant names in Taylor, 1687). These may be present in texts with an expressive and vocative function like the Bible (Nida) or internet advertising of typical Caribbean products featuring flowers and plants, travel literature and tourism pamphlets, as the examples we examine may well evidentiate. (de Beaugrande)

The Caribbean model with all its intricate cultural patterns and mosaic of languages (standard and non-standard) is on the move and can be exported and applied to new identity awareness in emergent nations in the old world and advance progress in communication.

McPHEE, Helean

The College of The Bahamas

English Should be Taught as a Second Language in Bahamian Primary Schools
(SESSION 11 / PANEL 11A)

In January 2010, The Bahamas government responded to "a crisis in the public educational system" by hiring specialist teachers from England to "improve the literacy… skills" of students (Thompson 2009). Arguably, this temporary measure does not address a root cause of poor literacy skills. Failure to acknowledge that "Bahamian Dialect" is a creole (McPhee 1998, 2003, 2006; Hackert 2003) and that English therefore, should be taught as a second language in primary schools is largely to blame.

This paper examines several reasons for the aforementioned proposal, including the fact that like Haitian Creole, spoken by an estimated 80,000 Haitians residing in The Bahamas, "Bahamian Dialect" has decisive creole features.

Caribbean Creole Properties	Bahamian (BC) and Haitian (HC) Examples
TMA are expressed by preverbal free morphemes (Bakker, Post and van der Voort, 1995).	
Tense – Anterior	BC: *Iy bin/ did finish foh ay get huwm.*
	HC: *Li te fini avan-m rive lakay.*
	'She had finished before I got home.'
Modality – predictability	BC: *Dey sey da bowt go liyv tamohrow.*
	HC: *Yo di ke bato a ap kite demen.*
	'They said the boat will leave tomorrow.'
2. Locative, adjectival and equative constructions differ from English (Bickerton, 1981).	
a. Subject *LOC* Location	BC: *Shiy de huwm.*
	HC: *Li (he or she) lakay.*
	'She is at home.'
b. Subject *0* Attribute	BC: *It nays.*
	HC: *Li bon.*
	'She is nice.'
3. Plural nouns are not inflected (Holm, 1990).	BC: *Som da tiycha dem rizayn.*
	HC: *Kèk nan pwofèsè yo kite demisyone.*
4. Third person pronouns require no gender distinction (Schneider, 1990).	'Some of the teachers resigned.'
	BC: *Iy hozban iz Matthew*

HC: *Mari li se Matye.*
'Her husband is Matthew.'
5. Serial verbs are typical (Alleyne, 1980).

BC: *Les wohk gow kech da bus.*
HC: *An nou mache ale pran bis la.*
'Let us walk in order to catch the bus.'

6. Article systems exhibit a three-way distinction:
a. Indefinite articles introduce specific nouns in discourse.

BC: *Dey tay im op to won chriy.*
HC: *Yo mare li sou yon bwa.*
'They tied him to a tree.'

b. Definite articles refer to specific nouns already introduced.

BC: *Win dey gohn bak, hiy wuzn tay ta di chriy now moh.*
HC: *Lè yo tounen li pa t mare sou pye bwa ankò.*
'When they went back, he was not tied to the tree any more.'

BC: *Duwng weyt til ay dehd ta liv loyk kyat an dohg.*

c. Non-specific noun phrases take zero marking (Holm 1988).

HC: *Pa kite se lè mwen mouri pou viv tankou chyen ak chat.*
'Do not wait until I am dead to live like cats and dogs.'

This paper is important because it addresses an urgent national concern—poor literacy skills. Acknowledging the Creole status of "Bahamian Dialect," and making appropriate adjustments in language planning are the first steps to improving student performance in English examinations and by extension, other subject areas.

MIGGE, Bettina and Isabelle LEGLISE

University College Dublin and CNRS

Language Practices among Maroons: Monolingual or Multilingual
(SESSION 8 / PANEL 8B)

The creoles of Suriname and the Maroon Creoles in particular figure prominently in research on creole genesis, descriptive linguistic research and in formal linguistic approaches to creole grammar. The main reason for their prevalence in this kind of research is that they are widely assumed to be linguistically conservative meaning that they have been subject to little change. This is somewhat surprising for two reasons. First, diachronic research has shown that at least some areas of grammar have undergone change over time due to both contact-induced and internally-motivated change. Second, both Suriname and French Guiana, the countries where most Maroons live, are highly multilingual and in both countries interethnic contact including intermarriage and urbanisation are clearly on the rise among all ethnic groups in the region. So are Maroons linguistic isolates in an otherwise multilingual region or are current linguistic descriptions simply abstracting away from heterogeneity due to discipline-internal analytical consideration?

In this presentation, we will investigate this question by examining the current sociolinguistic situation of Maroons in the region using data coming from participant observation, interviews and survey of language practices among school children. Our investigation reveals that Maroons are far from monolingual. While language maintenance among Maroons appears to be relatively high compared with other ethnic groups, like members of other ethnic groups, most Maroon children declare speaking two or more languages on a regular basis. Besides their Maroon variety, they also declare speaking the official language of the country as well as one or more Surinamese Creole varieties. Especially in Suriname, most children declare using Sranan Tongo but also other Maroon languages. With respect to written productions, most children declare being able to write in the official language of the country and to a much lower degree also in Sranan Tongo. Writing in Maroon languages is not very widespread and is not always positively evaluated.

The situation is somewhat different with respect to Sranan Tongo-speakers. A great number of children declare using it as an L2 and often report not being allowed to speak it. Negative attitudes towards Sranan Tongo are still quite frequent throughout the population both in Suriname and French Guiana but for different reasons.

The final part of the presentation will focus on interactional data. We will show that monolingual practices are decreasing and that both code-switching and code-mixing practices are on the rise. Such practices are increasingly leading to perceptual changes: Urban children appear to be less able to distinguish between different Maroon varieties and particularly between Maroon varieties and Sranan Tongo. We will show that this is linked to social changes and identity issues.

MIMY, Hérold

Faculté de Linguistique Appliquée/Université d'Etat d'Haïti

Construction de l'aspect en créole haïtien

(SESSION 4 / PANEL 4C)

Cette étude part des types de constructions illustrés en (1-2), relevés dans les textes français produits par les étudiants débutants à l'Université d'Etat d'Haïti, construits en français sur le modèle des constructions créoles (1b-2b) où interagissent fondamentalement, en sous-jacence, les propriétés sémantiques lexicales des éléments prédicatifs dans la construction de l'information aspectuelle véhiculée par la phrase-énoncé.

> 1 a. J' *ETAIS CONTENT* EN *REMERCIANT* DIEU.
>
>   1S PAST HAPPY COMP THANKING GOD
>
>   b. M te *KONTAN* AP *DI BONDYE MESI*
>
>   'I was THANKING GOD.'
>
>   COMP = Complementizer
>
> 2 a. J' *AI PRIS* MON CAHIER M' *EFFORÇANT* DE REVISER mes notes.
>
>   1S AUX take my notebook 1S trying Prep review my note
>
>   b. M te *PRAN* KAYE MWEN *AP FOSE* REVIZE nòt mwen
>
>   'I was REMEMORIZING HARDLY my notes.'
>
>   Prep = Preposition

Les constructions en (1a-2a) se caractérisent par la présence de deux ensembles prédicatifs (dont les noyaux sont soulignés en gras), combinés comme s'ils étaient liés en une seule prédication (la phrase est l'équivalent d'une proposition) : les prédicats ainsi associés ont la valeur d'un prédicat et peuvent être paraphrasés en français ou en anglais courant par un seul lexème verbal, par exemple dans les exemples précédents :

> - *être content en remerciant Dieu* → *bénir/remercier Dieu* →*to thank God ;*
>
> - *prendre (quelque chose) s'efforçer de* → *s'efforçer de* → *to try hard.*

Les combinaisons de prédicats, dites « verbes sériels » dans la littérature créolistique courante, suggèrent que la Grammaire créole construit syntaxiquement non seulement l'Aspect grammatical (cf. littérature créolistique, entre autres Damoiseau 1988 et Lumsden 1993), mais aussi l'Aspect lexical combinant entre elles les unités de base du lexique, alors que la langue française par exemple procède plutôt au niveau lexico-morphologique.

L'objectif de cet exposé, réalisé dans le cadre des Principes et Paramètres de la théorie générative, est de montrer que la construction syntaxique de l'Aspect dans la langue vernaculaire d'Haïti colle directement à la réalité et à l'expérience quotidienne de la culture populaire d'Haïti ; et dans le même temps de contribuer à une connaissance plus précise de la structuration de la grammaire d'une langue créole. La connaissance de l'organisation syntaxique d'une langue donnée ouvre sur une meilleure compréhension de la manière de penser de ses locuteurs, selon Carnie 2002, *Syntax. A Generative Introduction*. Blackwell Publishing: p. 5): "The study of syntax is an important foundation stone for understanding how we communicate and interact with each other as humans."

