

A Report on the Creoles of Amapá

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References

Abstract

There are several varieties of French Creole. This report will focus mainly on those spoken in northern Amapá, Brazil that are usually referred to as Karipuna French Creole. The history of the four people groups in this area is heavily linked to France, and there is still a lot of migration back and forth from French Guiana. The Brazilian groups this paper deals with are the Karipuna (population 1,726), Galibi Marworno (population 1,787), Palikur (population 1,499), and Galibi do Oiapoque (population 30). The regional differences in Creole do not pose a serious barrier to comprehension. Most of the education is in Portuguese and almost everyone is bilingual in that language.

Two other creoles were looked at, Amapá Creole and French Guianese Creole. Amapá Creole was found to be nonexistent.

Introduction

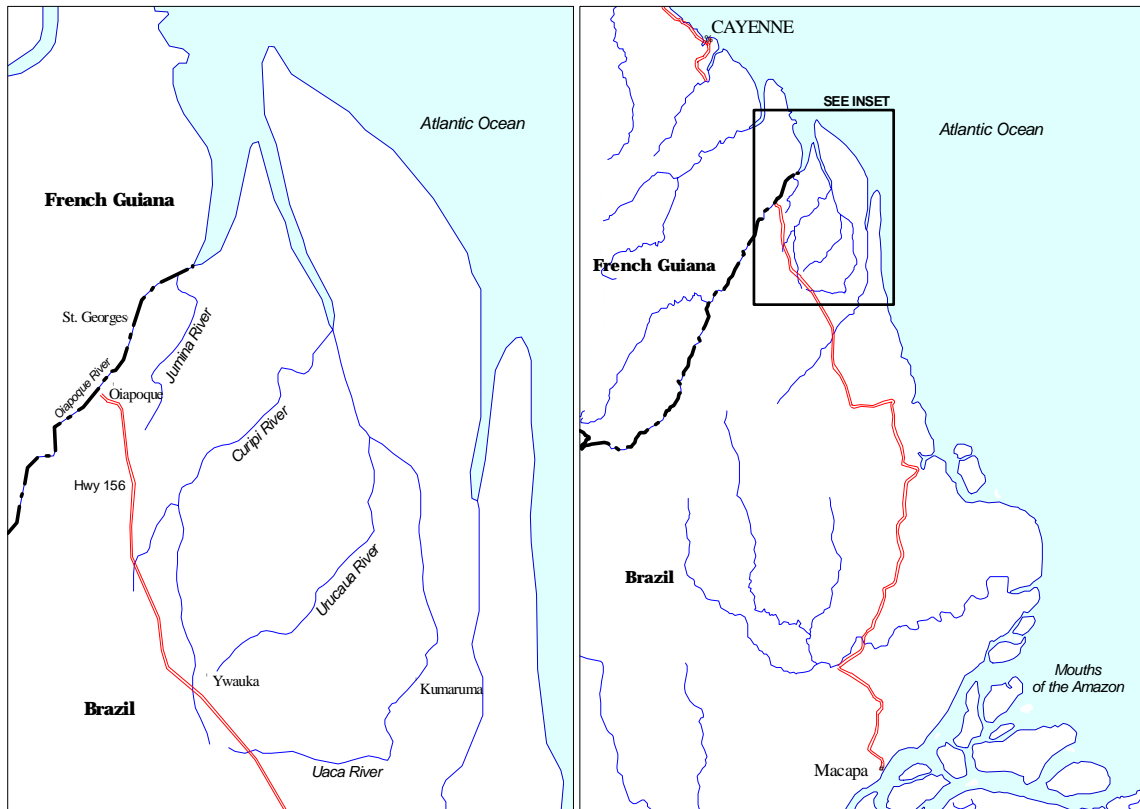
From March 28 to April 7, 2003, a team from SIL and the University of the West Indies visited an area on both sides of the border between northern Brazil and French Guiana. The primary purpose of this study was to investigate sociolinguistic aspects of the French-lexifier Creole languages spoken in the state of Amapá. During this study, we visited the Karipuna village of Manga, the capital city of Macapa and its environs, a Karipuna village called Kunana and a neighboring Galibi village named Uaha, and parts of French Guiana.

For the purposes of this paper, we have used the terms FGCF, AFC, KFC, and GFC,¹ but many local people would not understand these distinctions. Although they acknowledged there were minor differences of pronunciation and word choices in different areas, most used the term “Creole” as if there were one single language.

The area discussed in this report is the northeastern corner of Brazil and the northern point of the state of Amapá. Specifically, we will look at an area bordered roughly by three sides. Two are rivers which empty into the Oiapoque Bay; the Oiapoque River, which flows northeast and forms the border with French Guiana; and the Uaçá River, which flows northwest. The third border is the Highway BR156, which connects the city of Oiapoque with Macapa, the state capital.

¹ FGCF = Guianese Creole; AFC = Amapá French Creole; KFC = Karipuna French Creole; GFC = Galibi French Creole.