MITCHELL, Samantha

The University of the West Indies, St Augustine

Empowerment through Curriculum Change:
Adapting the CSEC English Language Syllabus
towards Improved Academic and Social Achievement of Deaf Students in the Caribbean
(SESSION 6 / PANEL 6B)

This paper evolved out of research done in 2008 entitled "Personal development and achievement: An instrumental case study of a young deaf woman's educational experiences in Trinidad and Tobago" and the unpublished thesis "The Educational Experiences of Deaf Students in St. Lucia: a Case Study" (2009). Interviews were the primary method of data collection, while the Grounded Theory approach was used in the data analysis towards interpretation of findings. While a deaf young adult was the primary participant in each study, interviews were also carried out with other persons involved in education of the d/Deaf in Trinidad & Tobago and St. Lucia. Participants were selected through purposive sampling using the snowballing method. Findings suggest that while societal attitudes to deaf persons have become more positive and some deaf persons are employed in non-menial positions, the lack of sufficient physical and human resources, limited subject and school choices, lack of CSEC qualifications and the non-ratification of a national disabilities' policy have negatively impacted the communicative ability, academic achievement, marketability and all round welfare of deaf persons in both countries. Of key interest was the fact that since deaf persons are linguistically disadvantaged, the aforementioned inability to attain satisfactory levels of communication in spoken and written English, played a major role in their all round relatively lower levels of achievement alongside their peers. A primary focus of this paper is that of the need for curriculum change within the CSEC English Language syllabus to allow for attainment of CSEC passes in the subject, which would enable members of the Deaf community to advance academically and socially.

MÜHLEISEN, Susanne

University of Bayreuth

**Linguistic Choices and Community Construction
in a Trinidadian Diaspora Internet Forum**
(SESSION 8 / PANEL 8B)

The interconnection between language use and speaker identity/identification has long been recognised in sociolinguistics (cf. Coulmas 2005; Tabouret-Keller 1997). In Diaspora communities, the desire to either signal one's membership in the group that connects the speaker with the ancestral community, or to obscure such a belonging and blend in with the majority community, is part of a complex interplay between language maintenance and language shift, which involves a number of dynamic processes of accommodation, code-switching and linguistic acts of self-assertion.

While linguistic performances of identity are made unconsciously and smoothly in face-to-face conversations and are therefore well researched (cf. Tabouret-Keller 1997), written communication has rarely been investigated with regard to their value as acts of identification. With an increasing use of "oral-like" written communication in chats and internet forums, orthographic flexibility and the use of non-standard features in writing have become highly common (cf. Hinrichs 2006).

This paper investigates markers of Trinidadian English Creole employed in the internet forum "TT California" (*Trinidad & Tobago Possee Livin California*) by Trinidadian users who are living in California. The purpose of the internet forum is to connect Trinidadian Diaspora members and to exchange information on events, contacts, etc. Due to the mediated form of communication, it is argued, where physical markers, tone of voice, etc. cannot be employed to establish one's right to membership in this forum, special linguistic features with a high value of marking "Trinidadian-ness" are used extensively. In my paper, I will explore the use of orthographic markers as well as the use of "allyuh" (Trinidadian; cf. Mühleisen in press) versus "you guys" (American) as second person plural forms.

NAJAC, Sandra

Université de Montréal

Alternance codique et lien social à Montréal:
de la langue stigmatisée à la langue adoptee
(SESSION 8 / PANEL 8A)

Le Québec accueille chaque année de nombreux immigrants haïtiens. Ces derniers amènent avec eux un bagage social et culturel comme la dichotomie créole haïtien-français selon laquelle le français serait survalorisé au détriment du créole haïtien. Dans le contexte social en Haïti, les dynamiques identitaires s'expriment très souvent à travers les choix linguistiques des locuteurs, plus précisément, à travers l'alternance codique (Valdman, 1988). Par exemple, l'emploi fréquent de l'alternance codique dans le discours pour exprimer une appartenance sociale.

Dans la tradition de recherche suivie par Cashman (2005), l'emphase est mise sur la façon dont les locuteurs construisent leur identité sociale et non sur ce que les locuteurs sont. Ainsi, se basant sur ses recherches sur l'alternance codique, il affirme que les locuteurs se construisent activement, à travers leurs choix de langues, une identité sociale en affirmant leur appartenance à un groupe. De plus, selon lui, l'alternance codique dans la conversation construit et change la structure sociale. D'autre part, Myers-Scotton et Bolonya (2001) affirment que le choix linguistique ne dépend que du locuteur.

Si les choix linguistiques, comme l'alternance codique, sont dans certains cas, la réclamation, l'expression ou l'affirmation d'un « projet identitaire » (Bailey, 2000; Cashman, 2005); si dans le contexte social en Haïti, les dynamiques identitaires s'expriment très souvent à travers les choix linguistiques des locuteurs, plus précisément à travers l'alternance codique, qu'en est-il dans le contexte social québécois? Comment les jeunes issus de famille immigrante haïtienne gèrent-ils les transmissions familiales dont ils bénéficient en évoluant dans leur(s) communauté(s) et dans leur famille? Comment prennent forme ces transmissions dans le discours de ces jeunes? Que nous apprend l'alternance codique de l'appropriation que les jeunes font de ces transmissions?

L'analyse de données linguistiques et ethnographiques recueillies lors d'une observation participante auprès de 9 jeunes âgés entre 18 et 28 ans qui évoluent dans le quartier Saint-Michel à Montréal et l'analyse des données d'entrevues réalisées auprès de ces jeunes montre que l'alternance codique comme phénomène à la fois linguistique et social est également présent chez les jeunes Montréalais d'origine haïtienne. Toutefois, ce phénomène sociolinguistique prend, parfois, des formes différentes et revêt des fonctions différentes à Montréal, particulièrement dans le quartier Saint-Michel. Dans ce quartier de Montréal, des jeunes d'origine haïtienne ont négocié leur espace au point où le quartier définit comme espace social, espace de proximité, selon Morin et Rochefort (1998), retrouverait une signification dans les relations qu'ils entretiennent avec les autres jeunes. En effet, la dynamique linguistique chez les jeunes de ce quartier, plus précisément, l'alternance codique, espace de prédilection du créole haïtien, témoigne de cette dynamique sociale en se définissant comme l'expression d'une solidarité entre des jeunes Montréalais de différentes origines.

NERO, Shondel

New York University

Racial/Ethnic Segregation and Caribbean Language in New York City Schools
(SESSION 9 / PANEL 9A)

Historically, migration from the English-speaking Caribbean to New York City (NYC) has been marked by a predominance of Afro-Caribbean immigrants (Foner, 2001; Henke, 2001; Kasinitz, 1992). However, in the past twenty years, NYC has witnessed a significant increase in the number of Indo-Caribbean immigrants, mainly from Guyana and Trinidad & Tobago. One of the most striking phenomena between Afro- and Indo-Caribbean immigrants in NYC is the distinctive racial/ethnic segregation that has emerged in their settlement and social interaction patterns within the city. While a significant body of research has examined the link between residential patterns and language use among various racial/ethnic groups within the US (Labov, 2006; Stevens; 1992; Waters & Jiménez, 2005), to date there has been no study exploring the relationship between Afro- and Indo-Caribbean immigrant settlement in NYC and the effect on their language practices. Because most Caribbean children of both ethnic backgrounds attend New York City's public schools, these institutions offer an illustrative case on the relationship between racial/ethnic segregation and language.

This paper poses the question: To what degree does racial/ethnic segregation between Afro- and Indo-Caribbean immigrants in NYC impact their language use, particularly in schools? It reports on the results of a year-long qualitative pilot study conducted in two schools located in distinctly different communities in NYC—one predominantly Afro-Caribbean; the other, predominantly Indo-Caribbean— exploring the relationship among racial/ethnic identity, residence, social interaction and language practices (both spoken and written) with regard to Caribbean immigrant children.

The paper begins with an examination of Caribbean identity construction. Drawing on the work of Premdas (1993) and others, I argue that the distinct racial/ethnic identities among Caribbean natives constructed in the Caribbean are heightened by racialised and separatist settlement and social interaction patterns in the US, which impacts language practices. I also examine the racial construction of Afro-Caribbean immigrants (as Black or African American), which often forces them into living among, and interacting with, African Americans (Waters, 2001), manifested in their language use, among other ways.

Next, I explore the demographics (social class, rural/urban provenance, education level) and settlement patterns of Afro- and Indo-Caribbean immigrants in two neighbourhoods in NYC and the extent to which they are reflected in their public school attendance and social interactions in schools. Through taperecorded interviews of six focal students (three Afro- and three Indo-Caribbean), and observations of their oral language use in classroom and social activities, I analyse the ways in which the students' racial/ethnic identity and social interactions are reflected in their language practices, using Milroy's (1987) social networks analytic framework. Additionally, writing samples of the focal students are also analysed for vernacular influence in writing that is racially/ethnically marked.

The results of this pilot study can shed new light on the nexus of race/ethnicity, residential patterns, and language use, and can add to the growing body of research on the language practices of immigrant communities in the US, particularly communities that have been underresearched to date, such as the Indo-Caribbean community.