2.0 Geographic location of Creole speech communities Amapá



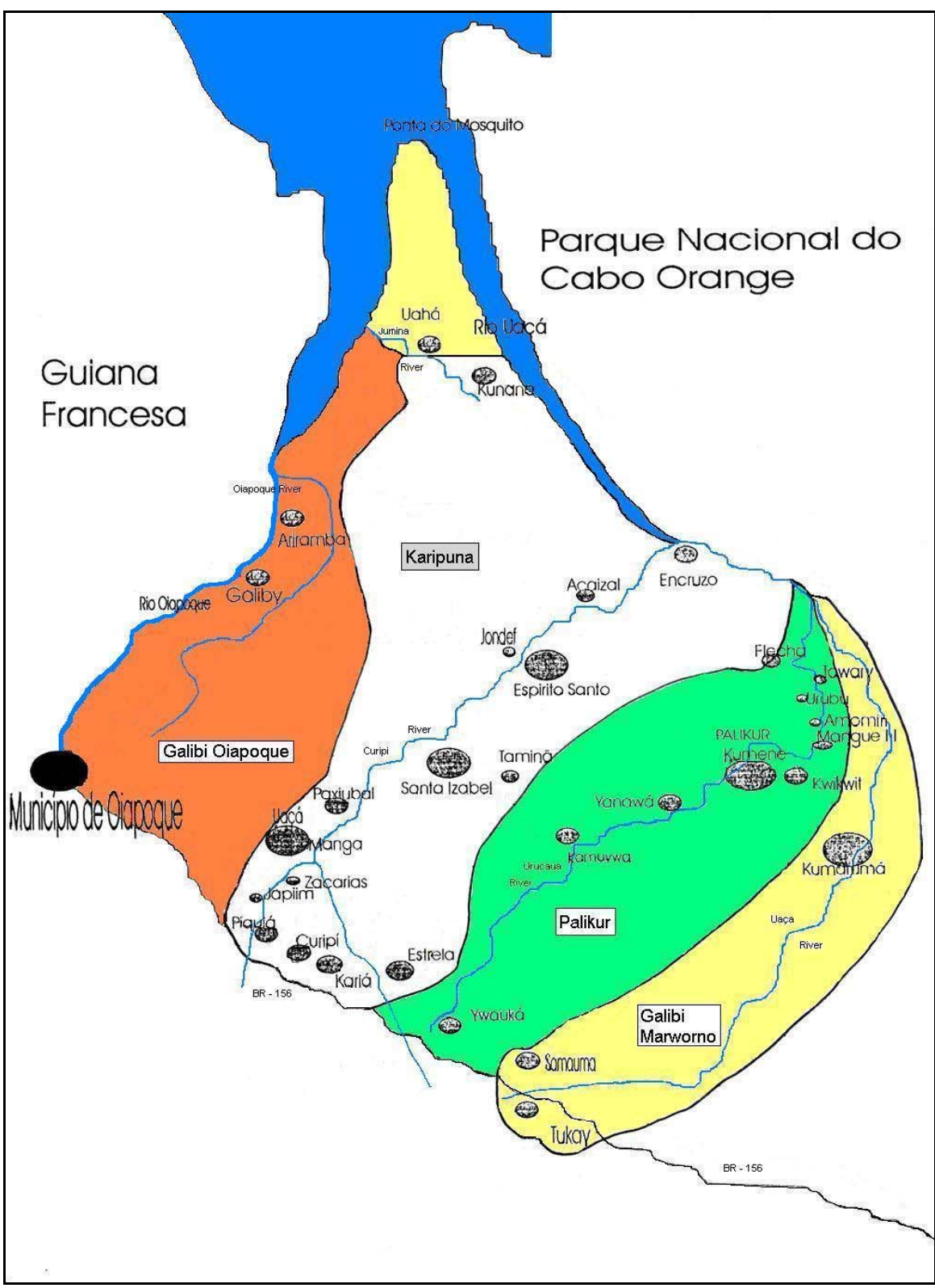
There are three Indian reserves in this area: Uaçá, Jumina, and Galibi; and four Indian ethnic groups: Galibi Marworno, Karipuna, Galibi do Oiapoque, and Palikur. Of the three Indian reserves, the Uaçá is by far the largest and most important. Many Indians speak French Creole to varying degrees, but it is only the Karipuna and the Galibi Marworno who speak it as their mother tongue. This paper will deal mainly with these two groups, and their respective varieties will be called KFC and GFC.

The following describes a possible trip through the Indian villages of northern Amapá. Beginning near the place where the headwaters of the Uaçá intersect the Highway BR156, we have two small, relatively new Galibi Marworno villages, Tukay and Samauma. About 45 kilometres down the Uaçá River, is the main, very large Galibi Marworno village of Kumaruma.

Another 45 kilometres down the Uaçá River comes a tributary called the Urucaua River. The Urucaua has nine Palikur Indian villages on its banks—Kumene (the main village), Flecha, Tawary, Kamuywa, Kwikwit, Amomin, Puaytyeket, Urubu, and Mangue II. Near where the Urucaua River meets Highway BR156 is the Palikur village of Ywauka. (There are also Palikur villages in Cayenne and Saint Georges in French Guiana.)

Drifting downstream on the Uaçá River, about 25 kilometres from the mouth of the Urucaua, we arrive at another tributary, the Curipi River. The Curipi has ten Karipuna Indian villages on its banks—Espírito Santo (the main village of yesteryear), Manga (the

main village today), Encruzo, Acaizal, Jondef, Tamima, Santa Isabel, Paxiubal, Zacarias, and Japiim. On highway BR156, near the headwaters of the Curipi, are four more Karipuna villages—Piquia, Curipi, Estrela, and Karia.



We follow the Uaçá River 50 kilometres to its mouth in the Oiapoque Bay, and turn up another river, the Oiapoque. About 25 kilometres up the Oiapoque, we come to a tributary called the Jumina and an Indian reserve by the same name. Up the Jumina River there are two villages. The first one, Uaha, is Galibi Marworno; the second, Kunana, is Karipuna.

Continuing up the Oiapoque River, we come to two villages in the Galibi Indian reserve. The first village, Ariramba, is Karipuna; the second, Galiby, is Galibi do Oiapoque. These Galibi, part of a group that inhabits the north coast of South America all the way to Venezuela, immigrated to Brazil in 1950. Outside of Brazil, this larger group is better known as Carib.