NIKIEMA, Emmanuel

University of Toronto

Phonological Variation in French-based Creoles

(SESSION 3 / PANEL 3A)

French-based Creoles (spoken in the Caribbean or in the Indian Ocean region) share many similarities with respect to their segmental inventories (Holm 2000). However, their phonological systems exhibit subtle, and yet consistent, differences that point to an analysis in terms of language variation and change. This paper examines two well-described cases of typical phonological events in the phonology of French creoles, namely nasalisation and the distribution/behaviour of the consonant /R/.

/R/ is considered the most unstable consonant in the segmental phonology of French-based Creoles: there are contexts within which the consonant is always fully realised as [r] in all varieties, and other contexts in which the consonant may be reduced, transformed into [w] or be deleted depending on the creole variety under consideration. For example, in all French-based creoles described in the literature, /R/ is always realised when in prevocalic position as is the case in words such as /pRɑ̃n/ "to take" and /Rivjè/ "river". In this context the consonant may be pronounced as [R], [ɣ] or [w], but it is always pronounced (it cannot be omitted). In contrast, /R/ can be realised or deleted in post-vocalic or post-consonantal position depending on the language. In both Reunion and French Guyana Creoles (Chaudenson 1974; Barthelemi 1995), Rs are realised when in post-vocalic or word final position as in [te:R] "land", vocalised into [w] in Gwadlup and Mauritian Creoles as in [mɔwn] "mountain" (Hazaël-Massieux 1972; Baker 1972; Padaruth 1972), and completed deleted in Haitian and St-Lucian in words such as *flè* "flower" (Cadely 1994; Carrington 1984).

Interestingly, the behaviour of post-vocalic Rs interacts with the patterns of vowel nasalisation as it blocks the nasalisation process in all varieties. The question we address in the paper is to account for this particular interaction between nasalisation and the distribution of post-vocalic Rs. We first suggest that both the distribution and the variability of /R/ can be derived from its phonological representation. More precisely, we suggest that /R/ has an underspecified segmental structure that allows the consonant to easily undergo, reduction, assimilation or deletion. In this regard, /R/ will be analysed as a consonant consisting in a bare root place node that could easily undergo vocalisation, assimilation or deletion depending on surrounding elements.

Then, we show that the differences in distribution and behaviour observed in the different French Creoles are also related to the syllabic position of /R/ within the word:prevocalic Rs are systematically maintained, whereas postvocalic ones are subject to various phonological phenomena. We analyse both nasal vowels and post-vocalic sequences as instances of diphthong structure (both elements belong to the nucleus) and show that the structure accounts for the data in a unified and straightforward way. Our analysis suggests that, in addition to segmental inventories (Klein 2006), the syllabic structure the French-based Creoles examined exhibit a rich inventory of complex structures and phonological processes that may shed some light on the ongoing discussion on Creole genesis.

OENBRING, Raymond

The College of The Bahamas

More Corpus Linguistic Studies of Standard Bahamian English
(SESSION 3 / PANEL 3B)

Studies of Bahamian English have, up to now, focused almost exclusively on the spoken creole rather than written or prestige/acrolectal forms of usage. Scholarly studies have largely attempted either to tease out the distinct features of spoken Bahamian Creole (BC) (see, for example, Hackert [2004], Donnelly [1997]) or to present the unique issues faced by speakers of Bahamian Creole as they learn to compose in Standard English (see, for example, Bain [2005]).

While this focus on basilectal forms of usage is understandable, given that the basilectal forms are more unique, it is clear that educated registers have been neglected by researchers. Introducing her work on a Bahamian component of the International Corpus of English, Hackert (2010) makes a convincing case for the importance of collecting information on Standard English used within creole-speaking communities.

The aim of this study is to tease out some of the distinctive features, if only in frequencies of usage of certain forms, of StBE and to gauge StBE's affinities with other international forms of English. The international variants focused on in this study are: British English, the former international standard for English in postcolonial West Indian nations and the language of the later colonial project in The Bahamas; American English, the language of The Bahamas' close and economically-powerful neighbor, a neighbor whose culture many Bahamians complain has swamped traditional Bahamian forms of expression; and, finally, Jamaican English, the most-studied Caribbean variant of English, which is also the language of the country that dominates the cultural landscape of the English-speaking Caribbean.

The corpus of newspaper reportage I have developed comes solely from newspaper articles in The Bahamas' three mainstream newspapers printed in Nassau, New Providence Island (*The Nassau Guardian*, *The Nassau Tribune*, *The Bahama Journal*) and the two main newspapers of the two most-populous Family Islands: Grand Bahama (*The Freeport News*, an arm of *The Nassau Guardian*) and Abaco (*The Abaconian*). All of the 300 articles in the corpus were originally published between August and November 2009. The articles were electronically copied from these websites and saved in .txt format for analysis.

I have put to use three reference corpora for the study. For British English I have used the newspaper reportage component of the British National Corpus Baby edition (BNC-Baby). For American English, I have used the newspaper reportage component of the Brown Corpus, a now somewhat dated body of texts published originally in 1967 that is, however, still frequently used for research today. (The Brown Corpus is packaged with the BNC-Baby.) For the Jamaican English component, I have used the newly-developed Jamaican component of the International Corpus of English (ICE). As the newspaper reportage component of the ICE-JA is somewhat limited, I have supplemented the corpus with current articles from *The Jamaica Observer* and *The Jamaica Gleaner*.

PARKS, Elizabeth, Holly WILLIAMS and Jason PARKS
SIL International

Sign Language Use in the Dominican Republic and Jamaican Deaf Communities
(SESSION 6 / PANEL 6B)

The Deaf World encompasses deaf people around the globe who embrace an agenda unique to their cultural and linguistic minority (Lane, Hoffmeister, and Bahan 1996). Although there are hundreds of sign languages in the Deaf World, American Sign Language (ASL) currently has a powerful influence on language use in the international deaf community. It is intentionally taught in deaf schools which are primary sites for the emergence of deaf communities, their cultural construction, and sign language development. Many international deaf leaders are attending Gallaudet University or other American educational institutions where they are learning ASL and then transmitting it to their home countries, and ASL often serves as a lingua franca in cross-national deaf interaction.

In September 2008 and February 2009, our language assessment team conducted rapid appraisal sociolinguistic surveys with the deaf communities in the Dominican Republic and Jamaica. After background research for both countries, three researchers collected data in seven Dominican Republic and six Jamaican cities through participant observation, sociolinguistic questionnaires, and intelligibility testing of ASL. While information gathered during background research pointed toward use of ASL in both communities (Warfel 2008 and Gerner de Garcia 1994), many deaf Dominicans and Jamaicans indicated during fieldwork the uniqueness of their ethnolinguistic communities and the use of sign languages distinct from ASL: Dominican Sign Language (LSD) and Jamaican Sign Language (JSL).

Deaf survey participants reported that deaf schools are the primary sites of sign language acquisition in the Dominican Republic and Jamaica and that both countries have traditionally used ASL in the classroom. Despite this, initial intelligibility testing of ASL through recorded text testing of 11 participants in the Dominican Republic and nine in Jamaica shows that while some members of these communities have high ASL intelligibility, others may not communicate well through ASL or be able to effectively access ASL materials. In addition, participant observation of deaf community events and 30 questionnaire responses indicate deaf attitudes toward ASL vary widely in both countries. While some embrace it as a tool toward upward social mobility and access to the international deaf world, others view it as a threat to their national sign language and deaf culture.

Although Jamaican and Dominican deaf communities are at different stages of development and organisation, deaf leaders in both countries have promoted the increased use of JSL and LSD materials in deaf education and community life. In this paper, we describe sociolinguistic profiles of both communities, paying particular attention to the use of ASL and ways that the Dominican and Jamaican deaf communities are defining their own linguistic future and ultimately influencing the linguistic landscape of the Deaf World.

PEREIRA, Joyce

University of Aruba

Educational Reform and Attitude Planning in Aruba
(SESSION 4 / PANEL 4B)

Today, many Arubans accept and even agree with the fact that their native language should be excluded from the educational process. They are so sceptical and distrustful that their language could function as the main language of instruction in education. They LOVE their language; we talk about "Mi dushi Papiamento", "my beloved Papiamento". But in education? No way!!

Due to the historical colonial dominance and the official rejection of their language in 1935 by the Dutch, Arubans developed, according to the late Dr. Nelly Prins-Winkel (1975), a "negative linguistic image" of their own language.

In the brainwashing that took place, the Dutch officials used all kinds of Eurocentric educational myths to convince the people to reject their mother tongue, Papiamento, and to embrace the foreign language Dutch, as the key to their future. Orientation on and imitation of the Dutch European system became the culture in the education on the islands. For many people, learning Dutch seems to be the only aim of our education.

Next to Status Planning, Corpus Planning and Acquisition Planning, which are critical for the educational reform with Papiamento as medium of instruction and which are on track, a fourth segment of language planning needs special attention in this case: the Attitude Planning, in order to make all the stakeholders in the Aruban community understand and accept the reality about language and what it means for education especially.

This presentation focuses on strategies of Attitude Planning that need to be seriously considered.

PÉREZ FERNÁNDEZ, Rolando Antonio

Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

Creole, Yoruba, English: What is the Language of the Orisha Cult Songs in Grenada?