3.0 Previous scholarship

3.1 Karipuna

Reference works on KFC include grammars by Joy Tobler (1983), Ruth Montserrat and Rarcio Silva (1984), and Portuguese-KFC bilingual dictionaries by Alfred Tobler (1987) and Francisca Picanco Montejo (1988). John Ladhams published a short article on the sociohistorical background of Karipuna in 1995, and there is an earlier article on the linguistic origins of Karipuna by Henri Wittman 1987. Other works with general reference to Karipuna are John Holm 1988 and 1989 and Chris Corne 1999.

With regard to nonlinguistic materials, Expedito Arnaud (1969) and Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon (1953) proved helpful in understanding the history and demography of the Karipuna and other Amerindian groups of the Uaçá area. Antonella Tassinari has written a doctoral thesis on Karipuna ethnography (1998).

3.2 Galibi Marworno

Sources on the Galibi go back to the 1600s. The Englishmen Keymis and Harcourt passed through the Uaçá, and published reports in 1608, which mention the Carib, Morrowinne, Wiapocoorie, and Yao Indians in that region. In 1893, Coudreau wrote up a study of the Uaçá River. The information in this document deals principally with the migrations of various ethnic groups, notably the Aruã migration, and the activities of the Jesuits and their intentions to establish missions in the region of the Uaçá.

4.0 History of people

For over three centuries, the indigenous peoples of the northern region of Amapá traded heavily with the French merchants (World Culture Encyclopedia 2007). After his visit in 1887, Coudreau wrote that everyone in the area understood the “Creole of Cayenne” (the capital of French Guiana) (1893:33). Ladhams also notes, “in the late nineteenth century, all Amerindians, except the Palikur, were fluent in Creole” (Ladhams, cited in Ferriera 1998:117).

4.1 Karipuna

The people known today as the Karipuna are from many backgrounds: French Guianese, St. Lucian Arab, Chinese, and various Indian groups. Four of the primary people who make up the Karipuna will be discussed below.

One of the first recorded waves of immigrants came from the island of Trinidad. The Carib-speaking Yao of Trinidad fled from the Spaniards at the beginning of the sixteenth century and moved to the mouth of the Oyapoek River (Tassinari 1998:7).

Because of the Cabanagem Revolt in 1830, some Tupi-speaking Amerindians fled the Breves Strait at the mouth of the Amazon. After a sojourn in French Guiana proper, they moved to the Curipi River area.

A gold rush in 1854 caused many gold miners and would-be gold miners from various origins (St. Lucian, Arab, Chinese, Brazilian, Guianese, and others) to move to the Oiapoque and Curipi Rivers (Ladhams, cited in Ferreira 1998:12).

In 1887, Coudreau recorded that there were escaped Brazilian slaves (likely primarily of African ancestry) living along the Curipi River (1893:25).

In 1927, da Silva Rondon, on a Brazilian government inspection trip in that frontier area, officially calls the inhabitants of the Curipi River “Karipunas,” and the term has been used ever since. Ten years later, these people were so mixed, there was some doubt as to whether they could be considered Indians. In 1936, Luís Thomaz Reis, on another inspection trip of the Brazilian frontier areas, affirms, “The Karipunas, even though they are well dressed and clean, and are not ashamed to talk to us, are still Indians” (Reis 1936). By the 1930s, the Karipunas were the most educated and had come to be considered the most “civilized” of the Indians in northern Amapá (Tassinari 1998:8).

Obviously, this area was multilingual due to contact between Indians speaking languages from both Tupi and Carib families, FGFC speakers, Brazilian Portuguese speakers, and others. Malcher makes note of the dominance of FGFC in the first half of the nineteenth century. He explains that the Curipi River was close to Oiapoque, which was a stronghold of Guianese culture (Malcher 1953:281–282). According to Ladhams’ research the language of the Oiapoque area in the 1900s was either French or Creole (1998:13). Ladhams summarizes, “since there was continuous contact with speakers of Guianese on both sides of the Oiapoque River, FGFC, ‘was a prime candidate’ for the language choice of the people living on the Curipi River” (Ladhams 1995:118, cited in Ferreira 1998:13). Though spoken by both the Karipuna and the Galibi Marworno, the French Creole used by Indians is referred to as Karipuna Creole, not Galibi Marworno Creole.

4.2 Galibi Marworno

The people now known as Galibi Marworno or Galibi de Uaçá are a product of ethnically diverse populations: Aura, Marworno, Karipuna, Galibi, European, and African. Since

the Indian element seems to be stronger among the inhabitants of the Uaçá River than the Curipi River, only the three main Indian groups will be discussed below.

A large component of the present population was the Galibi, who in the first half of the eighteenth century, were settled in Jesuit missions on the coast of French Guiana. Nimendaju, who was on the Uaçá River in 1925, recorded more than 100 words in the Galibi language (Vidal 2000).

The Arua came to live in the Uaçá River region through a series of migrations. In the seventeenth century, the Portuguese forced them from Marajo Island at the mouth of the Amazon (Aryon Rodrigues 2000:18), and the Arua fled to French Guiana. In Guiana, they were first enslaved by the French, then settled in Jesuit missions on the coast. With the expulsion of the Jesuits from Guiana between 1765–68, a Portuguese offensive invaded the ancient territories of missions, villages, and colonial settlements, imprisoning the indigenous population and deporting the Indians back to the Amazon. The Arua returned the next century and settled on the upper Uaçá (Vidal 2000). In the late 1800s, Coudreau visited the area and observed the Arauas still spoke to each other in their own language (Coudreau 1893, cited in Tassinari 1998:379). By 1925, however, Nimendaju could only find a dozen words in the Arua language.

The Marworno (alternately called Maruae, Maraunu, or Maraon) were another of the ancestral ethnic groups of the present population. The Marworno are likely as close as we can get to the original people, as they are mentioned in reports from the sixteenth century as inhabitants of the Uaçá region. In the eighteenth century, the Marworno were settled in Jesuit missions on the coast, and their identity seems to have merged somewhat with the Galibi and Arua who were together with them. Nimendaju, who was on the Uaçá River in 1925, was able to record only two words in Marworno (Vidal 2000).

In the late 1940s, the Brazilian government's Indian Protection Service, through its presence and activities, was instrumental in reinforcing a single indigenous identity for the peoples of the region (World Culture Encyclopedia 2007). The primary element was the building of a school, which helped concentrate almost all Galibi Marworno families in the village of Kumaruma.

Galibi Marworno is a very recent self-designation, which has become fixed mainly in the last decade. It has replaced the old GFC term *mun Uaçá* 'people of the Uaçá'. "Galibi" was the name given to the entire population of the Uaçá River by the Border Inspection Commission and the Indian Protection Service. "Marworno" began to be used by the neighboring Palikur and Karipuna, in order to represent their difference from the Galibi of Oiapoque, who identify themselves with the Galibi population of the coast of Guiana.

By the late 1800s, FGFC became the dominant language among the Galibi Marworno, to the detriment of the various languages spoken by their ancestors. In spite of the school's efforts to stamp it out, GFC has remained the mother tongue. GFC was thought to imply Galibi Marworno use of French habits, which was not looked upon favourably by the government—especially since they lived in a boundary area, which was hotly contested

by the French and only definitively annexed to Brazil in 1900. In the late 1960s, a Catholic organization called CIMI began writing primers and teaching GFC in the school. Their efforts gave new incentive to use the GFC language, stimulating the Indians to openly consider it as their maternal language (Vidal 2000).

4.3 Palikur

The inhabitants of the Urucaua River, the Palikur, have been mentioned in historical accounts since 1513. Between 1930 and 1940, Black families arrived in the area from French Guiana and their descendants assumed Palikur identity. Other than that, there was very little mixture with other groups, and the Palikur were slow to change (World Culture Encyclopedia 2007). In a 1936 inspection trip to the area, Reis noted that the Palikur were more primitive, used less clothing, didn't use firearms, and were afraid of being captured as slaves (in Tassinari 1998).

Although bilingual in Creole, the Palikur in Brazil are proud they still speak their own language. They feel speaking Palikur makes them "true Indians," as opposed to the Karipuna and Galibi Marworno, who speak Creole (Vidal 2000). In French Guiana, we observed the young people do not speak Palikur, only FGCF and French.

4.4 Galibi do Oiapoque

This small group on the Oiapoque River emigrated from French Guiana in 1950. The older people speak Galibi and Creole, but the younger ones speak only Portuguese (Vidal 2000).

5.0 Social factors relevant to the sociolinguistic environment

5.1 Economics

One of the ways the Indians make money is by selling their surplus manioc flour in Oiapoque or in French Guiana. Another product that is popular with the French is their artwork and bows and arrows.

There are government resources for projects in areas such as health and education. The elderly Indians go to Oiapoque once a month to receive their retirement pensions, which form a large percentage of the income of each village (Vidal 2000). Oiapoque is a central city of 17,000, and the Indians must use Portuguese there in their transactions with other Brazilians.

5.2 Population distribution

Population of Karipuna Villages

Manga	465
Zacarias	32
Japiim	33
Paxiubal	44
Santa Isabel	262
Tamina	54
Espirito Santo	351
Jõdef	64
Acaiza	91
Encruzo	25
Ariramba	62
Kunana	76
Piquia	19
Curipi	32
Karia	29
<u>Estrela</u>	<u>87</u>
Total Karipuna Population	1,726

Population of Galibi Marworno Villages

Kumaruma	1.578
Uaha	81
Samauma	58
<u>Tukay</u>	<u>70</u>
Total Galibi Marworno Population	1,787

Population of Palikur Villages

Kumene	572
Flecha	69
Tawary	44
Kamuywa	49
Kwikwit	29
Amomin	31
Puaytyeket	68
Urubu	42
Mangue II	46
<u>Ywauka</u>	<u>49</u>
Palikur Population in Brazil	999 (FUNAI 2001)
<u>Palikur Population in French Guiana</u>	<u>500 (Queixalós 2000:299)</u>
Total Palikur Population	1499

Galibi do Oiapoque Village

Total Galibi do Oiapoque Population 30 (FUNAI 2001)

5.3 Politics

The Palikur, Karipuna, Galibi Marworno. and Galibi-Oiapoque have been cooperating for over a decade at various levels. Since 1990, the four groups have been in the habit of gathering together for political assemblies in July. An example of cooperation was seen in 1998, when the tribes took over the FUNAI (Department of Indian Affairs) headquarters to protest the actions of the administrator (OESP, 23/04/98 in *Povos Indigenas* 2000:392).

In 1992, the four groups formed a political association called *Apoio*. Both Creole and Portuguese are used in the association meetings, but the amount of Creole is decreasing, and the use of Portuguese is increasing. The first head of *Apoio*, João Neves, was elected in 1996 as mayor of the main city in the area, Oiapoque, a community of 17,000 people. The present leader of *Apoio*, Vitoria Santos, is an orthodontist. Her main areas are getting funding for education and health concerns of the Indian villages (Antionka Cpiberibe, Oct/2000 in *Povos Indigenas* 2000:393).