(SESSION 2 / PANEL 2A)

Thus far, the Orisha cult in Grenada (improperly called "Shango") has not been sufficiently studied, nor has the problem of the language in which the songs of that cult are sung been clarified. In her article "Shango Kult und Shouter-Kirche auf Trinidad und Grenada" (*Anthropos*, No. 65, 1970), the Austrian-Venezuelan anthropologist Angelina Pollak-Eltz claims that both "[t]he invocations and songs are in Creole, though they contain [to her view] many African words which are not completely understood any more." Taking as a base a sample of eleven songs recorded during an ethnomusicological fieldwork conducted in January, 1983, by a Cuban team including myself, it seems, regarding the language used, that there are only two Creole songs, and at least five kinds of song texts: 1) totally composed in Yoruba; 2) near-totally composed in Yoruba, with some Creole word(s) interspersed; 3) equally combining Yoruba and English; 4) near-totally composed in English with some Yoruba word(s) interspersed; and 5) totally in Creole. Six of the said songs were recorded from Eslyn Licorish (EL), an "African queen" or priestess of "Orisha Work" in a rural area near to Syracuse, St. David parish, and the remaining five songs from Loveington Gooding (LG), a priest of the so-called "New African Movement", in Sans Souci neighbourhood, Saint George's. The initial phrases of the following songs illustrate each of song types 1) to 4); the last two songs are the sole examples of Creole language text found in the sample. (Roy Clive Abraham's well-known *Dictionary of Modern Yoruba*, as well as Maureen Warner-Lewis' *Trinidad Yoruba* have been used as helpful tools in undertaking the tentative translation of the Yoruba words contained in these Orisha songs.)

1. EL. Afefe ('the wind'), kole ('steals'), bo ('strips off'), o ('it'') je ('is') lo (emphasis) ajare ('your dog'). Hewu ('gray-haired'), 'ji (the hurricane) kole ('steals'), Baba ('Father'), fo ('shatters')…

2. LG. Iya ('Mother'), onile ('householder'), Papa ('Father'), onile ('householder')

3. LG. Ago ('let me in'), ago, ago, ajara (?). Ago, ago. Come in, come in

4. LG. Ma, bring the water for Lily, […] Shakpana ('deity of the smallpox'), go bring the water for Lily, ago ('let me in')…

5. EL.: Rélé ('call'), rélé, mis' (?) Owisha ('Orisha'), ó ('oh')

6. EL. Apa la yo, isa, isa (?), la Gwénad ('in Grenada') nu ('we') yé ('are')

The songs sung by Ms Licorish appear to be closer to the main roots of the Orisha cult in Grenada, with both their Yoruba and Creole lyrics, compared to those sung by Mr. Gooding, perhaps due to the urban and more individualised New African Movement he belongs to. Thus, not only can the linguistic analysis of these and other Orisha songs contribute to the knowledge and appraisal of the Yoruba cultural bequeathal in the Caribbean, but it may also help understand the processes undergone by those Yoruba culture traits introduced by over 1,000 indentured workers arrived in Grenada from Ilesha in 1849.

POLLARD, Velma

The University of the West Indies, Mona

Language and the Downpressed: The Rasta Man in Jamaican Creative Writing
(SESSION 10 / PANEL 10B)

Creative writers in the Caribbean have increasingly over the last fifty years or so, sought to portray characters from all strata of the societies they describe in the different genres in which they write. The Rastafarian is part of a small but influential community born in the Jamaica of the nineteen forties preaching and living a religion/philosophy of Peace and Love and allegiance to Haile Selassie of Ethiopia as King and God. Dissatisfied with certain terms used in Jamaica, struck by their ineffectiveness in representing the ideas they were concerned with they soon invented a particular vocabulary to express their way of seeing and of being and incorporated it into the languages of Jamaica: Jamaican Standard English and Jamaican Creole.

This paper looks at the representation of the Rasta man in the work of selected Jamaican writers and identifies the different linguistic means by which his philosophy and lifestyle have been presented as part of the Jamaican manscape.

REGIS, Ferne Louanne

The University of the West Indies, St Augustine

East meets West in the Guyanese Blend Tunes:
Transitional Linguistic Features within the Indic Subculture
(SESSION 11 / PANEL 11B)

The extent to which persons of Indic ancestry became integrated into Guyanese society may perhaps best be measured by their use of language within the Indic song tradition as performed at ceremonial and folk gatherings. For Indian women, occasions like *Matikor* created a stage for the expression of self where central issues surrounding their personal and public selves were brought to the fore. It has always been assumed that Indian women were among the more conservative language users in the new environment. This assumption could lead to the expectation that many of these performances in which women were the principal actors or participants would be carried out in an Indic language Bhojpuri, Hindustani, Madrasi and or Bengali. By the 1950s, however, the performances began to show the influence of the broader linguistic Creole matrix in which they were performed.

This paper examines the evolution of language use practices as manifested within this oral folk tradition among selected Indic female singers in Guyana during the 1950s and 1960s. The songs examined in this presentation indicate the languages used, the purposes for which they were used and the context in which they were used. The results are reflective of the languages available at the time and the relative significance given to each by the users.

RICHARDSON, Gregory

Center for Educational Research and Development, IPA

Rhythmic Importation, Linguistic Adaptation and Integration in Aruban Music
(SESSION 11 / PANEL 11B)

This paper describes the state of the Calypso and Soca musical art form on the Dutch Caribbean Island of Aruba. A deeper look is taken at Calypso and Soca's integration, place and development in the Aruban cultural synthesis anno 2010. Calypso and Soca, originally as an Afro-Trinidadian musical genre, was introduced to Aruba by British Caribbean migrant laborers in the 1940s and 50s who were employed by the American owned Lago (Exxon) Oil Refinery. After a steady transformation and adaptation process, these musical genres, especially the Soca-known to Arubans as Road March-, have become extremely popular within the general Aruban community. As the celebration phase concludes prior to the Lenten season, the enthusiasm for the music diminishes significantly as it struggles for airplay and artistic and cultural recognition. The Calypso and Soca that is performed in Aruba is predisposed to many musical influences because of its geographic setting and its cultural fusion. Many rhythmic and linguistic elements pertaining to Aruba, Latin America, the Netherlands, the French Caribbean and the United States can be found in Aruban compositions; much to the delight of some and to the dismay of others. The author particularly describes the aspect of code switching with languages such as Papiamento, Dutch, San Nicolas English and Spanish in Aruban Calypso and Soca music and its impact on society as a whole.

RICKFORD, John and Robin MELNICK

Stanford University

A Variationist Approach to Bajan Question Inversion

(SESSION 7 / PANEL 7B)

The present study employs quantitative multivariate analysis of question formation in conversational Bajan (Barbadian) data to provide a view of the structural constraints influencing variability of Bajan subject-auxiliary inversion and explores their theoretical implications.

While corpus studies of spontaneous speech suggest that grammaticality is in general gradient (Wasow 2008), the presumption of invariant non-inversion in creole questions is a key component in Van Herk's (2000) argument against the hypothesis that African American Vernacular English (AAVE) is descended from a prior creole. However, as Rickford (2006) notes in reviewing Van Herk's claims, there have been no quantitative, data-based studies of question formation in Caribbean creoles. The present work undertakes such study, focusing on Bajan, but also drawing on data from Guyanese and Jamaican as well as Appalachian English and African American English.

The Bajan data come from a series of sociolinguistic, oral-history interviews and conversations between adult native Bajan speakers. Question forms were extracted to build a database of nearly 1,000 tokens. Collectively, the speakers used non-inverted forms at a rate of 92%, illustrating a substantial—but not categorical—preference against inversion. Further, several factors also revealed systematic structural influences on variation within the data.

Negation: While affirmatively formed questions exhibit 90% non-inversion, negative forms are 99% likely to non-invert, a significant difference ($[z] = 2.28$, $p = 0.026$).

Question Type: Among affirmative forms, Yes/No questions are significantly ($[z] = 4.38$, $p < 0.0001$) more likely to non-invert (98%) than Wh forms (80%), while among negatively formed questions, the type of question (Yes/No vs. Wh) has almost no effect on variation ($[z] = 0.003$, $p = 0.998$).

Subject Length: Length in words of the sentential subject has a highly significant effect ($[z] = 7.12$, $p < 0.0001$), with shorter subjects tending towards non-inversion.

Subject Type: Pronominal subjects are significantly more likely ($[z] = 7.42$, $p < 0.0001$) to noninvert than other subject types.

Auxiliary Type: Questions with forms of 'be' are significantly ($[z] = 4.47$, $p < 0.0001$) less likely to non-invert than those with forms of 'do' or modals.

When further analysed via a multivariate logistic regression model, the pronominal subject and subject length effects retain their significance ($p = 0.0068$ and $p = 0.017$, respectively), while auxiliary type is reduced to a marginal effect ($p = 0.067$), and negation is no longer significant ($p = 0.52$) The initially observed effect of negation on non-inversion is mediated by—i.e., partially an indirect effect via—subject length.