5.4 Education

Karipuna

In Manga, we were told that they had school that taught all subjects in KFC and in Portuguese. In fact, it is only the first three grades that use CIMI's KFC literacy and teaching materials. Claudio, an Indian of about 50, explained, "We have a bilingual school so we won't lose Creole. Otherwise, we will lose it." Although they realize that Portuguese is the ticket for socioeconomic advancement, they feel very good about KFC education, because they value KFC as their own language.

Galibi Marworno

In 1934, a school was built in the Uaçá region, which had immediate consequences for the population. To be closer to the school, the Galibi abandoned their islands on the upper Uaçá and decided to live in a single village. Portuguese was taught in school and if the students were caught using GFC, they were slapped with a paddle. It was only in the 1970s, after CIMI created some primers for the first three years of schooling, that GFC was once again valued and began to be taught (Vidal 2000). CIMI still is involved in education among the Galibi Marworno. We interviewed Suely, a Galibi Marworno bilingual teacher who told us that CIMI trains teachers of Creole in Oiapoque. Expatriates are in charge of the Portuguese portion of the education.

Some Galibi Marworno have achieved a high level of education. An example of this is the present leader of the tribal council *Apoio*, who graduated from the University of Para as an orthodontist. Of all the tribes, the Galibi Marworno speak the most Creole. Yet even among them, their leaders and role models are highly educated in Portuguese. Clearly, Portuguese is the prestige language, and is gaining ground among the Galibi Marworno leadership.

5.5 Immigration/Emigration

Karipuna

We heard of quite a number of Karipunas who lived in Cayenne, French Guiana. Claudio counted sixteen from Manga alone. He himself had moved his family to Cayenne for fifteen years. His daughter is married to a Chinese man and lives there today. It was interesting that Claudio worried about the number of Karipunas mixing with people of other colors. He and his wife concluded that although they have relatives in French Guiana, they prefer living in Brazil, because it is more tranquil. They have some bad memories of Cayenne, because Claudio's wife became deathly ill there. It is also true that Karipunas find it almost impossible to get French immigration papers.

Immigration to the city of Oiapoque is much more common. There is a street named "Karipuna," where many from this group have put down roots in town.

Galibi Marworno

We met Galibi Marworno who had worked in Guiana and concluded there were similarities between their immigration patterns and those of the Karipuna. Vidal writes that it was very common in the past for people from Kumaruma to work on the French side as gold miners, construction workers, or in restaurants. He says many returned because of their wives, who did not adapt to life far from the village, even becoming sick. Many were sent back with the recent tightening of French immigration laws. Vidal (2000) says, "The Indians no longer get special treatment, being considered simply Brazilians, like so many others. Indians, who have stayed for from 8 to 15 years in French Guiana, have had to go back because they had never been concerned to put their citizenship and worker status in order." Most of these returnees have expressed that there are advantages to the slower pace of village living.

Many Galibi Marworno work and study in Oiapoque, where there is a street named after them. We spoke with one lad, Jalis, who was studying to become a teacher. He said he preferred Oiapoque to Kumaruma because you could get all the things you needed in town.

6.0 Linguistics

6.1 Lexicography

Karipuna

Tobler says, "The Karipunas speak a dialect of the Guianese Creole (FGFC), but appear to have retained some words of their original language (particularly in names of fauna and flora), as well as incorporating some Portuguese words" (1983:10). Tobler infers that their original language was that of the Tupi-speaking Indians, who moved to the area from the mouth of the Amazon.

Galibi Marworno

The Galibi Marworno have been speaking GFC for at least 100 years, though they still retain some words dealing with flora and fauna, as well as some shamanic songs. When we visited the village of Manga, Claudio, a Karipuna man, sang us a song in Galibi. Claudio said he knew quite a few Galibi songs.

6.2 Regional differences in Creole

KFC is often treated as a variety of FGFC. Modern KFC, “it would seem, reflects today a nineteenth century variety of Guianese Creole (FGFC)” (Corne 1985:234). The differences appear to be in the areas of phonology and lexicon, with minor morphosyntactic differences (Ferreira 1998:8).

To further study the relationship of KFC to the other French creoles, we recorded a couple of texts (one near-death experience and one folk tale) from each group of people we visited. These were taken back to the University of the West Indies to be looked at more closely by a team of creolists.

The Galibi Marworno and the Karipuna display a few phonological differences in their Creole. The Galibi Marworno also have slightly different vocabulary, which are not borrowings from their long lost Indian languages, but from French. The Galibi Marworno are said to speak more like the people from Cayenne than the Karipuna.

The following are some more observations that led us to conclude that the differences between all the French Creoles do not pose a serious problem to intelligibility. Although we did not do any formal testing of the KFC literature with the FGFC and the St. Lucian Creole, we did play the KFC tape for Guianese and St. Lucian speakers, who were able to recognize and understand it. A man from Kumarumã and another from St. Lucia seemed to communicate freely on a range of topics. The speakers of St. Lucian and Martiniquan were also able to understand local Karipuna stories that were read to them. They appeared to comprehend well the “near death” and other personal stories that were told to them in KFC. On the whole, it seemed as though the St. Lucian and Martiniquan understood Karipuna speakers better than the Karipuna speakers understood them. Finally, when a Galibi Marworno woman was shown the Haitian Creole Jesus film, she appeared to understand just fine, although she may have been picking up a lot from context.

In a French Creole survey done in 1981, Graham found a continuum between St. Lucian and KFC. He found French Guianese understood 77 percent of Karipuna and 78 percent of St. Lucian (Graham 1985:13). Like Graham, we played tapes of the three dialects and arrived at basically the same conclusion. Our method consisted of recording native speakers of the three dialects, reading the same eight verses of Scripture (John 1:43–51) in their respective varieties. We then played the three tapes, in random order, and asked ten comprehension questions. The more questions they got right, the higher their comprehension. Two Galibi Marworno and three Karipuna people were selected simply because they expressed willingness to be tested. In general, all like the KFC best, the St.