In conclusion, while Bajan interrogatives do exhibit substantial preference for non-inversion, such inversion is governed by a gradient grammar with systematic variable constraints. This counters

a prior claim (by Bickerton 1981) that creole questions non-invert categorically and without systematic constraints. But since Bajan is subject to some of the same constraints that Van Herk (2008) associates with the development of auxiliary inversion in English, this also challenges his contention that the operation of similar constraints in Early African American English indicates that EAAE was influenced by English and not Caribbean creoles. We will also compare the constraints on question formation in Guyanese, Jamaican, Appalachian and modern AAVE to see how these compare with our results for Bajan, and discuss their sociohistorical implications.

RIVERA CASTILLO, Yolanda

Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras

Innovations and the Emergence of Palatal Harmony in Ndjuka
(SESSION 3 / PANEL 3A)

Some of the research conducted in Creole genesis aims at tracing the origin of Creole features to substrate, superstrate, or abstrate languages. Other approaches look for a subset of "basic" universal features that are at the heart of their "creoleness," and/or result from processes of L2 language acquisition. These approaches assume that phonological features in Creoles in one-way or another represent "system-conforming speech variants" (Kiparsky, 2004: 332), unmarked language universals, or some form of so-called "simplification." However, these explanations fail to account for innovations in Creole grammars that:

(1) diverge qualitatively from features in the substrate or superstrate languages.

(2) do not belong to the set of "simple" Creole features.

(3) represent marked choices among universals.

These innovations are typologically possible features however clearly discernible from inherited language specific constraints or unmarked universal parameters. Accounts of "phonologisation" in historical linguistics have described these kinds of changes for numerous languages.

This paper proposes that innovations in vowel harmony systems emerge from the resolution of incompatibility between feature/constraint sets. Feature sets in 'primary linguistic data' (DeGraff 2001) together with universal conditions triggered mechanisms of language change resulting in a "leap" to a qualitatively different set of characteristics in Creoles. The case of Ndjuka palatal harmony (Huttar 1972) exemplifies this by accommodating a height harmony system conditioned by the feature [±back] within a five-vowel system (targets and triggers underlined; acute accent-H tone):

(4) a. boóko 'break'   b. soópu 'swell'

(5) a. akísi 'to ask'   b. déd 'dull'   c. sébi 'seven'

Palatal harmony in this language with no front round vowels results from the loss of tense/lax distinctions (distinctions attested in other Suriname Creoles, a Bantu feature), an innovation that mirrors changes in other languages such as Ancient Mongolian (Svantesson 1985). This provides an explanation of the possible sources for this change. It also describes the emergence of vowel harmony as a qualitatively significant shift in the grammar, not just as a gradient evolution from similar systems in the parent languages, an out-of-the-blue language creation, nor an unmarked choice in imperfect language learning.

SABINO, Robin

Auburn University

Me Regun, Me Res: The Social Component of Language History
(SESSION 7 / PANEL 7A)

In the Danish West Indies, a climate of racially-based oppression was established within a year of permanent settlement. As subaltern agency mediated the fledgling colonies exploitive conditions, enslaved Africans and their children created a Dutch-lexicon creole. Early data for this language are fragmentary and are often interpreted differently. This is the case for Negerhollands lo which encodes verbal, aspectual, and irrealis meanings (e.g., De Josselin de Jong 1924, Den Besten and van der Voort 1999, Hesseling 1979, Muysken 1995, Muysken, Pieter, et al. 1996, Parkvall, 2000, Sabino 1992, Sprauve 1997).

The examples below, taken from a corpus of 919 tokens produced by two speakers, illustrate these grammatical functions. The distribution of tokens across meaning type is indicated in parenthesis. The relative proportion of aspectual *lo* to modal *lo*, which reflects discourse topic, is of little interest. In contrast, that nearly 40% of the 567 *lo* VPs are serialised deserves explanation. In order to arrive at a satisfactory history for Negerhollands *lo*, the paper interrogates the colony=s social history in terms of research on input processing, negotiation, and output by adult language learners. The paper argues that the grammaticalisation chain associated with lo reflects the ways in which the colony's emerging Afro-Caribbean community deployed their linguistic resources as they negotiated the demands of survival and infrastructure building.

1. SINGLE VERB (38%)

   an   ka   **lo** a   hus (VIMSA7A)
   S/he   PERFECTIVE   go LOC. home.

2. SERIAL VERB (23%)

   A.   Major Element

         am ha **flig lo** (WAJ2)
         S/he PAST fly go

   B.   Minor Element

         mi a **lo pɛk** fɛs (VIMSA6A)
         I PAST go gather fish.

3. IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT (16%)

   A. Iterative

   am   a   ha am **lo**   kook ši   jit,   **lo**   pik   houtu, **lo**   draa waatə fo am. (WAJ9)
   S/he PAST have him IMP. cook POSS. food, IMP gather wood, IMP carry water for him.

   B. Progressive

   wene hun ha bin **lo**   spil, puši maõke di.[MSA10A:126]
   When dog have bone IMP. play, cat   want   it.

4. PROXIMATE FUTURE (23%)

   mi **lo**   fluk senu lEluk. (VIMSA23A)
   I FUTURE   curse them   bad.

SAUL, Patricia
Erdiston Teachers' Training College

Writing Across the Genres:
A Study of Syntactic Maturity in the Written Discourse of 11–12 year olds
(SESSION 11 / PANEL 11A)

This paper presents the results of an investigation into the syntactic maturity of Barbadian 11-12 year old students as measured by the clausal density in their written discourse. The 513 compositions were written by 171 students from seven secondary schools. Repeated measures ANOVAs were conducted to examine how subordinate clauses compared within each genre (narrative, descriptive, and expository). For narrative writing, statistically significant differences were revealed across clause types ($F_{(2, 165)} = 64.61$, $p < .001$). Bonferroni tests were conducted for post-hoc comparisons. There were significantly fewer noun ($M = .67$, $SD = 1.03$) and relative clauses ($M = .35$, $SD = .65$) than adverbial clauses ($M = 1.66$, $SD = 1.33$) for the narrative genre. A similar finding was discovered for the descriptive genre ($F_{(2, 169)} = 58.15$, $p < .001$) and the expository genre ($F_{(2, 166)} = 113.79$, $p < .001$). On the whole, there were significantly fewer noun and relative clauses than adverbial clauses within each genre. The preference of the sample for adverbial clauses over relative and noun clauses may be linked to the variance with regard to the difficulty in the use of these clause types and points to the nature of the syntactic maturity of the students' writing. These results should guide classroom teachers in selecting strategies and materials that would help students to develop the ability to manipulate syntactic structures, thereby increasing the power and vitality of their written expression.

SCOTT, Nicole

The University of the West Indies, Mona

The Contemporary Linguistic Situation of Trinidadian French-lexicon Creole

(SESSION 9 / PANEL 9B)

For many decades, linguistic research on Caribbean Creole languages seemed primarily concerned with the description and analysis of thriving language varieties. Less had been done in relation to dying varieties even though language death is a feature of Caribbean Creole language situations. In recent years, however, the study of dying varieties has become a new discipline.

Trinidadian French-Lexicon Creole is a dying variety. While much work is currently being done on the syntax of the language and on the fact that the language is dying, not much detailed linguistic research has been done to explain the circumstances surrounding the impending death of the language. In referring to the contemporary linguistic situation, Ferreira and Holbrook (2003:384) posit that "While there is much enthusiasm for the language as a community, heritage and ancestral language, the language is little used in daily life at the community level." English and Trinidadian English Creole are the languages of vitality in the villages where TFC is still spoken. Ferreira and Holbrook's (2003) account also suggests that permanent revival or resurrection of Creole is unlikely (372).

This paper examines the contemporary linguistic situation of Trinidadian French-lexicon Creole by tracing the history of its development and using the history to explain why the language is dying. The findings suggest that the language is dying mainly because of a change in communal identity from that which is French Creole oriented to that which is English oriented. This change of communal identity was caused by the gradual increase in the influence of English in the territory and the attendant negative perceptions. The language was stigmatised by the speakers as '*lanng kochon*' or '*lanng zèb moun*.' Today the language is highly prized as a marker of heritage. This change in outlook I suggest is caused by the speech community's realisation that an important aspect of their culture is being lost. Given the recent attempts to keep the memory of the language alive, the current remnants of the language are likely to survive for years to come.

In the end, this work sheds light on the reasons Caribbean creoles are likely to die and therefore provides insights to those who may wish to prevent language death or revive languages which are on the verge of dying.

SHIELDS BRODBER, Kathryn

The University of the West Indies, Mona

'Yu fieva mi uol man pat …!'
Gender and the Discourse of *Chriesin* in Jamaica
(SESSION 3 / PANEL 3B)

Chriesin, the term used in Jamaica for ritualised altercations, has been immortalised in the popular culture of that territory. It is an integral part of everyday public and private discourse, characterising disputes in the domestic sphere, at the workplace, in media interaction and during political campaigning. It is also the substance of the many local 'roots' plays which are recording overflowing audiences throughout Jamaica.

Chriesin involves antagonists' mirroring (tracing) of their opponents' speech and behaviour in an attempt to belittle them, and often employs the term *yu fieva* to make unfavourable comparisons between opponents and inanimate objects, as they attempt both to demean and gain supremacy in the contest. Although the language of *chriesin* is characteristically Creole, English is sometimes used for pragmatic effect.

According to tradition, *chriesin* is primarily the preserve of women, although contemporarily, men are more actively participating in *chriesin* matches, not only in private, but also, for example, in public 'clashes' between on-stage entertainers. Two single-sex disputes which took place in public spaces at a university in Jamaica are the data on which this paper is based. One recording is of two females arguing about the role of one in seducing the boyfriend of the other. Bystanders participate in the altercation. A dispute between a security guard and an office attendant, both male, is the subject of the other dispute, in which there is no participation by the many passers by. The discussion, which focuses on the role of gender in these *chriesin* matches, compares the choice and development of themes which trigger and develop the altercation, the discourse strategies used to gain one-upmanship and the face-threatening acts initiated and mirrored by the participants to denigrate, humiliate and belittle each other. An interesting finding is the explicitness and even vulgarity of the figurative language which is used by the female antagonists, but is absent in the all-male dispute. This seeming departure from the traditional expectations related to gendered discourse is also discussed.

SPEARS, Arthur

City University of New York

The Haitian TMA System

(SESSION 4 / PANEL 4C)

The Haitian TMA system has been described in detail (the more recent accounts: Degraff 2007, 2008; Howe 2000; Lefebvre 1996, 1998; Spears 1990, 1993a, 1993b). The question that arises at this point is whether the basic system is well understood, such that there are no important issues left for discussion. The position in this paper is that the recent accounts are inadequate because they do not treat all of the preverbal markers (e.g., treating only three: TE, VA, and AP) or they mistakenly include markers that do not belong in the preverbal marker system, notably POU (Lefebvre 1996, 1998).

Here I mention three problems with previous studies. One is positing POU as a member of the contemporary preverbal marker system. A second problem is the omission of KONN (habitual) from the system. They appear in sentences such as the following:

Yo pou vini lakay nou. (from Lefebvre 1998)

'The are to/should come to our house'

I te konn travay la a. (northwestern dialects)

'S/he used to work there'

While Lefebvre and her colleagues' work includes POU in their descriptions, other scholars have claimed that it is not a part of the contemporary system (leaving aside its status as an erstwhile member of the system), even though it was posited in Comhaire's foundational work, which appeared almost 80 years ago. Dejean (p.c.), Spears (1990, 1993a, 1993b), and scores of native speakers have claimed that POU is not part of the system. KONN meets the usual criteria for preverbal marker status (inability to occur without a "main verb," etc.), so it remains unclear why it is not treated.

A third problem concerns how the syntactic/semantic description of the marker system can be integrated into a description of the discourse functions of the TMA markers. Any discourse-based description must confront the optionality of markers in many environments, an optionality that varies according to discourse type, e.g., narrative, conversational, etc. (Spears 1993a, 1993b). For example, it has been demonstrated (Spears 1993b) that the preverbal marker TE (relative past tense marker) is almost entirely optional in narrative texts, once time relative to the moment of speaking has been established.

In this paper, the position taken is that analyses of TMA in Haitian must account for the occurrence and nonoccurrence (in contexts of possible occurrence) in speech. This includes not only the three preverbal markers that have received the most attention, but also other preverbal TMA markers such as KONN (habitual) and PRAL (incipient future). Until this is done, there is remaining work to do.

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STEWART, Michèle

The University of the West Indies, Mona

When 3-year old Jamaican Children Don't Know the Word

(SESSION 2 / PANEL 2B)

This paper reports on strategies used by 3 year old children from Jamaican Creole (JC) speaking communities when naming unknown objects, and considers the pedagogical value of these acquisition trends. There is no previous work on novel word formation in JC to my knowledge.

The study draws on data collected from children in a research project entitled "What do they speak?". The primary aim of the project is a determination of the language structures used by children in Basic Schools in communities across Jamaica. An average of 55 children from 13 schools are being interviewed in ½-hour sessions at monthly intervals over a six month period and data are being elicited by native or near native speaker interviewers via conversation during play and various elicitation materials prepared for the project.

In most cases, the children interviewed offered suggestions for words which were not in their repertoire, rather than avoiding answering. For events, use is made of novel instrumental denominal verbs such as *im a TUUTPIES im tiit* (literally 'he is toothpasting his teeth'), but children consistently paraphrase. To express the notion of pouring, for example, one child offered *uol dish ahn put it ina di kop* ('holding the dish and putting it in the cup').

Objects are identified in terms of their use, known or imagined, introduced with *sopm fi* or *sitn fi* ('something to'). A mitten was described as *sopm fi put an in de an kil guot* ('something to put your hand in and kill goats'). If the use of an object is not known, one similar in appearance is used as a label, so one child chose *sisaz* ('scissors') and later *wiil* ('wheel') to identify a toy egg-beater.

For unknown fruits and vegetables, children consistently chose another fruit or vegetable roughly similar in appearance – *apl* for 'plum'. One child referred to a sweetsop as a fruit, choosing a higher level of generality, but this method of categorisation was unusual. In the case of foods presumably less known yet recognised as being food items, paraphrases were used. Examples are coconut and sliced melon on a plate, each referred to as *sopm fi iit* ('something to eat').

Children typically resort less to adding to their inventory of words through the creation of novel compounds, but where they do, created words tend to be in terms of function rather than perceptual qualities. Having identified swimming as skating, for example, the children were said to be in *skietin waata* (literally 'skating waata'). Interestingly, when provided with a model for compounds, many readily adopt that pattern, identifying objects in terms both of function and perceptual qualities, following rules governing compound word formation in JC – *dali bag* (literally 'dolly bag') is a bag for carrying dolls, for example, and *fish fut* (literally 'fish foot') describes the fins of a mermaid.

The paper closes with a discussion of the possibilities of usefully applying these facts on trends in word creation to the language arts classroom.

THOMPSON, Claudith

University of Guyana

The Effective Use of Literary Devices in the Calypso

(SESSION 11 / PANEL 11B)

The purpose of this paper is to examine the effective use of literary devices as a major aspect of the lyrics of the calypso since it is the style that ultimately determines the effectiveness of the message. In addition, it seeks to investigate whether the use of the calypso to teach literary devices will enhance teachers' understanding of this aspect of the Use of English Course at the University of Guyana.

Music is a form of popular culture and has different genres of which the calypso is a genre that exists throughout the Caribbean. Allsopp (1996:131) defines calypso as

> a popular satirical song in rhymed verse, now mostly associated with Trinidad, commenting on any recognised figure(s) or aspect(s) of Caribbean social life, and more often performed by a male singer with much body gesture and some extemporisation directed at anybody in the audience.

Allsopp cites Efik: *kaisu* –'to go on', as a source from which calypso has been derived. Best (2004:15) and Rohlehr (2001:58) have also examined sources from which calypso has been derived and have highlighted the African influence.

The calypso as a topical song tells a story whether political or social. It should be noted that a topic with a serious or controversial message can be treated with humour. Rohlehr (1990) sees humour as serving an artistic purpose as part of the style of the calypso. There are many literary devices that can contribute to humour.

Although some calypsonians are known for their use of literary devices, others have had to resort to this because of censorship. According to Rohlehr, if a calypsonian is censored he finds a way of singing in a more subtle way. Creighton (2004) posits that to avoid censorship the double entendre is used as one of the greatest arts of calypso composition.

This paper will examine to some extent the use of sarcasm, irony, and humour as broad areas but will place emphasis on more specific literary devices such as personification, similes, metaphors, and the pun. The calypsoes to be discussed will be mainly from Guyana, Barbados, and Trinidad. The calypsonians whose lyrics will be analysed are Dave Martins and the Tradewinds, Mighty Rebel, Red Plastic Bag, Mighty Gabby and Mighty Chalkdust. For example, both Red Plastic Bag and Chalkdust have personified the calypso in their lyrics *Work of Art* and *Kaiso Sick in the Hospital.*

A sample of twenty teachers enrolled in the Use of English course at the University of Guyana will be given a short quiz to test their knowledge of literary devices. They will participate in sessions on the calypso and do another quiz on completion of the sessions. They will also be given a questionnaire for evaluating the sessions. The teachers are expected to improve their understanding of the effective use of literary devices after sessions on the calypso.

TOMEI, Renato

University for Foreigners Perugia

Translation Impossible?

Rastafarian and Reggae Redemption Songs: The 'Moving' Concepts in Translation

(SESSION 7 / PANEL 7C)

The title of this paper is emblematic of the polysemic nature of many terms as they are conceptualised in a Caribbean context: moving as to be on the move, (deportation as slaves and Repatriation as a quest for spiritual and biological roots) and moving the world to a new spiritual awareness. (Chevannes)

Jamaican Reggae language therefore within the many varieties of world Englishes (Pennycook), may be considered a new 'global' variety which has been silently but steadily becoming to the forefront positioning in the international scene. Being an 'unrecognised' for of sub-group idiom, Y-aric (Pollard) in its Jamaica derivation, it is now used by the ever expanding reggae performers on the global scene thus becoming the universal language for peace identified in common ideals and beliefs.

The linguistic intricacy and multi-rootedness of many terms, ranging from phytonyms to interjections is however overshadowed by the international diffusion of Jamaican English and its many standards and varieties (Chevannes, Devonish, Mair). Jamaican English in its many forms appears exported and de-territorialised but has a strong emotional appeal also to speakers of other languages than English, as is the case of Ethiopia and Shashemane (Tomei).