Lucian Creole was the least preferred, and FGFC was somewhere in the middle. What follows are the results of the test.

Karipuna

Claudio, 50-yr-old from Manga (who lived in Cayenne fifteen years), with help of wife, who seemed to understand better than he:

85% St. Lucian
90% Guianese
90% Karipuna

The questionnaire in appendix B was answered by a 30-yr-old man from Manga, in a room full of family members younger than he. In general terms, it is likely he scored poorly because people his age speak KCF poorly. He likely did particularly badly in St. Lucian Creole and FGFC because he hadn't lived in French Guiana and had rarely or never heard these varieties of Creole:

20% St. Lucian
50% Guianese
80% Karipuna

The data from the Karipuna village of Kunana was similar. They preferred the Karipuna, and liked the St. Lucian least.

Galibi Marworno

Dinildo, a 40-yr-old man from Kumarumã:

75% St. Lucian
80% Guianese
90% Karipuna

Dinildo had met St. Lucians when he lived in French Guiana, and he found them to be gentle people. In spite of his affection for St. Lucians, he commented that he liked the Guianese literature better than the St. Lucian. He said Karipuna was clearest because, "That's the way we speak."

The data from the Galibi Marworno of Uaha was similar. They liked the Karipuna best, and St. Lucian least.

6.3 Literary development

Several KFC texts, mainly Biblical stories and folk tales, were translated and compiled by Alfred and Joy Tobler (1983), Simeao Fort et al. (1983), and Rebeca Spires (1997). CIMI has been involved in publishing primers, such as those edited and organized by Fransisca Picanco Montejo (1985, cited in Ferreira 1998:8).

7.0 Social Relations

7.1 Interaction with Portuguese Speakers

Karipuna

Over twenty years ago, Tobler wrote of the Karipuna, “There is a considerable degree of integration with the Brazilian way of life, and an increasing influence of Portuguese is seen amongst the younger people due to the opportunity for elementary schooling by national teachers in the villages” (1983:10). Today the Karipuna, with five new villages on the highway and a whole street of Karipuna in Oiapoque, are more integrated than ever. Even so, many Karipuna feel the Brazilians discriminate against them and would be embarrassed going to meetings in town.

Galibi Marworno

These people are also somewhat integrated into Brazilian society. Like the Karipuna, they come into Oiapoque regularly for training and to get their pension checks. However, with only two villages on the highway, they may not have as much contact with Portuguese speakers as the Karipuna.

8.0 Bilingualism

All the Indians we talked to in the area could speak to us in Portuguese. Our most reliable sources told us there were no Karipunas nor Galibi Marworno who were monolingual in Creole. There is, of course, the question of fluency. The ones we spoke with sounded quite comfortable in Portuguese, but we heard there were some older people who were not as fluent.

9.0 Language vitality

Karipuna

In the first household, we interviewed Claudio and his wife, a couple in their 50s. Claudio did the tests and told us stories in KFC, but when he would get stuck, he would speak Portuguese to his wife. We also observed Claudio speaking to other family members, an 18-year-old Galibi Marworno lad and the chief of Manga. In all these instances, they used Portuguese. Claudio said some Karipuna families spoke more KFC than his, others spoke less. Although most people understand KFC, he admitted about half of the people in the village of Manga cannot speak it. He said there were no monolingual Karipuna speakers.

We spoke with a second Manga household, a generation younger than Claudio’s. Not surprisingly, they spoke little KFC and did very poorly on the tests. The 30-year-old head of the home explained it was the older people who spoke mostly KFC.

The Karipuna village of Kunana, though relatively isolated, speaks much more Portuguese than KFC.

Generally, people feel that the loss of KFC is not a good thing. They feel nostalgia for the time when they all spoke it. At the same time, people feel very positive about speaking Portuguese.

Galibi Marworno

The Galibi Marworno village of Uaha is located downriver from the Karipuna village of Kunana. Though Uaha is the less isolated of the two, they speak a lot more GFC there. When a teenage boy was asked what language he preferred to speak in various settings, he said he liked to speak GFC “in as many settings as he could.”

All the Galibi Marworno people we spoke to from Kumaruma were fluent in GFC, but several had settled permanently in Oiapoque. We met a young man from Kumaruma who was studying to become a teacher. He sounded enthusiastic about teaching wherever the government sent him, but would rather not move back to Kumaruma. He said he preferred town to the village because “you could get all the stuff you needed in town.”

It seems clear that the language of social advancement is Portuguese. The role models and leaders are people like Vitoria Santos, who became an orthodontist and set up a clinic in Oiapoque.

Palikur

Many of the Palikur in Brazil speak Creole as a second language. One of the domains of Creole use is in Apoio gathering with the Galibi Marworno and Karipuna. In Brazil, all Palikur seem to prefer speaking Palikur, but in French Guiana we observed the young people speak only Creole and French. We were told by several Palikur in French Guiana that the young people did not speak the Palikur language anymore. The Palikur elders in French Guiana are concerned about the young people losing their culture. The Palikur from Brazil and from French Guiana get together periodically and speak mostly in their own language. We met Brazilian Palikur on the French side, trying to get a ride to Cayenne; and we met a Guianese Palikur church group on the Brazilian side, planning a joint service with their fellow Palikur.

Galibi do Oiapoque

The older people speak Galibi and Creole, but the younger ones speak only Portuguese (Vidal, 2000, in www.socioambiental.org).