Furthermore, there are performers and composers who are not native of the Caribbean but who write their lyrics in this language, which was the language of Bob Marley.

But once it comes to translation, what actually happens? And what can occur and what are the many different textual practices that can occur? Diffusion of the Caribbean languages can take place via translation, in both ways from and into. A pivotal point of reference here is also represented by intertextuality.

The translation of the Bible (Nida) in Creole languages is a core reference….. of which we give examples which feature the dependency of Rastafarian and Reggae lyrics and the myth of 'Redemption' in its prophetic strain echoing through the Bible and in the greater part of Reggae riddims.

Some interesting cases are also offered by 'literal' renderings when songs are translated as a collection of lyrics in print form or as captions in films, and online amateur volunteering. In a not-too-distant past it was extremely difficult to translated Caribbean languages into any language Western or Eastern or Africa, because of unavailability of dictionaries. How do things change in the era of internet and globalisation? Our paper tries to examine the different and diverging procedures and attitudes, which have affected the circularity of Caribbean languages and musical expression through a sequence of some case studies and examples.

TOPPIN, Judith

The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill

Richard Allsopp: An Annotated Bibliography of His Work
A Work in Progress
(SESSION 7 / PANEL 7C)

Richard Allsopp was a prolific writer. In addition to being the author of *The Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* and *A Book of Afric-Caribbean Proverbs*, he was an avid writer on education, language, culture and the arts. His over sixty journal articles focused on issues pertaining to Caribbean English usage, culture and linguistics. His numerous letters to the newspaper often provided social and political commentary and his addresses and lectures captured the range of his intellect as they covered topics of primary and secondary education to the media's role in communication. Additionally, he was also the author of a few works of fiction, including short stories, poems and songs.

This paper will present as a work in progress, the compilation of an annotated bibliography of the works of Richard Allsopp. His writing will be arranged according to broad subject categories and a brief description of notable items in each category will be provided. In addition to his publications, the bibliography will also include career highlights, a list of awards received, reviews of his works and tributes.

URSULIN, Diana, Pier Angeli LE COMPTE, Santiago RUIZ, Hannia LAO and Sally DELGADO

Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras

Education, languages in contact, and popular culture
in the Francophone, Hispanophone and Dutch Caribbean
(SESSION 4 / PANEL 4B)

This presentation focuses on the use of creoles and other contact language-related varieties in education and in genres of popular culture in the French- Spanish- and Dutch-speaking Caribbean. While the overt stigma connected to the use of creoles, semi-creoles, and language contact phenomena such as code switching has resulted in their exclusion from formal domains including public and private schools, the covert prestige enjoyed by these same varieties has ensured them a prominent place in popular culture.

We will discuss how, in the former Dutch Leewards or 'ABC' Islands of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, the ubiquitous use of the Iberian lexifier Creole Papiamento in popular culture has been one of several factors leading to recent legislation which has upgraded Papiamento to the status of one of the official languages of government and formal education. We will also describe the steps being taken by the Education Department in Aruba to implement this new policy, which include an innovative program that aims to transform the current monolingual Dutch education system into a multilingual system, where students use their fluency in their mother tongue Papiamento to become fluent in Dutch, Spanish, and English as well.

We then turn our attention to the francophone island of Martinique, where more modest efforts are underway to integrate Martiniquan French-lexifier Creole into the formal education system. At the same time, Martiniquan is becoming more and more widely used and accepted in popular culture genres such as hip hop music and televised comedy shows.

Turning our attention to the hispanophone Caribbean, we report on the use of contact induced varieties in Puerto Rico and in the Afro-Caribbean coastal communities of Honduras. Here, we focus primarily on the forms and functions of code switching in reggaetón music in Puerto Rico and on the government supported transition from the use of Spanish to the use of Isleño English lexifier semi-Creole, Miskito, and Garifuna as languages of instruction and initial literacy in primary schools on the Honduran Caribbean coast.

WINER, Lise

McGill University

Onomastics of Zoonyms

(SESSION 4 / PANEL 4A)

The *Dictionary of the English/Creole of Trinidad & Tobago* (Winer, 2009) includes over 2,000 common names (zoonyms) for almost 1,200 species of fauna, ranging in origin from indigenous names to adoption or modification of imported language names and new inventions. This paper analyses the corpus and infers the historical processes whereby incoming populations developed or adopted common names for indigenous or naturalised fauna.

Name-formation strategies are identified, and the corpus is analysed by contributing languages and types of descriptor. For the former, English was the overwhelmingly largest contributor, followed by French; similarity to already familiar species was a more important factor in naming than the presence of (already existing) indigenous names. For descriptors, colour constituted the largest category, followed by iconic resemblance, habitat, form, size, behaviour, locality, sound, association, difference, frequency, namesake, and use.

From a lexicographical perspective, the following areas are also addressed:

- The roles of polysemy and synonymy in how dictionary entries have been analysed and arranged.
- The recovery of historical etyma that are no longer obvious, e.g. the *postman* butterfly being named for an obsolete item of a postman's uniform.
- Examples of changes in onomastic formation and their relationship to spelling, e.g. the fish name written on signs in the 1980s as *zanchois* or *zanchwa*; sometimes seen later as *Joshua* (suggesting an English origin); more recently seen as *jashwar* or even *jashwaar* (suggesting an East Indian origin).
- Rules for combinations of zoonym bases with modifiers; results indicate that, almost always, base names can only be modified by the same or a *later-incoming* language, in the order of Spanish, French, English. Thus, one could theoretically have *becassine blanche*, *white becassine*, and *white plover* but not **plover blanche*.

The results of this study provide a coherent and comprehensive framework to compare naming practices in similar contact situations. Another hoped-for result of the dictionary and this study is that greater understanding of and respect for common names will lead to their greater use and "ownership" by local populations.

WINER, Lise, Bronwen LOW, Mela SARKAR, Nantali INDONGO and Lou PIENSA
McGill University

"Yo, Patné!": Repping Creole Peeps in Canada
(SESSION 2 / PANEL 2A)

The Hip-Hop scenes in Montreal and Toronto, Canada are very different: the former primarily French-based and the latter English-based. However, both differ from the U.S. Hip-Hop scene in their *repping* (overt recognition) of and *props* (overt approvals) to the anglophone and francophone Caribbean. Both scenes rep Jamaican Patwa in recognition of: the close relationship between reggae and Hip-Hop; the salience of Jamaicans in the anglophone Caribbean diaspora; and respect for Jamaican cultural and personal "hardness". In "Bakardi Slang", for example, Kardinal Offishall explicitly contrasts New York rap talk with Toronto's, by including Jamaican and other Caribbean English Creoles. Most younger users of Jamaican in Toronto are of Jamaican descent, but not all, and there are questions about the "authenticity" of some users' language.

In contrast, the Hip-Hop scene in Montreal, Quebec is characterised by multilingualism in lyrics with a base/matrix of French, Quebec's sole official language. There is also frequent use of Jamaican Patwa, either isolated words or entire lines and verses. In many cases, francophone rappers use Jamaican words (pronunciations) themselves—individual words are usually from a limited set, e.g., *bwoy* 'boy'; sometimes, as with Rainmen in "Zacts Slicks", a native speaker of Jamaican is brought in to rap verses in Jamaican. In one case, the female rapper Empire Isis, there is considerable use of Jamaican Patwa, but its linguistic authenticity is arguable.

The Montreal scene also includes the use of Haitian Kreyòl. This is done to rep: the identity and points of view of Haitian rappers; the salience of Haitians in the Montreal francophone community; and respect for Haitian cultural and personal "hardness". While some crews made up exclusively or largely of Haitian rappers use extensive Kreyòl in their raps (e.g., Muzion), particularly interesting is the use of individual Haitian Kreyòl words, e.g., *kob* ('money'), *patné* ('friend'), by non-Haitians within French lyrics. These words may now be permanently borrowed into the Quebec French of the Hip-Hop generation in Montreal, as we have also found for AAVE words such as *chill*.

The theoretical framework for this paper draws on studies of "language crossing" and "hybrid identity" (Rampton, 2001, 2004; Sarkar & Allen, 2007), as well as "orders of indexicality" composed of hierarchically ordered, multiple "sets of norms and expectations about communicative behavior" (Blommaert, 2005; Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck, 2005; Low et al., 2009). Speakers—and rappers—display orientations which reproduce and situate these orders vis à vis other norms. Our work focuses on contexts in which multilingual youth play out linguistic conflicts and tensions within a supposedly monolingual majority, through expressive arts. These are productive cultural sites for constant "crossing" that effectively challenges both "above-ground" (official) and "underground" (e.g., Creole-using communities) orders of indexicality with respect to the meanings and use of any or all of English, French (Quebec standard, Quebec nonstandard, France argot), AAVE, Jamaican Patwa, Haitian Kreyòl, and others. We think that this practice may eventually have a profound effect on notions of identity among urban Canadian youth, no matter what their origin.

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Fact-type Complements in Surinamese Creoles and Gbe Languages

(SESSION 7 / PANEL 7B)

My goal in this paper is to compare Fact-type complements in the Gbe languages and Surinamese creoles (Sranan Tongo and the Eastern Maroon Creoles), with a view to determining how far the former languages may have influenced the grammar of complementation in the latter. Fact-type complements refer to the fact that something has occurred, is occurring, or will occur, e.g.,

> Sranan: Mi sabi taki Jan doro kaba
>
> 'I know that John has already arrived.'

My aim is to investigate the extent to which there are similarities and differences between the Surinamese creoles and their Gbe substrates with regard to such complements. In particular, I will investigate the extent to which the two groups of languages are alike in terms of the semantic types of CTP that take these complements; the structure of the complement itself, in terms of degree, if any, of reduction of structure (e.g., restrictions on TMA marking); and the syntactic function of the complement, e.g., whether it can function as subject or object of the CTP.

The analysis is based on recordings of conversational data collected from speakers of 5 Gbe varieties as well as Sranan and Pamaka.

Fact-type complements in Gbe and the Surinamese creoles include arguments of assertion verbs ("say," "tell," etc.); of psyche state verbs ("know," "believe," etc.); and of perception verbs ("see," "hear," etc.). In these cases, the complement can be analysed as a sentential noun phrase that functions as the grammatical object of the CTP. Fact-type complements also function as arguments of predicates like "seem"; evaluative or commentary predicates such as "good, true, important" etc; and modal-type predicates such as "necessary", "possible", and others. In these cases, the predicate selects an expletive subject and an extraposed complement clause.

> Sranan A gersi taki   den   kuli   wani teki a   kondre now op.
>
> It seem COMP the-pl Hindustanis want take the country now up
>
> 'It seems that the Hindustanis want to take over the country now.'

In both Gbe and the Surinamese creoles, sentential complements of verbs belonging to these subclasses are introduced by a complementiser that is homophonous with a verb meaning 'say' (*taki* in Sranan Tongo and the Eastern Maroon Creoles; *be* in Gengbe, varieties of Ewegbe and Xwla; *ÿO* in varieties of Fongbe; *mO* in Aja; and *fà* in Xwela). There appear to be close similarities between the two groups of languages with respect to the behavior of extraposed complements to verbs like 'seem', and evaluative predicates like 'strange'. For instance, there are restrictions on the movement of the extraposed complement to subject position and on the raising of the complement subject to matrix subject position.

The paper will attempt to shed more light on the extent of these similarities and differences, and use them as a basis for determining whether and to what extent Gbe may have influenced the patterns of complementation in the Surinamese creoles.

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What can you find on YouTube that's Sociolinguistically Interesting?
(SESSION 8 / PANEL 8A)

There is a considerable amount of talk—including Creole talk—that is available online through YouTube, the biggest and best known video sharing website. This has to a large extent been unexploited. YouTube is often the first source of news, music and humorous clips; however, it also turns out to be a mine of sociolinguistic data waiting to be discovered and analysed.

The data that I collected for the purpose of my study come from News Channel 8, a commercial television station in St. Croix, the biggest of the American Virgin Islands. This station broadcasts the newscasts online via its YouTube channel. The news is broadcast to both the British and the U.S. Virgin Islands; however, it is focused on the latter, especially St. Croix, where the station is based.

St. Croix is home to Virgin Islands English Creole, one of the English-derived creole languages of the Eastern Caribbean, which exists today as the native dialect of both the U.S. and the British Virgin Islands. Virgin Islands Creole, or Crucian, is spoken in St. Croix in most informal situations. One would therefore expect an appearance on television to produce a more standardised variety. However, although the interviewers seem to orient to Standard English, this is not always the case for the interviewees. Instead, a good range of tokens can be collected as in many interviews the Crucians take their private issues to the public and switch to a more local variety in the process of 'venting'. I collected and transcribed 18 such interviews and created an hour-long corpus of spoken data.

I believe that my data represent a mesolectal variety, which is one of the lects of Creole spoken in St. Croix. This mesolect is systematic, but variable in nature and this variability is not random, but exhibits patterns indicative of order and structure within Creole grammar. I believe that through using YouTube we can identify data that can help us understand the process of dialect levelling which is happening in Virgin Islands Creole. Firstly, I show that language change appears to be sensitive to the social and gender organisation within Virgin Islands Creole speech community. Secondly, my results seem to support the commonly found observation that it is women who are leaders of linguistic change (cf. Labov 2001). I examined patterns of variation in Virgin Islands Creole by looking at the nature and frequency of the plural and past marking as well as copula variability. In this paper I will focus on plural marking only.

The female Crucians are increasingly using the standard number marking affix {-s}. This is happening at the expense of N+s+dem and N+dem plural marking as well as bare nouns (see Table 1). I therefore suggest that material from YouTube provides good data that show signs of dialect levelling in the Virgin Islands Creole plural system and appear to point to women as those responsible for the diffusion of linguistic change there.

	bare Ns		N + s		N + dem		N + s + dem	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Male	28	16	116	65	7	4	28	16
Female	4	7	49	85	**0**	**0**	5	9

Table 1. Noun pluralisation according to gender of speaker (Chi-square $=$ 8.738, df $=$ 3, $p =$ 0.03)

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Kindred Spirits?

An Investigation into Convergence between Sarnami and Sranan in Suriname

(SESSION 7 / PANEL 7B)

Suriname is known among creolists for an unusually high number of Creole languages, amongst them Sranan and the numerous Maroon Creoles, notably Saramaka and Ndyuka. However, Suriname is characterised by an even more complex contact scenario which involves multiple convergence processes. This process appears to be driven by the emergence of Sranan as a multi-ethnic vernacular diasystem (cf. eg. Charry et al. 1983) and is fed into by various overlapping and mutually reinforcing contact processes. Sarnami, the community language of the Indian-descended population of Suriname is a cornerstone in this contact scenario (cf. Marhé 1985). While it has retained its status as a primarily intragroup language, Sarnami has undergone a profound transformation since its implantation in Suriname, partly through autonomous changes and internal convergence of diverse Indic language systems (cf. Darmsteegt 2002) and, we hypothesise, partly through external convergence towards Sranan.

One objective of this paper is investigate the hitherto hypothesised uni- or bidirectional convergence of Sarnami and Sranan in two particular areas of the grammar, namely in the expression of tense-mood-aspect and argument realisation. The paper will draw on fresh data collected in the framework of the "Traces of Contact" project at the University of Nijmegen. Research is currently in progress and concrete findings will hopefully emerge within the next months. It will be particularly interesting to investigate the effects of sustained language contact on Indic argument realisation strategies such as dative experiencers for instance, and the split ergative system.

Certain characteristics of the Sarnami-speaking community of Suriname make some degree of rapprochement with Sranan highly likely - amongst them are high levels of competence in Sranan, some language shift from Sarnami to Sranan and Dutch, as well as the overt and covert prestige of Sranan as a language of youth and popular culture, and interethnic communication.

A second objective of this paper is to test the possibility that certain structural areas are more susceptible to change through contact than others. We hypothesise, for example, that there might be a higher degree of convergence in the expression of (certain) TMA (categories) than in the expression of grammatical relations.

Studies like the present one allow us to place creole linguistics within a broader scenario which takes both genetic factors and language contact into account as factors of change in language systems.

PROFILES

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Jef VAN der AA (j.vanderaa@yahoo.com) is a linguistic anthropologist who studied and worked at the Universities of Ghent, UWI, Cave Hill, Toronto and Utrecht. Originally trained in an interdisciplinary approach to African languages and cultures, he is currently working on my doctoral thesis at the University of Jyväskylä, bringing together six years of work on language and performance in Barbados. The project's current working title is *Voice and Verbal Artistry in Caribbean Children's Independence Day Stories*.

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Hélène ZAMOR (helene.zamor@gmail.com) is a Lecturer in French language at The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill. Her PhD thesis (2008) examined the historical development of music and dance in the French Caribbean islands. The study also included a glossary of French/French Creole musical/dance terminologies.

TOUR OPTIONS

(See Joy-Ann Oliver at the Hotel's Activities Desk: <activities@amaryllisbeachresort.com>)

Coconut 360 Tour - BDS$140.00 (approx.US$70.00)
This tour takes you to the East Coast, North Point, St. Nicholas Abbey and Bathsheba. Lunch and entry fee to St. Nicholas Abbey are included. This tour operates on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, but if there are between 12 - 15 people a tour may be put on for Friday 13th.

Cave Tour - BDS$150.00 (approx. US$75.00)
This tour takes you to Harrison Cave and Hackleton Cliff. Entrance fee and drinks are included.

Catamaran cruises: *Tiami* - BDS$170.00 (US$85.00); *Heatwave* - BDS$150.00 (US$75.00). Swim and snorkel with the turtles; visit a shipwreck and snorkel; stop at a beach where you get off, swim and have lunch.

Island Safari - BDS$170.00 (US$85.00)
Tour the North and South of the island in a Jeep. Lunch and drinks are included.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND THANKS

CARIBBEAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

THE LOCAL ORGANISING COMMITTEE

Chair: **Dr Kean Gibson**
Dr Korah Belgrave
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