Language Vitality of the Groups

Ethnonym	Taditional Language	Creole	Portuguese	French
Karipuna	no longer exists	MT of over 60	MT under 60	
Galibi	no longer exists	all speak is as MT	all speak Port	
Marworno	(except for tribal songs)			
Palikur	In Brazil, MT In French Guiana, Over 25 speak it as MT	all speak Creole	In Brazil, all speak Portuguese	In FG, under 25 speak French as MT
Galibi do Oiapoque	Older speaker (55 and up) still speak Galibi as MT	Older people speak Creole	All speak Portuguese Under 30 all speak Portuguese as MT	

10.0 Anthropological observations

Karipuna

Claudio seemed to take pride in touring us around the village, showing us the wooden houses built on stilts and explaining about local edible and medicinal plants. He seemed proud of his local knowledge.

Galibi Marworno

In Kumaruma, Vidal notes that the younger families prefer to build brick houses and that several families have televisions, satellite dishes, and freezers (2000). This indicates some of their culture is changing.

11.0 Recommendations

KFC would be a potential candidate for a limited scope literature project. There are two (St. Lucian and Haitian), soon to be three (Guadealoupan), books available and another (Haitian) in French Creole. This would make it possible to work on an adaptation from an existing translation. In fact, with computer technology, it may be quite possible to do a rapid adaptation that produces a rough draft of more literature in KFC

There is also the possibility of working together in partnership, or in a cluster, with other French Creoles. We had a meeting with a leader in Cayenne, who is translating literature into FGFC. When we told him how well the Creole speakers in Brazil understood Guianese, he expressed interest in working together with the Karipuna translator with

New Tribes Mission. Earlier, the New Tribes translator had told us she would like to visit Cayenne and work in partnership with the FGFC translator, but she was not allowed into the country without a passport.

The translator with New Tribes Mission asked SIL to be involved in giving logistical support with her ongoing KFC translation and dictionary project. She said she would like someone from SIL to visit once a year to give consultant help and encourage her. Without a push from outside, she said her translation work would likely grind to a stop.

11.1 Amapá French Creole (AFC)

Peter (a St. Lucian Creole speaker), Jalis (a GFC speaker), and Stan Anonby flew down to Macapá to investigate reports that there were 25,000 AFC speakers around the capital city. The report came from an unknown source in the 1970s, and was recorded in the *Ethnologue*.

When we asked people in Macapá if they knew where any Creole speakers lived, they invariably pointed us to people who spoke French, who had lived in Guiana, or were Guianese. We met a recent immigrant from Guiana who told us of four other Guianese living in Macapá. We visited a Black neighborhood (Laguinho) and a former runaway slave colony (Curiau) and were told that none of these people ever spoke Creole.

In 1998, Julieta de Andrade wrote about the Lanc-Patua in northern Brazil. She talked about gold miners who immigrated to Brazil (mostly to Pará and Amapá) from the Guianas. It made mention of English, Dutch, and French Creoles. She makes no mention of any local French Creole community in the Macapá area. She found the immigrants from the Guianas living interspersed among the local Brazilians (something we also found to be true in Macapá). She noted the second generation of immigrants spoke Creole, but not the third generation.

AFC does not appear to need translation because there is no native Creole spoken around Macapá. The only people in the area who speak Creole are immigrants from French Guiana. It appears the information that there are 25,000 speakers of AFC is false.

11.2 Guianese Creole (FGFC)

There are around 80,000 Creole speakers in French Guiana out of a total population of 175,000. Thirty thousand are immigrants speaking Haitian Creole, and 50,000 are native Guianese. The Guianese Creoles are shrinking as a percentage of the Guianese population (Queixalós 2000:300). Their use of FGFC is also giving way to French. The Haitians could be heard talking Creole with each other, and using Creole in meetings; but we only heard the Guianese speaking French with each other. We were told there might be some elderly ladies in remote areas that were monolingual in FGFC.

Graham said the Guianese comprehend 78 percent of St. Lucian Creole (1985:13). However, the St. Lucian in our group was able to understand Guianese clearly. It was interesting to observe that the translator into FGFC used French when meeting with a St.

Lucian (who claims to speak no French). Maybe it was because Creole was considered inappropriate in a formal session like a meeting.

Appendix A: Transcriptions of John 1:43–51 in St. Lucian, FGCF, and KFC

St Lucian

43 An li denmen, Jézi té fe lidé pou alé Galili. Jézi jwenn Filip ek I di'y, "Swi mwen!"
 44 Filip té soti Befsayda, vil-la koté Androu ekPita té ka westé-a.
 45 Filip Jwenn Natannyel ék I di'y, "Nou ja jwenn moun-an Moziz ek sé pwofet-la té ékwi asou an liv Iwa-a. Non'y sé Jézi, gason Jozef, I soti Nazawet."
 46 Natannyel di'y, "Ki bon bahay ki sa soti an Nazawet?" Filip di'y, "Vini we."
 47 Le Jézi we Natannyel ka vini koté I yé-a, I di, "Mi an jan Izwayel pi, la pa ni pyes wiz an li!"
 48 Natannyel mandé'y, "Ki mannye ou fe konnet mwen?" Jézi di'y, "Mwen we'w le ou té anba pyé fwi-a dépi avan Filip té kwiyé'w.
 49 Natannyel di'y, "Titja, ou sé Gason Dondyé! Sé ou ki wa iswayel!"
 50 Jézi di'y, "Es sé paski mwen di mwen we'w anba pyé fwi-a ou kwe sa? Ou kay we pli gwo bagay pasé sa!"
 51 I di yo, "Mwen da di zot lavéwité-a, ou kay we syel-la uve ek nanj Bondjé ka mouté désnn asou mwen Gason Lézom-lan."

FGCF

43 Roun jou pasé, Jézi desidé pati Galilé, é li kontré ké Filip, li di-l' : «Swiv mo».
 44 Filip té sa moun Bètsayida, a la lonbri André ké Pyèr té planté osi.
 45 Filip kontré ké Natanayèl épi li di-l' : «Nou trapé moun Moyiz té ékri asou-l' annan lalwa-a, moun profèt-ya té palé di-l'-a : a Jézi, moun Nazarèt, pitit Jozèf».
 46 Natanaèl di-l' : «Es li ganyen bon kichoz ki pouvé soti Nazarèt?».
 Filip réponn li : «Vini wè ké to wéy».
 47 Lò Jézi wè Natanayèl ka vini asou-l', i di asou-l' : «Men roun vrè Izrayélit, li pa ganyen pyès mové lèspri.»
 48 Natanayèl di-l' : «Kot to konèt mo, en ?» Jézi réponn li : «Anvan Filip rélé to, mo té ja wè to, lò to té anba pyé fig-a.»
 49 Natanayèl réponn : «Rabbi to, to sa Pitit Bondjé, rwè Izrayèl.»
 50 Jézi réponn li : «Renk paski mo di to mo wè to anba pyé fig-a, to ka krè ; mé sa ki dèyè pòkò touché, to ké wè pli gran kichoz kisa.»
 51 E i di-l' ankò : «Enren sa mo di zòt-a a lavérité, dipi jodla zòt ké wè syèl-a louvri ké zanj Bondjé ka monté désann laro Pitit wonm (sa ki lé di Pitit Bondjé, li voyé annan lachè-a).»

KFC

43 Solâdjimè Jezi deside ale pu hejiõ dji Galiléia. Ævã li ale, li kõthe ke Filip I dji bai li: Vini ke mo!
 44 Filip ate dji sidadji dji Betsaida, kote André I Pié hete.
 45 Kã Filip kõthe ke so kamahad Nataniel, li dji: No thuve mun la a hespék dji kimun Moisés ekhi lãdã Pahól Bõdje, mun la a hespék dji kimun phofét iela ekhi osi; a Jezi, Juzé so pitxit, dji sidadji Nazaré.

56 La Nataniel dumãde: Mo pa khe, u dejá konét un mun bã dji Nazaré? Filip hepón: Vinĩ gade!

47 Kã Jezi ue Nataniel hive, li dji: Gade! A la fiká un uom siaie ki avuemã sa dji pov dji Ishael.

48 Ębe Nataniel dumãde bai Jezi: Dji kote u u konét mo? Jezi hepón: Āvã Filip ale aple u, mo te dehá ue u asi ãba figueira (un kalite piebua).

49 La Nataniel dji: Metés, u sa Bõdje so Pitxit! U sa hue dji Ishael.

50 La Jezi hepón: U khe lasu mo sélmã pase mo dji ki mo te ue u ãba figueira? U ke ue boku bagaj iela pi ghã pase sa.

51 Mo ka dji un lavehite: Zót ke ue lahosiel la luvhi I Bõdje so zãj iela ki ke mote i ke desan pu adohe Pitxit dji Uom di sa mo mém.

Appendix B: Questions from John 1:43–51

- 1) Where did Jesus go?
- 2) To whom did Jesus say, “Follow me.”
- 3) Where was Philip from?
- 4) Who else was from Bethsaida?
- 5) Whom did Philip go and find?
- 6) What did Nathaniel think about people from Nazareth?
- 7) What did Jesus think about Nathaniel?
- 8) Where was Nathaniel before he met Jesus?
- 9) What two things did Nathaniel say about Jesus?
- 10) What did Jesus tell Nathaniel he was going to see?

Appendix C: Responses to Questions from John 1:43–51²

Karipuna

Claudio, 50-yr-old from Manga, (who lived in Cayenne fifteen years), with help of wife, who seemed to understand better than he:

85 percent St. Lucian

- | | |
|----|--------|
| 1) | 6) x |
| 2) | 7) |
| 3) | 8) |
| 4) | 9) 1/2 |
| 5) | 10) |

90 percent Guianese

- | | |
|----|------|
| 1) | 6) |
| 2) | 7) x |
| 3) | 8) |
| 4) | 9) |
| 5) | 10) |

90 percent Karipuna

- | | |
|----|------|
| 1) | 6) x |
| 2) | 7) |
| 3) | 8) |
| 4) | 9) |
| 5) | 10) |

A 30-yr-old man from Manga, in a room full of family members younger than he:

20 percent St. Lucian

- | | |
|------|------|
| 1) | 6) x |
| 2) | 7) x |
| 3) x | 8) x |
| 4) x | 9) x |
| 5) x | 10)x |

50 percent Guianese

- | | |
|------|------|
| 1) | 6) |
| 2) | 7) |
| 3) x | 8) |
| 4) x | 9) x |
| 5) x | 10)x |

² The “x” following the number indicates an incorrect response.

80 percent Karipuna

- 1) 6) x
- 2) 7)
- 3) 8)
- 4) 9) x
- 5) 10)

Galibi

Dinildo, a 40-yr-old man from Kumarumã:

75 percent St. Lucian

- 1) 6) x
- 2) 7) x
- 3) 8) 1/2
- 4) 9)
- 5) 10)

80 percent Guianese

- 1) 6)
- 2) 7)
- 3) 8) 1/2
- 4) 1/2 9)
- 5) 10) x

90 percent Karipuna

- 1) 6) x
- 2) 7)
- 3) 8)
- 4) 9)
- 5) 10)

Dinildo had met St. Lucians when he lived in French Guiana, and he found them to be gentle people. In spite of his affection for St. Lucians, he commented that he liked the Guianese literature better than the St. Lucian. He said Karipuna was clearest because, “That’s the way we speak.”

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